

the Constitution and Powers of the Irish Parliament. In taking a "general view of a Federal Constitution," he says: "That which is of importance is that Ireland would send, as we do now, 105 representatives to vote in an Imperial Parliament on all questions of Imperial concern, and in return we would submit, as we do now, to be taxed by that Imperial Parliament, but only for certain definite purposes and in a certain definite manner. At home in Ireland we would have our own Parliament controlling all the affairs of our internal administration. We would have the Sovereign, as now, represented by a Viceroy. We would have an Irish Ministry responsible to and controlled by an Irish Parliament. We would have an Irish House of Peers, consisting of our resident Irish nobility, with such additions of men, distinguished in any field of intellectual achievement, as the Sovereign might think fit to associate with our hereditary nobility in the Upper House—and we would have an Irish House of Commons elected under a popular suffrage by the counties and towns of Ireland, with the addition of the representatives of the few learned bodies who could fairly claim the right of sending members to an Irish Parliament." He also says it need not follow—it would not follow—that those returned to the Imperial Parliament should also have seats in the Irish House; and he does not believe the assertion that the best of the Irish nobility would be drawn off to an Imperial Parliament, as the great attraction for Irishmen would be the Parliament in which Irish rights and interests were finally disposed of. Speaking of the disgrace and danger to England in the present state of things, he says:—"I need scarcely say, no Irishman ought to be satisfied with the present condition of affairs—*Ought a y Englishman?* I am quite sure that the interests of England are more concerned than those of Ireland in a peaceful and equitable adjustment of the relations between the countries. To Ireland, the day of deliverance, sooner or later, must come. The system of government which is now crushing down Ireland, cannot last. It may, be after years of suffering and struggle—it may be with the sacrifice of many a patriot life—it may be with more endurance in dungeons, more victims on the scaffold—it may be when all the present generation are sleeping in their graves, but the emancipation of Ireland is certain one day or other to come. For England the question is a very different one. If Irish rights be won by a revolution, the days of

British power are numbered. I know the scorn and contempt with which men will receive or pretend to receive this language. But he is not a wise minister for England who defies the hostility of the Irish race. He is no wise statesman who dreams that an empire is safe which holds in its bosom one-third of its people as its foes. This is a subject upon which, for obvious reasons, I do not care to dwell. But the man, no matter in what seat of authority he sits, is a short-sighted fool who makes light of the danger with which Irish disaffection menaces English power. There is one thing I know, which is this: If a war, which is possible, does arise, and if England does go into that war with the guilt of Ireland's oppression hanging like a mill-stone round her neck, and the curse of Irish disaffection weakening her arms, the boldest may well look with trembling to the effect on her greatness of that struggle. It is, at least, within the limits of possibility that we may come out of that war, with Ireland a member of the great Western Republic, or an independent state, with its nationality, guaranteed by the joint protection, it may be, of America and Russia, or of all the European Powers. This language must not be misunderstood. I know that the best and wisest of Irish Nationalists believe with me that Ireland ought, by all possible means, to maintain her connexion with England. I believe that Ireland would be happier and better under a Federal Union with England than she would be either as a member of the American Confederation, or as an independent nation under the protection of any European power. I am quite sure that if England will aid our efforts by giving us the right of self-government in our own affairs, those who think thus, have power and influence enough to control the passions of that section of our people whom long misgovernment has driven to believe in a separation from England as the only remedy for Irish wrong. The concession of a domestic Parliament would make the cry for separation powerless, even if it were ever raised. In a few years the wish would be forgotten. Under an Irish government we would in seven years become more identified with England than we have in seven centuries of oppression. As the terrible barriers of separation which are raised by the exercise of tyranny and the sense of wrong disappeared, all the influences of union, which are to be found in our near neighborhood—our common language—our common institutions—our thousand ties of kindred, of interest and of trade,