

in this sense the political atmosphere will be left without winds to purify it by their agitation. What some persons, having the present state of things in all Parliamentary countries before their eyes, have proposed to abolish, or perhaps we should rather say regard as certain to abolish itself, is party government, that is, the system of making the offices of State the prize of a perpetual faction fight. In every Parliamentary country, both in Europe and in America, the system is now in a state of pronounced decadence, and is sinking into hopeless sectionalism and confusion. What is to restore its vigour, and make it again a solid foundation for government?

IF Opposition orators, when they declaim against Government and institutions, remembered the use which might be made of their language by the enemies of their country they would perhaps keep their eloquence more strictly within the limits of fact. British Radicals on the stump and in quest of the Irish Vote by their reckless tirades about the wrongs of Ireland have furnished Irish editors in America with a pretext for repeating the assertion that Ireland is "the worst governed country in Europe"; worse governed, we presume, than Poland, Russia, Spain, or the European provinces of Turkey. These gentlemen cannot be brought to face the fact that Protestant Ulster is in Ireland and no part of the world is better governed or more prosperous, contented and loyal. If county government in Ireland is not representative, neither is it in England, and Parliament, as has been repeatedly said, was preparing to make it representative in both when the Irish rebellion broke out. There is a Lord Lieutenant in Ireland and there is not one in England; that is the main difference between the institutions of the two countries; and a Bill for the abolition of the office passed the British House of Commons by an overwhelming majority more than thirty years ago, and would have become law but for the opposition of the Irish members. That Ireland has her full share of representation in the United Parliament cannot be denied; but we are told that the United Parliament is an alien Assembly in which the Irish delegation, being only a minority, is impotent. Instead of being impotent, the Irish delegation held for many years, and at this moment holds, the balance of power. Mr. John Morley announces that the Irish now "count for everything," and those who triumphantly quote him can hardly aver in the same breath that the Irish count for nothing. Why is the United Parliament any more alien to Ireland than to Scotland? Why is it more alien to Ireland than the German Reichstag to Bavaria or the Federal Assembly of Switzerland to the Catholic Cantons? The *Times*, it seems, has spoken of the Parnellites as "an alien" party. Considered that the Parnellites have openly avowed themselves enemies of Great Britain and declared that they would levy civil war if they had the power, the epithet alien as applied to them does not seem to be very startling or to constitute a foundation on which any vast structure of sinister influence can be built. Once more we beg leave to challenge those who maintain that Ireland has been neglected to point out a single instance of any importance in which the Irish delegation has, with anything like unanimity, and with reasonable persistency, pressed a local reform, and the United Parliament has turned a deaf ear to the appeal. The charge against Parliament of indifference to Irish questions is about as well founded as the charge against Lord Spencer of putting innocent men to death upon suborned evidence. Irish American partisans of Parnell are surely guilty of something like effrontery in claiming Mr. Gladstone as a patron of their cause. Have not the Parnellites requited all Mr. Gladstone's services to Ireland by overthrowing his Government and treating him personally, not only with bare-faced ingratitude, but with the grossest contumely. Is he not, even when he worships in his parish church at Hawarden, protected by police from the knives of Disunionist assassins?

THE enthusiastic advocates of Free Trade have no doubt overrated the beneficent influence of their favourite principle in promoting peace and good-will among nations. Unfortunately the converse does not equally hold good. The malignant influence of the Protectionist principle in promoting ill-will and war can hardly be exaggerated. The wars of the last century were largely Protectionist. Great Britain being the largest exporter of manufactures, all the organs of Protectionism in the United States devote themselves, as a matter of course, to the cultivation of hostility to Great Britain. They have always received in their good work the assistance of that party in England which desires to re-impose the tax on grain, and which constantly preaches hatred of America. It is natural, therefore, that *The American*, as the organ of Pennsylvania manufacturers, should be, as it is, bitterly Anti-British, and do its utmost to thwart the action of the kindly and healing influences which are bringing about a reconciliation of the Anglo-Saxon race. Mr. Lowell, as an organ of those influences, has just been awakening its antipathies. Of course *The American* vehemently espouses the cause of the Irish Nationalists,

especially since the Irish Vote has gone over from the Democratic Party to Mr. Blaine, and advocates with great moral earnestness the dismemberment of the United Kingdom. In a paper on that subject it finds itself somewhat at a loss to specify the intelligible causes of Irish Secession. It cannot help admitting that the Viceroyalty is a remediable evil in no way identified with the Union, and that other evils of which complaint is made, such as the absence of representation in local government, are common to the three kingdoms and capable of abatement in all. That the British Government is in the habit of "tossing puling infants on bayonets" or "calling in famine to exterminate the Irish people when the sword has failed" it does not venture, with the Philadelphian Convention, to affirm. It admits in short that the reasons assigned for Secession are bad, but it contends that there must be good reasons of an occult character behind, and these, it says, "it is the business of a student of history to discover." A student of history would, we humbly conceive, be neither very rationally nor very virtuously employed in raking among the archives of the past to find factitious pretexts for agrarian murder or for civil war. Real grievances in their relations with their landlords the Irish peasantry have had, but at these *The American*, as a capitalist organ, scoffs, telling the Irish that there is no more harm in landlords than in hills. *The American* is blind, at least we hope it is blind, to this fact among others, that the races are not divided by the Irish Channel but are inextricably blended with each other, there being a large British element in Ireland and a large Irish element in Great Britain; so that the goal towards which the abettors of Nationalism are really driving is a deadly struggle of the two races for the possession of both islands. *The American* thinks that Ireland ought to be able to support the whole of her present population without further depletion by emigration because she exports meat and butter. She exports meat and butter and having little coal imports from England that and all the articles for the manufacture of which coal is necessary; but *The American* would no doubt recommend her to eat all her own butter and to go without fire and clothes; the Protectionist theory being that at the table of nature one guest ought to have all the soup and the other all the salt. *The American* counsels England "to rise to the height of letting the country go." Its compatriots did not rise to the height of letting the South go, though the Unionist Party in the South was nothing like so large as is the Unionist Party in Ireland, and slavery was a dividing line at least as strong as the Irish Channel. The advice of an enemy is always instructive; you have only to consider it well and act against it. This was the use which the American Republic most wisely, and to the great benefit of civilization made of the advice given it by the Tory sympathizers with Secession in England. This is the use which the British people, if they are not in their dotage, will make of the advice given them by American monopolists. *The American* taxes British Unionists with Jingoism. It is one thing to be heartily willing that Great Britain shall keep the law of morality at whatever sacrifice of her territorial greatness; it is another thing to be willing to see her dismembered by conspiracy, aided by the selfish madness of faction. She will at all events not take lessons in self-sacrifice from monopolists who not only impose iniquitous taxes, but by stirring up evil passions between nations retard the progress of civilization.

IN England, the Government being no longer harassed by an obstructive Opposition, such legislation as was matter of urgency has been accomplished, and the Session at last comes to a close. It will probably be remembered hereafter as having displayed in the most signal and disastrous manner the infirmities of the party system and the inability of such a body as the House of Commons to govern a country. On both sides preparations now commence for the general election which it is assumed will take place in November; and as the field of decisive battle comes into view the selfish and unpatriotic violence of both factions becomes more inflamed and the danger of the country increases. It might be taken for granted, without any cablegram, that at such a moment there would be a disposition among moderate and patriotic men, both Conservatives and Liberals, to draw together, and if possible to form some combination for the purpose of saving the country from confusion and dismemberment. The names of the Dukes of Richmond and Argyll have been coupled with a movement of this kind. The Duke of Richmond's character, in spite of the mediocrity of his talents, gives him great weight; the Duke of Argyll, in spite of his eloquence and accomplishments, has less influence. But neither of the two is the man to lead the nation out of Egypt. Both are, among other disqualifications, too closely connected with an order and an interest. To lead the nation out of Egypt a man must have his head high above orders and special interests as well as above party. Meantime the two extreme factions have the organizations in their hands, and by the evil law of their nature both of them will be impelled to eliminate as far as possible from the national council all who care only for the country.