

punishment they deserve. Their stealthy movements are generally made under cover of night, and under masks and disguises, which render their identification difficult, if not impossible. To add to the secrecy which envelops their operations, is the fact that no information of their murderous acts can be obtained without the greatest difficulty and danger in the localities where they are committed. No one dares to inform upon them, or take any measures to bring them to punishment, because no one can tell but that he may be the next victim of their hostility or animosity. The members of this organisation, with their friends, aids and abettors, take especial pains to conceal all their operations."

And so on. The committee report as to the condition of things that existed in the southern States. In 1876 Mr. Hays withdrew the military from the south. The carpet-baggers were compelled to follow. The Government passed into the hands of the natural leaders of the population, and what was the effect? All difficulties disappeared, and the law is as effectually administered in the southern States at this hour as it is in any other portion of the North American continent. All these crimes have disappeared, all these political offences are matters of history and no longer matters of actual occurrence. Mr. Godkin goes on to say:

"What I seek to show is that the Irish are not peculiar in their manner of expressing their discontent of a Government directed or controlled by the public opinion of another indifferent or semi-hostile community which it is impossible to resist in open warfare; that Anglo-Saxons resort to somewhat the same methods under similar circumstances, and that lawlessness and cruelty, considered as expressions of political animosity, do not necessarily argue any incapacity for the conduct of an orderly and efficient government, although I admit freely that they do argue a low state of civilisation."

Everything Mr. Godkin there said with regard to the condition of things in the south has been said with regard to the condition of things in Ireland. Those who have examined into the question know that crime was manifold greater in the south under this secret organisation than it ever was in Ireland by her resisting the arbitrary exercise of authority on the part of the landlord. I believe it is wholly impossible at this day for the people of Ireland to be fairly governed, so far as all their local affairs are concerned, by any other than themselves. No one who has examined into the administration of justice there can be ignorant of the fact that there is no justice administered as between one class of the community and the other. While the ordinary magistrate may act fairly between one peasant and another peasant, and as between one landholder and another, he does not act fairly between the landholder and the ordinary peasant. The great mass of the population have been subjected to and governed by regulations that are no part of the law of the land. On nine-tenths of the estates a peasant cannot permit his son or daughter to marry without a license, or certificate from the agent. He cannot harbor anybody over night, he cannot exercise ordinary hospitality without a license from the agent. More than that, we find that the peasant is subjected to extraordinary charges, sometimes amounting to very much more than even the amount of his rent, which is exorbitant. I hold in my hand the account of one Irish agent, who, in the course of a few years, in addition to his salary as agent, managed to save £7,600, which he had arbitrarily wrung from the peasants of the estate of which he was agent. He is a magistrate, his landlord is absent, and provided he collects and remits the rent, his landlord cares nothing further. The cases in which he sits are practically between himself and the tenants, and he imposes such fines and makes such charges as he pleases. True, the tenant might appeal, but if in arrears, he is at once evicted so that he must choose between submitting to regulations of this sort and being driven out on the highway. Let me read one or two extracts to show how some of the estates are managed. In one case, reported by Mr. Crosbie, he says:

"An old man, Peter Shea, of Ardea, lived to the age of eighty-eight years as tenant on the estate. He was one of those persons whom philosophers would call benefactors to mankind, for he made many a blade of grass grow where none ever grew before. In his young days he entered upon a barren waste, built a house. With two out-houses,

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he subsoiled a great part of the land, erected a thousand perches of double fence, and made such other improvements as his skill enabled him on that patch of mountain. During his lifetime he did well. But he lived too long. For at the advanced age I have mentioned he violated the matrimonial regulations by allowing his son to marry a widow possessed of some means. The obnoxious couple were satisfied to emigrate to America, and did in fact go, like the rest of the expatriated, at the expense of the estate. But the poor old man of eighty-eight, with his wife, eighty years of age, was ejected from his little holding."

He reports another case equally outrageous, in which the wife of a man who had been ejected, was given, while ill of fever, shelter. The tenant who gave her shelter was fined a gale of rent. Driven out, and with every tenant on the estate afraid to afford her a refuge, the miserable woman went about two miles up the mountain, and, sick as she was, and so situated, took shelter in a dry cavern, in which she lived for several days. The cave was the common possession of those tenants, and when it was found the woman had taken refuge there, they were each mulcted in a gale of rent. Let me take an instance of the manner in which the agents who are magistrates conduct the affairs of the realm. I take the case of one Mr. Quill who is an agent on an estate. There is a tenancy of fourteen acres at £14. A lease is given, and Mr. Quill draws the lease and charges £3 less 2s. Then his wife demands pin money, and he gives £2 as pin money. Mind, the total amount of the rent is only £14. He had borrowed the amount of £2 18s. to pay for drawing the lease and £2 as pin money for the wife. She says: It is not enough; and so sells his cow in order to pay her £3 more. This is a fair illustration of the way in which many of the Irish estates are managed. I would like to know what justice the great mass of the population are likely to receive at the hands of magistrates so appointed, and whose interests point in such a direction. What confidence can the people have in the law when they find that the law is made an instrument of oppression to the advantage of the class who are practically their masters? It is only when the Government passes into the hands of the great mass of the population that this evil can be remedied. The minority in Ireland have had an opportunity of governing the country for nearly two hundred years, and they have signally failed, and I think it is high time that the majority should now have their turn. I think that this House would be wanting in its duty to itself and to humanity if it failed to express an opinion disapproving of the Coercion Bill, and recommending to the Imperial Parliament a measure of Home Rule such as the Irish people are themselves willing to accept.

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland). I had not intended to offer any observations on the resolutions now before the House, but I think, from the opening remarks of the hon. gentleman who has just addressed the House, it is perhaps necessary for persons occupying the position I do, to define our position in regard to this question. That hon. gentleman seemed to infer that the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) and the hon. member for Bruce (Mr. McNeill), in moving their amendments, were opposed to the system of Home Rule for Ireland. I cannot remember his language exactly, but I think the purport of it was that they had expressed the view that there was a deep-seated hatred in the people of Ireland towards English rule, and that they would be satisfied with nothing less than entire separation from Great Britain. I do not think that the remarks made by those hon. gentlemen justify that inference. At all events, I do not wish it to be inferred that because I support the amendment which has been moved, I entertain views hostile to a system of Home Rule for Ireland. I am one of those that regret that this discussion has been again forced upon the attention of this House. I sympathise with the view that it is entirely outside of our line of duty as representing the people of this Dominion. It is certainly a question over which we have no power to legis-