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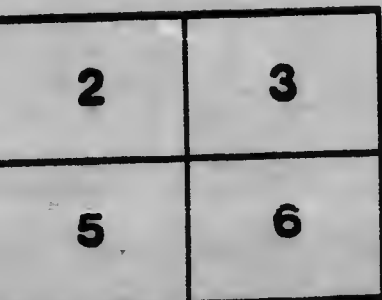
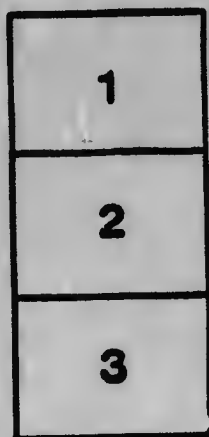
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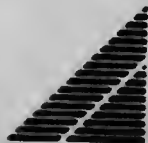
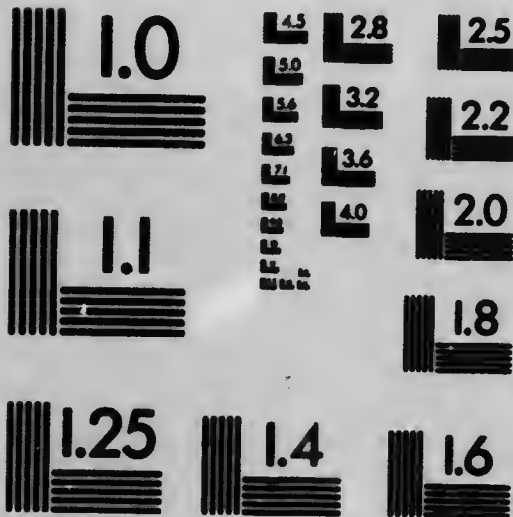
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# **AN IRISH EVOLUTION**

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# An Irish Evolution.

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The Fourth of July in the United States of America is now generally observed as a quiet holiday, a time for excursions and picnics; but during the first century of the Republic's existence it was a day of speech-making. The Declaration of Independence was read and orations were delivered in every town and hamlet throughout the country. The speech that attracted most attention on the Fourth of July, 1842, was the first public effort of an Irish boy of seventeen years—Thomas D'Arcy McGee. It was addressed to an audience of Boston Irishmen, and was a vehement appeal to their national prejudices. There was nothing prepossessing in the appearance of the young orator, whose features have been described as singularly ugly and his manner as awkward and unformed; but his musical voice and fiery eloquence won the hearts of the audience

and gained for him a large number of complimentary notices in the newspapers.

Thomas D'Arcy McGee was born at Carlingford, Ireland, on the 13th of April, 1825, being the son of James McGee, an official of the Coast Guard Service, by his wife, Dorcas Morgan. His mother, who was a fervid Nationalist, burning with hatred of English oppression, delighted in singing to the little boy stirring ballads that made his blood tingle with enthusiasm for the cause of Ireland. He was a mere child when she died, but her early teachings lived in his heart always, and when he emigrated to America in the spring of 1842, he hated everything that was English. At this time there was nothing to distinguish young McGee from the typical Irish emigrant, and had his hostility to England continued until his death, there would be nothing in his biography of interest to Englishmen just now. But D'Arcy McGee learned a lesson in America in course of years, and were he alive to-day he would probably have something sensible to say on the question of Irish Home Rule.

A few days after his Independence Day oration he was offered a position on the *Boston Pilot*, the leading Irish Catholic paper of New England, and his contributions were so well received that he succeeded to the chief editorship two years later. His editorials, lectures and poetical effusions in favor of Ireland's separation from England obtained for him such a reputation, that at the age of twenty he was offered and accepted the editorship of the *Freeman's Journal* of Dublin. He had not yet learned the lesson of Americanism, his mind being so occupied with the wrongs of Ireland that his eyes were blinded to the course of events in the United States. His views were just as radical, his hatred of England just as intense, as when he first left Ireland. The prescribed policy of the *Freeman's Journal* was too conservative to suit his impetuosity, and he soon severed his connection with that paper, becoming a member of the Young Ireland Party and a contributor to the seditious *Dublin Nation*. One of the enterprises of the Young Ireland Party was the publication of a series of shilling volumes for the people, entitled the "Library of Ireland," of which McGee wrote

two, one being a series of biographies of illustrious Irishmen of the seventeenth century and the other a memoir of Art. McMurrough, an Irish king of the fourteenth century. He was one of the most active workers of "The Irish Confederation" association, and when Smith O'Brien, the leader, was arrested for heading an insurrection, McGee fled to America in the guise of a priest, and making his way to New York started there the *New York Nation*. This venture not proving a success, he moved to Boston, where he established *The American Celt*, and continued in it his attacks upon the English. But slowly his eyes were opened to the fact that the world is larger than Ireland. He began to take an interest in American affairs. Instead of being actuated entirely by sentiment as before, he began to reason. He saw Irishmen in America becoming thoroughly Americanized. The English, he knew, were like the Americans a mixed race—Celt, Saxon, Dane and Norman being merged in the modern Englishman—and he was forced to ask himself the question, Why should not Irishmen become Britons in Britain as well as Americans in America? He saw

that the maintenance of the political connection between the British Isles was a geographical necessity. He became convinced that England would never agree to a separation, and that secret assassination or open war could only result disastrously to the Irish people. He saw that consolidation was carved on every step of the stairway of American progress, and huge signboards at every landing announced that union is strength. If union was the basis of American progress, he reasoned, how could disintegration benefit Britain? The change came about gradually, but the revolution of opinion was most complete. The character of his writings and speeches was entirely altered, and instead of wasting his time in senseless attacks upon the English, he devoted his attention to the elevation of the Irish people of America.

The eyes of D'Arcy McGee were opened, but the majority of his old associates and disciples were still blind. They could not understand his change of views, and he lost greatly in popularity. About this time he was invited to Montreal by Canadian Irishmen, who

wanted an able leader, was elected to Parliament, and soon became one of the most prominent men in Canadian politics. He had learned in the United States the value of unity, and the remainder of his life was devoted to the work of teaching the people of the British North American provinces that isolation is weakness. There was at that time a great deal of ill-feeling between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Canada, and he availed himself of every opportunity to urge a policy of conciliation. On one occasion he said to a Montreal audience:

"The result of my observation is that there is nothing more to be dreaded in this country than feuds arising from religion and nationality. On the other hand the one thing needed for making Canada the happiest of homes is to rub down all sharp angles and to remove those asperities which divide our people on questions of origin and religious profession. There are in all origins men good, bad and indifferent; yet, for my own part, my experience is that in all classes the good predominates. In Canada, with men of all origins and all

kinds of culture, if we do not bear and forbear, if we do not get rid of old quarrels, but on the contrary make fresh ones—whereas we ought to have lost sight of the capes and headlands of the old country—if we will carefully convey across the Atlantic half-extinguished embers of strife in order that we may by them light up the flames of our inflammable forests; if each of us will try not only to nurse up old animosities, but to invent new grounds of hostility to his neighbour; then, gentlemen, we shall return to what Hobbes considered the state of nature—I mean, a state of war. In society we must sacrifice something as we do when we go through a crowd, and not only must we yield to old age; to the fairer and better sex, and to that youth which in its weakness is entitled to some of the respect which we accord to age; but we must sometimes make way for men like ourselves, though we could prove by the most faultless syllogism our right to push them from the path."

Soon after D'Arcy McGee's arrival in Canada the American civil war began, and his sympathies throughout the con-



test were with the party of unity. In an address at a political picnic at Ormstown, Quebec, July 17th, 1861, referring to the fact that a section of the people in British America sympathized with the South and rejoiced over what they considered the downfall of the Republic, he said:

"I repeat here what I said in my place in the last Parliament, that all this wretched small talk about the failure of the Republican experiment in the United States ought to be frowned down wherever it appears by the Canadian public. I am not a Republican in politics. Long before the recent troubles came to a head in the American union, I had ceased to dogmatize upon any abstract scheme of government; but I have no hesitation in declaring my own hope and belief—a belief founded on evidence accumulated through several years of observation—that the American system, so far from being proved a failure, may emerge from this, its first domestic trial, purified, consolidated, disciplined, for greater usefulness and greater achievements than before. It is then, it seems to me, the duty of Canadian statesmen

to look through the temporary to the lasting relations we are to sustain to our next neighbours ; to suppress and discountenance all ungenerous exultation at the trials and tribulations which they are undergoing ; to show them, on the contrary, in this the day of their adversity, that while preferring on rational grounds the system of constitutional monarchy for ourselves and our children ; while preferring to lodge within the precincts of the constitution elaborated through ages by the highest wisdom of the British Islands, we can at the same time be just, nay, generous, to the merits of the kindred system, founded by their fathers in the defensive and justifiable war of their revolution. If we are freemen, so are they, and the public calamities which befall one free people can never be matter of exultation to another, so long as the world is half darkened by despotism, as it is. The American system is the product of the highest political experience of modern times, working in the freest field, cast adrift from all European ties by the madness of an arbitrary minister, blind to all circumstances of time and place. If that fabric should be destined to fall

—as fall I firmly believe it will not in our day, nor at any early day—the whole world must feel the shock, and all the civilized parts of the earth might well be clothed in mourning if they only understood the value of what they had lost.”

Could not Americans say as much for that country which has for so many centuries led the van of civilization, and is now threatened with dismemberment? In another speech on the same subject, McGee said:

“The ordinary American mind has been, for a generation or two, so occupied in the contemplation of the blessings of liberty, that it has neglected or overlooked the co-equal worth of unity. This war—this great adversity bursting like a summer thunder-storm in their clear sky—will lead them to inquire into many phenomena in the heavens above and the earth beneath. Discipline and subordination in war will teach them the value of unity and obedience to laws in time of peace. They will learn that unity is to liberty as the cistern in the desert to the seldom-sent shower; that of liberty we may truly say, though

Providence should rain it down upon our heads, though the land should thirst for it till it gaped at every pore, without a legal organization to retain, without a supreme authority to preserve the Heaven-sent blessing, all in vain are men called free, all in vain are states declared to be independent."

D'Arcy McGee found north of the United States boundary line a string of provinces whose geographical position was superior to that of the United States for commercial purposes, and whose natural resources were as great, while the climate was similar to that of the Northern States; yet they were in many things at least half a century behind the neighbouring republic. For the reason he had not far to seek. The states had been united for many years: the provinces were isolated. The states had one national government: the provinces had nothing but Home Rule. The backwardness of the provinces was due to a century of disunion; if they were ever to compete with the United States they must be united. McGee was not the originator of the confederation idea in Canada, but he was one of its most ac-

tive promoters. He lectured in Upper Canada, Lower Canada, and the Maritime Provinces, always setting forth the advantages of union and the great commercial future that would be assured to the country if a railway were constructed through British territory, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. He predicted that with the completion of this road Cartier's dream would be fulfilled, and the shortest route from Europe to China be through Canada. He said on one occasion :

"I see in the not remote distance one great nationality, bound, like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean. I see it quartered into many communities, each disposing of its internal affairs, but all bound together by free institutions, free intercourse, and free commerce. I see within the round of that shield the peaks of the western mountains and the crests of the eastern waves, the winding Assiniboine, the five-fold lakes, the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the Saguenay, the St. John, and the basin of Minas. By all these flowing waters, . . . all the valleys they fertilize, in all the cities they visit in their courses,

I see a generation of industrious, contented, moral men, free in name and in fact—men capable of maintaining in peace and in war a constitution worthy of such a country."

Partly through his eloquence, and partly through the efforts of such men as Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, Mr. George Brown, and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the scheme of Canadian Confederation was carried, and now his hopes are in a fair way to be realized. All British North America excepting Newfoundland is embraced within the Dominion of Canada, the two oceans are connected by railway, the shortest route from Europe to China is through Canada and forty-four years of Confederation have shown that union is better than isolated Home Rule. But D'Arcy McGee did not live to see all the provinces brought into the Dominion.

He visited Ireland in 1865, and at Wexford made an eloquent speech on the Irish question which attracted much attention at the time, and still further incensed his old associates in the United States. In the course of that speech he said:

"There ought to be no separation of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. Each country would suffer loss in the loss of the other, and even liberty in Europe would be exposed to the perils of shipwreck if these islands were divided by hostile seas."

But he advised Englishmen to try kindness and generosity in their legislation for Ireland, consider her feelings, respect her prejudices, study her history, and concede her rights. It was shortly after this speech that the Earl of Mayo in the British Parliament said:

"Mr. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a man who never speaks without influencing large masses of his countrymen wherever he addresses them, is at this moment one of the most eloquent advocates of British rule and British institutions on the face of the globe."

In a speech delivered at Ottawa on the 17th March, 1868, referring to the charge that his love for Ireland had grown lukewarm, D'Arcy McGee said:

"When in 1865 and 1867 I went home to represent this country, I, on both occasions—in 1865 to Lord Kiniberly, then Lord Lieutenant and last year to

the Earl of Derby, whose retirement from active public life and the cause of it every observer of his great historical career must regret—I twice respectfully submitted my humble views and the result of my considerable Irish-American experiences, and they were courteously, and I hope I may say favourably, entertained. I cannot accuse myself of having lost any proper opportunity of doing Ireland a good turn in the proper quarter, and if I were free to publish some very gratifying letters in my possession, I think it would be admitted by most of my countrymen, that a silent Irishman may be as serviceable in some kinds of work as a noisy one. As for us who dwell in Canada, I may say finally, that in no other way can we better serve Ireland than by burying out of sight our old feuds and old factions, in mitigating our ancient hereditary enmities, in proving ourselves good subjects of a good government, and wise trustees of the equal rights we enjoy here, civil and religious. The best argument we here can make for Ireland, is to enable friendly observers at home to say, 'See how well Irishmen get on together in Canada. There they have civil



and religious rights; there they cheerfully obey just laws, and are ready to die for the rights they enjoy and the country that is so governed.' Let us put that weapon into the hands of the friends of Ireland at home, and it will be worth all the revolvers that ever were stolen from a Cork gunshop, and all the republican chemicals that ever were smuggled out of New York."

This sensible view of the Irish question met with the approval of the majority of Canadian Irishmen, who were then and are now loyal, law-abiding citizens, but the Fenians of the United States and their agents in Canada were exasperated by his fiery denunciation of their criminal projects, and on the night of the 6th of April, 1868, after delivering in the House of Commons, at Ottawa, one of his most brilliant speeches in defence of the Canadian Confederation, he was shot dead by a Fenian, Patrick James Whalen.

Were I writing the life of D'Arcy McGee it would be necessary to examine his literary work—his "Popular History of Ireland," "The Catholic History of America," a volume of poems and a

series of essays and lectures on various subjects. Apart from its bearing upon the question of Home Rule, his life is interesting as a remarkable evolution of character. It suggests to my mind the possibility that the character of the Irish race may in course of time undergo a similar process of evolution; that just as in 1848 the character of D'Arcy McGee was typical of that of the Irish race of that time, so the large-minded, liberal statesman of 1868 may have been a type of the Irish race of the future.

I cannot bring to the task the eloquence of D'Arcy McGee, but I may point out some of the facts to which he would probably call the attention of the British people if he were alive to-day.

The Irish agitation has gained much strength from American sympathy. Let us suppose that the question of Home Rule is to be settled in the light of American experience.

In the first place we may assume that England, Scotland and Wales will never permit the complete separation of Ireland from the Empire any more than the Northern States of the American union would permit the secession of the South.

Then what should be the relation of Ireland to the Empire of which it must continue to form a part?

It has often been said that Ireland should have the same status in the Empire that Canada, Australia and New Zealand have. Yet everyone now acknowledges that when all the separate colonies of British North America, except Newfoundland, united to form the Dominion of Canada the Empire was greatly strengthened, and that when the Australian colonies followed the example of the British North American provinces another step forward was made. With what amazement would Canadians of to-day receive an announcement that it was proposed to separate Quebec province from Canada and make it a separate Dominion! We would not listen to a proposal for the secession of Nova Scotia from the Confederation, although it would still remain a province of the British Empire. Does anyone suppose that the people of Australia would now permit one of the states of their Commonwealth to set up a separate house in the Empire?

If the disintegration of the Canadian and Australian Dominions is unthinkable

able, is it not ridiculous for the British Liberals to pretend that a Disunited Kingdom can be made the foundation of a United Empire?

It would be as foolish to make Ireland a separate unit of the Empire as it would be to make Quebec province a separate unit. The United Kingdom must be the unit, having the same status in the Empire as the other Dominions of the King, but for the sake of convenience of government and to satisfy local sentiment this Empire unit may be subdivided into provinces as the other Dominions are.

The first lesson of Americanism seems to me to be that the national legislature should have the power to enact only laws that are common to all sections. If the United States Congress made one law for New York state and another for Pennsylvania, the country would be continually in a state of ferment and dissatisfaction. Much of the trouble in Ireland is due to the fact that there has been special legislation for Ireland. No wonder that there are Nationalists in Ireland when the system of government has always recognized it as a separate

kingdom. There should not be three kingdoms, nor two kingdoms, but one kingdom. All the acts of the British Parliament should apply to the whole of Britain. Parliament should assume in legislating that there is no England, no Ireland, no Scotland—only Britain, one and indivisible. There are many Anglo-Saxons in Ireland and many Irishmen in England. They are intermingled as they are in America. They are all British citizens; in whichever island they live they should be at home; there should be one law for all. No Irishman should support a policy that would separate the Irishmen in England from the Irishmen in Ireland.

Having established the principle of unity, Home Rule in local matters may be allowed to the various sections of the United Kingdom without fear of disintegration. Just what form this Home Rule should take is a question for debate. The first point to be settled is how many local legislatures should there be. There cannot well be less than four, one each for England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Should there be more?

If Ireland is sub-divided the Nationalists will not be pleased, but on the other

hand, the Loyalists of Ulster will complain if the whole island is under one local government. A united Ireland would not mean Home Rule for Ulster: it would mean constant friction and disorder, and no good purpose could be served by sacrificing the Loyalists to satisfy the Nationalists. It may be asked, "If Ireland should be divided why not also its larger neighbour, England?" In a scheme of federal organization it is not essential that the provinces or states shall be of equal size. The Province of Ontario in the Dominion of Canada, which had an area of 260,863 square miles, has just received a gift from the Dominion Parliament of a slice of Keewatin territory, estimated at 146,400 square miles, making the total area of the province 407,263 square miles, while the area of the Province of Prince Edward Island is only 2,184 square miles. The State of Texas in the American Republic has an area of 262,298 square miles, while the area of the State of Rhode Island is only 1,248 square miles.

There is not in any province of Canada or in any state of the adjoining Republic the antagonism between two geographical sections that exists between

the North and South of Ireland. British statesmen, in looking to the United States and Canada for precedents, should bear in mind the fact that the present state and provincial boundaries were arranged, not to suit the convenience of the people, but to allay provincial prejudices. If such prejudices could be entirely disregarded much more convenient sub-divisions might be made.

It has been said that if it were possible to make a re-arrangement of state boundaries, the great city of New York should be separated from New York State and that the neighbouring cities of Newark, Jersey City and Hoboken, in the State of New Jersey, should be allowed to join with it to form a new urban state under the name of Manhattan. It has been argued that the dissimilarity between the rural and metropolitan populations of New York State is a constant source of friction in the state legislature, and that the interests of both sections of the population would be better served by separation. Crossing into Canada we find the people of Montreal complaining that the interests of the commercial metropolis of Canada are

constantly sacrificed in the Quebec Legislature to those of the rural districts of the province, and that even when there is no conflict of interests between the rural and metropolitan districts it is sometimes most difficult to secure necessary legislation. It has frequently been proposed that the island of Montreal should be removed from the jurisdiction of the Quebec Legislature and made a province of the Dominion. It might be urged with equal force that London is big enough to take care of itself and should be granted powers of self-government equal to those given to Ireland. However, there is no likelihood that either New York or Montreal will be granted Home Rule and it is not probable that London will be separated from England in any Home Rule scheme that may be adopted in the near future.

When the United States territory of Dakota was about to be admitted as a state of the Union, the representatives of the territory asked that it be divided into the two states of North Dakota and South Dakota, and this request was granted.

It has often been proposed that the northern half of the Canadian Province



of Ontario, commonly known as New Ontario, should be cut off from Old Ontario and allowed to have a legislature of its own, but such proposals have never been regarded seriously by anyone. As already stated, the area of the province was recently greatly increased.

In the Maritime Provinces of Canada a proposal that Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island should unite to form one great province of the Dominion has been considered quite seriously from time to time on the ground of economy, but it does not appear to have popular support.

If the only question to be considered were the necessity of relieving the British Parliament of overmuch business the end might be achieved by enlarging the powers of the county councils throughout the United Kingdom, or by grouping counties in small provinces with legislatures having limited powers.

The idea that when the Parliament at Westminster has delegated to local legislatures in Ireland, Scotland, England and Wales most of its legislative powers regarding domestic affairs, the various Dominions may send representatives to

the Imperial Parliament is a vain dream. The Dominions are determined to maintain their autonomy, while co-operating loyally with the Mother Country in an Imperial Alliance.

In introducing the Irish Home Rule Bill, the Right Hon. Mr. Asquith deliberately and repeatedly referred to "the Irish nation." In Canada no politician would dare to refer to the French-Canadian nation. All speak of the Canadian nation. Why cannot the Irish be regarded as part of the British nation just as the French of Quebec Province are regarded as part of the Canadian nation? If Ireland is recognized as a nation the Irish people will be justified in continuing to agitate until the Irish Parliament is given powers as full as those possessed by the other nations of the Empire. But Mr. Asquith, in explaining the provisions of the Irish Home Rule Bill regarding legislation, said:

"We are here in the Imperial Parliament and the Imperial Parliament can neither surrender nor share its supreme authority with any other body or any other part of His Majesty's Dominions.

That is the cardinal principle upon which the Bill is founded."

In other words Mr. Asquith asserts that what he calls "the Irish nation" must always be a subject nation, an inferior nation. His declaration is even more far-reaching. It implies that the British Parliament must always remain supreme over the Parliaments of all the Dominions of the King. That is the cardinal principle upon which the Irish Home Rule Bill is founded. It is a principle that can never be accepted by Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. In all these Dominions it is held by the great majority of the people that the only condition upon which the Empire can permanently endure is that the Parliaments of the Dominions must be recognized as equal in all respects to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The five nations of the Imperial Alliance must eventually be recognized as having an equal status in the Empire.

Mr. Asquith proposes to make the Irish people a nation without giving them the rights of a nation. It is a compromise which will not permanently satisfy the Irish Nationalists and must

result in never-ending disputes between the British Parliament and the Irish Parliament.

If any political party in the United States proposed to recognize the Southern States as a nation with a congress subordinate to the United States Congress, that party would be completely wiped out of existence at the first election after the adoption of such a policy. There would be no support for such a proposal in either the Northern or the Southern States. The Southerners would resent it as an insult. The Northerners would regard it as a surrender of the principle of national unity permanently established by a costly and bloody civil war. Why should the British people be more ready to allow a coalition of political groups to destroy the integrity of the United Kingdom than the Americans are to tolerate any attempt to disrupt their Union? From a geographical point of view an Irish nation at the side of the British nation would be even more intolerable than a Southern nation alongside the Northern States of the Union.

If the financial provisions of Mr.

Asquith's Irish Home Rule Bill had first been brought out in a Gilbert and Sullivan opera everyone would have laughed at them. Brought forward, as they are, in the Imperial Parliament they are too serious to laugh at.

In Canada a mock parliament of school boys might have debated a proposal to allow the Legislature of Quebec Province to add ten per cent. to the customs tariff imposed by the Dominion Parliament, but no gathering of full-grown men would entertain such a ridiculous proposition.

When the American colonies first became independent, each state had control of its own customs and excise legislation and administration. The arrangement proved so unworkable that it was abandoned in 1787. To-day any American who proposed that the United States Congress should surrender to the state legislatures either whole or partial control of the customs and excise would be regarded as a lunatic.

When the representatives of the British North American provinces met to discuss the basis of Confederation they were able to take advantage of the

experience of the United States, and they tried to avoid the mistakes that had been made. The echoes of the civil war had scarcely passed away, and it was agreed that this great war was due to the extensive powers given to the state legislatures, but the Fathers of the Canadian Confederation had nevertheless to consider provincial prejudices in order to agree upon a basis of union. The result of their deliberations as expressed in the British North America Act afterward passed by the British Parliament was the establishment of a Dominion which is much more nearly a consolidation than the United States. The powers of the provincial legislatures are much more limited than those of the state legislatures and the Dominion Government has the right to veto any provincial act within a year of its passage. This veto power has been very sparingly exercised, yet it has caused some friction between the Dominion Government and the provincial governments.

A study of Canadian political history will convince anyone that the disputes that have arisen have all been due to the

overlapping of provincial and Dominion jurisdiction or a misunderstanding of the respective powers of the Dominion Parliament and the provincial legislatures. Mr. Asquith's Irish Home Rule Bill seems specially designed to promote quarrels between the Parliaments at Dublin and Westminster owing to overlapping jurisdiction.

The questions which have caused most embarrassment in Canada are those relating to education and the marriage relation. As it is quite possible for the British Parliament to make general laws on education and marriage suitable to all sections of the United Kingdom, the control of legislation on these subjects should not be delegated to any local body, but the administration of such laws might be largely in the hands of local authorities.

If in providing for Home Rule in all parts of the British Isles the provincial legislatures are given jurisdiction only in purely local matters there will seldom be occasion for disallowance of provincial acts, and a great many conflicts with much ill-feeling will be avoided.

If it had not been necessary to satisfy local prejudices in order to induce the different provinces of British North America to agree to Confederation, the powers of the provincial legislatures would have been much more restricted. The difficulty was to induce the separate provinces to surrender to a central authority powers which they already held. The difficulty of the Asquith government is to satisfy a number of Parliamentary groups, each representing a minority of the electors, but coalescing to force upon the majority of the people legislation which they do not want. If the settlement of the Home Rule question could be delayed until a party free from such embarrassments is in power a rational and practical system of Home Rule applicable to all sections of the United Kingdom might be devised.





