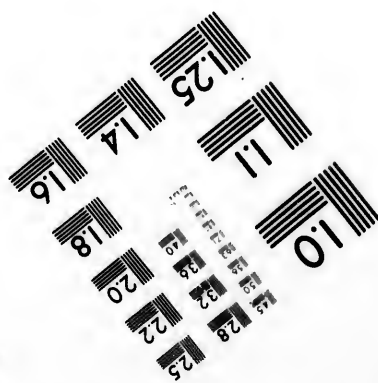
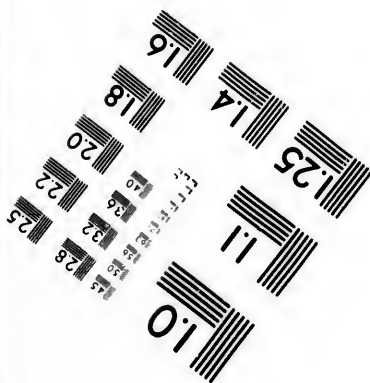
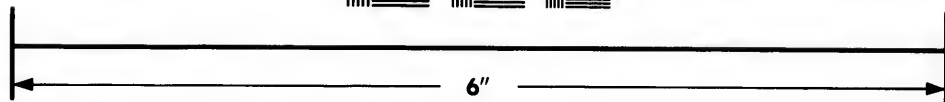
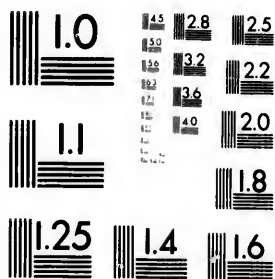


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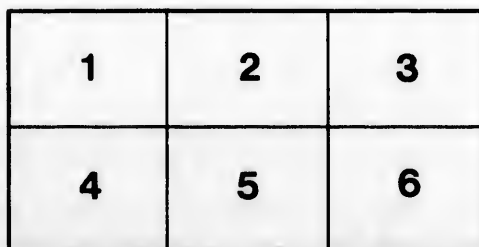
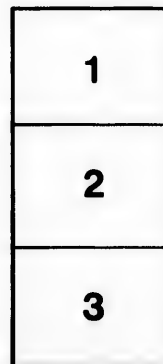
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# AN IRISH EVOLUTION.

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*HOME RULE FROM AN AMERICAN  
STANDPOINT.*

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BY

WATSON GRIFFIN.

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## AN IRISH EVOLUTION.



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, unlike most Irishmen, 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. McMurrrough, 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,

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he began to reason. He saw Irishmen in America living in friendly relations with other nationalities, retaining their religion and intermarrying only with those of their own church, yet 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, 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 the 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. That the Dominion of Canada is to-day free from unseemly quarrels between Protestants and Roman Catholics is in a large

measure due to the wise counsel of D'Arcy McGee. 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 neighbor ; 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 contest 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 ab-

stract 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 neighbors ; 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 at the hands of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell ? 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. Discip-

line 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 incomparably superior to that of the United States for commercial purposes, and whose natural resources were very nearly 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 neighboring 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 active 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 Ot-

tawa, the Saguenay, the St. John, and the basin of Minas. By all these flowing waters, in 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 twenty-one years of confederation have shown that union is better than isolated Home Rule. Twenty-one years more will satisfy the most pessimistic croaker. 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, re-

ferring 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 Kimberly, 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 favorably, 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 to-day, so the large-minded, liberal statesman of 1868 may have been a type of the Irish race of the future.

I can bring to the task none of the ability 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 and Western States of the American union would permit the secession of the South. In the great American Republic there are thirty-eight states and eight organized territories, besides the district of Columbia, the Indian territory and Alaska. The states are all represented in the United States House of Congress in proportion to population, and each state has two representatives in the United States Senate. Each state and each territory has its own legislature, but the governors and judiciary of the territories are appointed by the President of the United States, and they have no members in the United States Congress, only being allowed to send delegates who may speak, but cannot vote. The relation of one of these territories to the United States is almost precisely the same as would be that of Ireland to Great Britain if Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme were carried out. Do we find the states of the American Union anxious to withdraw their representatives in Congress and take the inferior position of territories? Not at all. The great ambition of all the territories is to be admitted as states, with full representation in Congress. The

territory of Dakota has for several years been petitioning Congress to admit it to the Union of States, and much indignation has been caused among the settlers by the delay of Congress in granting their request. If it was proposed to keep Dakota in territorial status forever, there would be an agitation in the American North-West such as Ireland never dreamed of. Strong as is the state rights sentiment throughout the country, there is not a state in the American Union to-day which would not prefer to see all the state legislatures abolished, and all laws made by the United States Congress, rather than give up its own representatives in Congress and fall back into a territorial condition such as Mr. Gladstone proposes for Ireland. If the Irish question is settled in the light of American experience, the Irish representatives will certainly remain in the British Parliament. 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 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. Is not Victoria queen of Ireland? What need then of an Irish viceroy? There is no English viceroy. 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. Mr. Gladstone would forever 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 king-

dom 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 shall there be. There cannot well be less than four, one each for England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Should there be more? To me it seems that the most satisfactory results will be obtained by smaller local sub-divisions. This is the tendency in America. Several of the American states have already been sub-divided; Texas may at will of the electors divide itself into three states; Dakota wishes to be admitted to the union as two states instead of one, and the western part of Kansas is clamoring for separation from the eastern part of that state. It is not unlikely that in course of time a general system of sub-division will be arranged, entirely ignoring the present state lines and having regard only to the convenience of the people. When the constitution was adopted, and for some time afterward, state jealousy was stronger than national sentiment, but migration is so general in the United States that a large proportion of the population have lived in several states at different periods of their lives, and if a constitutional convention is ever called to reconsider the question of state boundaries, the provincialism with which the fathers of the country had to contend is not likely to stand in the way of a sensible rearrangement. The bulwark of state sovereignty is the United States Senate, in which each state has two representatives, irrespective of the size of the state and the number of its inhabitants, and there is a growing feeling that it is most unjust that the states of Rhode Island, Colorado and Nevada, with a combined population of less than one million, should have the same representation in the United States Senate as New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, with a combined population of about twelve millions. The people of the United States are very conservative with regard to the constitution, but the increase of population and especially the extraordinary growth of the larger cities will probably force a reconsideration of the Home Rule system. It is now proposed to consolidate all the populous districts at the mouth of the Hudson River into one great American metropolis, to be known as

Manhattan. It would include New York city, Brooklyn, Staten Island, the Long Island towns contiguous to the city and the greater part of Westchester county in New York State, and Newark, Jersey City and Hoboken, in the state of New Jersey. Commercially this district is already one great city, and if such a consolidation could be arranged, Manhattan would at once rank as the second city of the world. The proposal is to make of this urban district a new state. It is 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 there is a wide-spread feeling that the interests of both sections of the population would be best served by separation. If this scheme is carried, no doubt the great cities of Philadelphia and Chicago will demand similar recognition as states, and the result must be a general rearrangement of state boundaries. The fact that in nearly all the states the seat of government is in the smaller cities will have an important bearing upon the settlement of this question, for if New York, Philadelphia and Chicago were the capitals of their respective states, a strong influence in favor of centralization would be at work, and there would in all probability never be a rearrangement. The State of Massachusetts is a notable exception. Its capital, Boston, is the centre of commerce and culture, and every citizen of Massachusetts has a feeling of proprietorship in the capital city. 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. Montreal has now a population of about a quarter of a million, and is growing very rapidly. Situated on an island at the junction of ocean and lake navigation, nearer the centre of the American continent than any other port for ocean vessels, the terminus and headquarters of the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk, the two longest railway lines in the world, it must in a few years

become a very great city, and every year the dissimilarity between the city and the province at large will become greater, especially as the people of the rural districts of Quebec province speak French, while Montreal, trading with the whole continent of English-speaking people, is obliged to speak English. Its trade with the province of Ontario is already larger than with the province of Quebec, and its trade relations with the maritime provinces and the Northwest are very extensive. It would certainly be to the advantage of the Dominion at large to remove the city from the jurisdiction of the non-progressive Quebec legislature and make the island of Montreal a new province. Toronto is to Ontario what Boston is to Massachusetts, and it will always favor a centralized government for the province; but Ontario has about the same area as the German empire, and when the northern and northwestern portions are settled, there will probably arise an agitation for the subdivision of the province, in which the extreme eastern counties will join. At present an agitation is going on in Cape Breton Island, looking to separation from the province of Nova Scotia and the formation of a new Canadian province. The people of the island complain that their interests are not properly looked after in the provincial legislature and that they do not get a fair share of the subsidy which is annually paid to each province by the Dominion Government. In both the United States and Canada this movement is likely to gain strength as the two countries become densely populated, and it is possible that it may in time lead to the abolition of all the state and provincial legislatures, some of their legislative powers being transferred to the city and county councils, and the remainder assumed by the National Congress at Washington and the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa. I do not pretend that any such change is likely to take place in this generation; indeed, it is hardly probable that it will ever be brought about, but 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 prejudice.

It is very important in devising a scheme of government for the British Kingdom, to satisfy as many Irishmen as possible. If Ireland is subdivided into several provinces, the Nationalists will be displeased, while 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. The professional Irish agitators will never be satisfied with anything short of separation from England, but the Nationalist agitation would probably soon wear itself out if the land question were settled, and each section of the island had Home Rule in all matters of local concern. One thing is certain : If Ireland is cut into several small provinces, England and Scotland should also be subdivided for purposes of local government. London is probably big enough to take care of itself, and it would be as reasonable to grant Home Rule to the world's metropolis as to create a city state of Manhattan.

As regards the system to be adopted, whatever may be said in favor of the Republican form of government in vogue in the United States, it may be taken for granted that the people of Britain will not at present depose their sovereign and elect a president, nor will they be willing to give up the system of responsible government. Canada has adapted the Federal system to responsible government : the Dominion and not the adjoining republic must be the model. Perhaps British statesmen will be able to greatly improve upon the British North America Act.

The province of Quebec is the Ireland of Canada. Here as in Ireland the great majority of the people are Roman Catholics, while the wealth of the province is largely in the hands of the Protestant minority, although most of the land is owned by Roman Catholics. This Protestant minority is protected against unjust legislation by the British North America Act, which provides that the Dominion Government may disallow any act of any of the provincial legislatures within a year of its passage. The veto power has been very sparingly exercised, only one act of the

Quebec legislature having been disallowed since confederation.\* Five acts of the Ontario legislature have been disallowed, one of them several times. In view of the fact that Mr. Gladstone proposes to give to the British Government power to veto Irish legislation, it is interesting to note that notwithstanding the moderation of the Dominion government in the disallowance of provincial legislation, there has been some friction between the Dominion government and the Ontario and Manitoba legislatures on account of it. In Ontario, the trouble was caused by the disallowance of the Rivers and Streams Act, and in Manitoba by the disallowance of Acts chartering railways, which it was feared would divert the traffic of the North-west from the Canadian Pacific Railway to rival American lines. Some of the Liberals are in favor of withdrawing the veto power from the Dominion Government, but the general feeling seems to be that it is a safeguard that should be retained, as it has a restraining influence upon the provincial legislatures. It is argued that as the Dominion Government is responsible to

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\* Since the above was written the Dominion government has disallowed the Magistrates' Court Act, because it is *ultra vires* of the Quebec provincial legislature, and it is probable that the Debt Conversion bill passed by the same legislature will be disallowed on the ground that such repudiation will injure the credit of the whole Dominion. Mr. Mercier has commenced an anti-disallowance agitation, and some of the Liberals have gone so far as to threaten secession and annexation to the United States as a consequence of the disallowance of these measures. Such threats made by a minority of the people are of little consequence; no one in Canada supposes that they are seriously meant, but it is a noteworthy fact that during the many years when the Conservatives controlled the Quebec legislature there was no trouble about disallowance. The Conservatives being in power at Ottawa while the Liberals control nearly all the provincial legislatures, there is a disposition on the part of the latter to provoke disallowance in order to furnish an excuse for agitations against the central government, and the former watch the course of provincial legislation more vigilantly when their opponents control a legislature than when their friends are in power. Now the Irish legislatures would probably be in a state of chronic opposition to the British Parliament, and the disallowance of provincial measures would furnish fuel for continual agitation. Such conflicts between the central government and the provincial legislatures would perpetuate the bitterness of feeling now existing, and they can be avoided by limiting the legislative powers of the local legislatures, giving them complete autonomy in the matters within their own jurisdiction, and allowing the courts to decide when they have exceeded their powers. I think there is little doubt that in Canada the ultimate outcome of the difference of opinion regarding disallowance will be a compromise by which some of the powers of the provincial legislatures will be transferred to the Dominion Parliament and the veto power now possessed by the Dominion government will be abolished.

Parliament, which represents the whole country, and as no government can afford to lose the support of any province, the power will never be abused. Writing to Lord Carnarvon on the 6th September, 1876, Mr. Edward Blake, for many years leader of the Canadian Liberals, said in regard to this :

“The Parliament of Canada is composed of the representatives of the seven provinces, each of which has, in its provincial character, like political rights. Ministers whose tenure of office depends upon their retaining the confidence of a parliament so composed are not likely to abuse a power, the exercise of which would obviously be jealously watched by representatives from the province, and each is alike interested in the maintenance of provincial rights, and therefore, in the principles upon which the power of disallowance is exercised. For the same reason, any abuse by ministers of their power would be quickly followed by the application of the constitutional remedy by parliament. The experience of ten years during which this power has been exercised does not indicate that the apprehended evils will follow.”

This was written before the Liberal agitation in Ontario, on account of the disallowance of the Rivers and Streams Act. This agitation appears to have altered Mr. Blake's view of the matter, but it seems to me that the fact that the Liberals in Ontario have been able to make so much political capital out of the disallowance of an Act in which the people in general were not greatly interested, proves that no government depending upon popular support, could with impunity arbitrarily exercise the veto power. With regard to the advisability of disallowing Manitoba's railway charters there was much difference of opinion in Canada, but it only required a short agitation in Manitoba, accompanied by expressions of sympathy from other parts of the Dominion, to induce the Dominion Government to discontinue the policy of disallowance, as soon as it could make arrangements with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the purchase of its monopoly privileges. Of course, if Ireland has no representation in the British parliament, as Mr. Gladstone proposes, there will be no such check upon arbitrary disallowance as exists in Canada. Many Canadians who oppose the abolition of the power to veto provin-



cial legislation possessed by the Dominion Government, would be willing to allow the provinces complete autonomy, provided some of the powers the provincial legislatures now possess were transferred to the Dominion Parliament, so that only matters of local interest would be within the jurisdiction of the provincial legislatures. Under such an arrangement the right to charter railways and many other powers possessed by the legislatures at present would be withdrawn. If, in providing for local government in all parts of the British Islands, the local legislatures are given jurisdiction only in purely local matters, there will be no necessity for disallowance of provincial acts, and a great many conflicts and much ill-feeling will be avoided.

Another question for consideration is whether the members of the local legislatures shall be allowed to sit in the British Parliament also. During the early years of confederation in Canada, some of the most prominent politicians had seats in both provincial and Dominion parliaments at the same time, but before long serious objections were found to this system of representation, and now members of the provincial legislatures cannot sit in the Dominion Parliament.

The careful student of American history cannot fail to note that good government depends more upon the character of the people than upon the form of constitution. The constitutions of the United States and Canada are in many important respects essentially different, yet both countries are peaceful and progressive. Mexico and the Central American States are republics, with constitutions modelled after that of the United States, and revolutions frequently occur. The good government of Ireland under any system of Home Rule that can be devised will depend very much upon the Irish people, but it seems to me that a system ensuring the integrity of the United Kingdom, while recognizing the principle of Home Rule, will be most likely to bring about an Irish evolution.

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.—Several critics have supposed that my purpose in introducing Twok and her friends to the public was simply to set forth my views, and whenever an opinion is expressed by any of the characters of the book it is assumed that I am acting the part of a ventriloquist and making my characters speak for me. This is a mistake. It is true that I am much in sympathy with the views of Joy Cougles, but I cannot always endorse what he says, and the observant reader will notice that Joy himself changes his opinions somewhat as he grows older. The essays of Joy Cougles were written precisely as they appear in the book at the age of seventeen: they are supposed to express the opinions of a thoughtful, self-educated youth of an original turn of mind, who has but a smattering of knowledge, and they are of necessity rather crude. The hobbies of Dr. Somerville are not my hobbies, and although they seem to me more sensible than some other hobbies of like character, I would be sorry to have them taken seriously by the public.—THE AUTHOR.

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