regarded, in countries in which there is a practical freedom of contract, as wholly incompatible with the conditions of yearly substantial improvements on the land. Now, Sir, while that is the number of extent the ownership of farm lands prevails. In Ireland, one in every 257 perlands: in central and northern Europe, the tenure of land is widely diffused; and while we have seen a very gradual growth and a very imperfect development, in the continental countries of Europe, of the principles of popular and responsible government-while in that regard they are far behind the United Kingdom, yet we have seen, since the days of the French Revolution and the Napeolonic advances than have been ever dreamed of in England towards diffusion of the tenure of land, and the abolition of that most objectionable portion of the feudal system. In the Rhine Provinces 000 acres of cultivable land-and how many proprietors? 1,157,000 proprietors, or one to every ten acres of land : tentment and comfort, the work and labor, the energy and industry-the indomitable industry- that is displayed in many of these countries by the proprietors of these small areas, you must be convinced that the only thing that enables the Government of these countries to be carried on at all, burdened as they are with enormous expenses, with an imperfect development of constitutional government, with great military armaments, and with an oppressive system of conscription and military service—the only thing that gives the people heart and hope, and enables them to struggle on at all, is that wide diffusion of the ownership of land than which there is nothing better calculated to promote the stability of the people, to whom the land belongs. Take the State of New York, in

large as is natural in a new country, where there is so much land undisposed of as there is on this continent. There the owners of the land, in 1870, were 216,000, against 21,000 in Ireland, including the owners of church lands. Look at two portions of Ireland, which may be selected as examples: take the agricultural counties of Westmeath and Cavan, which comprise 136,000 acres. and in which there are 612 owners of there are 2,760,000 acres, and there The number of small owners is insignifiland, and that in a country of which I believe the greatest practical blemish there can be no doubt that the greatest is the condition of the ownership of land; ! but even there that difficulty was dimin-

things in Ireland the old penal laws, which among other time Roman Catholics either from owning or inheriting lands, had much to do things as to the landholding in Ireland. with enough to subsist on in a miserable manner. All concede that there were many landlords in Ireland who granted proper leases, and behaved was that the whole profit of the lands, subsistence to the tenant who worked that where improvements were made, an early opportunity was taken to increase the rental of the lands to the extent to which they had become capable had made. This was a state of things whole produce of the soil goes, not to of the acts for the remedy of plosions, a condition of chronic disaffecthemselves, but to live in rags, not to that have distinguished British feed themselves, but to keep starvation | legislation in the past eighty years. from them. And above that, the whole of the produce of the soil is taken by acts; it did not take quite so long-I

in which the custom has been that the not because interested or selfish land- of Ireland have, from time to time, tenant shall make the improvements, a lords or wealthy tenants had come to concurred in their passage, but I do country which combines what would be the conclusion, from some new turn of mean to say that the condition of things reasoning, that the condition of Ireland was one of injustice that required record on its brighter side of remedial amelioration, but because a great gaol legislation and such a record on its in the heart of London was broken open, darker side of coercive legislation, is a tenancy, while the tenant does the and some policeman in Manchester were record that proves that the experiment killed ;-that it was this that aroused of Local Government for Ireland by the England's attention to Irish affairs and Parliament of the United Kingdom, rendered possible those measures of has been a disastrous failure. Besides, reform is beyond doubt, and again the legislative coercion, there were other same fatal error, and again justice and measures of propriety and prudence too is an army under the guise of a consons, owns farm lands, while in France long delayed, and again those measures stabulary, of 12,000 or 13,000 of, I supone in every eight persons owns farm of acts deplorable, by acts which we cannot defend, not by constitutional adjudication-for constitutional adjudication had been declared powerlessand again those lessons taught the Irish people, which have borne, for so many years, such fatal fruits as those to which Mr. Gladstone referred.

That Land Act was useful in its way but it was not wide enough: the land clauses most hopeful in theory, which struck largely at the root of the right or wrong in this controversy it age, large advances made-much larger question, turned out in practice not so useful as the land clauses with refer- ment of Ireland for eighty years has ence to the Irish Church owing to been a Government by constitutional difference of condition. The truth was means, but it must be admitted that it that in other respects the land laws of is a Government by force. That is the Ireland, as of England and Scotland large result of the whole business. including Westphalia, there are 11.000.- were grievously defective, and the ex- Now it is acknowledged—as the hon. and if you read the history of the con- conveyances and conveyancing itself What a humiliating condition is that were such that whatever price you which the mother of Parliaments, the might fix for those moderate portions of mother of constitutional freedom fail to meet the expenses of conveyanc- pang of humiliation the keen shaft of to this subject and said : mg. That was one difficulty with the satirist, who forged, so to speak. which legislation was unable to grapple. the letter from the Sultan of Turkey, Gladstone, 'to the extension, perhaps I There was another, in the want of sym- not long since calling, in response to should say to the establishment-(hear, pathy on the part of the Treasury and some calls that had been made in Eng-other departments of the Government land on him to remedy some grievances ment in Ireland. We believe that one of other departments of the Government | land on him to remedy some grievances with those classes which savoured a of his subjects, on the British Govern- the great evils under which Ireland labors opinion of the country, with a feeling, Irish people. Who did not feel that of interfering with the sacred property such a letter might have been fairly and land-which loooked a little written, that such a complaint might too much towards a denial of have been fairly made, and that the

well as its rights, and it so happened in largely in a state of anarchy, ruled as giving proof of their powers and qualities which there are 22,200,000 acres of farm practice that there were but 100 sales a far the Kingdom is concerned, ruled and capabilities for Local Government, as lieve the words of the great poet of the lands, and in which the holdings are year on the average, or a total of 800, mainly by force, mainly by, so far as a they have done under the Poor Law Acts adjoining republic apply when he says: by the last return I have been able to large portion of the people is concerned, obtain under the provisions of the land an organization without and beyond clauses of the Act of 1870. So, there- the control of the law, and I mention fore, you will ob erve that the Act was | that it is the delays which have taken wholly defective as a remedy for the place in their passage and the circumevils complained of, and, by experience, stances under which these measures of was proved to be wholly inadequate.

Then, in 1880, the last Land Act was passed, under continual pressure, under the same pressure increased and aggravated by events; a great measure. less than 50 acres in that whole district; but in itself not likely to settle the in the counties of Galway and Mayo great question. I will not discuss the as defining wholesale the Reform party complicated details of that measure : of England, as compared with the Conare only 225 owners of less than 50 acres. but I will say that a principle and in servative party, though I might so use the practical application of it—a measure cant in England, but that number is which is based upon the ground and computed to be about ten times as large founded upon the reason upon which in proportion as the number is in Ire- that measure depends, and which makes no provision at all for dealing with cases of arrears of rents-cannot to-day is its own land laws. I believe be regarded as a final or satisfactory their justice and necessity; but the measure, if there were no other defect. blemish in England and Scotland to-day If you look at the history of the ills which preceded that measure, and at the circumstances of the country, as United Kingdom, in which the opinion ished relatively to the condition of stated by others, you will see that of the majority must rule-it was imsuch a measure must be to a large ex-Now, Sir, there can be no doubt that tent wholly inadequate and entirely tem, that that justice or expediency, to beyond practical application towards relics of barbarity prohibited for a long | many, or most of the grievous cases that can be supposed to exist under it, unless it deals with arrears. The most with the creation of the present state of grievous cases will be those of parties statesmen, except that they felt it was unable to pay their rents. However. and that state of things being once no one can doubt but that that measure they were, as Mr. Gladstone has created and marked deeply upon the was an immense act of relief-that it put it, beyond the realm of praccountry, it became of course proportion- was a measure that gave more than ately difficult to obliterate it. The re- was expected by many, or thought possult was a practical serfdom; the people | sible to be obtained from the Parliament | the Conservative interest, and many who cultivated the lands were only left of the United Kingdom, and nobody can doubt that it was obtained also from Parliament only by continued difficulties. The state of Ireland, as it had been, was becoming more aggravated the United Kingdom did not recognize

with propriety towards their tenantry; still. Things were growing worse and the importance of it, and was not suffiyet in the main, the practical result worse before the adoption of the last remedial measure, and the conviction of efficiently managing Irish affairs. with the exception of a poor, miserable at length impressed itself on the United Kingdom that something more must be them, went to the landlord, and also done to remedy those evils. But the same fatal errors which attended the agitation for the introduction of the previous remedial measures, attended this. It came so late that a large porof producing, by virtue of the improve- tion of the benefit, so far as feeling was ments which the tenant and his family | concerned, and a restoration of a better feeling, so far as the conviction that which of course did not merely diminish. Ireland could depend on the justice of in by strong Governments Session after but destroyed, that hope of bettering the Parliament of the United Kingdom, himself, which is the spur by which so far as the expectations of Irishmen by the pressure of other affairs -have you can expect men to rise, and under themselves, that there was any prospect not been reached. It takes years as a the influence which you can expect of an ending to their sufferings, was rule before that which is deemed suffihappiness and contentment to be diffus- concerned, this last remedial measure ciently ripe for legislation, can be actualed. The first or one of the earliest had wholly lost its grace. I ly brought into Parliament by a Gov- us, you certainly make out a strong case. strongest opinions, upon the advantages of writers on the subject of land holding say it is as plain as the day that true ernment on its responsibility, can reach I have heard of the alleged and the great Local Government, and I have the strong statesmanship by which it shall be Young, I think—says: "Give a man statesmanship pointed to earlier action, that stage of discussion, unless there be and paramount difficulty of this question est objections to the tendency which I see but nine years' lease of a garden, and to action under other and different cr- some extraordinary reason of urgency he will turn it into a desert; give him | cumstances when a measure, even less | such as lately attended the discussion a freehold of the naked rock, and he thorough going than this one, would of the Irish question. It has so happenwill turn it into a garden;" and I be- have produced an amelioration in the ed that men have been too apt to say lieve that not untruly represents the condition and temper of the people of with reference to the large questions to relative condition of things between the this country, much greater than could short holder under the customs that be expected from the measure brought have been settled: "Oh, that quesprevail in Ireland, and the proprietor. in and carried at the time, and under tion is not yet within the range of prac- I am now referring to that the personal source of strength, and that in principle Now that situation would have been the pressure which attended its being tical politics," just as Mr. Gladstone authority of a Sovereign in this country the only necessary limit to these powers

There are others, no doubt, subsiduary landlords who do not live in the coun- forget whether more than a couple of try, because a certain measure of im- Parliaments-to induce the Parliament provement and prosperity would neces-, of the United Kingdom to pass a Sunday sarily have arisen from the expendi- closing Act, which was demanded by ture on the soil by these enormous rents. | the unanimous voice of the Irish popu-But to make a condition, miser- lation, and was applicable to them only, able enough God knows, without it-to but which did not agree with the sentimake it still more miserable-the bulk ments of the British publican, and of those who received these rents were | which, therefore, it was thought wrong absentee landlords; and so it happened to give to the Irish people. But, it for the Empire, who entertains a feeling and practical parts of the subject. Then, with the view of being dealt with on its that, speaking once again in the main, came at last, as minor measures of not merely a fair share and increment this description have come to Ireland of the proportion of the soil from it but from time to time, but the large and the whole produce of the soil of Ireland | important measures of statesmanship also, with but wretched livings for which had agitated the public mind are those who raised it, went away from those to which I have referred, and Ireland-was rather a tribute paid by which have been accomplished only Ireland to foreign countries, than after the delays and under the circumlegitimately applied within the land it- stances I have briefly stated. Can any- prior to the General Election which took self, and which would have occasioned body wonder then that there should place at that time : the development of trade and manufac- have grown up early, and that there tures, which would have given more should continue with an ever increasing there may be a solution of some national Government in Ireland, and most desirious only one limitation more to add, and that employment, agriculturally as well as volume and urgency, a cry for a measure and even Imperial difficulties. * * * otherwise, and produced some mitigat- of Home Rule. Put the question to ing circumstances at any rate to relieve ourselves. If we had been for eighty I must tell you that I will only answer the first step, they cannot establish one would be wrong to give to Scotland if was luxury for the absentee landlord, to agitate for one generation for misery for the resident tenant, as the one measure of justice, for three rule, and that in a country of which it quarters of a generation for the has been said, not I believe rhetorically, bext measure, and two-thirds of a but in sober truth, that if you wiped generation for the third; if as each of is at the core of the Irish question, and | what would have been our feelings and how great was the importance of any how earnestly we would have demandmeasure, such as the Irish Church Act, some portion of control over our affairs.

which should have tended, even in a But there is a darker side to the picture moderate degree, to unite the diverse than that. interests of the occupant and of the While remedies, based on justice, land he occupied, and to create a land were refused, force was at the same proprietory in Ireland. That measure time constantly applied. While you tant assent, but I will give a generous was followed within a year or two by have the miserable record of remedial the Land Act of 1870, an Act which Acts to which I have referred, you have was, no doubt, a useful Act, and which the record of Arms Acts, Coercion Acts I know to the extension of colonial Gov-ment to solve. I say that it belongs to Prime Minister I made a reply to Mr. doubt, quite as strong and sweeping a of Habeas Corpus Acts, and all those measure as the public opinion to which legislative means of coercing the people right-minded Briton to weaken the author majority, who have the power, who can spirit of the sentences I uttered last week. I have referred, and the people of the passed from time to time with the ut- ity of the Imperial Parliament. Because initiate legislation themselves to grapple I did the same in 1874, when I was not United Kingdom would suffer to be most freedom by the same Parliament passed at that day, but which in conse- which was denying and delaying what quence of that public opinion not being is now admitted to have been only jussufficiently appreciative of the situation, tice to the people. I do not mean to was far behind what the necessities of say that the conduct of the Irish people the situation called for, and both the —a large portion of it—under these Ireland, Scotland, Wales and a portion of position when they tell the minority: Shaw), in the beginning of 1880, on the Canada should vote for the Address to proper to jump over and support the

lasting for eighty years, with such a methods of coercion employed. There pose, the best troops in the world, the Irish Constabulary, and we have had from time to time large portions of the military forces of the Empire quartered in Ireland. From time to time not less than 50,000 men-I believe to-day not less than 50,000 men of the British army are stationed in Ireland to keep the people down, and large detachments of the British fleet frequent Irish har bors for the same purpose. Whether cannot be contended that the Govern-

pressing justice and importance have been at length granted, which are responsible for the distressed condition of that country. There were, for these delays, two reasons: Reformers, and I do not use the word in a party sense, or it-but still there have been honorable exceptions in the Conservative party. Reformers, in the larger sense of the term, have from time to time pressed upon the public and upon Parliament long before these reforms were granted, great body of public opinion was unquestionably hostile to Ireland and the Parliament, by a Parliament of the possible, under the constitutional syswhich the majority were not alive. could be pushed forward. I believe that long ago many of these measures would have been carried by far-sighted impossible to carry them, except that tical politics, because the aristo-

cratic, the large land holding interest.

other interests were entirely too strong

to enable the relatively small band of

advanced Reformers to carry them

at all. In a word the public opinion of

ciently advanced to discharge the duties The second difficulty was the want of time. Parliament was overweighted with its concerns, it had to deal with large Imperial concerns, it had to deal with local concerns which were supposed to be more pressing, and it was ungreat many years Parliament has been know that measures have been brought Session and have been just crushed out which I have referred and which manner brings them to the conclusion forthwith that the question is within the range of practical politics and has got to be dealt with. Now, I say that even if Parliament could now take up what it Irish question to a solution while there yet be time. Now, so long ago as 1878

If you ask me what I think of Home Rule poses they have in view they cannot take anything which in point of principle it related to Local Government. I am to address their arguments to the House That is, I apprehend, what Irish members, friendly to Local Government, I am friend- of Commons, until they have proposed a those members of the most popular ly to large local privileges and power, and plan in which it shall be clearly set forth classes, will be ready to accept. (Cheers.) you. We have got an overweighted Par- poses of this great Empire." (Cheers.) liament, and if Ireland or any other portion of the country is desirous and able to arrange its affairs, that by taking the local

support to any such scheme. my opinion by any wise statesman or ernment of the Empire, who have the declarations I have now made, and in the

speaking of them as an average, and per- Conservative or Reformer. It is not upon when, professing himself an advocate of haps it is all the more true because the such statements that the Irish question what I think he termed Home Rule, majority of them are Liberal—who always can be settled. It would be folly to blink argued for it and pleaded for it in a spirit show in the transaction of Scotch business | the consideration that any measure that I own won my sympathy and regard, and remarkable shrewdness and efficiency, yet Mr. Gladstone may propose on this ques I did not hesitate, as I do not wish now, all find cause to complain and complain tion would be unsatisfactory to many, and to use these words. (The hon. gentlemen seriously and gravely, that they cannot at any rate it would not be accepted by then quoted the words in which he said get the Scotch business properly transacted. | the Irish people as a final settlement of "The Parliament is over-weighted .- the question. But I maintain that the remarks, if the relations between England The Parliament is almost overwhelmed. longer you delay, the greater the difficul-If we could take off its shoulders that ties, and I maintain that though the propo- the most important contribution to that superfluous weight by the constitution of sition you are able to propose may not be essential end would have been made by secondary and subordinate authorities, I satisfactory to all, it is no ground what- Mr. Shaw.) That was the spirit in which am not going to be frightened out of a ever for declining to do that which you I received the declaration made by the land, by charging those who most strongly ders are to be asked for right away and wise measure of this kind by being told yourself acknowledged it is just should that I am condescending to the prejudices | be done. Do justice, do that which is leader of the party from Ireland, and of the Home Rulers. I will condescend right, and that measure for relief which to no such prejudices. I will consent to you know is just, and which you believe referred is, I believe, in complete and give to Ireland upon principle nothing that | will give that added measure of safety | exact conformity with the brief outline of is not upon equal terms offered to Scot- and security which will result from the my opinions upon this question." land and to the different portions of the changed state of affairs. What is the United Kingdom. But I say that the state of affairs? The Prime Minister of man who starts to devise a machinery by | England says the condition of Ireland is which some portion of the excessive and unsatisfactory, because the Irish people impossible task, now laid upon the House have not the measure of Local Govern-

nent benefactors of the land.' I think Sir, having regard to that speech, I was justified in hailing the accession to power of the Liberal party, as pense of a voluntary transfer of land in member for Victoria has said—freely I did in the year 1880, as giving an omen so full of difficulties and in the light of all small parcels was almost prohibitory. and frankly acknowledged—that Ireland of some measure of redress for Ireland in the errors and circumstances of the past. The search for titles, and copies and was being misgoverned all these years. this particular. But, Sir, another speech was delivered by that same statesman. under the responsibility of office, in the land, which were the utmost aspiration throughout the world, occupies on this Imperial House of Commons, not very of the occupant would in many cases question. Who of us did not feel with a long ago, in which he once again recurred and somewhat strained difficulties which

"We attach great value,' said Mr.

little too much, in the then public ment to remedy the condition of the is the want of local administration, and a more central system of authority. We believe that the state of Ireland never can be satisfactory until its people have acquired and learned by tradition and practice to exercise those powers of Local Govthe divine right of Landlordism argument sometimes argued in this ernment which were so beneficial in other -which looked a little too House of tu quoque might have been portions of the Empire. Moreover, we much like a practical recognition of the fairly used. Of these resolutions it is believe that where the Irish people had motto that property has its duties as needless to speak. No doubt Ireland is the opportunity within a limited range of and through some other chapnels, they have administered well. Indeed, no one can doubt that, or their perfect capacity for such a duty. But this is speaking on the question of purely local administration. The motion of my honorable friend embraces matters of wider scope. I wish to point out to those honorable gentlemen that neither they, nor so far as I know Mr. Butt before them, nor so far as I know Mr. O'Connell before him, ever distinctly explained in an intelligent and practical form the manner in which the real knot | in the service of his country. The hon. of this question was to be untied. The gentleman who moved the resolution (Mr. principle on which they profess to proceed | Costigan) said that Scotland was also movdealt with by a purely Irish authority, days a very important meeting was held Imperial matters to be left to the Imperial authority of a Chamber in which Ireland | Local Legislature for Scotland with triis to be represented. But they have not enniel elective Parliaments; and there told us by what authority it is to be deter- can be no doubt, notwithstanding the remined which matters taken one by one markable business tact and talent by are Irish, and which matters are Imperial. | which the Scotch business has been man-Until they lay before the House a plan in aged in Parliament, there have been great know not how any effective judgment upon | measures, the Scotch members have met it can be pronounced. I am well convin | together and agreed as to what was want ced that neither this Parliament nor any ed for the country, and what was agreed other House of Commous will at any time | upon has been passed through Parliament, assent to any measure by which the one paramount centre of authority necessary views of others, almost without debate .for holding together in pertect unanimity | They have not succeeded in all thingsand compactness this great Empire can possibly be in the slightest degree impair- tant things. They have had strong tights ed. (Ministerial and Opposition cheers.) when questions came up which involved We are entitled and bound to ask a clear | the interests of other parts of the United and explicit explanation as to the mode in Kingdom; but this agitation in Scotland which that vital matter is to be determined. Who is to say what purposes are Im- in maturing public opinion on the Irish perial? Who is to determine the circum question. I maintain that the English scription within which the Irish authority Parliament cannot deal efficiently with of the commercial world generally is to have a final voice? Quotations have these questions, that from lack of knowbeen made in reference to the positions of ledge, of sympathy, in consequence of be ther countries-for example, Finland in practical illustration of the matter. It

would be just as rational for those gentle-

men to quote the case of the Channel Is-

lands. With regard to the Isle of Man.

we have sometimes interfered in the mat-

ter of Custom duties, but not in my recollection have we interfered in the legislation of the Channel Islands. We have left it entirely to their own authority, and we have not felt any inconvenience flow equal to its task. We know that for a from that arrangement. Thus while some development is given to the principle of unequal to its task in that regard. We Local Government without any practical inconvenience, I think the case of Finland and Russia is not different from the case presented by England and the Channel Islands. The case of Austria and Hungary has also been cited. I fully grant speculative character, and it is highly unthat case, show it affords a precedent for ing to these opinions, but I have the very to which I have just referred, namely, the constantly prevailing to centralization. authority—as in the case of the Austro- I would take and profess it at all points a Hungarian Empire—by a reference of the cardinal rule of policy, so far as I can with Sovereign. It that be so, am I really to pire, to decentralise Parliament. We beunderstand that it is the proposal of those lieve that the institution of secondary and so they say of these questions until are to be referred to the Parliament of Ire- the supremacy of the central authority. proper sense of the term; but the These are the important land marks gunpowder, murder, assassination, ex- land and what subjects are to be referred (Hear, hear.) I believe that when the presented itself to you, because on the one that demand will not be the method hand the subjects are to be decided on the recommended by the member for the authority of responsible Ministers, or on University of Dublin, who, if I understood ought long ago to have taken up, we If the decision is to be determined on the purely Irish control for purely Irish affairs might hope it would be dealt with, but authority of responsible Ministers—the must be necessarily a step towards separait also was dealt with so late as to responsible Ministers of Great Britain or tion, and must therefore be fraught with obviate all chance of its settlement being the responsible Ministers of Ireland who danger. (Opposition cheers.) That I do concurrent with a resolution of better are to exist under the plan that is now pro- not believe to be either a wise or a just feeling between the people of the two posed (hear, hear), evidently you can't method of dealing with that demand. In every man who entertains a strong feeling | which involves the most vital, delicate | can be dealt with or can be examined of pride in its glories and of shame in its if in the highest and nicest matter of Gov- merits, we must ask those who propose it; in his sphere towards pressing forward this personal responsibility of the Sovereign put— What are the provisions which you apart from the advice of responsible Min-isters, you are at once proposing a revolu-Parliament.' That has been my course, ago, Mr. Gladstone, spoke in this manner, ment of any form of Government what- answer to that question. I have never ever. (Hear, hear.) I express for myself, heard in the time of Mr. Butt or from "In the matter of Local Government a rightly understood principle of Local that subject. To this declaration I have to promote it. For the first of the pur- is I am not prepared to give to Ireland

portion of its duties. I see the efficiency questions, and so to give satisfaction to part were a formidable novelty and he of Parliament interfered with, not only the members of this House upon its first said he believed that I had in Mid-Loth an into a desert again. I have said enough justness of our cause, but to the recog- which is placed upon the time and minds perial authority for every practical pur- might have been considered a more conto show that the question of the land nition of the danger of further delay, of those whom you have sent to represent pose relating to the interests and the pursecrated precinct—delivered opinions of Now, Sir, in that speech, while announcing once again his adhesion to the prinpart or part of its transactions off the ciple of Local Government, that great hands of Parliament, it can liberate and statesman has endeavored to shift from strengthen Parliament for Imperial con- the shoulders of the responsible Government of the Empire on to the shoulders of those who are in a hopeless minority, a made out of Parliament were balanced by question which belongs to that Govern- three made in Parliament, for in 1872 as the Imperial Parliament must be Imperial with the difficulty. I say that those who Prime Minister, but leader of the Opposiin the three Kingdoms, nothing that admit that the present system is unjust, tion, and I did the same thing in 1880, creates a doubt upon that supremacy can who admit that the present condition of when I sat on these benches as an indebe tolerated by any intelligent and patrio- Ireland cannot be satisfactory without pendent member. Perhaps I may be tic man. But subject to that limitation if some change, who acknowledge that a allowed to read a few words of that speech.

national good. The Scotch members who to act." That is not, in my opinion, of my hon. friend the member for Tipperalways show in Parliament-1 must say, language worthy of any statesman, be he ary (Mr. P. J. Smyth) the other night, two or three reasons. First of all, because you will observe that the hon, the Prime Minister, after an interval of reflection, of Commons, shall be shifted to the more ment which they ought to have, and he free and therefore more efficient hands of says: "I will not give that measure of secondary and local authority will confer | Local Government to you : I will not stir a blessing upon this country, that will hand or foot in the matter until the Irish entitle him to be ranked among the promi- members in the House of Commons, who satisfactory solution of all these difficulties are in the minority, and are powerless to do anything, shall propose a measure which shall be satisfactory to themselves, and that they will undertake to deal with this complicated and exacerbated question,

> It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

Mr. Blake. I will not engage in a discussion of the various hypothetical cases it seems to me are dealt with in that speech on that question. I frankly admit that the division power, local and federal is one of them; but how there can be a difficulty in deciding how that is to be regulated by a general Act of justice. I cannot at all see. There can be no doubt whatever that the difficulty which occurred to the Prime Minister on this occasion, was the view which he has entertained and expressed so freely and which is that same difficulty which has prevented justice being done to Ireland in former years and under other circumstances ; it is the difficulty of having to deal with a recalcitrant and inert mass of public opinion not sufficiently advanced to enable him to grapple with the subject. To him I be-

His statecraft was the golden rule, His right of vote a sacred trust, Clear above threat and ridicule. All heard his challenge 'Is it just?" I believe that a love of justice and generous and liberal treatment is an instinct I might say of that statesman's other. I alluded a while ago to the ques nature; but he must be sustained, his tion of the disestablishment of the Irish hands must be held up in order to give Church as one of vast importance him the power to accomplish the task both in its direct and indirect which, though advanced in years, remains relations to the condition of Ireland. for him to do in order to crown a life spent and it happened that while that is that purely Irish matters are to be ing on the subject. Within the last ten which came to the conclusion to ask for a which they go to the very bottom of the and injurious effects in the management of question, and give us to understand in that business. What has been accomplishwhat manner that division is to be accome ed has been accomplished by a sort of implished, the practical consideration of this perfect federation in that regard. We ubject cannot really be arrived at, and I know that, in regard to all parliamentary unless it trenched upon the prejudices and they have not succeeded in many imporcannot fail to have an important influence | well for good crops and it is probable ing, as Mr. Gladstone has said, wholly relation to Russia. But this affords no over-weighted, it is not competent, and its incompetency has been proved and confessed by the present Premier to deal sat- Conservatives pretend that they can isfactorily with these questions. Let the British people then give to the Irish people this legitimate vent for their somewhat policy and keep up a condition of restless energies, and utilize them in the legitimate occupation of dealing with their own concerns. I have once again to John A. Macdonald is admitted to be trouble the House with another extract from a still later speech by Mr. Gladstone. Speaking of Parliament the hon. gentle-"Sir, this is a subject on which I have have never scrupled to declare. They are

not shared by many gentlemen: probably

establishment of a divided Not for Ireland merely, but for England, It is doubtful whether Sir John tion operating with him was in the contion of Cough and other alarming sympmatter to the personal authority of the safety to the general structure of the Em. House were he to venture upon anmembers of this House who take the view local authorities in a country is a great unnecessary as is such a course, bad enough, if the rents so exacted carried. That is the record of eighty said on the Irish question in 1865, and is to decide the question of what subjects is an adequate and necessary provision for the House and make a desperate the prorogation of the House ended any to the Imperial Parliament of this coundemand is made from Ireland for bringing lease of power. It is not improbable, enable the unfortunate people to clothe wrongs, and the day of justice tion breaking out in some particular try. If that is the doctrine held, then I purely Irish affairs more specially or more however, that he will suffer a defeat say you are immediately involved in a largely under Irish control outside the dilemma more hopeless than any that has walls of Parliament the wise way to meet in 1882 greater than was his victory the other hand by a personal will or whim. him aright, said that anything recognising | Hon. Mr. Blake's Speech on the Irish | localities, were a lot who could be easily countries, and thus it is that I am brought refer to the responsible Ministers of Great my opinion the wise and the just method greater than the supply that we publish to the onclusion that it is the duty of Britain the power of drawing a distinction is to require that before any such plan the whole speech this week, so that our failures and its faults, to do what he can ernment you are going again to set up the and this is the question I have invariably to do so before may have an opportunity tion in this country more profound than and that is the course I intend to pursue. the Government papers, taking their cue therefore, came here, visited the site and the statesman to whom I referred a while you need bring about by the establish- I am bound to say I have not received an from Sir John A. Macdonald, have, with made another survey. What else he has and I am sure for my colleagues, that we the mouth of any other gentlemen any to break down the effect of the speech by may have made a new plan of the bridge are most favorable to the introduction of adequate or satisfactory explanation upon attributing unworthy motives to its and a new estimate of its cost—the latter the darkness of the picture to which I years in the position that these people you when you tell me how Home Rule is foot of ground upon which and from which Scotland ask for it. (Home Rule cheers.) been on the side of and in sympathy with build the Baidge. It is willing enough, desire, I may almost say, I intensely desire to see Parliament relieved of some they mean to divide Imperial and local to make out that these declarations on my sheets of which the World is a specimen propose and power, and by what authority, by what machinery. The right hon, gentleman was determined to make out that these declarations on my sheets of which the World is a specimen propose will show that they deserve no out the tenant's improvements you these measures had been obtained, it by obstruction from Irish members, but and most paramount duty, namely, the the scene of so many misdeeds—(laugh-limagine they are surrounded by ignorant from him. It is now quite apparent, we would convert nine-tenths of Ireland was due not to the recognition of the even more grossly by the enormous weight maintaining of the supremacy of the Imthis kind. Well, I cannot recall all the speeches I have delivered on the subject. but I have taken the pains to recall six of them-(laughter)-which seems to me a very tolerable allowance. One was made in 1872 at Aberdeen, when I was Prime Minister. The next was in 1879 in Mid- meeting than the Parliament of Canada" Lothian, and another was made in the etc. That such a speech should be so Guildhall in 1881. But the three speeches ernment, it is this, nothing can be done in those who are responsible for the good gov- Butt precisely in the same spirit of the fair gauge of their ability to comprehend to go on at once with the work. At first

that from the tone of the hon. member's and Ireland were to become satisfactory, hon, member as leader, for he then was every one of the speeches to which I have

Now, Sir, I have read that speech for

comment and criticism reiterates the demand as an essential condition preliminary to any action on this subject, that a should be propounded by those who ask for it on the Home Rule benches. Therefore we find the suggestion that it stand until a day which may never come. Secondly, there is a declaration which he says he has made for ten years, and therefore we tind no advance in his views upon this question. Lastly, and most importantly, we find him using these same fatal words with which Irish questions, as I have proved, have been always postponed until the day of grace and utility was passed. This is not a practical question. do not expect to be called upon to deal with it. I care nothing for these speculations. I say it is a practical, a burning question. It is the most practical and burning question we can conceive, and when the Minister has stated that the that there ought to be a change, that there ought to be a grant of local rights and privileges, that justice demands it, and that it cannot be expected that they will be satisfied if the Parliament of the have the power and the responsibility

should propound that legislation. another branch of this question, viz:whether we have any interest in this question calling upon us to interfere in it, and I deal with that branch of the ques. has denied it ;-that is, he has denied it tion now, partly because the hon. gentleman has alluded to it, and partly because it is not the first occasion on which a great Irish question has come under the consideration of this House and has been treated by this House in one way or an-

(Continued on 4th page.)

Miramichi Advance.

MAY 4, 1882.

The Miramichi Valley Railway. The crowded state of our columns

this week obliges us to hold over our fourth article on the above subject. It will appear next week, to be followed by others of the series.

The Dominion Elections. It is a fact, beyond reasonable doubt, that the Dominion Elections | the telegram would go for very little. are to be brought on during next month, or early in July. The late ness of the spring does not promise that the business of the country and will be adversely affected thereby. The result of this to the Government would not be favorable, because the control commercial affairs by their prosperity perpetually. Besides, Sir losing the great power he once possessed of harmonising the different elements of the Conservative party, very distinct and clear opinions, which I while Mr. Blake has made most decided gains not only in influence in this House they may be considered of a within Parliament, but has come to be looked upon as a leader suited to Gillespie moved to amend it by adding a whose future so much depends on the guided during the next few years. would not lose his hold on the present trary direction and his previously declared toms, after using Fellow's Compound other session, so he has determinedsave for party reasons-to dissolve effort for an additional five years

The demand for our last edition containing the first instalment of Mr. Blake's speech on the Irish question was so much readers may have it all in one issue, and in order also that those who were unable of reading, for themselves, what Mr-Blake really did say. We observe that few exceptions, made a determined effort | been instructed to do we know not. He author. Some of them have repeated Sir to be no doubt large enough—but the Important Notice to Cash John's assertion that Mr. Blake's design fact is as apparent as the noonday that was to catch the Irish vote, but as his the Government, influenced by Surveyor utterances on this subject have always General Adams, has determined not to those who have labored to secure better however, to assist him in his attempt to Government for Ireland, that charge can humbug the people interested in the work. sheets, of which the World is a specimen people will show that they deserve no getting that even their few readers have know at the proper time that they underalso access to other sources of information stand his double dealing and will resent they have characterised the speech as "a his resort to the survey artifice after relecture on the most Irish of Irish griev- sisting their appeals for a grant for the ances," "a long harangue" "a speech bet- Bridge. ter calculated for a Cork indignation characterised is only in keeping with the in all political matters, while it is also a ence to the survey and that it is intended the great question with which Mr. Blake he endeavored to deny that he had said

such men would sink, not only Ireland Hon. Mr. Adams. but Canada as well, if Sir John A. Macdonald gave them a hint that such a policy bridge let us overlook the untruth to was best for the interests of their party. which Mr. Adams has pleaded guilty and At all events, they do what they can to give him another chance. He says, we weaken the effect of the address which learn, that it is now the purpose of the the Commons has voted in behalf of Ire- Government to build the bridge; that ten

the first page.

Another Local Government Sham.

The course pursued by Surveyor-General one which few public men would venture and candor, although they might dissent so from interested and unworthy motives, from his views. But, after saying this, he will pretend to so believe. to his Nelson friends, while, in other places, he has taken credit for it. At the Bridge meeting held in Nelson last winter Mr. John O'Brien, replying to a charge made to this effect against the Surveyor. General, said, "Mr. Adams did not say "he was opposed to a bridge, but that "the Government had no money to spare." But, as if to show Mr. Adams' insincerity in the matter, Mr. O'Brien intimated that. in view of the meeting being announced. he had written to Mr. Adams asking him to send him something to keep him right with the people, and had received in response a telegram. Mr. O'Brien read the telegram which was-

"Have every reason to believe the erection of the Bridge will have every

This appeared to satisfy some who were

more anxious for Mr. Adams' interest bridge, but the thought, no doubt, occurred to others that if the Government had really decided it was too poor to give the \$15,000 or \$20,000 required for the work the "every consideration" mentioned in The first indication of the Government's consideration" heard of was through Mr. Landry, who, in reply to a question | the great remedy for corns. Every sufferon the subject by a representative of the County, said the funds at the Government's disposal had claims upon them which must be satisfied before the Southwest Bridge could be considered. The same representative, on applying to Mr. Adams, was told square y by that gentleman that the bridge would injure Newcastle and he was, therefore, not in fabor of it. This was three weeks or a month after the Nelson meeting and pretty good evidence of what "every consideration" meant in the telegram sent to Mr. O'Brien. It ought to be remembered that this poor Government was, meanwhile, preparing a bill, in which they were giving \$50,000 for a bridge at Fredericton and a like sum for a Dry Dock at St. John. Moreover when the Government, assisted by Mr Adams, was securing the passage of this same bill through the House and Mr section giving \$15,000 for the Bridge over the Southwest the proposition was voted down. If Mr. Adams had any desire to give us the bridge a chance to manifest it was here offered, but "every considerabuilt as long as he was in the Govern | the formation of tuberculous matter is not ment" was proved to be as strong as ever. ouly stopped, but that already deposited This was the position of the matter is being carried away.

opportunity for practically securing the bridge. But Mr. Adams, having carried out his own prejudices against the Bridge, began to realize that he would soon require the votes of Nelson and other localities directly interested. He seems to have imagined that the people of those to send Mr. Beckwith to the Miramichi from the Board of Works office, for the purpose of making a survey of the proposed Bridge. Mr. Adams, no doubt, be. | and general dealers in Canada. lieved that the people were unaware of the fact that the Works Department had all the necessary plans of the site and of the proposed bridge, already in Fredericton and that they would allow him to "pull the wool over their eyes" by Since the above was written we learn

that Mr. Adams has actually induced some of his friends in Nelson to believe usual course of a certain class of papers | that the Government is in earnest in referso ably dealt. Perhaps if some of the Newcastle did not want the bridge and he proprietors of the World, for instance, would not consent to its being built, but. which pronounced the speech so fit for a now, his story is that he gave that answer Cork indignation meeting, were asked to to the member referred to (Mr. Hutchison) make a speech more to the point, or to because he had always opposed him, -that Church and Land Acts were brought about, not from a sense of the need of either or both measures;—were brought either or both measures;—were broug within the domain of practical politics, | times to pass these Acts. True friends | I say, will be the attainment of a great until you do that we are not called upon | more than I could accept the proposition | they would do well to turn their talents | (simply because Mr. Adams thought |

and attention to their own columns and proper to sell out his professed principles give their readers something better than for office) Mr. Adams was justified in tellthe gross distortions of Irish as well as ing an untruth in reference to a public other affairs which they have yet displayed matter to a fellow-representative. This, capability for doing It really seems as if then is the moral and political code of the Well, for the sake of securing the

and intelligently favored it with ulterior work commenced during the summer .motives. They put into the mouths of There is no precedent for such a arse as Ireland's enemies charges of insincerity that and it would be unconstitutional, beagainst such advocates of justice to Ire- cause there is no emergency in the case land as Hon. Edward Blake, for the double and, besides that, the Government, at Mr. purpose of injuring him politically and Adams' instigation and by its majority in preventing the address from having the the House, voted down Mr. Glllespie's effect it might have had but for Sir John's motion by which alone the bridge could unworthy utterances, which, with a spirit | be legally secured to us. If it is true, equally unworthy, are reproduced in varied however, that the Government now informs by a degraded and untruthful press. | tend to build the Bridge, they will have We, therefore, advise the people who no objection to proving their sincerity. take an interest in the subject to read the They cannot do this by merely advertising speech and judge of it for themselves. It for tenders, for after the election they will is the best exposition of the Irish question | turn round and say the tenders were so we have seen in all the speeches and liter- high that they could not afford to go on ature of the subject extant. It begins on with the work. Let the people interested -and who in the County is not ?- say there shall be no more shuffling, or trifling or lying one way or another over the matter. They know what Mr. Adams' pledges are and how utterly prodigal he is Adams in the matter of the proposed of promises where he is seeking for votes bridge over the Southwest Miramichi is -let them not only demand that the tenders for the bridge shall be advertised for, upon, and his tactics in dealing with the but also insist on a contract being made. question are so transparently deceptive as Nothing else can bind the Government, to indicate that he believes the people for a moment, and Mr. Adams knows it results are not satisfactory as they stand, interested little better than a lot of well. If a contract is made before the simpletons. More than a year ago Mr. election, the Government will only do it Adams said that the bridge would never to save the Surveyor-General from merited be built across the Southwest while he defeat, but until it is firmly signed, sealed was in the Government. There can be no and delivered, no one but the most credu-United Kingdom does not discharge that doubt about this statement. If Mr. lous and innocent supporters of Mr. Adams were really opposed to the bridge Adams will believe that he has the slightand would say so and adhere to what he est intention of going on with the bridge, Now, Sir, I come to the consideration of said, people would admire his manliness and no intelligent man, save one who does

> GLOUCESTER POLITICS.—Onesiphore Turgeon, Esq., has returned to Gloucester from Ottawa and announces his intention of offering for the Commons, claiming to be the Conservative Candidate and declaring he will not be put aside. He also informs some of his friends that the Government. or prominent members of it. intimated to him while at Ottawa that if he would leave the way clear for. Mr. Burns he might have a good fat office, because they were under the erroneous impression, no doubt, that if all the discordant elements of the Conservative ranks were patched together into a seeming unity. Mr. consideration. Consider it indispensable Anglin might be defeated. There is that proper survey should be made and no little confusion in Conservative circles in Gloucester over Mr. Turgeon's determination, and it will probably end, as it ought to do, in Mr. Anglin's unopposed return.

The General Election.

The general election is now on the tapis. It may perhaps be a useful hint to intimate that an absolute need at the polls may be obtained by the judicious distribution to the electors, of PUTNAM'S CORN EXTRACTOR er would be made happy, and would certainly vote for the person affording them relief. Safe, sure, painless. Beware of dangerous substitutes.

Liver, Kidney and Bright's Disease.

A medicine that destroys the germ or cause of Bright's Disease, Diabetes, Kidney and Liver Complaints, and has power to root them out of the system, is above all price. Such a medicine is Hop Bitters, and positive proof of this can be found by one trial, or by asking your neighbors. who have been cured by it.

To Stablemen.

It is on record that every stable in which HARVELL'S CONDITION POWDERS are used is not only free from the diseases incident to horses, but turns out swifter feet, cleaner coats and sleeker skins than those where the great specifics are ignored

From the easy expectoration, increased respiratory power of the Lungs, and the

The fires that rage in the bowels of the earth are like the impurities that rankle in the blood, the former break out in volcanoes, like Ætna and Vesuvius. the latter in Boils, Carbuncles, Erysipelas and Scrofulitic sores. Purify the blood and all these disappear. Hanington's Quinine Wine and Iron, and Tonic Dinner Pills, cleanse and enrich the blood, and imposed upon, so he caused Mr. Landry may always be relied upon to cure all eruptive diseases. Beware of imitations. See that you get "Hanington's," the origi. nal and genuine. For sale by all druggists

Mew Advetiserments. At Private Sale.

THE House and Property at present occupied by James Brown, Esq., in the Town of Newcastle. Apply to the Proprietor. Douglastown, May 1st, 1882.

Buyers.

We have just opened with a large and well elected Stock of Groceries, Candies, Nut Fruits, etc. etc., all of which we will sell Wholesale and Retail

Call and see us before purchasing COUNTRY PRODUCE taken in exchange for

See next week's paper for further advertisement Small Profits-Large Overturn

NOTE THE STAND. Corner Duke and Cunard Streets. Lately occupied by Carmichael Bros.

W. & J. STABLES. Valuable Piano at Auction.

(No Reserve.) AM authorized to sell on Saturday, May 6th at the hour of 2 p. in. sharp, in the Sons o Temperance Hall, Chatham 1 Valuable Piano, cost \$400.00.

10 Chairs. 12 Benches. 1 Piano Case.

1 Piano Cover.

TERMS CASH. WM. WYSE. Auctioneer.

Chatham, 1st May, 1882