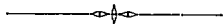


privileges and advantages of the Beneficed Clergy. It would, it is confidently believed, be a Reform which, in its beneficial results, would be felt in every Diocese, not only in the present time, but in generations to come.

J. GLENDINNING NASH, M.A.



ART. VI. — THE UNREASONABLENESS OF HOME RULE; OR, WHAT SHALL WE DO FOR IRELAND?

PART II.

4. *THE colonial constitutions* present no encouraging analogy for Ireland. There are two essential conditions which would be absent from such an arrangement at home; one is the pride and pleasure of the colonies in sharing in the prestige and prosperity of the British Empire; the other, the fact that they are all such an immense distance from the mother country that, though she would view the secession of any of them with infinite regret, she would not consider such a secession as fatal to her own life as a nation. These two considerations render possible the supreme power of the Privy Council, the recognised authority of the British Parliament, over the Colonial Parliament, and the appointment of the Governor from home. Such an arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland, viewed from the point of the impossibility of secession and the absence of any pride or pleasure in the British Empire, would cause unceasing and growing friction. The interference of the Privy Council, of the British Parliament, and of the Governor-General would be a hundred times more irritating than it is now. And without resort to arms, England would be compelled to witness acts of injustice and tyranny for which she would be ashamed and humiliated. Frequent opportunities would occur to Irish parties in the Irish Parliament for obstructing the working of the imperial machine and for making it unworkable. Four millions a year are now raised from Ireland for the purposes of the British Empire; but if the colonial system of Government were adopted, this would be lost; for the colonies tax themselves only for their own purposes, and it has become a sort of constitutional maxim of the Empire that where there is no representation, there shall be no power of taxing. The financial aspect is obviously bristling with difficulties.

5. Mr. Gladstone's constitution depends for its acceptability even to its own author on arrangements which are self-con-

tradictory, and on guarantees which are incapable of fulfilment. One main difficulty lies in its way. If it does not work, who is to revise it? The British Parliament has by the very Act parted with its power of alteration; every time an alteration is required the Irish Parliament would be summoned to Westminster. What power could ensure that they should come? What power could ensure that they should agree to the alteration? What power could enforce the alteration, even if it was carried?

Unless, again, that constitution secured justice to Great Britain, and justice to all classes of Irishmen, including, of course, minorities, it would be a curse to both countries. If Ireland did not continue regularly to pay her share to imperial expenditure, if acts were committed, as it is morally certain they would be committed, of executive and legislative oppression, what power would enforce justice? What would be the worth of the veto of the Lord-Lieutenant? What would be the effect in Connaught, or, indeed, in any part of the country, of a judgment by the English Privy Council? With the police and militia, and even military, in the hands of the Irish Parliament, without sending an army England would be impotent to exercise the control devised for her on paper by the Gladstonian constitution. And sending an army would be exactly what was done at the very beginning, six centuries ago, by King Henry II.

No real hope of finality can even be pretended by the Gladstonian constitution. It borrows from federation just those very points which have tried the strength of the American Union, and from the colonial system just those causes of disturbance which from time to time reveal the weakness of the tie which binds together the colonial empire. At every step there would be friction and the necessity for interference. At every step the restriction of legislative authority would be a source of growing irritation. One by one all the guarantees and securities would be the object of attack by the popular leaders of the Irish Parliament. Condemned one by one by the Irish Parliament, they would be even more foreign in their garb and detestable in their application than can be alleged at the present moment of any form or part of British rule.

6. It is idle to speak of *local government* under the name of Home Rule. Yet it is frequently so classed and used when the supporters of Home Rule wish to put their claims in a very mild and gentle light. Local government, the authority exercised by the Corporation of Manchester, or the Corporation of Birmingham, can attend to gas, to drainage, to streets and roads, to houses and bridges, and sanitary matters; it can raise

rates for these purposes; it can elect School Boards to carry out the educational schemes of the Privy Council; but that is all. About these things the Irish do not care. It is not for these that they are clamouring. Nor does it appear that they would exercise such powers with intelligence or to advantage. Except in those parts which are English or Scotch, they do not care for such matters. At the best, it would be to offer them something to which they are totally indifferent when they are asking for that about which they are eager. It is not to gain these powers that the Leaguers have been houghing cattle, and shooting landlords, and intimidating and boycotting farmers.

The various forms then, of Home Rule, would all of them lead to results which Great Britain could not tolerate. *How are we to treat the causes which at the present moment have inflated the cry?*

1. *With the obstruction of the eighty-one disaffected Irish members*, the Queen's Ministers can always deal by measures on procedure. To give the Speaker additional powers of temporary suspension, or to limit the time of speaking on certain subjects and at certain stages is quite simple, would cure the evil at once, and is much more reasonable than totally to alter the constitution.

2. *If the Ministry or Ministries can only be firm* for ten, fifteen, or twenty years in putting down intimidation and boycotting and in securing to all the subjects of the Queen the free expression of their opinions, it will be astonishing to see how easily the Irish bubble bursts. That was exactly what Lord Salisbury meant when he spoke in that way about resolute government which was so unfortunately mistaken; what he meant was firm and steady government. Lord Salisbury never makes a speech without using some epigrammatic expression which invites misrepresentation. It is the plain duty of candid Christian men of whatever party to recollect this characteristic and to extract the evident sense. Christian men ought never to approach political questions in the spirit of special pleaders or advocates at the Bar.

3. *It is idle to say that because we governed Ireland badly in the past* we must always do so in the future. It is worse than idle to say that the laws of the United Kingdom come to Ireland in a foreign garb. England and Scotland were governed just as badly in the past; in the present century the art of Government has improved, and if legislation for Ireland has the same fair chance granted to it as legislation for England and Scotland, it will have the same beneficent results. The Irish have more than their full voice in such legislation, for they are represented at Westminster in a higher proportion

than England or Scotland. As soon as they have been induced to abandon the will-o'-the-wisp of Home Rule the Irish members will be able to devote themselves to the solid improvement of their country like the Scotch, and, like the Scotch, they will be listened to with respect, with willingness, and with attention.

4. *The blessings of self-government* are great amongst a homogeneous and law-abiding people. But it is impossible to forget that the inhabitants of Ireland, although of the same races which inhabit England, Scotland and Wales, are not in Ireland homogeneous. There are the Kelts on the one side, the English and Scotch on the other; the Catholics and the Protestants. No fact is more universally admitted than the certainty that the Keltic and Catholic population, now under the dominion of the League, would oppress the Protestants, the English and the Scotch, if they were granted a Parliament at Dublin. That was the reason why the side of Mr. Gladstone's mind, which was influenced by Lord Spencer and his friends, insisted so strongly on buying out the landlords. But you would also have to buy out the merchants, the traders, and shopkeepers of Ulster. The one transaction would be as necessary as the other. Both are alike impossible. Self-government in Ireland could not be fair at once to Leaguers and owners of property. To take a parallel, free-trade in kelp has destroyed the prosperity of every crofter all round the northern coasts of Scotland and the Isles; yet nobody in consequence proposes to set up a Parliament at Inverness. The two ideas have no real connection.

5. *Coercion* we have seen derives its odium from a fallacy. It would be far more reasonable to make those slight changes in the law which are necessary for the preservation of order in Ireland applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom, than because of the ambiguity of a mere word to abandon Ireland to anarchy and civil bloodshed. All that is needed is a few brilliant and forcible speeches solely on the subject of coercion, so as to explode for ever this absurd political double entendre.

6. The fact that Ireland has so long been *the football of parties* is a matter for the gravest and most serious consideration. The fact that there are eighty-one members ready to turn the scale in favour of any party or leader who will pay for their alliance is an appalling peril to the modern level of political virtue. No sacrifice is too great, no pains are too severe, for the judicious to undertake to cement the compact between the Conservatives and the Unionist Liberals. It does not matter a pin which is in office, so long as the alliance holds.

7. That *vague benevolence* must be heartily and vigorously combated which declares that something must be done for

Ireland, which believes that there must be some nostrum for all Irish troubles, and that this nostrum is Home Rule, whatever that may mean. We must teach such pulpy philanthropists to analyze, to forecast, to define what they mean. We must show them that never yet in the history of the world has there been any such nostrum or quack medicine; that happy results are only obtained by patient perseverance in well-doing. The nostrums of Mr. Gladstone's former experiments have one and all been unsuccessful. He has not even given them time to come to maturity, but has always been pulling them up by the roots to see how they were getting on. The present nostrum would only end in the refusal to pay the tribute, in the abandonment one by one of all the guarantees, and in the immediate prosecution of a separatist propaganda.

To conclude: *What, then, are we to do for Ireland?* I remember some years ago sitting talking over this question with the late Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, Professor Jowett, and the Ambassador to Spain, Sir Robert Morier. "What," said Professor Jowett, "will be the condition of Ireland one hundred years hence? It will be just about the same, only a little better." What we have to do is to see that it is a great deal better. *First*, let us put Ireland out of the region of party politics. No Ministry shall stand or fall by the vote of the Irish battalion, or on any Irish question whatsoever. *Secondly*, we will remind the whole country of that fact which they have been taught so strangely to forget, that the primary elementary duty of Government is to ensure the liberty of all its subjects. *Thirdly*, we will treat Ireland exactly like Scotland. The northern tribes of Scotland a century ago were no less disaffected than the Catholic Kelts of Ireland. We will treat Ireland as we have treated them. Nothing would have exasperated the Scotch more bitterly than the residence of a lord-lieutenant in Edinburgh. There shall be no lord-lieutenant, no Castle at Dublin. There shall be, as in Edinburgh, any amount of necessary offices and courts, but no badge of conquest or dependence. *Fourthly*, as we developed the resources of Scotland by building fishing villages and harbours, so will we develop the resources of Ireland. The Irish seas teem with fish; they must be turned into food and commerce. The Irish mountains are rich in marbles and minerals; their working must be encouraged. Pioneers must be sent to effect these developments, as they were sent to the Highlands.¹ A few

¹ The prodigious and incessant agricultural labours of a Scottish patriot, whom it would be unbecoming in me to name, but to whom my argument compels me to allude, did more for the settlement of the Highlands than the building of Fort George or Fort William or Fort Augustus. I have most interesting letters from William Pitt to that

years ago a well-known English philanthropist visited Kerry and restored at the cost of a few thousands some fishing industries in that district. What was the result? Her journeys were like a royal progress; she was followed about by the gratitude of a whole country, and when her husband stood for Westminster, the most influential Romish priest of those parts came over of his own accord, at his own cost, to induce the Irish of Westminster to give him their vote. When we talk of spending £250,000,000 or £500,000,000 in buying out the Irish landlords, a hundredth part of it, if spent on the development of trades and industries would win the battle at once, without expatriating the most valuable class of Irishmen.

Fifthly, much of the loyalty of the north of Scotland has been won for England by the personal graces of the Queen exhibited to them in a residence of half a century. There can be little doubt of what the result would be if the Princess of Wales held drawing-rooms in a Dublin Holyrood, and if our popular princes and princesses met in the autumn for a six weeks' residence in Kerry or in the beautiful highlands of Donegal. *Sixthly, much of the prosperity of Scotland, and of the mutual affection between Scotchmen and Englishmen, is owing to Sir Walter Scott,* and the fashion which he created of visiting the Highlands as a health resort. We cannot create an Irish Sir Walter to order, but we can, at any rate, ourselves do much to create a habit of visiting that beautiful country which lies across St. George's Channel. There is nothing more exquisitely lovely in England, Scotland or Wales than the mountains of Wicklow, the Bay of Glengariff, the Lakes of Killarney, the Highlands of Donegal, the coasts of Antrim, the isles of Kerry and Clare; nor are the English and Scotch seaside places even equal to the Irish. What the Irish need is to know the English better, to see them face to face, and to like them by becoming their hosts. The ignorance of the English and of English subjects in Ireland is inconceivable. Even in Dublin you cannot get English newspapers; everybody reads his *Irish Times* or his *Freeman's Journal*. Even if the English Ministry were to pay a considerable sum by sending a copy of the *Times* and the *Standard* to every priest's house in Ireland, some good would be gained. They would be read, though the gift would be at first suspected. At any rate, from every point of view it is right and wise to visit our own lands and become acquainted with our own fellow-subjects rather

indefatigable person, asking him to make the same inquiries into the development of Irish resources which he had made for Scotland and for England; but Pitt died, party politics interfered, and that beneficent policy remains yet to be carried out. Recent examples, however, are encouraging.

than to enrich foreigners by spending every year amongst them sums which may be counted by millions. *Seventhly*, we must endeavour to establish some touch with the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood. One of the wisest of men, the late Archbishop Tait, was all his life in favour of concurrent endowment. If it were possible many would establish the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland to-morrow, as Anglicanism is established in England, Presbyterianism in Scotland. To do that may now be too late; but it is not too late to accredit an English Minister to the head of so vast a political power as the Roman Catholic Church. Pitt and Peel were both for endowing the Roman clergy in Ireland; what we want is to make them feel that they have something to gain by the larger patriotism to the United Kingdom and the British Empire. At present they do not even know the English point of view. Born in the Irish farmhouses, educated at Maynooth, and returning to the country parishes, they all their lives are steeped in treason to the British connection, and most earnestly and conscientiously believe that this treason is the first, best, purest and most righteous of all their duties.

Eighthly, we must establish in Dublin, Cork, Belfast and Galway large and complete Bureaux of Emigration. Every information, every help which can be given about our boundless resources and possibilities in the colonies must there be available. Much material help must be given to each family proposing to go out. And the emigration must be rather colonization, not the mere conveying of families to ports and towns in the colonies which may themselves have a surplus population, but the settling of families and communities on uncultivated lands, where every stroke of tillage will add to the resources of the colony itself. They must be under wise and experienced guidance; there must be every encouragement and no compulsion. Priests must be sent out with the new settlements; the fact that the Irish colonists are as a rule not provided with the rites of their religion has hitherto made the Roman Catholic Church an opponent of the plan. But Ireland is suffering as much as from anything by having too many mouths to feed in comparison with modern requirements, and she must be relieved.

Ninthly, in regard to the land, we shall encourage the system of small holdings; but having embarked on a policy of judicial rents, and departed from the economical principle of free trade in land, we shall take care to uphold those judicial rents, and not allow the peasantry to believe that they will by agitation finally get the land for nothing.

Lastly, we shall encourage the sentiment of race and locality in every conceivable way. We shall make the Irish Office in

London one of the most beautiful of our public buildings. We shall appoint Irishmen whenever we can to posts of trust and dignity in Great Britain and in the Empire. If the Irish wish it, we shall alter our flag, and take the green ground for the fourth quarter instead of the blue. If the Irish wish it, we will let the harp be the double quarter instead of the lions. As it is in Scotland, so let it be in Ireland, that the local part only of the Royal arms is used. Let the Queen of Ireland become a household word, as is the Queen of Scotland and the Queen of England. When the Queen crosses the Tweed she becomes at once in the eyes of the Scottish people the representative of James VI., not of Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth. And as the ancient Pictish and Scottish royal families which the Queen represents came themselves from Ireland in the mists of antiquity, and were themselves branches of the Irish royal families—of those far-off royal Irish races the Queen is still the most regal scion. If the Irish wish it, let Ireland come before Great Britain in the Queen's title. Whatever the Irish wish, if it will do no harm to other people, let them have it. Our want of wisdom in the past has stifled their trade, and left deep wounds and scars in their feelings; let us do everything which we possibly can to win them by our kindness, affection, brotherliness, and generosity. One thing alone we cannot give them: we cannot give them a separate independent nationality; no political change short of that will satisfy that unhappy dream. All minor schemes are delusions. It is our duty to show them the unreality of the dream and the evil of the delusions, and to make up for their disappointment by one undeviating policy of love, of sympathy, of justice, and of conciliation.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

Reviews.

The Glacial Nightmare and the Flood. By Sir H. HOWORTH, M.P., K.C.I.E., etc. 2 vols. London: Sampson Low and Marston. 1893.

IN this book Sir H. Howorth, who is an accomplished geologist, raises a protest against the views of those geologists who have pushed the theory of the glacial period in geology to extravagant lengths.

All geologists are agreed that just before man appeared on the earth there was a time when ice and snow covered most portions of the northern and southern hemispheres in greater abundance than they do now. Some geologists, however, maintain that at this time the whole of Northern Europe, from Ireland to the Urals, was buried beneath an enormous sheet of ice, which was 3,000 miles long, and thousands of feet