County Councils which may attend to the local political needs. Securing these, many of the best people in Ireland claim that all trouble would cease if persecutions by the National League were abandoned.

(6.) What is the real relation of agrarian discontent to Home Rule?

Much of Ireland's soil is not fertile; the land that is arable is in great demand. The removal of the National League would make many farmers happy, although Mr. Parnell has made the peasants think that Home Rule is the salve for all wounds. The bases of the whole movement are to be found in the hope for a redistribution of the land of Ireland and in the old Fenian aim to separate Ireland entirely from England, and to make it independent. The issue, then, reduces to this: shall there be increasing union between Ireland and England, or complete separation?

Compare Ireland's position and claims to the position and claims of the South before the Civil War.

I.

During 1861 and 1862 the higher classes in England looked with favor upon the cause of the South, although desire for Southern success was probably based upon low motives. After thirty years the respective positions of the United States and England reversed. To-day we are the spectators of a struggle for Home Rule, which in the United States has been seen in the State Sovereignty controversies of the early constitutional period, in the attitude of South Carolina in 1832, and finally settled, it is hoped, between the years 1860 and 1865. Irish agitators want more than Home Rule; that is only a step toward separation in the end. In such a struggle it is natural that our liberal instincts should be touched, but the Home Rule in which we believe may be granted to Ireland, in the same system of County Councils and popular representation which obtain in England. Beyond this we cannot go in our sympathies; the question of separation has been answered forever with us.

Ireland demands protection, and many Irishmen are in hopes that Home Rule will bring this with everything else beneficial to Ireland. But while England might wink at a protective policy in Victoria, she never would do so in Ireland.

II.

The Secessionists endeavored to dismember the Union; but our Gulf States are not more securely bound to the United States than is Ireland to England, and England could no more allow such a foothold for a hostile power than could we. The Irish have English blood in them, and in all things except some forms of social organization, Ireland is a part of England.

III.

The secession of the Gulf States was the work of a vigorous, evil-minded oligarchy. So it is in Ireland; for since O'Connell's day the Irish majority has been moulded by a minority,—due largely to clerical control of the peasantry.

IV.

The secession policy was imposed by intimidation. Terrorism silenced dissenters, Union men were ostracised and warned out of the country, slander against the North in Southern journals was most bitter. The National Land League does the same thing in Ireland by tyrannizing over every household, and has succeeded, in imposing upon the peasantry the belief that Home Rule will bring, not only relief from their troubles, but also a redistribution of goods. Many farmers of Ireland would gladly give up Home Rule, to be rid of the tyrannical league. Moonlighters terrorize helpless families, and scenes of cruelty bring back visions of the Ku-Klux Klan outrages. Vituperation is most bitter against England, as was well illustrated by several sentences read by the speaker from United Ireland—a paper designated by Professor Levermore as "a journalistic freak."