

majority of two to one from Scotland. (Applause). There was a Home Rule majority of about fourteen to one from Wales. (Loud applause). In England the people at the polls were almost equally divided. Of about 3,300,000 voters there were only about 70,000 votes more polled against than for Home Rule. (Applause). But the majority in Parliament was there as elsewhere disproportionate to the strength evinced at the polls. Still, even in England there were about three returned for Home Rule to every four against. So that the result was that of the four great divisions of the United Kingdom, in three we got not merely majorities, but large, decisive, overwhelming majorities in favor of Home Rule; while the people of the greatest division of all, England, were almost equally divided, and the return there was, after all, three for to four against.

THE CLAIMS OF SCOTLAND AND WALES.

The nationalists of Wales and the nationalists of Scotland have their home rule aspirations, too; they have demanded, and in part, in Scotland at any rate, have through our aid attained some measure of recognition of those demands; and Wales, above all, which has been our most steadfast friend, which has supported us from early days in this struggle, and which, as I have told you, sends twenty eight to two men to support Home Rule to-day, has interests of her own which it would be the blackest ingratitude on our part and the greatest folly to overlook and not to foster. (Applause). "He who would have friends," the Book says, "must show himself friendly." If you expect sympathy you must show that you have a heart to sympathize. And when those who under great difficulties are fighting your battle say to you, "Take a hand in for ours," if you don't choose to lift your hand, you are not good Irishmen, you are not good friends, you are not good politicians, and you don't deserve the support in the future of the men whom you neglect in the present. (Applause).

Well, gentlemen, Ireland under this plan of constitutional agitation which had led with such extraordinary rapidity, to such great results, took before the world an entirely new, elevated and advanced position. She enlisted at once during these years the sympathies of many all over the world who had been deterred by the other and more violent methods to which in times past resort had occasionally been made. She enlisted the sympathies of many who were moved to hope that the plans of reconciliation which Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone foreshadowed and proposed to the democracies of Great Britain and of Ireland might prevail, and they were roused—quiet men and women, peaceable men and women, even timid men and women, were roused to encouragement, to excitement, to assistance, all the world over, when they saw such a march on such lines towards such a goal.

A GREAT MORAL STRUGGLE.

Well, what had the contest become? The contest had become, and now is, no longer one of force, but one of reason. It is no longer as it was a contest of Ireland against Great Britain and against both her great political parties, but is a contest in which large majorities in Ireland, in Wales, in Scotland, and nearly one-half of England are opposed by small minorities in Ireland, in Wales and Scotland, and by the other half of England. It is a contest in which the public opinion of the United Kingdom, taken as a whole, has demonstrated itself in favor of the Irish cause, and in which the present administration, elected and working upon a Home Rule basis, is in office, sustained by a popular majority from the whole kingdom, between three and four times as large as that which Lord Salisbury got in 1886, and upon which he lived and worked vigorously against Ireland for six long years (applause).

It is true, that owing to those accidents which our imperfect system of parliamentary representation allows, that popular majority though three or four times as large, has produced a parliamentary majority only one as large as Lord Salisbury had; and it is true that we feel the misfortune and the weakness incidental to that circumstance. But, after all, in these days, ladies and gentlemen, we don't attach so much to the question of the chances and the accidental turns which an imperfect system of representation may produce in a particular district as to the popular voice demonstrated by the strength of the people at the polls. We look to the poll books, we count up the numbers, when we consider the fate and progress of a great cause. And is it not encouraging that we should know there was in 1892 a majority over the whole United Kingdom in favor of Home Rule, reversing the policy of the Tories, and turning out their government, a majority three or four times as large as sufficed to put the Tories in in 1886 and to keep them in for six years? (Applause.)

The question then arose, What should our tactics be? Our tactics should always be directed to one object—to secure Home Rule, to secure self-government for Ireland. What should our tactics be, that being our object? At the beginning there could be no question. They were to see that an efficient Home Rule bill should be introduced early and pressed vigorously to an issue with the utmost power of the Parliamentary Party. Such a bill,

more satisfactory and efficient than the bill of 1886, which had been universally accepted, was so introduced, and was pressed by the venerable statesman who led the House of Commons with a vigor, an energy, a persistence, a cheerfulness, a vigilance, a determination which no man who did not see him there, the youngest apparently in spirit, the most fervent in ardor, though the eldest in years, could ever realize or believe (applause). It was pressed for nearly six months. During that time, with the necessary intervals, we labored at it; and in the end we were obliged to resort to drastic methods to reach any conclusion, because it had become perfectly plain that the game of the Tories was by the use of obstruction to prevent any conclusion. We reached that conclusion after unprecedented debate.

THE ACTION OF THE SECOND CHAMBER.

The House of Lords, an irresponsible body, owing their power to thwart the people's will, speaking of them as a body, not to their own merits, to any position created by themselves individually, but to the accident that they were the sons of their fathers, or the grandsons of their grandfathers, or the great-grandsons of their great-grandfathers—(loud laughter)—I don't care to go further back or search more deeply into the accidents of birth—(laughter)—the House of Lords, that irresponsible assembly, by a majority of ten to one, in four days' time threw out our bill; partly on the ground that these high and exalted critics, looking down upon the dust and sweat and toil and turmoil of six months in the House of Commons, said we hadn't taken time enough to consider the question, and partly because they said "The people have been deceived, and we insist that there shall be a new election before this measure passes into law." These were their main reasons.

The enemy's aim and game and tactics were to force us to the polls at once. They thought that if they could do that they could say throughout Great Britain, "Look at these men. When they came before you to win your suffrages they told you if you gave them power they would pass such and such democratic and popular measures; and now they come before you again empty-handed, not having made a single effort to pass one of the measures which they said they would give you. We would not object to these measures. Our objections are to Home Rule—not to English popular and democratic measures." They hoped, thus to put our Liberal allies in a false position which would have tended to the prejudice of our cause and given the Tories the victory. They hoped that the Irish would insist upon an immediate dissolution; they said so. I quoted a while ago in another place a speech of Lord Randolph Churchill's, in which he announced that the Irish would insist upon an immediate dissolution, because they could not stand the strain of a continuance in Parliament; they were too poor, and they could not afford it; they were too impatient, and they could not restrain themselves; they would force a dissolution upon Mr. Gladstone and his party in spite of himself and then the Tories would come in.

TAKING A LESSON FROM THE ENEMY.

Well, gentlemen, I suppose you know enough about politics—I shall not insult you by supposing you don't know enough about politics to be aware that it is useful sometimes to be taught by your adversary; but when you find your political opponents proposing to you to do thus and so, I apprehend that you don't ordinarily fall into their trap, and do exactly what they would have you to do. What political chief, what general in the conduct of a war could ever win a battle who should allow his adversary to dictate his plan of campaign. For my part I suspect any plans which my adversaries may propose to me for adoption; I prefer to make my own plans; and they are not generally those which my adversaries would like. (Applause).

So we considered that was the reason of the case, and we decided that since Home Rule could not become law after the declaration of the Lords until there was a popular verdict afresh in its favor, it was to the common interest of ourselves and our allies, to do those things and to submit to those short delays which might be necessary and reasonable to enable us to go to the constituencies, to which we look for strength, on the most favorable terms, so as to produce a good verdict. Our allies said, and they said with force, "If we proceed to dissolve at once we shall be charged with having broken our pledges; we shall be charged with having neglected our duty." We shall be told, "It is true, you have failed to carry Home Rule through the Lords, but you carried it by the popular vote through the Commons. There are other things which you might carry through both the Houses, in which we are deeply interested, and we want them. And if these people are so impatient that they force you to dissolve without even an effort to do those things which come close to our doors, which are of our daily needs, to which you pledged yourselves, how long do you think our sympathy will remain at high-water mark, and how favorably do you suppose Home Rule will be considered?" They added this, that the Tories should be put face to face with those other popular and democratic measures as to which they wanted to avoid the odium of rejecting them. Particularly the Liberal-Unionists, who still masquerade to some ex-