PARNELL IN CURK

ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION

THE UNANSWERABLE SPEECH! he keld on the remains.

PROSPERITY TO IRELAND. all of a new primarie . B ganarie flere

Service Street

Mr. Parnell was welcomed to-day by a demonstration of gigantic preportions. The hon, member arrived in the city by the American mail shortly after one o'clock.. He was accompanied by Mr. Sexton, M.P., and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P. An enormous concourse of people, accompanied by several bands, awaited his arrival at the railway station, and his reception on alighting from the train was of the most enthusiastic description. The Mayor of the city (Alderman Galvin), accompanied by Mr. Daly, M.P., several members of the Corporation, and the leading members of the Local Committee received Mr. Parnell at Glenmire terminus, where he was presented with an address of welcome by the trades of Cork.

In the evening a brilliant banquet in honor of the Irish leader was given at the Victoria Hotel.

The Mayor after opening the proceedings said that the first toast on the list was one that endeared itself to every lishman-"Prosperity to Ireland"-(applause), and it would be responded to by their honored and illustrious guest, Mr. Parnell, (renewed applause). Mr. Parnell was honored all over the world—in a hostile assembly in Westminster he was honored by his opponents, and he had been specially honored by the principal Parliament in the world, the Congress of Washington. Wherever he was known he was honored, and he, (the Mayor), officially offered him to-night, on behalf of the people of Cork, a caed mills failthe (applause).

PARNELL'S SPEECH.

Mr. Parnell, on rising, was received with

loud and continued cheering. He said: Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen-I regret that on this occasion we have to deplore the absence from amongst us of more than one well remembered face and dear friend of ours. I may mention the name of my dear friend, George Barry (cheers), as one of those who gone from amongst us, who was with us upon the last occasion, and whose memory I shall always reverence and respect (hear, hear) as one of those fast friends whom I have learned to love since I have become member for your city (hear, hear). The toast of " Prosperity to Ireland" will, I hope, and I am pleased to be able to hope, that it will shortly find an exemplification in the city of Cork by the establishment of an national exhibition (applause) It is fit that the Southern City should be the first to follow the example which was set up in Dublin, and I am happy also in believing that the example of Dablin in refusing to permit the occasion of the establishment of a national exhibition to be availed of by any political party (cheers) for the purpose of advancing its particular views, will also be followed in Cork (applause). But as regards politics, the national exhibition to be held in Cork will be neutral. No party shall be allowed to have any advantage over the other (hear, hear), and the exhibition is entirely for the purpose of advancing the welfare of the city of Cork, and to contribute to the prosperity and happiness of the labor and industrial classes of the country (applause). Since I last had the honor of addressing you we have had many interesting You will recollect that the occasion of my last visit to the city of Cork was just House of Lords the following addition before I was honored with a warrant, or was made to it on its return to the Commons, rather an invitation, to visit Kilmainham and for which in the opinion of the court and which Mr. Gladstone, in the exthese rents must be reduced in Prison by the late Mr. Forster. I the tenant or his predecessors in title shall not tracts I have just read, refused to up to an occupying ownership. then advised the adoption by the tenant- have been paid or otherwise compensated by admit. The House divided on Sir Statfarmers of the policy of test cases for the pur- the landlord or his predecessors in title." pose of testing the working of the Land Act, The alterations made by the Lords practically | majority of 130 against the amendment. and in order that the standard of rent, which destroyed the clause and rendered it of very the Land Commission would be likely to fix, little value whatever for the protection of the might be ascertsined by the simple process tenents' improvements; but, in addition and to the tenents of Ireland. It was, as of submitting two or three of such test cases to this abolition, a judgment was given I have said, the only section of the renton each state. Many thousands of pounds by the Supreme Court of Appeal in fixing clauses which gave you any would have been saved—in fact, I may say, the case of Adams vs. Donseath, and I probably a hundred thousand pounds would have now to tell you that in the judicial tion-both the Government; the landlords, and 1882, before the judgment was delivered the the tenants-if it had been possible that my average reduction amounted to 231 per cent., advice could have been systematically follow- but since the judgment was given the amount ed; but the brutal action of the Government in of reduction every month has shown a steady arresting all the members of the Central fall until, In the month of August, it only Executive of the Land League, and in practically prohibiting that, organization by the tenants of one-third of the reductions arresting local bodies also throughout the which they were getting before the judgment country, and by arresting everybody con- in Adams vs Dunseath. The court has, probabnected with it down to the very clerks in the ly, decided that the landlord, notwithstanding office in Dublin, rendered it impossible for us the Healy Clause, is entitled to rent on the to carry out that course of action, and an-|tenant's improvements under several sets| have. other and different line of action involved in of conditions, one or other of which sets of lords of Ireland have made no improvement the "No rent Manifesto" was toroed upon conditions apply in the case of almost every the country (hear, hear). The wisdom of rarony to which the Act applies. They have the solvice with regard to the test cases which was given by the convention has been admitted by the Commissioners made by him before the commencement of themselves in their report which has the lease, belong to the landlord and not to whether we go back to what has been called just been laid before Parliament, and in the tenant, and that rent can be exacted on the Prairie value—I say it is our duty to ob-which the very words that I repeatedly used these improvements. They have de-tain this great question as scou as we with regard to the standard of rent to be set cided secondly that the landlerd is up by the decisions of the court was used by estitled to rent on the tenant's courts, and by the legislature, that much so patiently as the Irlah laborer the Commissioners themselves, which standing the lease the tenants must be fairly dealt (cheers). It is enough to make one's heart agreement outside the court (hear, hear). I decided that the landlord is entitled to rent holders. There are 125,000 leaseholders in am not one of those who ever believed that on improvement effected previously to the tenants of Ireland, would refuse to pay passing of the Act of 1870. Fourthly, they three and a quarter millions of acres of some rent; at the outset I never supposed that the have decided that to the landlord belongs policy of "no reut" would do more than what they call the improveable capability effect good indirectly in enabling tenants to of the land that the landlord is ontitled obtain large abatements from the landlords to the rent on the tenant's improvements under the pressure of the threat to made under any other circumstance, or pay no rent (hear, hear). I believe that this which may be hereafter made except to the view has been signally justified by the results extent of five cent. on the capital actually of the last twelve months, and on the whole expended by the tenant in making these most beneficial results for the Irish people improvements. The effect, therefore, of were obtained during the struggle of last this decision is, it follows, that in a very winter, although this struggle was undoubted- limited class of cases, where the tenant's imly carried out with sacrifice and sufferings of provements are protected they are only prosome individuals. As we watched the course | tected to the extent of 5 per cent. on the capiof the battle from Kilmainham Prison tal expended. It may be that the improve-(cheers)—and I can assure you we watched ments and 20 per cent to the letting value of the course of the struggle with considerable anxiety—it became evident to us in while get 15 per cent, and the tenant will get the month of February that were the only five per cent, (hear, hear, and appeared the majority of the estates in Iroland plause). The absurdity of this reading scepting reductions which had been oftered of the Healy Clause will be evident to to them after the pressure of the manifesto you by an example of a case where gut. But how has it worked? Practitate and organise in the country. It by the landlords, and that was the utmost a tenant borrows money from the Cally speaking, the courts are blocked. They is necessary that you should subscribe to the good I had ever supposed could be obtained. Board of Works to improve his holding under can't reach the cases, and the landlord is in good I had ever supposed could be obtained. Board of Works to improve his holding under so of it had ever supposed could be obtained to the rought attained to the reach the cases, and the landlot of 1881. Bup-fixed he can compel the tenants to pay the control of the Land Act of 1881. But we have always adversed the rought attained to the

utmost good that could possibly be obtained, or which I had ever hoped could be obtained from the manifesto, had been gained, these members of the Executive who had been in Kilmainham Gaol (cheers), decided that it would be desirable not to circulate the manifesto any longer; in fact, to withdraw it from circulation. Accordingly, about the end of February we found means as we thought tenants should not be dissuaded from accepting advantageous settlements—we found means of communicating our views to those who were in charge of the movement outside, and those in charge of the movement cutside agreed to carry out our conclusion, and, I believe, took steps to carry it out. In the month of February then the manifesto was practically withdrawn. In May, we were released from Kilmainham, had it not been for the unhappy baa Phonix Park tragedy, that then occurred, there would best no more coercion Irish legislation and proceed with the other reforms of great importance to the interests of the people of this country. The event in Prœnix Park, however, considerably altered by the passage of a Coercion Act of unexampled barbarity, and in the passage of an Arrears Act, which was maimed in passing owing to three alterations inserted contrary to our protest and advice. These three alterations were the hanging gale proan important judgment by the whole Court ejected, or against whom judgments for rent had been obtained; the third was the limitation of the time within which the tenant notwithstanding the injury done to the Ardraughteman failing to carry out the intentions of the Government-I say it is now certain that the Arrears Act will do a con. siderable amount of good to the small tenants of the country. Upwards of one hundred thousand of them will, most possibly, obtain more or less benefit from this proviso, and three millions of pounds of arrears will, very probably, he wiped off from Irish tenants (applause). In so far the as this Arrears Act has been a success, it has been because the Government, in its original draft, consulted men who understood the wants and requirements of the situation, and in so far as it is a partial failure it is because they deviated from the advice given them, and went counter to the suggestions of those who were acquainted with the practical circumstances of the case. During the whole course of this land movement I have felt bound to point

out to the Irish tenants that a bill for

fixing a fair rent by means of a court must

inevitably fail to satisfy them for many rea-

sons, the chief of which was that it would pro-

bably break down by its own weight and by

the inherent difficulty of its working. But

one clause which was contained in the rent-

fixing sections of the Act of '81 induced me

to hope that some good might be obtained for

the Trish tenant out of this rent-fixing clause

I refer to that part of the Bill which is known

as the Healy Clause (three cheers for Healy).

[An interruption took place at this point, and

the person who caused it was ejected from the room.] Mr. Parnell, resuming, said-As the celebrated clause was passed originally in the House of Commons at the instance of the hon. member for Wexford, it ran as follows :- "No rent shall be allowed or made payable in any proceedings under this Act in respect of any Unfortunately as a compromise with the passing away from him. Now, the court in have been saved to all parties to this quest rents fixed up to the end of January, decided firstly, that while at any time the auts, and I don't care how far you press this the tenants refused to pay the annual instaltenant held under lease, the improvements

Board of Works he applies to the court to fix according to the construction which has been is, sutitled to plaim, £15 a year additional and the tenant has only £5 a year left to pay the £6 10s a year interest and principal by taking the trouble to borrow £100 loan from the Board of Works to spend it in draining and improving his lands he gets this: that he has to pay £1 10s. a year more than he had to pay before. It may be said that this renders it undesirable for tenants to improve their holdings. Now, I don't think so, and later on I intend to urge on everyholdings, in order that they may afford employment to the laboring classes during this winter, because if one during this winter, because for Ireland, and the Government would during this winter, because if one to be invited Parliament to take up sgain thing is more certain than another, it is baye invited Parliament to take up sgain thing is more certain than another, it is this, that before a very long time has gone by we shall have restored the Realy clause to its original integrity, and we shall have matters, and Parliament then occupied itself judgment of the court in Adams vs. Dunclause should be settled in such a way as to secure to the tenant that he shall have in the course of the debate on the present Land Act, to the same effect. This declarations go entirely counter to the judgment might pay rent in respect of 1881. But and to every point of the judgment in Adams case of the hanging gale proviso, has myself (no, no,) yet, perhaps, I may been obviated by the clumsiness of the be allowed to read to you one or two extracts from the speeches delivered by Mr. Gladstone during the passage of the Land Act in the session of 1881. On the 9th August, 1881, he said: "In the Act of 1870, we did in respect of the tenant, recognize the principle that he might be compensated by reasonable lapse of time in respect to improvements, and that the use and profits of these improvements for a certain length of but we do not recognize that principle in the that we don't recognize the principle of compensation by enjoyment for a certain length tenant. It is much better, I think, that those who make the improvements should benefit by the improvements." That is our claim (hear, hear). On the 10th August, 1881, Mr. Gladstone said, "the effect of clause as it was then altered would that he that the tenant should have the benefit of his improvements no matter how long ago they had been made, whenever he was able to prove that he had made them." On the same evening, in opposing the amendment of Sir Stafford Northcote, that the Court should take Into consideration the time during which he had enlayed the improvements, Mr. Gladstone said of his own improvements might reimburse him for those improvements, and by an annual process might passed over to the landlords. But that was not the back on which they now proposed to a.t. There was no occasion for it; the ten-

the judgment in Adams and Dunseath has admitted those principles against the tenford Northcote's amendment, and there was a Now, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, this question of improvements is of vital importhope that this clause was to be of any advantage to the Irish people (bear, hear). We have been cheated out of that clause by the chicaners of the courts in Dublin (applause). From the very moment that it was passed the Conservative majority of the Supreme Court in Dublin set their heads to work to drive a coach and six through that section, and, unfortunately, they have only been too successful so far in doing so, for the rents fixed by the Sub-Commission Court under that judgment are one-third less than | pay. I say it would not be in so awkward a | tainly, rolar as we have seen or heard of him the reductions before that judgment, and has taken away what the tenants might! Practically speaking, the landin the land of Ireland (hear, hear.) All the improvements have been made by the tenquestion of the tenant, improvementswhether we stop short at a certain point or can (applause) in recognition by the

(applause). There is no reason or logic respect and see that they are bound to do their whatever in the excinsion of these men. I say the leaseholders are as much entitled to these men [loud obsers]; to raise their the benefits of the Land Act as any other social condition; to look after their tenants in Ireland (applause). Another education, and ameliorate their condition to difficulty is the Juty of fixing the judicial that standard which the ability and housety. rents. As the Land Act was originally approved, the judicial rent was to date from the date of the application of the tenant. As the | diate attention of Parliament to these matters Land Act left the Boure of Lords, it was to depends very much upon yourselves (hear, date from the decision of the court. If there hear). We can do something in Parliament. is anything that would tend to the settlement | but it must be always borne in mind that our out of court between landlord and tenant as to exertions are only a portion of a whole what the fair rent should be, it is that it should date from the application of the ten-

of the best land in the country. These leaseholders, so far as the Land Act of 1881

by voluntary agreement out of court in the a fair rent. The landlord then comes in and, 14 months which had elapsed since the act became; law amounted to 17,000 and odd, placed upon the Healy Clause, the landlord leaving 62,000 applications for fair rent still awaiting trial; and as of these 62,000 and rent for the £100 expended by the tenant, odd applications only a small proportion can be heard for several years, it was preposter ous to expect that the landlords would agree to the Board of Works (applause). So that to any concession unless they were acted upon by some force superior to that of the Land Act. I believe that if the little alteration I have suggested-the very reason able and simple alteration of making the rent date from the date of the application, were inserted in the Act, the landlord would know there would be no use in compelling the tenant to pay a rack-rent, because body the desirability of trying to induce the he would know that the alteration in the tenants to borrow money from the Board of rent would be made from the date the appli-Works for the purpose of improving their cation was made, and not from the hearing of the case (hear, hear). During the fourteen mosths the Act has been working, the total reductions of rents amount to £69,960 trees which, unhappily, has already fallen on sterling. That is £70,000 in round numbers, of benefit to the cenant farmers of Ireland. I should like to know what reductions you think the tenant farmers of Ireland have smashed, pulverised, and confounded the obtained during the two years of the Land a portion of the rent to meet the distress of jadgment of the court in Adams vs. Dunseath. Apart from the inherent justice of would say that it would be only a small with that suggestion I cannot agree, become claim, and the great importance to the benefit if we only got £70,000 in fourteen cause I do not think it would development of the Agricultural capabilities months of agitation (applause). According of Ireland, that this question of the Healy to the opinions of our officials I believe that likely to be accepted by the tenants in quessince the commencement of the agitation we have succeeded in obtaining reductions (they would not withhold their rent, but that viso, which has lately been the subject of for himself, his heirs, and those who (not including the three millions of arrears, come after him, the increased letting value | which I hope will be wiped out by the Arof the Land Commission; the question of the added to its holding by himself, we rears Act, amounting to quite three million costs payable by the tenants who had been have Mr. Galdstone's repeated declarations pounds for the tenantry of Ireland (applause) So that if you try the case of the Land Act my own suggestion for the purpose of meeting vs. the defunct Land League (applause), I that distress. My propositions in view of am afraid the Land Act will have to go to the refusals of the Government to institute the wall, though it is a legislative enactment and Dunseath. I don't like to take up the (hear, hear). Now, to obtain the reduction of notwithstanding the injury done to the Arrears Act by these three alterations—an time of gentlemen who wish to hear more £70,000, the tenants have had to pay to
injury that 1 am happy to say, in the elequence and more attractive speakers than
the lawyers fully £100,000 in costs, and
myself (no. no.) yet, perhaps, I may
the landlord's penalty another £100,000 in costs, and the Government £200,000 to try the cases, so that in order to obtain this miserable reduction of £70,000 (both by the action of the court, and whatever agreement out of court) an expenditure of £400,000 was incurred. It will be a liberal assumption to make that for the future the courts (count. ing the cases that will be settled by what any agreement) will be able to fix about 20,000 cases of judicial rents in a year, time might be considered as compensation; and, consequently, it will take 25 years at the present rate of progress to fix the rents present Act." Further on, he said, "the of the 500,000 tenants, and it would cost to main ground on which I stand is parties interested the sum of ten million parties interested the sum of ten million pounds sterling. The main inducement, I tion, permitted the giving of out-door relief then, to the landlord to re use settlement of time either as regards the landlord or the out of court is this point, that he is entitled to go on charging the old rent until the new rent is fixed, and as, in the vast majority of cases the new rents wil not be fixed for ten years, the landlord has a statutory, or unstatutory, term for the old rack rent, so far as the Land Act is concerned. I few in number, I am happy to say, who disrewas talking the other day to the editor of a garded the advice of their leaders will have Chicago paper, and he said to me, "Well, reason to regret the Christmas box they sent to Mr. Gladstone in the election when they deal for Ireland-that they had passed the Church Act, the Land Act of 1870, and now they passed the Land Act of 1881, but," he added, "I always judge of these things by the thickness of the butter on the | Local Government Board has issued a cirbread: and I went to know how much butter The dectrines accepted at the time of the this Land Act has put upon the bread of sanction the granting of outdoor relief. Land Act of 1870, and which he certainly the Irish tenants?" When I told him that Well, perhaps, the Local Government declines to accept the night before, was it had only reduced rackrents by £70,000, Board may see reason to change their the doctrine that the enjoyment by he was very much surprised, and he was mind, and I trust and hope they will do so. the tenant for a certain length of time very much inclined to believe me that there was a great deal of reason for those the different Boards of Guardians throughout Irishmen in eaying that the Land Act the country in appealing for power to grant required immediate and extensive amend- out-door relief to those in danger of starvament, and that unless there was an tion (hear, hear). Another strange fallacy immediate and extensive amendment an on which the Government seem to rely

> In order to obtain that satisfactory tenure. which the experience of other countries during a long course of years has shown to be millions in this business. All I can say is the only tenure under which the soil can be that if relief of distress could have been coped cultivated with the best advantage, namely, with by emigration from Ireland we ought an occupying ownership, or peasant proprietary—in order to obtain that satisfactory tenure it is necessary that rackrents should be in this country [bleses] Well, I am not sure reduced, before we proceed to ask for that amendment of the purchase clauses, so that I am not so sure that Lord Spencer is at a l the transfer of estates from the landlords to the tenauts may have a chance of being practically carried out (cheers). I believe that this can be done, and that it would be no loss to the British taxpayer (hear, hear). An Mr. Forster says he does not rely too much Englishman might say that the Irish tenants would refuse to pay back the advance, and office he intended to recommend the Governwhat on awkward position the State would then be in if the Irish tenants then refused to position as the state was in when forcing in his public atterances, he did not intend to rents at the point of the bayonet and recommendany such expenditure. Perhaps employing the naval and military forces we were too bard on Mr. Forster, and of the Orown, knowing, as it must have, it might bave been better if we had that it was enforcing unjust rents (cheers.) tolerated him for a while longer. Mr. Under an occupying ownership, however, if ments they would have no moral right in refosing to pay as they amounted only to a sum which they agreed to pay, and which could justly be enforced. The claims of the laborers require immediate attention. I know of no class in Ireland who have suffered so when you see the little oables of the laborers on the roadside of the country districts, and when you see how wretchedly they are housed and fed, it is a perfect wonder that so large a body should have borne their grisvis concerned, are placed absolutely at the ances so patiently, and it is absolutely becesmercy of the landlords, because they have no | sary that those who are interested in the future mercy whatever to expect from the Land Act of Ireland should recognise their duty in this best to afford remunerative employment for of the laboring classes justly entitle them to fill. Wnether we shall obtain the imme-(hear, hear). We can work in Parliament, but it is necessary that you should sgl-

root of the question. If we trouble ourselves

about clauses for reducing the rent of the

those rents must be reduced in order to lead

Irish people, then, I say, it will be declaration to the Irish people that what has been often said is true. And it has often been said that you have to bring Ireland to a state bordering on revolution in order to be tain justice for her. Mr. Forster said the other day that it was not on account of the Land Liegus egitation-that it was not on account of the Irish revolution—that Parliament had passed the Land Act. If it was not on account of these things, would Mr. Forster and the English Parliament show willing enough to legislate for Ireland justly

A Voice-We will fight.

Mr. Parnell—If they do not do this it will be a sign that Mr. Forster and those other Englishmen who talk in this way are not speaking the truth, and that they know they are not speaking the truth. To meet the disa portion of our country, it has been proposed that a certain section of the Irish tenants should withhold payment from the landlords of six months' rent (hear, hear), and allocate a portion of the rent to meet the distress of the poorer tenants in other parts of Ireland. cause I do not think it would be a practicable one, or that it would be tion. The tenants, last winter, showed that they would pay a fair rent, and I do not think, therefore, that it is desirable we should try the No Bent issue over again, and I only mention this in order that I may bring before you public works are :- First the immediate granting of powers to Boards of Guardians to grant out-door relief, and second, the simplification of the granting of loans to tenant farmers for the purpose of enabling them to improve their holdings. I believe if these two things were done and quickly, and with a real desire to meet the distress on the part of the permanent officials in Ireland and of the Cabinet of England, we would be able to prevent actual suffering, and we have every right to call or the Government to grant this out-door relief. It is surely not too much to ask that to the Boards of Guardians in Ireland should be granted the same powers that they have in England. If even the Conservative Government in '79, without waiting for Parliament to sanction their acand authorized loans to the landlords for the purpose of making improvements on their holding, surely it is not too much to ask the present Liberal Government to do as Won 38 (applause.) And certainly it they do refuse this I think the Irish electors of Livernool. find that the only requittal that be stres them is the restriction of relief to the intersystem of the workhouse, which we all know our people would die rather than enter. The cuiar in which they declare they will not But at all events, no time ought to be lost by agitation of a further and more intense in dealing with these questions is the questions with which they have to deal-Irish tenants it was because we know that they seem to think they can take there pauper families on a moment's notice, and transport them bodily to New York at £5 a never to have emigration again. Mr. Forster [hisses] who has had the advantage of being that we should hiss the poor old gentleman. so good an exchange for him. We must always remember that Lord Spencer was sent over to help Mr. Forster before the change in the Government was determined on on emigration, and that if he remained in ment to spend public money liberally in works of public importance in Ireland. Cer-Tuke, who is interesting himself in this question of emigration, has a way of proceeding which is very satisfactory so far as it makes provision for those families on land-America who will take care of them for relieve that congestion and to relieve periodical tamines, could be located in America or in any other country on the system proposed by Mr. Tuke, by an expenditure of £15 per head. It would take more than that and I will always oppose, to the rest of my ability, any attempt or the part of the Government or anybody else, to land these uniortunate creatures, in a helplese and penniloss condition, on the shores of the Eastern States of America (cheers.) If England desires to emigrate our people, let them be emigrated in a respectable way. England is sich enough to do it. Let them be placed on land in America; let them have houses furnished them to cover their heads during the first winter after their arrival and let them be furnished with the

them from lapsing into a state of nature (cheers). These lands were peopled before the famine, and there is no reason why they should not be peopled again (cheere). It would entail but a small expenditure to compensate the graziers for whatever rights they may have in the lands, but in any case I say that the have no right to hold them. They could a purchased from these graziers at comparatively small prices, and it would enable the tenants to be migrated to them, and to live upon them in comfort next session they are strong enough and by the only means in which it could possibly be done under the circumstances [cheeral. and tightly without such things? But do If the Government really desire to meet this difficulty, this question of the conjection of the poor districts of the West of Ireland they can only properly meet it in this way. They can meet it in this way by a much smaller expenditure than that which would be entailed under a system of emigration; they can meet it with satisfaction to the Irish people and with advantage to the country. They can increase the production of food, and they can give employment to many thousands of our people who are now starving for want of employment, but if they persist in their ideas of the workhouse or emigration and refuse to consider the views which we have placed before them with regard to emigration from time to time they will show that their desire is not the happiness and prosperity of the Irlah people, but for the extermin tion et that people (cheers). I wish, gentlemen, hafore concluding, to say a few words with regard to the Irish Parliamentary party (cheers). That party was elected on the lines of independent opposition, that they should hold aloof from every English patty. cal party which refused to concede the fast rights of the Trish people. I believe that the Itish Party has nobly fulfilled those pledges (cheers). As I have repeatedly said, with speaking on this question, I only attach a certain value to Parliamentary action. I only look upon it as one of the forces which we om use for the purpose of gaining the rights of the country; but it is a force, and an important force, and it is right that, since it is a it should be developed and used to the heet advantage. Some people have urgedthe late Mr. Mitchel always urged-that the Irish members ought to withdraw in a body from the House, and that the constituencies should refuse to send members there (hear, hear). Well, I think there is a great deal in that contention, but I fear that it is not a practicable one. I believe that to morrow withdrew from Parliament and refased to return there, such is the desire of the Irish constituencies to be represented in the House of Commons that they would elect the worst Whige or Tories that came to them Lord Beaconefield and Jemmy Lowther- | in order to have some representation. They would rather have a bad one than none at all. Therefore, if there is to be Parliamentary representation, it should be as good and as honest as it can possibly be made (cheers). I should welcome the time if it ever comes when it would be possible for us to withdraw from the House of Commons. I should cheerfully after my, experience of seven vests hard labor-(prolouged applause)in the discharge of my duty of a member of Parliament—I should cheerfully welcome the coming of the time when it would be possible, having regard to the public advantage, to adopt such a course. But I don't think, and I don't believe that, that that time is likely to come soon. And in the meanwhile I ask every honest Irishman whe desires to benefit his country to sin if by us so long as they think that we are noting honestly ourselves; so long as they think that we are really and truly carrying out the pledges that we have repeatedly given, then I think under the circumstances that it is the events. For my part, as I said to the people improvements made by the tenant or or his ants improvements were the tenants own character would become necessary. Of proposition for emigration inserted in the duty of the Irish constituencies to show their the great meeting held this afternoon, I predecessors in title." As that section left property, and he would not admit the prinhave not to confess any alterations in my the House of Commons it was a most ciple that the time during which he enjoys we all recognize that any attempts to amend is their ignorance, such is the ignorance of triends think we leaned rather unduly to-feelings since last October twelve month. Important one for the renames of Ireland. Those improvements was any reason for their rackrents by fixing clauses cannot go to the Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan of every wards the Government on the rules of propractical proposal connected with Irish codure which have just past through Parliament in the Autumn session. I don't think that anybody in this country, I don't think that many people in this country really think sc, because they are head. Lord Derby thinks, indeed, that it thoroughly acquainted with the facts of the would pay England very well to invest several case; but it may happen that people in America-and we address now a very wide constituency, we address a constituency reaching from Australia to America, and including those islands-it may happen that

some persons at a distance who are not acquainted with the facts of the case, might be misled by the representations which have been made, with the best inten-tion, no doubt by some of my friends. And I wish to give you some facts with regard to the action of the party on these rules. There were 67 divisions altogether on the rules of procedure during this autumn session, and of these 67 divisions the Irish party voted 58 times sgainst the Government. We voted four times for the Government, and we abstained from voting three times altogether. Bo I think it will be evident that the charge of leaning towards the Government does not lie against us-that it rather should be a charge-il anyof leaning towards the Tories. But in reality we have always desired to act for the benefit of the interests of Ireland in each of these divisions irrespective of the interests of either of the English parties. We have congoes on a small scale. He emigrates a cer- suited together, and we have considered on tain number of families to America, and every one of these divisions what course it was best for us to take as an Irish ing. He finds that they have friends in party-what course it would be best too our constituents that we should take, the first year, or he obtains employment and we have in every case taken that the Commissioners themselves, which standard they say has been of vast service in other than permanent buildings and re-dard they say has been of vast service in other than permanent buildings and re-enabling tenants and landlords to come to an clamation of waste land, though they have the Land Act is the exclusion of the lease-streets of the cities of Ireland, or get a start. But such a plan question of National Self-Government is a from the very nature of the case, must b., question which is rapidly coming to the front limited to the extent of ground which it (applause) Both the English parties know covers. It would be utterly impossible that well that the next general election in Engfifty or a hundred thousand families whom it land will be turned by the votes of the Irish would be necessary to lift from the congected electors living in England upon that question. districts in the west of Ireland in order to They are both very much afraid of that question. They tell us that no English Ministry, and no Liberal member must ever entertain for a moment the idea of National Self-Government for Ireland. I believe that the time is rapidly approaching when they will have to entertain that idea, or some other idea which they may not like so well (applause). I think that if our rights to self-government were recognized by the Parliament of Great Biltain in a spirit of justice; if to the Irish people were restored the right of making their own laws, and of doing for themselves that which all the other nations of the world do for themselves, that the strife of centuries might be terminated—that the ill-will, bred of centuries of injustice, which undoubtedly exists between the two nations might be brought to a conclusion, and that there is means of raising a crop on the first year of be brought to a conclusion, and that there is their residence and then we will tak to the no reason why the Irish nation, respecting Government. But we have always advo- their rights and defending their rights, should rights of the larger nation so close to our shores (applause). I trust that the solution of the question may be in that direction. I

be appearable and constitutional our; and that

gifted, as she andoubted is, by the genius

cording to the Gord sers Obronicis, there are the time is fast approaching when our countrystant