

THE SENSATIONAL DEBATE ON THE IRISH QUESTION IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS WHICH ENDED IN A WALK-OUT

Lloyd-George, Asquith, John Redmond, Major William Redmond, "Joe" Devlin (Nationalist West Belfast), T. P. O'Connor (Scotland, Liverpool), Denis Kilbride (South Kildare), Lonsdale (Unionist, Mid-Armagh), London, (East Limerick) and Tim Healy of (Northeast Cork) Participate.

The standard this morning publishes the most dramatic debate in the British House of Commons on the Irish question. It will be remembered that during the protests in the house, the entire Nationalist party walked out.

The debate took place on a resolution moved by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Irish Nationalist, and seconded by Major Redmond, and opposed by Sir J. Lonsdale on behalf of Ulster.

The Premier said he was willing to give Home Rule to that part of Ireland that wanted it, but the coercion of the rest of Ireland was impossible. He moved the following amendment: "That the house would welcome any settlement which would produce a better understanding between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom, but considers it impossible to impose by force on any section of any part of Ireland a form of government which has not their consent."

John Redmond said that the professions of sympathy which the Premier had expressed in his speech were unnecessary. Mr. Lloyd George had the power to carry them into practice if he had the courage. The Irish leader then invited his followers to drop the debate and to consider the position, and he and all the Nationalist members left the House.

Mr. O'Connor's Motion

Mr. O'Connor rose to move:—That, with a view to strengthening the hands of the Allies in achieving the recognition of the equal rights of small nations and the principle of nationality, against the opposite German principle of military domination, government without the consent of the governed, it is essential without further delay to confer upon Ireland the free institutions long promised to her.

He said it was most deplorable that for so long a time Great Britain and Ireland had been so little able to understand each other. The state of things had existed for generations, and he ascribed it to the main to English want of statesmanship. He recalled that before the war Sir Edward Grey, now Viscount Grey of Fallodon, had said in the House of Commons that Ireland was the bright spot in the whole of the terrible situation. At that time also Mr. John Redmond expressed the full adhesion of the Irish people to the cause of the Allies, and declared that the Irish people themselves could be relied upon to defend their shores from any attempted invasion. The declaration which was welcomed by men of all parties in that House. In the lobbies at that time he (Mr. O'Connor) was time after time assured of the sympathy with the interests of Ireland of members who violated their previous restraints towards him on this question. A remarkable feature at that time was the alacrity with which Irishmen came forward as recruits.

The state of feeling that he had described was now transformed and deformed. This change began with the action of the War Office, which not only denied territorial recognition to Irish regiments, but gave a distinct preference to Protestants as against Roman Catholics, at the same time as it refused to recognize the Irish volunteers. Absurd mistakes in civil and political government aggravated the difficulties which now arose in Ireland, which under the guidance of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Redmond had been weaned from revolutionary methods, was thrown back to the incidents at the Curragh and the partiality shown to Ulster representatives of resistance by force gravely affected the situation, but most injurious of all was the evidence of a disposition to postpone Home Rule indefinitely.

Two Alternative Policies

Proceeding to discuss the question of what should now be done, he said that there were only two alternative policies today—Home Rule by settlement or coercion. He reminded the House of the negotiations of last summer, asserting that a real contract existed which was broken on the English side, a contract as real as that which Germany broke in respect to Belgium. A settlement was essential in England's own interests. How could they go with confidence and freedom of action into a Peace Conference with the claims of Ireland unsettled?

An Appeal to Carson

Captain W. A. Redmond (N-East Clare), who wore his uniform as a military officer, was received with cheers on rising to second the motion. He said he wished to give expression not only to his own feeling, but to that great volume of opinion which was held by those of his own countrymen who were doing their best in the field. Whatever had occurred, the great generous heart of the Irish people beat in sympathy with the cause of the Allies. He declared that most of those Irishmen who joined the colors had the faith at the time when they did so that the cause of Ireland was about to receive full justice, and their sorrow would indeed be great if they found that they were mistaken.

He asked whether in face of the tremendous conflict now raging, in view of the fact that people, South as well as North, were upon the side of the Allies, it was not possible from this war to make a new start—whether it was not possible on both sides to let the dead past bury its dead, and commence a brighter and newer and

friendlier era in the life of the two countries. The chief obstacle came from the North of Ireland, and on this point he especially appealed to Sir E. Carson and his friends to assist in putting an end to the struggle, and secure that both sides should shake hands. (Cheers.) He asked him to rise to the demands of the situation, to meet his Nationalist fellow-countrymen, accept the offer which they made to him and his followers, and on the basis of the self-government which had made the Empire what it was today, to come to some arrangement for the better government of Ireland in the future. (Cheers.) It would not take much to bring the two sides together, and why was the attempt not made to bring about a union which would cause more dismay to the enemy than the destruction of a hundred submarines?

Mr. J. B. Lonsdale (U—Mid-Armagh) regarded the discussion as inopportune. In Ireland, he said, the experience of the war had shown there was one section of people in hearty sympathy with the Empire, and another which made its offers of service depend on the receipt of political advantages, though no one, he added, could fail to be proud of the record of the Irish soldiers at the front.

The Prime Minister

Mr. Lloyd George, who was received with cheers, said there was no doubt that any settlement which would be acceptable to the Irish people as a whole would be welcomed with satisfaction and delight by the whole people of the United Kingdom. (Cheers.) That was common ground. This was a desired not merely for the sake of Ireland but of the Empire. It was indeed a grief that Irishmen who had shown so much devotion to the cause of the Empire could not somehow or other find a means of uniting on this question. (Hear, hear.) There was also a feeling that in the settlement of the question of Ireland, the consideration must be its effect on the conduct of the war, for as was the case with the other belligerent Powers, national unity was essential to victory. The view taken by the present Government, was the view taken by its two predecessors. There must be no attempt to settle the question of Ireland by a disturbance in one part of the United Kingdom, and end in twin perhaps and into warring factions the whole of the United Kingdom. That was unthinkable in the middle of a great war. (Cheers.)

It was essential to face the facts. The first was hatred of British rule produced by centuries of industrial government. The other (on which Mr. Lloyd George dwelt at some length) was the complete change effected in recent years in the economic condition of Ireland. The point was that the discontent now was not of the material kind. In spite of this Ireland was no more connected to British rule than in the days of Cromwell. (Hear, hear.) That was the other fact which he entreated British people to get well into their minds was that in the north-east corner of Ulster they had a population determined to hold to Irish rule, and ready to rebel against it. To place the latter under Nationalist rule against their will would be as glaring an outrage on the principle of liberty and self-government as the denial of self-government would be to the rest of Ireland. (Cheers.) It would be stupid thus to repeat the errors of the past.

Two Questions

The questions to be asked, he continued, were first—Are the people of this country prepared to confer self-government on the parts of Ireland which unmistakably demand it? The answer of the government was in the affirmative. The next question was—Are the people of this country prepared to force the population of the north-east corner to come in against their will? On behalf of the government he said "No." In this he claimed the government were in complete accord with the declarations made by Mr. Asquith at the head of two previous governments.

Mr. J. Devlin (N—Belfast) will give Home Rule to West Belfast? (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. Lloyd George replied that in the South of Ireland there were communities in an analogous situation to West Belfast. Is there, he asked, any party of Home Rule who could contemplate using of force to compel North East Ireland to submit itself to an Irish Parliament? He did not think that either Mr. Redmond or Mr. O'Brien could do this. In the view of the late Liberal Government he had already quoted.

Irishmen can at any rate, he continued, with the substantial consent of all parties, secure self-government for that part of the country which by an unmistakable voice demands it. Mr. D. Kilbride (N—South Kildare) What English reform was ever carried on these lines? (Irish cheers.)

Mr. Lloyd George: No party would support a demand that there should be force. Does that mean that Ireland is to be permanently divided? Mr. Devlin: It means you have turned your back on Home Rule. (Cheers and some disorder.)

Mr. Lloyd George: Not only is that not true—(cheers)—but the hon. member knows it. That is the line I have always taken in regard to Ulster. (Cheers.)

Mr. Devlin: Were these the right hon. gentleman's convictions on the Home Rule Bill introduced by a Government of which, next to the Prime Minister, he was the chief member? (Cheers.)

Mr. Lloyd George repeated that he never contemplated the prospect of coercing Ulster into the acceptance of Home Rule. (Cheers.)

Mr. Devlin: You are only throwing dust into our eyes.

Mr. Lloyd George appealed to his late colleagues concerning his views on that point. Continuing, he declared that the ideal is national unity for Ireland, and with proper methods and inducements he believed that ultimately, and at no distant date, Ulster would come in. (Cheers.)

What Government Would Do

He proposed to state what the government were prepared to do, not at the end of the war, but now if it were acceptable to Ireland. There were, of course, questions of detail. It might be necessary to reconsider problems of finance, for instance. There was nothing that would please Great Britain better than to see Irishmen put their hands together. Such questions might be thrashed out by a Commission. He was not in the least afraid to submit the proposal of the government to the judgment of any unbiased friends of Ireland in any quarter of the globe.

I want, he said, not merely Irishmen, but men outside the confines of the United Kingdom and the Empire to know that part of Ireland that clearly demands Home Rule may get it. (Cheers.)

Mr. Devlin again interrupted with the intervention of "West Belfast." Mr. Lloyd George: I am quite willing my statement should go with the only answer that is given to it. (Cheers.) Beyond that we shall not undertake a government to go, either during or after the war. ("You won't be here after the war.") Very well; I should like to know what government would want the electorate of this country in this House who can constitute a government who would say that even after the war he is prepared to go before the electorate of this country for authority to employ one part of the country to compel the other to submit to any other rule? (Cheers.)

I say with all solemnity (a cry of "Turn out") that the view taken by the government is a view taken by the people of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) We are still prepared to extend self-government to the part of the country that asks for it. Mr. Devlin: The right hon. gentleman wishes to be frank. Will he tell us clearly and unmistakably what he means by the part of Ireland that wants Home Rule and the part that does not? (Cheers.)

Mr. Lloyd George: I cannot now undertake a geographical demarcation. The point was that the members for Ireland prepared to accept the principle? If they are, there are ways and means by which all that can be worked out. We are anxious to secure peace and reconciliation between peoples so long severed. ("Let us alone.") Unfortunately that cannot be. Ireland is as dependent on Great Britain and even more so than Great Britain on Ireland. I wish the partnership could be established upon a firm and solid basis. ("Peace") Yes, a free basis. But freedom means freedom for all. Here there was considerable interruption. One member asked the Prime Minister, "Are you free now?" and another remarked, "No; he is in Carson's pocket."

Government Amendment

Mr. Lloyd George: In order to make the position clear I move as an amendment—"That this House would welcome any settlement which would produce a better understanding between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom, but considers it impossible to impose by force on any section, or any part of Ireland a form of government which has not their consent."

Mr. Asquith's Proposal. Mr. Asquith, who was received with cheers, said he was not aware before he came to the House that the right hon. gentleman intended to propose an amendment, and the terms of it had only now been read out. He would only say, speaking on the spur of the moment, that it appeared to him to embody a proposition which nobody disputed, and he doubted whether it was worth the while of the House to record such a proposition in the minutes of its proceedings. ("Hear, hear" from several Liberal and Nationalist members.) He wished that the whole matter could be discussed in the spirit of the speech of Mr. W. Redmond. (Hear, hear.) He did not think there was a man amongst them who did not feel that it would be an immense source of strength in the present crisis if they could here and now bring about a settlement. (Cheers.)

He regretted that since the patriotic efforts in which his right hon. friend Mr. Lloyd George took part last summer to obtain an agreed settlement there had been a deterioration of the situation in which his right hon. friend was effectively dealt with. Such an enterprise would result in complete disaster to those who took part in it. Nevertheless, the symptoms which existed must cause profound disgust.

Burden of Our Own Making

In the time of this war we had taken on many burdens from a spirit of sympathy and chivalry. Here, however, was a burden of our own making,

and he wished to take advantage of the motion to appeal to the House to see if they could not throw it from their shoulders. What was the situation? An Act giving self-government was on the Statute-book. On the other hand, this Parliament would not, in his opinion, be a party to its imposition by force on loyalists in Ireland of a system of government which would be repugnant to them. Some means must be taken to solve the difficulty, unless they were to make a declaration of political bankruptcy. They could not revert to the plan which failed last year, and he was afraid that they could not at present succeed in getting the various parties and sections in Ireland to meet and amongst themselves work out an arrangement, though that would be a most excellent thing if it could be brought about.

There remained what he thought after much reflection seemed to him to be the only practical course. Parliament should invoke some outside and impartial authority and trust it with the task of adjusting as he between the interests and sentiments concerned. They would have to constitute an authority in whose competence and impartiality Irishmen of all parties would have faith—no easy matter, though at this moment it might be facilitated by the presence amongst them of a number of distinguished statesmen from the various Dominions of the Crown in which the problems of local autonomy had arisen and been solved in various ways. Such an authority should work with promptitude, and of course its decisions as a whole would be subject to the approval of Parliament. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Lloyd George: The suggestion which my right hon. friend makes is important. What exactly is the character of this body to be? Is it to be a body to inquire and report to the government, or is it to have statutory powers, and are its decisions to have statutory effect?

Mr. Asquith: No; that it should make its decisions subject to the approval of Parliament. But I should entrust it with the power of moulding and adjusting such a scheme as may be necessary to all the interests and sentiments concerned.

Mr. Lloyd George: It would report? Mr. Asquith: It would report to Parliament to accept or reject. I do not commit myself to the precise composition of the body, but I put the proposal forward as well worth the consideration of all the government—(hear, hear)—and I would again appeal to the House to regard this matter as one of real practical urgency.

Mr. Lloyd George: I am sure that which may never recur of dealing once and for all with what is a standing problem and a standing reproach to British statesmanship. (Cheers.)

The Irish Leader

Mr. J. E. Redmond (N—Waterford) said he had listened to the speech of

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Those subject to sick headache, biliousness, nasty breath, rheumatism, colds; and particularly those who have a pallid, sallow complexion and who are constipated very often, are urged to make the morning inside bath. To wash from the stomach, liver, kidneys and ten yards of bowels the previous day's indigestible waste, sour fermentations and poisons, thus cleansing, sweetening and freshening the entire alimentary canal before putting more food into the stomach.

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the Prime Minister with pain. The right hon. gentleman did not need to tell them that he was a Home Rule man. He had professed sympathy with the cause for many years, but now he was in a position of power and could use that power if he had the will and courage and to do so. He was not using it. This was really a question appertaining to war policy on which the Premier in effect said "Wait and see." ("Oh" and a laugh.) The right hon. gentleman asked them to negotiate, but after his experience of the last negotiations he would enter into no more arrangements of the kind, for at last they had come to conclusions which they thought final they found themselves faced with new propositions. He would run no risk of the kind again. (Nationalist cheers.)

As to the attitude of the Premier respecting Ulster, was a minority to have its own way for ever? If the Premier's doctrine had prevailed in Canada and the Transvaal those Home Rule never would have had Home Rule. Germany, which had fomented trouble and probably was doing so now in Ireland, would chuckle with delight at the reply of the Premier. And what would be the effect in other several countries and in America, where the doctrine of the rule of the majority was sacred? (Cheers.) In the trenches amongst Irishmen and in

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Ireland itself the reply of the Premier would be read with profound disappointment. (Nationalist "Hear, hear.") I said that I would vote for a Sinn Féin order to help to smash your party. ("Oh.") Mr. Redmond said the House would be grateful to the hon. member for his manly candour. He warned the Premier that if he did not settle the difficulty now in a practical way he would have to govern Ireland by the naked sword, for he was playing into the hands of the revolutionists. As to the suggestion of Mr. Asquith, any Redmond alluded to the support which

Unionist and Sinn Féiners.

Going on to comment on the complexities of the Irish situation, Mr. Redmond alluded to the support which

the member for Enfield had given to the Sinn Féin movement.

Capt. J. R. P. Newman (U—Enfield): I said that I would vote for a Sinn Féin order to help to smash your party. ("Oh.") Mr. Redmond said the House would be grateful to the hon. member for his manly candour. He warned the Premier that if he did not settle the difficulty now in a practical way he would have to govern Ireland by the naked sword, for he was playing into the hands of the revolutionists. As to the suggestion of Mr. Asquith, any Redmond alluded to the support which

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THE SENSATIONAL DEBATE ON THE IRISH QUESTION

(Continued from page 4)

Mr. Redmond said that he had not intended to make a proposal of any sort, but he was a great supporter of the government. He made a practical suggestion.

Mr. Lloyd George said that if Redmond would read his speech carefully, he would see that he made two or three suggestions.

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