

those affairs, even although they should make some mistakes which the superior wisdom of Westminster might not make; it would be infinitely better for Ireland to manage her own affairs, and to learn by her own errors, and to rise by her own efforts during the few years of trial and probation than to be better governed by any other country, if that were possible (cheers).

But we believe that the difficulties in principle, insuperable as they are, of the government of the local concerns of Ireland by any other country are rendered greater still by the unhappy past, by the traditions, by the Castle policy, by the ascendancy policy, by the routine, by the centralization, by the power which the local minority has so long had, and which, if I had but time, I would show you by striking instances it still retains through the rural parts of Ireland. We believe that there is another difficulty. Great and remarkable as the improvement is, in sentiment and feeling and enlightenment, there yet remains a force—it is idle to deny it—of prejudice and of ignorance, and a great lack of time in Great Britain to deal with Irish affairs.

That being the state of things, how do we stand? The Liberals, our allies, acknowledge the incapacity of England and their own incapacity to govern us, and they acknowledge our capacity to govern ourselves. They say "We are prepared to stake our fortunes upon the policy of acknowledging your capacity and right and our incapacity and want of time; we will do our best to achieve and attain that result." That is what they say.

What do the Tories say? They say "We are capable; we, the Tories, are capable of governing Ireland, and you Irishmen are incapable of governing your own country; and what Ireland wants, and what Ireland shall get from us if you put us in, is twenty years of resolute government from London." That is what the Tories say.

Take your choice. Is there any choice? Is there for sensible men at this moment in the world of politics any choice for us? There may be a policy for vengeance, if the case for vengeance arises. But so long as you have one great democratic party, which certainly in latter days has made sacrifices for the faith which in common with ourselves they profess, and which favors our cause, and another party which insists contemptuously, contumeliously, that we are unfit for self-government, and that they alone have some divine, God given right to misgovern us in the future as they have misgoverned us in the past, who but fools, who but children, who but traitors could hesitate for a moment as to what is the proper course for the friends of Irish liberty? (Applause.)

That is so, gentlemen, though as I have told you I don't expect satisfactory government in Ireland even from the present Liberal Government. I don't say they have satisfied our wishes. Not at all. There are points of administration on which I think they might, without danger to the common cause and the common interest, have gone further and prospered. But they have done something. For the first time, practically, there has been a substantial though still inadequate recognition of the right of the masses of the people of the country to some share of representation on the bench of the magistracy of the country. (Applause). Much has been left undone. Still a good deal has been done, and more will, I hope, still be done. There are other questions as to which we wish more had been done. Take the questions of education, and of amnesty. There are questions upon which we wish quicker progress. But in politics, you know, you can't have everything your own way. Practically, when we have but 70 or 80 out of 670 men in the House of Commons, and when we are working for a great all embracing triumph, we must consider as factors in the situation, the feelings of those who are acting with us; we must consider even their apprehensions; we must consider more—we must consider that, in this process of conversion, masses of prejudice and bigotry and of ignorance have to be met and overcome, and we must give them time, and be patient. We must, above all things, remember that it would be the height of folly to sacrifice the greater for the less, to refuse for one instant to turn away from the major and fasten our eyes upon some limited question, however important it may be or however large the interests it may attack. (Cheers).

THE SAFEST POLICY.

If we were to precipitate an election against the views and convictions of our allies as to the proper time and circumstances under which to go to the country, I have said and I believe that we would be children or fools or traitors. If we did so where would be the alliance? It is not based upon writing; it is not based upon forms; it is not based upon any documents which can be enforced in a court of law. It is based upon the honor and fidelity and community of feeling which has been engendered by agreements made and by common co-operation for a great public object; and if we turned at this moment upon our friends and told them "We overrule your views and we insist

upon your going to the country," where would be that which alone makes the alliance valuable? If that alliance is to be broken—which God forbid—I want that the fault shall not be ours. If Ireland—which God again forbid—is to be compelled to any other course, I want the friends of Ireland, I want the whole world, to know that she was in truth compelled to those courses. I want to retain these sympathies of the civilized world which have been so valuable to us in our struggle, which we possess to-day, and upon which we have largely to depend for ultimate success. But there will be upon us no such compulsion! My belief, as I have told you, is that our allies have been, are, and will be true.

Now what of the result of the great election? The forces opposed to us are mighty: The forces of aristocracy, not merely the House of Lords, but of almost the whole of the aristocracy of the country; of the established church; of liquor; of the plutocracy; of class feeling; of bigotry, intolerance, ascendancy; of prejudice and ignorance; of fear and hate; and the great force of Conservatism. These are the forces which are in array against us; and worse than these, there is a force which need not have been arrayed against us—the weakness caused by some dissension in our own ranks. But these forces, mighty though they appear to be, imposing though they seem, easily organized though they to be, are, after all, decaying forces.

What are the forces in our favor? The difficulty is in their organization. They are much harder to organize than those of our opponents. But once organized, ours are far mightier than theirs. And instead of decaying, our forces are ever growing and increasing. They are the justice of the cause, the expanding spirit of freedom, the public opinion of the world, the recognition of their common interests by the masses, the growing sympathy and good feeling, the proved necessity to both countries, the proved convenience to both countries of our plan, the unanimity of our people in its approval, the conviction that the safety and the interests of the State demand it, the forces of hope and of reform reconciliation—these are forces which, once organized, are superior to those arrayed against us, and which will insure the ultimate, and I believe also the speedy triumph of our cause. (Applause).

What is needed to that success? Hard campaign work, a proper propaganda in those quarters in which further enlightenment is wanted, such a propaganda as existed between the year 1888 and 1890, when enormous good was done in Great Britain in converting and enlightening and informing the masses, the suppression sometimes of emotions of impatience, which may burn all the stronger, but which the interests of the cause may require us to keep sternly under restraint, the steady fixing of our eyes on the great goal of our aspirations, and the avoidance of all side issues which may distract us from our march. And, above all,

UNITY IN OUR RANKS.

Not merely nominal unity, though that is much, but if it may be a real and cordial unity, that we should make the best, and not the worst, of each man who is striving according to his own lights for the good of Ireland (applause). That we should not magnify supposed errors or differences of our co-workers or seek any causes of offence; that we should try to make a correction where necessary, with the least damage to the cause; that we should treat each man's reputation as a national asset, to be made much of, and not to be destroyed. There have been and are and I suppose will be minor differences of opinion; but they are few and small. I declare to you, and I have some means of knowledge, that I have not been able to see on the great and important fundamental questions upon which we have had to decide since I joined the party, any substantial difference or cause of difference in the ranks of the Irish Nationalist Party. (Applause). Such differences as have occurred have been on minor and generally on incidental questions, not fundamental, some of them, to my mind, facititious and altogether inadequate to the stir and other that has been made about them.

You complain a good deal of these differences. But you are Irish-Americans. You are citizens of New York. I don't know much about New York politics, but since I came to town I have been told that everything is not quite harmonious in some of the political parties even here. (Laughter). I always think that it is useful for critics to look in a little upon themselves, and I hope that before you render very severe judgment about us you will think of No. 1. (Laughter). But I recognize, though I say that much in deprecation of too harsh judgments, yet I fully recognize with you, that our peculiar position, the position of a comparatively small and feeble country, whose national party is engaged in a constitutional struggle in which, after all, it numbers only 80 out of 670 members of Parliament, does demand a greater degree of unity, a greater sacrifice of individual opinions and preferences, a greater devotion, a greater spirit of union, than is rationally to be demanded of ordinary political parties, working in a self-governing community like this. (Ap-