ASQUITH'S SPEECH IN PRESENTING HOME RULE BILL

of the Irish Parliament. To make that 1893, that he shall hold office for a ial cheers.) matter abundantly clear we have pro-vided in the laust clause of the bill tenant will be advised in regard to in these terms:

respect to which the Irish Parliament has power to make laws, and which is dealt with he construction as a star as the executive in Irequestion, the supremacy, absolute and sovereign, of the Imperial Parliament.

to the control of the Imperial Parlia- That is all I need say upon that.

powers conferred by this statute, the question will be settled-if it arise in the course of ordinary litigation, which appeals, and from it to the judicial ambit of the authority of the new I gather from that speech that he committee of the Privy Council, and legislative body." next, even if the matter does not arise at 'all in the course of litigation, at the instance either of the lord lieutenant or the secretary of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, which shall determine the point even before the act has come into operation at all

Constitution of the Irish Parliament. So much for the legislative power of the new parliament. I now come deal with its constitution. As I have said, we propose that it shall consist of two Houses-one to be called the Senate, and the other the House of Commons. The Senate is to consist of forty members, and the question, of course, arises in what manner and by what process these forty members are to be selected. It will always be recognized, I think, that they should not be simply elected by the constituencies who return members to the Lower House. In the bill of 1892, where the number was, I think, fortyeight, they were to be elected, but elected upon a restricted franchisea franchise confined to owners and occupiers of property over a certain rateable value. We do not think on consideration that that is a satisfactory plan, and I believe that is the opinion of Ireland.

"We have come to the conclusionand it is a conclusion the reasonableness of which will, I think, become more clear when I state what are the character, the numbers and the composition of the Lower House, that the riages between persons of different best mode of dealing with the matter religious beliefs. These are the exwill be that the Senate should be a clusions, limitations and restrictions." will be that the Senate should be a nominated body. We think so in vivew of the special circumstances of Ireland. It is most desirable to get your Senate, if you can, representative of that is the future representation of ditions of Ireland will be best satis-fied by a nominated body—a body presentation at Westminster as esto retire by rotation, and as they retire their places to be filled up by the Lower House, consisted of 1893 the lower Ho are returned to this House by Ireland. other component parts of the United Experience shows — and the analogy Kingdom for whom this house will position cheers.) of other legislative bodies in our Do- still continue to be the organ of legminions seems to point to that conclusion—that the Lower House should Irish people themselves are prepared be of somewhat larger dimensions, and we propose that the numbers of the Lower House should be 194 elected tion at Westminster will be required There will be no constituency with a 100,000 of her population.

The Prime Minister-The right hon. that in another way it comes to this: ministerial cheers and laughter.) Counties 128, Boroughs 34, Univerprecedent of the South African conlic opinion in Ireland to have effect. So much for the composition of the Legislature. I now come to the ment religious disability will no long-

A Man With Piles Cannot Work

The depressing, undermining in erable and utterly cast down.

not tend to cheer one up. Many get trust to the Empire as a whole.

use of Dr. Chase's Gintment that u will be here with an unfettered right seems strange that anyone should to vote. For the reasons I have alneglect to give this treatment a thorough trial. If you could only read duction in their number makes that

Irish matters by the Irish executive,

and extending to Ireland the act of time being within the legislative com- within the limits of that delegation cheers.) and extending to Ireland the act of time being within the legislative comthe Irish Parliament shall be read petence of the Irish Parliament will they embrace at once, with the exception of the proposals were last bement. For any part, I entirely share

discharge of its. imperial duties. Religious and Marriage Clause. involves any such point—first of all ground of the objection which is taken Law) delivered to an audience in Bel-obstructed Ireland's progress in the that Mr. Parnell was willing in 1886 by an appeal to the Irish court of to the inclusion of Ulster, within the fast early in the present week, and

> "Which part of Ulster? We can and in the attitude and the action of look after ourselves," Captain Craig the government in regard to it nothing (U., Co. Down) interjected.

state here—by a special reference to Mr. Asquith proceeded, "to make special reference to the view that they ought to be here cial provisions for the protection and the life of a great nation.' (Loud Op- taxation in Ireland? Did he think the in small numbers. preservation of religious equality. 1 position cheers.) The present Govwill read the exact terms of the clause ernment, he told the people of Ulster, richer country would benefit the poor- speaking for all my colleagues on it is clause 3 in the bill-which we turned the House of Commons into hall submit for the consideration of a market-place (renewed Opposition h cheers)-where everything is bought

"In the exercise of their power to and sold.' (Opposition cheers.) He parliament shall not make a law so few months longer in office-(renewas either directly or indirectly to ed Opposition cheers)-his majesty's - government have sold the constitu-(that was in the bill of 1893)-or to tion.' We have sold ourselves! (Loud prohibit the free exercise thereof or ministerial cheers.) This, Mr. Speak-to give a preference, privilege, or er, is the new style." (Renewed minadvantage, or impose any disability isterial cheers and Opposition counter or disadvantage on account of religious belief or religious or ecclesiastical status, or to make any religious belief or religious ceremony a condition of the validity of any marriage.'

cheers.)

cries of "order.")

Opposition cheers.)

(Opposition cheers.)

cheers.)

The New Style.

Sir John Lonsdale (Mid-Armagh -

Mr. Asquith-Presumably because o

Opposition cries of "limehouse.")

that the right honorable gentleman re-

peats it here or is prepared to repeat

it on the floor of the House of Com-

Mr. Asquith - We are producing a

Mr. Bonar Law-Hear, hear. (Op-

Vigorous Vindication.

Mr. Asquith-In order that for

office. Does he really believe that?

(Ministerial cheers and Opposition in-

terruption.) What have I to gain?

(An Opposition member: "office."

burdens and responsibilities-(Opposi-

n very difficult and troublous times-

ministerial cheers)-now for the best

art of seven years, at the price of

ing for all time our personal and po-

house really believe that? (Minister-

We put this bill forward as the

he embodiment of our own honest

nd deliberate judgment. (Minister-

ial cheers, Opposition laughter, and cries of 'Toe the line.') What is their alternative? (Ministerial cries

with the present system? (Opposition

with it two years ago? Do they pro-

the demand of Ireland - (Opposition

eries of "Yes" and "Certainly")-be yond the naked vote of an irrecon-

There are at this moment twenty

and thirty self-governing legislatures

ilable minority and the promise

Ireland of Imperial gold?

pose to put anything, and, if so, what

ial cheers.)

irrendering our convictions and soil-

itical honor? (Ministerial cheers.)

tion laughter)—which we have borne

bill which the right honorable gentle-

man said elsewhere in the same speech

does not represent our views.

"These words, as the house will see, are chosen specially to exclude the possibility—I have never thought it Will the right honorable gentleman even a possibility—of legislation on finish the quotation? (Ministerial the part of this new Irish parliament to give effect to either of those recent the name of the 'Ne Temere' and Motu Proprio' decrees—in other words to establish any privileged status for the country or in any way to interfere with the validity of mixed mar-

Reduced Representation Retained. "Now I come to my fourth and last point," Mr. Asquith said, "and the minority, persons who will safe- Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. guard the interests of the minority, We regard the retention of the Irish persons who will not or who might not have a fair chance of being elected in a popular election, and it is still opposition laughter and ironical more desirable, perhaps, in Ireland than cheers.) Honorable gentlemen oppoto draw for the purposes of your Senate upon resources which are not their cheering until they have heard available in the case of elections. We exactly what the proposals of the believe that on the whole the exigen- government are. There never was a cies of the case, and the peculiar con- worse calculated cheer. I say we nominated in the first instance here sential. But in regard to numbers our by the imperial executive, the mem- proposal differs widely from that of bers to hold office for eight years, and 1893. We do not think that when Lower House consisted of 103 mem- to be represented here on the same bers, the same number of members as footing in regard to population as the islation. Nor do we believe that the

to advance any such claim. "Under our plan Irish representaby the existing Irish constituencies to 42. In other words Ireland will The unit of population is to be 27,000. have a member here, roughly for every population less than 27,000 which will langement does not necessitate any entitled to return a member. The general redistribution, but it involves effect will be this: Ulster will have the merger of most of the existing 59 members; Leinster 41; Munster 37; boroughs and counties and the group-and Connaught 25, and if you add the ing together of some counties which universities, which we retain for this at present have separate representation. Three boroughs will be left -Sir E. Carson-You cannot expect that is, for the purpose of Imperial representation-Belfast with four members, Dublin with three, Cork with gentleman will have a chance — that one. The university for this purpose makes a total of 164. If you divide will cease to be represented. (Loud

"There will be eight borough memsities 2. The exact distribution is bers, and thirty-four county members. shown in a schedule to the bill. When I may point out that the assumption there is a disagreement between the that the Irish representation here contwo Houses, if such a contingency tinues for party purpose to be divided should arise, we have followed the in something like the same proportions as it has been for the last, 25 stitution, and provided that the two years-that, of course, is a mere as-Houses should sit together and vote sumption—but upon that assumption cries of "Quite.") Were they satisfied together—that is to say, if the Lower the 42 members will consist roughly House persists after the disagreement of eight Unionists and 34 Nationalists. in its view on the particular measure showing a Nationalist majority of 24 in its place? Have they any answer to in question. The House will now see votes. (An opposition member. "Very that with an elected chamber of 164 useful.") There have been very few and a nominated chamber of 40, sithouses of parliament in my experience ting in joint session, there is every of over a quarter of a century in probability, at any rate, unless there which such a number has sufficed to freer and more copious outflow into be a very even division of parties, that turn the scale of political tortune between the two great British parties.

Retention Justified. under the allegiance of the crown. 'It may be asked why we retain any position of the executive. The head Irish members at all. In the first They have solved, under every diverof the executive will be, as now, the place, the Imperial House of Commons sity of condition—economic, racial and lord lieutenant, of whose appoint- will still continue to tax the whole of religious — the problem of reconciling e Uni ed Kingdom. Next, for some local autonomy with imperial unity. ars at any rate, this House of Com- Are we going to break up the Empire ns and the imperial executive will by adding one more? responsible for the administration cheers.) The claim comes to us this all the reserved serices in which time not from outlying quarters, but Ireland is vitally interested; but, fur-from men close to our own doors, ther, in our view, whatever other bound to us by ties of kinship and changes may be made, and however associated with us in every form of far the devolution of local affairs to social and indstrial intercourse, wh ocal bodies may be carried, the House have borne and are bearing their of Commons must continue to be the share-and a noble share it has been fluence of piles seems to affect mind House of Commons of the United —in the building up and holding to as well as body until the sufferer Kingdom—(ministerial cheers)— fair—gether of the greatest Empire in his from the annoying ailment feels mis- ly representing all its consistent facts tory. (Opposition cries of and inviting the co-operation of each our defeats in South Africa," "Pulling The itching, stinging sensations of them in the supervision of their down the Union Jack" and "What was which accompany piles 'e bad common interests, the transaction of Lynch doing?") The claim no longer The search for cure and their common business, and the dis- falls upon deaf ears. There has been thought of a surgical operation do charge of their joint and corporate reserved for this parliament and this House of Commons the double hone discouraged and allow their futures | "It is true that for a time and until of reconciling Ireland and of emane

to be ruined by this wretched ailment. there are further applications of the lating itself. (Loud and continued lit is so easy to relieve piles by the principle of devolution Irish members Ministerial and Nationalist cheers.) SIR E. CARSON. Reasons Why He Opposed the Bill. Sir Edward Carson (U., Dublin Uni some of the letters from cured ones a matter of less practical importance versity) said that in his opinion more who had suffered ten, twenty or thirty than it was, and we think it may well ridiculous and fantastic proposals than years you would no longer doubt the be found to be the duty of the House those outlined by the premier had effectiveness of Dr. Chase's Ointment of Commons after this bill has become never been put before that or any in the relief and cure of piles. They were absolutely

Commons, which is absolute master of unworkable, and all the safeguards of of free institutions in your empire. its own procedure—to anticipate in the premier had enumerated for the in a remarkable pamphlet issued a some degree further developments of welfare of the contemptible minority few years ago, said, 'Nomination and (Continued From Page Seventeen.)

(Conti mperial legislation, which can at any distinction of creed, and we propose, time nullify, amend or alter any act following the example of the bill of alone directly interested." (Minister-Unimpaired Supremacy. "We maintain in this hill unimpaired sition cheers and cries of "Answer!") "Where any act of the Irish Par- and I wish to make it perfectly clear beyond the reach of challenge or of Would he assert that its details had members, I stated that I agreed to

mier going to submit the bill to the house I have a perfectly consistent people of the country? (Loud Oppoliament deals with any matter with that, as far as the executive in Ire- question, the supremacy, absolute and ever been approved by the electors? It only with great reluctance, because ent of the Irish vote, nothing was Irish members would be called back ment has power to make laws, and which is dealt with by any act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, neither greater nor less. In other which we profess to give to Ireland a councils bill, where they are delegated powers but Were they are greater are greate passed after the passing of this act words, whatever matters are for the of taxation, are delegated powers, but Were they ever genuine? (Opposition the United Kingdom in what then would be would be

the Irish Parliament shall be read subject to the act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and, in so the Irish executive, and ters of local concern. If, as we believe ago—a great local concern. If, as we believe ago—a great local concern. If, as we believe local concern. If the other local concerns local of the United Kingdom, and, in so far as it is repugnant to that act, and no further, it shall be void."

"So you have, first of all, in the veto of the lord lieutenant, exercisable by the imperial executive, and subject to the ambit of the Irish executive, and to be the case, as certainly has been lireland. Yes; but all that had passed had gone to show how right the Opposition were and how wrong the with it a sense of responsibility, that will give to the Irish people a free Government of the day were. They istration of the imperial executive, and subject to the ambit of the Irish executive, and subject to be the case, as certainly has been lireland. Yes; but all that had passed had gone to show how right the Opposition were and how wrong the with it a sense of responsibility, that will give to the Irish people a free Government of the day were. They istration of the imperial executive, and subject to the administration of the imperial executive. Their alternative of Irish members have in any purpose. That is all I need say upon that.

Of their own national life, and at the their alternative. Their alternative of Irish members here in any numbers Mr. Asquith then proceeded to ex
same time bind them to us and the was to maintain the Union and do is an anomaly; but the constitution is ment, and next in the inherent power expressly preserved in the act of the limited provisions of the bill, remarking that as a matter of necessity and adequate safeguard for the maintenance of the ultimate sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament.

Mr. Asquith then proceeded to explain the provisions of the bill, remarking that as a matter of necessity as a sense of voluntary conjustice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up is an anomaly; but the constitution is full of anomalies, and still it works, and adequate safeguard for the maintenance of the ultimate sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament.

Mr. Asquith then proceeded to explain the provisions of the bill, remarking that as a matter of necessity operation—(ministerial cheers)—and, ent when Ireland was progressing as I believe in sincere and loyal attachment. (Renewed cheers.) At the pire, when confidence was largely remailty in your proceedings here.

The Best Way."

What is the best way to meet the constitution is an anomaly; but the constitution is justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice to Ireland. It was at a mompliant the Union and up justice t Now I come to the powers of the rights of judges, civil servants, and will have begun to break its own down, when men of all creeds were Legislature. If any question arises other officers, which, though not unas to the validity of an Irish act, as important, were relatively uncontrostage, for a fuller and more adequate moment that the Government selected ducing the numbers. For my part, Legislature. If any question arises other officers, which, though not un- bonds, and will be set free by the meeting each other in a spirit which that? The best way undoubtedly has "I read a speech of the right hon- of discussion and all those political erably more and I would not have I come now to a further limitation. "I read a speech of the right hon- of discussion and all those political erably more and I would not have This, I think, vitally effects the main orable gentleman opposite (Mr. Bonar and religious passions which had so complained. Let me remind the house

> separation of the poorer from the torn asunder, unfortunately, by relig- carry out the objections of its promot-"In the exercise of their power to and sold." (Opposition cheers.) He jour dissension and by very grave pomake laws under this act the Irish added that in order to remain for a litical differences — that the withthe two would bring about a better ninority, but it was a minority which had always been true to the United ist cheers.) Kingdom. (Opposition cheers.) The not neglect it. It was a dividing line Captain Craig-It is the truth, and because its Protestantism was in hisou do not like it. (Opposition cheers.) tory looked upon as the British occu-Mr. Asquith-I can understand why pation in Ireland. The prosperity of ne party opposite are so enthustas-Ulster gave the lie direct to those who vented other parts from obtaining a imilar state of prosperity.

In conclusion. Sir E. Carson said the before them; it was to oppose this bill papal pronouncements which go by the completeness of the contrast which with all the energy they could at every it presents to anything to which they stage and at every moment it was beor we have hitherto been accustomed. fore the house. They believed it to be a fatal bill for their country and for derical persons before the tribunal of This is all very well for Ulster; but this, and above all things, they bewhat about the House of Commons? lieved it would involve the greatest Mr. Bonar Law-I have said it here. series of dishonorable transactions hat had ever disgraced any country. Mr. Asquith—Am I to understand (Loud Opposition cheers.)

MR. REDMOND'S REPLY. "Separatists" a Very Small Section. Mr. John Redmond (leader of the Mr. Bonar Law-Yes. (Opposition Irish party) said that everybody would agree that this was a great and his-Mr. Asquith - Let us see exactly torical occasion, and that the subject erved from opponents, as well as Mr. Bonar Law-You have not got (Cheers.) It might possibly be considered the interests of some peo-Mr. Asquith - We are getting on ple in that house to engender passion with the new style. The right honor- in these debates, and to endeavor to able gentleman said that I and my overwhelm the issue by personal atcolleagues are selling our convictions. tacks or by insulting and irritating references to the nationality and cher-Captain Craig-You have sold them ished aspirations of the Irish people. to Mr. John Redmond. (Ministerial But he would like to say at commencement that, so far as his friends on those benches were concerned, they would not be tempted to

> retaliate. Separation Bogey.

"What are the main arguments against the principle of self-government for Ireland? The first is the question of separation, and Unionist ew months longer we may cling to orators are constantly saying that the Irish people want separation and that the Irish leaders are Separatists. I would like to be perfectly frank on (Cries of office and 80 Nationalist this matter. There always has been, and there is today, a certain section What are my colleagues to gain? of Irishmen who would like to see votes")-by a transaction to purchase separation from this country. for us a short further spell of the

"They are a very small section, but if it were a larger section which only desires separation as an alternative to the present system, and if you change the present system, and give Irishmen the management of purely Irish affairs, even that small section will disappear. If it survived I would like to know how in these circum-How many people, I wonder, in this stances it would be stronger or more powerful for mischief than it is at the

"It is constantly said that the late esponsible advisers of the crown, as Mr. Parnell was a Separatist in disguise, and it is one of the common places of the platform in this country that I and my friends are Separatists in disguise. When an assertion of that kind is made, as far as I am concernof "Tariff reform.") Are they satisfied ed, I can only deny it. What was Mr. Parnell's record in this matter? In his evidence on oath at the Parnell commission on May 1, 1889, he said: "I have never gone further, either in my thought or action, than the restitution of the legislative independence

"In 1886 he specifically accepted as final settlement of that demand the concession of a strictly statutory sub-ordinate parliament for Ireland. That acceptance by him was endorsed by the mass of the Irish people. "I pass to the proposals of the bill.

Let me take first the question of nominated senate. I personally have for many years taken the view that nominated senate-nominated not for life, but for a short term—is a far safer body than a senate elected on a narrow franchise. The late Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, who was one of most experienced men in the working

ment. (Hear, hear.) Was the pre- sending local representatives to this record. In the debates on the second reading of the home rule bill, of 1886. (Hear, hear.) In 1906, when independ- I looked forward to the time when would be a really imperial parlia-

"What is the best way to meet to throw Ireland into the melting pot they might have reduced them considto have no Irish members here, al-He had asked himself all through though such serious questions as the can see in all the proposals of this bill the speech of the prime minister what police and judiciary and other matters were the benefits that he indicated for of this kind were reserved to this Irishmen. He had not heard one. (Op- house. When Mr. Gladstone changed better (to use his own words) than the position cheers.) Did the right hon- his mind, and decided that Irish mem-"We thought and do think it right," latest move in a conspiracy as treach- orable gentleman think his complicat- bers should be here, Mr. Parnell took

"Viewing this bill as a whole and er country? (Opposition cheers.) Did the e benches, I say this is a great he think that in Ireland — a country measure, and a measure adequate to ers. (Nationalist cheers.) It is a great measure, and we welcome drawal of England as arbiter between (Renewed cheers.) This bill will be state of feeling? No. He (Sir Ed-tion, and I shall without hesitation submitted to an Irish national convenward), at all events, represented a recommend its acceptance to that convention." (Ministerial and National

"If I may say so reverently I per lividing line was there, and they could sonally thank God that I have lived to see this day. I believe this bill wil (Loud Ministerial pass into law. cheers.) I believe it will result in the greater unity and strength of the emaid that English misrule had pre- and for all-(an Opposition member: 'To cattle driving')-I believe it will Irish Unionist party had a plain duty disaffection that have existed in Ire-time-into a happy and prosperous journed.

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pire. I believe it will put an end once land and to the suspicions and mis- country."

understanding which has existed be- cheers.) tween this country and Ireland. r ve- On the motion of Mr. Balfour (U., put an end once and for all to the lieve it will have the effect of turning wretched ill-will and suspicion and Ireland in time—of course it will take City of London) the debate was ad-



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