

also that the members should be paid their wages, as they are here (applause).

In all these questions Ireland is as directly interested as Great Britain, and she is interested doubly, because she is interested in their settlement for Great Britain, since they will make the popular party in Great Britain, her allies, much stronger than they are to-day. These measures will be proposed. They will, I trust, be passed through the House of Commons. They may be buried in the House of Lords; but we shall get, any event, either a good law, which is the best thing, or a good argument against that House which rejects the bills, which is the next best thing (applause). We shall prove to the people that the Lords are intolerable if they don't give us these bills; and if they do give us these bills we shall take the full benefit of the bills.

THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

Then there is the Irish land question. The good intentions of parliament as to the tenants have been thwarted; and legislation is needed. The revision of judicial rents commences next year or thereabouts. It is highly important that the present men, who are, relatively at any rate, just and equitable rulers, should be in power when that revision of the judicial rents takes place, and not the men who by their legislation, their eviction-made-easy notices, and by the administration of the law under them have thwarted in favor of the landlords the view of parliament. Then there is the Evicted Tenants' question, which is also urgent.

All those things indicate that there is to be another session of parliament. We could wish it otherwise. No man more ardently than myself, if I could consider my personal interest and feelings, would wish that there should be no other session of parliament, and that there should be an immediate election; and so it is with my friends. But another session there must be in playing this great parliamentary game, in dealing with this constitutional reform, if we intend to fight so as to win. No more than one session. That, I take it, is an ultimatum. I believe it to be an absolute certainty that the next will be the last session of this parliament; and I observe that a respected minister and a good friend to Ireland, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, stated the other day at an English meeting that the election would certainly take place by the end of the next year (applause).

THE ORDER OF THE COMING BATTLE.

What, then, is to be the character of that election to which we are now to look, with reference to which every political move, every point of political tactics on the part of both parties is necessarily and properly to be directed? On what issues shall the allied parties go to the people? Home Rule first. (Applause). I place it before the House of Lords. I decline for my part as an Irishman to surrender for an instant the first place of Home Rule in the Liberal programme, in the programme of the allies. (Loud applause). I hold that any wavering note on that subject would be fatal to the alliance, would be an act of unparalleled treachery, and might well induce the friends of the Irish cause to despair of further alliances or even of further constitutional movements. But there has been no such sign; there will be, in my judgment, no such sign.

I believe that the leaders are right, and I believe that if the leaders were not right the masses whom they lead would keep them right. (Applause). Home Rule is to be demanded by the people, who will say that they voted for it by an adequate majority at the last election, that they continue of the same mind, and who will insist that it shall be yielded by the Lords, and that at their peril.

The Lords next, if you please. And how shall they be treated? Perhaps partly as they behave. My opinion, as a practical politician, is—well, it is my opinion of most things in the world—if you give me the substance you may take the show. (Laughter). I don't mind their keeping their coronets, and their titles, and their gilded chamber, and their power of proposing bills to us, and their power of suggesting amendments to us, provided always that we do away, once and for ever, with any suggestion that they have any right to thwart the deliberately expressed opinion of the popular body. (Applause).

There will, I am afraid, be other popular measures. I am afraid, because I believe the Lords are short-sighted enough to decline some of these bills, as they have declined others of them; and the question will be, "Are you going to vote for the continuance of a body which refuses you these measures of reform which you have voted upon and carried, in addition to Home Rule?" We are making up a cumulative case against the House of Lords. We want to make it just as strong as we can, in order that we may get as strong an adverse verdict against that chamber as possible.

Meantime what is being done for Ireland? Something; I may say much. Not much in the way of completed legislation, mainly because of that body to which I have referred, and

partly because of obstruction. But public opinion, as I have told you, is ripening on the question of Home Rule and on the question of the land; and an Evicted Tenants' Bill, a drastic Land Bill, a Coercion Repeal Bill, and a Land Inquiries Committee, with the most important results, have all passed the necessary stages in the House of Commons by far more than the normal majorities (cheers). There has been administrative action also, and not as firm, as rapid and as vigorous as I should have liked, but still ameliorating, and very, very different from anything we should have got under a Tory administration.

ABOUT THE EVICTED TENANTS.

About the Evicted Tenants' Bill, as to the issues between parties, I won't go into detail; I will shortly state them. We thought there ought to be somewhat more in the bill, but we are satisfied. Those who knew most of the question were satisfied, that if it had passed even as it had stood, it would have practically settled the great bulk, almost the whole, of the important cases. The Tories, however, said "no." They said, "It must be permissive; there must be no element of compulsion in it. It is just and expedient that something should be done; but it is not just or expedient that it should be compelled." We said, "We know our men. We know that there are men, wealthy men, whose wealth has largely grown out of the life-blood and sufferings of their tenants; there are wealthy men who of a spirit of vengeance will decline to act upon any permissive legislation. We decline for ourselves to put the tenants at the mercy of the Lord Clanricard; for that is what would be done by permissive legislation. They hinted in effect, as far as I can understand in the story of the talks, "Unless you yourself choose to withdraw the compulsory provisions, and send the bill to the Lords, with the compulsory provision taken out, we won't do anything." Our opinion was, that if the Lords wanted to take out these compulsory provisions, they should take the responsibility; their business was to amend the bill into the form in which they thought it ought to pass, and it was our business to say whether we would take it so rather than nothing. The bill was ultimately lost by its rejection in the Lords.

On the land question, it has been demonstrated by the work of that Land Committee that the law which intended to give the tenant an interest in the land equivalent to the value of his improvements, to create a sort of dual ownership, has been practically thwarted and perverted and whittled away in such a sense that the tenant has received but a mere fraction of the benefit which Parliament intended to confer upon him. And this extraordinary result occurred—that, whereas in Ireland the tenant was given this advantage, this just advantage, that he was made in effect a part proprietor to the extent of his improvements; and whereas in Ireland there was the Land League, and the plan of campaign, and the boycotting and the violence, and the agitation, and the laws, yet there has been a less reduction in the rentals of Ireland than has occurred without the operation of any law at all in the rentals of England, whereas the reductions ought to have been very much greater. Nevertheless the reductions in the rent amount to more than six millions of dollars a year; but the great fall in the values of agricultural products has swept away the benefit which might otherwise have been derived from those reductions, and it is plain that other steps, and clearer laws, and a more favorable and equitable administration of those laws are essential to do that justice which Parliament intended.

COMPULSORY PURCHASE A NECESSITY.

For my own part I have long believed—and on this subject also public opinion is, I am glad to say, rapidly ripening—I have long believed that compulsory purchase and the creation of a peasant proprietary all through the country form the only true solution of the Irish Land question. (Applause). All I want to take care of is, that the tenants shall not be persuaded into purchasing until we get a practical recognition of their right to their improvements upon a proper basis, so that they may not under the guise of purchasing the landlord's interest be obliged to pay for their own as well. (Applause).

THE POSITION AS IT STANDS.

Our desire, ladies and gentlemen, is to get that which includes all else, to get Irish self-government (applause), and in the meantime, as far as we can consistently with the progress of the great measure upon which all else turns, and in comparison to which all else, however important in itself, is insignificant, to endeavor to ameliorate the situation. I don't expect—that Home Ruler does expect—satisfactory government of Ireland from England. I don't expect it even from a liberal and favorable administration. We Home Rulers believe that it is impossible in the nature of things that Ireland can be satisfactorily governed by any other country. (Applause). We believe that her local affairs must be managed by her own people, and we believe it would be better for those people to have the management of