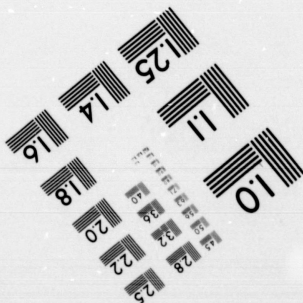
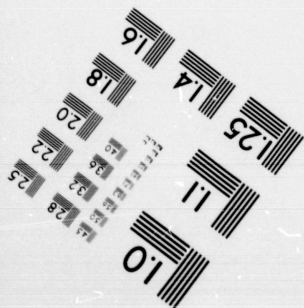
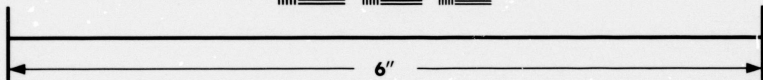
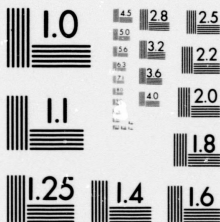


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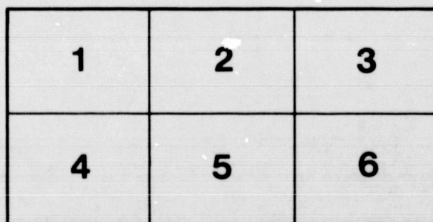
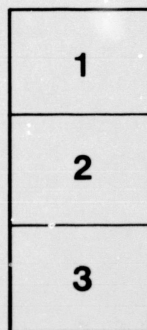
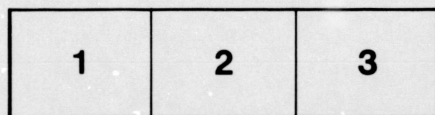
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Hon. EDWARD BLAKE on the Irish Question. A MASTERLY SPEECH.

SUPPLEMENT.

SPEECH OF THE HON. EDWARD BLAKE.

At the great Home Rule demonstration held under the auspices of the New York City Council of the Irish National Federation of America, at the Lenox Lyceum, Wednesday, October 17th, 1894, Mr. John F. Walsh, president of the Municipal Council, introduced Chief-Justice Daly, of the Court of Common Pleas, as Chairman of the meeting.

Hon. Joseph F. Daly, who was received with applause, said: Ladies and gentlemen—Called upon at the last moment to preside over what will be one of the most interesting and instructive occasions at which I am certain we ever assisted, it will not be expected of me that I can contribute anything in the way of eloquence to the proceedings this evening. All I can say is, that this is a Home Rule meeting, and you and I are here, and that means that we take the greatest interest in the cause.

Our distinguished guest is here to tell us the condition of the Home Rule movement in England and Ireland to-day. We are always anxious, and now are particularly anxious, to hear from one who, being on the spot and coming from it freshly, is able to give us the facts. But a single word concerning our distinguished guest. Mr. Blake before he crossed the sea to take part in this great movement had already achieved a distinction in his native Canada which might well have satisfied the ambition of an ordinary man. Twenty-seven years ago, or, rather, thirty years ago, he was Queen's Counsel and a leader of the Canadian bar; in 1867, a member of Parliament; in 1871, Premier of Quebec; and in 1873, a member of the Cabinet, and since then leader of the Liberal Party in Canada. He is now devoted heart and soul to the cause of securing parliamentary independence for Ireland, and a more able, devoted, sincere and zealous advocate no cause ever had (applause). I therefore bespeak for him a welcome worthy of New York and of the cause which he represents. I have the honor to introduce

THE HON. EDWARD BLAKE, M. P., FOR SOUTH LONGFORD.

Hon. Edward Blake, who was received with prolonged applause, addressed the meeting as follows: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—It gives me peculiar pleasure to have at last the opportunity of addressing a body of fellow Irishmen and women assembled in this City of New York, which contains, I believe, the largest aggregate of those claiming descent from Ireland of any place in the world, men who have always proved themselves in connection with the Irish struggle keen appreciators and warm encouragers of the cause of Irish self-government. I own, however, that that pleasure is tempered by a sense of the difficulty, serious to any man, and overwhelming to myself, of the task which I have set for myself this evening. It would tax a practiced orator to do what I am about to attempt, and I do not set up to be an orator. I am but a plain man, capable, at most, of saying plain things in a plain way to plain people like myself, and yet what I am to try to do is to bring before you in one short evening a general view embracing something of the past, something of the present and something of the future of our movement.

I shall then abstain from much which I would otherwise like to say. You must not expect of me under these circumstances that I should enter into the discussion of many details; that I should afford you many illustrations; that I should engage in the work of giving you much information upon points which would be of interest elsewhere, and to which I have no doubt even you would listen—needless though it might be to enter into such details to an audience of Irish-Americans. Speaking, as I have been often speaking, in Great Britain, I have found it necessary, even at this day, to enter into details with reference to the misgovernment of Ireland—the wrongs she has suffered, the difficulties she has endured, her need of and right to

self-government, which it would be futile to discuss before a body of Irishmen; and I pass by, as alike unnecessary and impossible to be dealt with in the time, much which it would be easy to state and upon which we should heartily agree.

I believe we have at this moment arrived at a very critical period in the great struggle in which we are engaged. I believe that the great majority of our people have an absolute and clear comprehension of the political situation and of the character of the struggle; are discerning, are resolute, are patient, are hopeful. But some there are, no doubt—and I don't complain; it is not unnatural—it takes all sorts of people to make a world, all sorts of people to make a nation—some few there are, no doubt, who are restless, nervous and despondent.

THE DECLINE IN POPULATION.

It may do us good, then, to take stock of the situation, to see how we have stood, how we stand, how we expect to stand, and by what route we propose to march. Then let me first bring before you, ere I touch on the late movement, some general facts which ought to affect our estimate of the situation and our view of our duty for the future.

We must never forget the condition of Ireland as proved by the experience of the last half century. It must be borne in though with sadness and sorrow, upon the mind of every lover of our country, that for the last half century her population has been diminishing with a rapidity and a steadiness unexampled and appalling. Half a century ago, in 1841, there were 8,175,000 people in the Island; in 1891 there were only 4,700,000—a loss of nearly 3,500,000 absolutely, independent altogether of the natural increase of the population. In the last census decade, from 1881 to 1890, there were 700,000 emigrants from Ireland, of whom no less than 613,000 found new homes in the United States of America. Meantime, while this unprecedented depopulation of our island was taking place, the population of Great Britain was rapidly and steadily increasing; and the result is a great absolute and a still greater relative reduction of our strength, measuring that strength for the moment by population only as compared with Great Britain. And it must not be forgotten that our losses were largely of the flower of our people, of those in the greatest vigor of youth and strength. What is the net result? In 1841 Ireland contained one third of the population of the United Kingdom, while to-day she contains about one-eighth.

THE DECLINE IN MATERIAL RESOURCES.

Turn to other resources not quite so important as men and women, but still important—to the question of material resources. Our material resources, counted man for man, may have increased. But they have increased, even counted man for man, at a much lower rate than those of Great Britain; and of course if you consider the diminished as contrasted with the increasing population in the islands, the difference in this respect is even more appalling. It was estimated in 1886 that the taxable income of Ireland was about one-fifty-thirds part of that of Great Britain. Depopulated, misgoverned, over-taxed, evicted, desolated Ireland could not be expected to make, and she has not made, progress commensurate with that of the happier neighboring island.

HOPFELINESS OF AN ARMED STRUGGLE.

Let me say one word with reference to those who, at perhaps the most inopportune moment at which it ever could have been suggested, seem disposed—I believe they are but a mere insignificant fraction of the lovers of Ireland—to despair of the constitutional movement and to suggest a recurrence to physical force. Let me remind them of another obvious change in that half century, which is, that the power of organized military forces, as compared with the resources of the undisciplined strength of a people, have enormously increased; that the invention of long distance guns of precision, and the methods of modern tactics, and the facilities of transport, have altogether changed the conditions of a fight between armies and a people struggling to be free.

A COMPENSATION ABROAD.

Well, now, at first sight, and from one point of view, for the hopes of Ireland, what I have said might have looked but ill. Yet I confidently believe, after all, that, sad and sorrowful as is the tale which I have told in these few words, all is to work for

the best. For in God's providence there has been growing up during those fifty years a greater Ireland beyond her shores, a greater Ireland planting her sons in Great Britain itself, in the United States, in Canada, in South America, in Australia, in New Zealand, in Africa—in what corner of the world will you not find them? (Cheers). There has been growing up all the world over a greater Ireland beyond seas, whose vigorous loyalty, whose determined and steadfast attachment to the land from which they went, or from which they sprung, have given hope and courage and help and confidence to those who, enfeebled and diminished in numbers, remain within the four seas, and are carrying on there under its new phase and its altered aspects the battle for self-government (Applause).

UNIVERSALITY OF MORAL SYMPATHY.

In these times also, in God's providence, it has occurred that the facilities of inter-communication all the world over have enormously increased. The knowledge men may and do get of the affairs of neighboring and of distant states, the knowledge absent friends may gain of the concerns of the country from which they spring, has been expanded. The telegraph, the railway, the steamboat, the post-office, the printing press, each one of these inventions has been an ally in the new struggle; each one has enabled us more and more to make common knowledge to the world of the condition of our cause, and to enlist the sympathy of our scattered sons and of civilized mankind. As a poet of this country has said—it is a quotation of which I am so fond that I often make it,

“For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along
Round the earth's electric circle the swift flash of right and wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet humanity's vast frame
Through her ocean-sundered currents feels the pulse of joy or shame;
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.”

SYMPATHY OF THE BRITISH DEMOCRACY.

In God's providence it occurred also in these latter years that there was a great spread of freedom and enlightenment; that the masses, the democracy of Ireland and of Britain, obtained an infinitely increased share of political power; that the masses of Great Britain at the same time, and in part by virtue of those agencies to which I have referred, got fortunately for us, knowledge with their power; and that the British democracy—which, as all Irish leaders have agreed, is to a large extent blameless for the wrongs which the governing classes did in evil days gone by inflict upon Ireland; that the masses of Britain began to learn the truth about Ireland; and, as they learned, naturally began to sympathize with the masses of the sister island (applause) and tended, (as I have had reason to know, having, as I have said, gone a good deal through England and met many intelligent men in conversation before and after meetings)—tended, long before the leaders of parties took up the cause of Home Rule in Great Britain, to the conviction that the Irish were a wronged people, and that they ought to be allowed to manage their own concerns. (Applause).

It was just during this time, just fifteen years ago, that there was formed an Irish National Parliamentary Party upon a re-organized basis, on a basis designed to use the machinery of the constitution for the purpose of agitation, for the purpose of reform, for the purpose of the redress of Irish grievances. So long as British leaders and British political parties, largely controlled by the classes, remained deaf to our appeals to their reason, remained united against us, but one line of constitutional agitation seemed open, and that line was vigorously and relentlessly pursued by the great Irish leader of that day—

A voice—Of this day.

Another voice—Parnell (applause).

Mr. Blake—Yes, Parnell; and I should be sorry that the day should ever come when at any meeting addressed by me Parnell's name should not be received with acclamation (applause). But, he pursued that line as a means, not as an end—as a means to an end. The object was to reach those deaf ears, to convince the people and the parties and the politicians that the Irish question must be faced. And in the accomplishment of that end the solidarity, the unity, the majestic march of the Irish people and of the Irish party soon produced its great effect; and the Irish claims were recognized in 1886 by the great British statesman of that day and of this century—by Mr. Gladstone (loud applause). The great Irish statesman saw his opportunity and seized it, and he effected an alliance with the British Liberal party on terms honorable to both parties—

A voice—Three cheers for Parnell (applause).

Mr. Blake—On terms honorable to both parties, and eminently calculated to achieve the object for which he had commenced and was prosecuting his agitation. And in pursuance of that alliance the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1886 turned out the Tory Government, and they put in Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals; and they sustained Mr. Gladstone and his Liberal Home Rule Government until the day came when that Government fell by an adverse vote in the House of Commons upon the question of Home Rule. The allied parties then went to

the country, as was necessary; but they were badly beaten. There was a majority of 200 against the Liberals in England; there was an adverse majority of 120 all over the United Kingdom, notwithstanding the great Irish majority on the other side, and the result was that the Tories resumed office, which they held for six years.

THE ALLIANCE WITH THE LIBERALS.

The alliance between the British Liberal Party and the Irish Parliamentary Party continued in full force and vigor. For what purpose? To put out our Tory foes? Yes, in part. To put in our Liberal friends? Yes, in part. To keep out the Tories and to keep in the Liberals? Yes, in part. But, still, each and all only as a means to an end. Because the one object for which we interested ourselves in these questions of putting one party out and another party in, and keeping one party out and keeping another party in, was to advance the cause of Home Rule for Ireland and the redress of Irish grievances.

Those tactics of Mr. Parnell were good; and they hold good so long, and so long only, as the Liberals are true and as the Tories remain hostile; so long as the Liberals keep as they have pledged themselves to keep, Home Rule in the front of their legislative and electoral platform. And the Irish have always been, and are recognized as always having been, and as being to-day, free to vote as the interests of their country require and to make any other alliances which they find will better serve their country than the alliance which at present exists (applause).

During that six years neither the Irish Nationalist party in Parliament nor the Liberals proposed again any Home Rule Bill. Why? Because it would have been useless, and a waste of time. It would not have been good tactics to do so. They showed a higher tactical quality. They faced the Tories who had a great majority, and who insisted that the union, as they called it, must be preserved, and that Ireland must continue to be governed from Westminster. They faced the Tories with the problems of Irish government from Westminster. They faced the Tories with these problems, and with Irish determination they presented them; and they faced also with equal solidity and sternness and determination the effort to establish in Ireland what the Tories called “resolute government” from London.

Meantime was the cause of Home Rule standing still? No! It was being advanced in the only way in which under a constitutional system and upon constitutional lines it could at the moment be advanced—by a diligent process of enlightening the masses, by constant appeals to them, by speech, by the printing press, by the leaflet, by the newspaper. These efforts were being made with reference to that to which politicians must always look great deal—to the next appeal to the people, to the general election which took place at last in 1892.

The efforts were such as were demanded in order to secure a good verdict at that time. The Liberals—our Liberal allies—offered to the democracy of the United Kingdom Home Rule as the first and prominent plank in their platform. But they offered also other democratic reforms, in some of which the people of both countries were interested, in some of which the British people or sections of them were interested, many of which were of a home rule character and type. This policy of offering to the people popular and democratic reforms was approved of by the Irish Nationalist party; indeed, like many other things, it was foreshadowed by Mr. Parnell himself, who at an early period suggested an alliance between the democracies of the two countries upon that very basis; that the Irish should help in the promotion of democratic reforms in which the British masses were interested, and that the British democracy should help the Irish in reference to their democratic demands. I don't think I need, before Irish-Americans, I don't think I need, before men versed in the play of politics, and of parties and of constitutional movements, waste—for it would be to waste—a single word in expounding the wisdom of a policy like that.

THE SPLIT IN THE IRISH PARTY.

A great and attractive programme was presented, and high water mark was almost reached, when that tragic event occurred which culminated in the split, which for the moment paralyzed the Irish party and largely depressed the prospects of the cause. A great rally was made—the best rally that could be made—but there were heavy losses, due to that sad event. One hundred majority was not merely possible, but, I believe, almost certain; and, with that hundred majority, Home Rule would now be law. But all we got was forty majority; and even that was a great triumph; for an adverse majority of two hundred in England was reduced to an adverse majority of seventy only, and in the other parts of the United Kingdom, as I shall show you, large majorities were reached.

The analysis of that majority is curious and it is cheering to Irishmen. As we came back from the general election fought under those adverse circumstances, there was a Home Rule majority of four to one from Ireland. There was a Home Rule

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majority of two to one from Scotland. (Applause). There was a Home Rule majority of about fourteen to one from Wales. (Loud applause). In England the people at the polls were almost equally divided. Of about 3,300,000 voters there were only about 70,000 votes more polled against than for Home Rule. (Applause). But the majority in Parliament was there as elsewhere disproportionate to the strength evinced at the polls. Still, even in England there were about three returned for Home Rule to every four against. So that the result was that of the four great divisions of the United Kingdom, in three we got not merely majorities, but large, decisive, overwhelming majorities in favor of Home Rule; while the people of the greatest division of all, England, were almost equally divided, and the return there was, after all, three for to four against.

THE CLAIMS OF SCOTLAND AND WALES.

The nationalists of Wales and the nationalists of Scotland have their home rule aspirations, too; they have demanded, and in part, in Scotland at any rate, have through our aid attained some measure of recognition of those demands; and Wales, above all, which has been our most steadfast friend, which has supported us from early days in this struggle, and which, as I have told you, sends twenty eight to two men to support Home Rule to-day, has interests of her own which it would be the blackest ingratitude on our part and the greatest folly to overlook and not to foster. (Applause). "He who would have friends," the Book says, "must show himself friendly." If you expect sympathy you must show that you have a heart to sympathize. And when those who under great difficulties are fighting your battle say to you, "Take a hand in for ours," if you don't choose to lift your hand, you are not good Irishmen, you are not good friends, you are not good politicians, and you don't deserve the support in the future of the men whom you neglect in the present. (Applause).

Well, gentlemen, Ireland under this plan of constitutional agitation which had led with such extraordinary rapidity, to such great results, took before the world an entirely new, elevated and advanced position. She enlisted at once during these years the sympathies of many all over the world who had been deterred by the other and more violent methods to which in times past resort had occasionally been made. She enlisted the sympathies of many who were moved to hope that the plans of reconciliation which Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone foreshadowed and proposed to the democracies of Great Britain and of Ireland might prevail, and they were roused—quiet men and women, peaceable men and women, even timid men and women, were roused to encouragement, to excitement, to assistance, all the world over, when they saw such a march on such lines towards such a goal.

A GREAT MORAL STRUGGLE.

Well, what had the contest become? The contest had become, and now is, no longer one of force, but one of reason. It is no longer as it was a contest of Ireland against Great Britain and against both her great political parties, but is a contest in which large majorities in Ireland, in Wales, in Scotland, and nearly one-half of England are opposed by small minorities in Ireland, in Wales and Scotland, and by the other half of England. It is a contest in which the public opinion of the United Kingdom, taken as a whole, has demonstrated itself in favor of the Irish cause, and in which the present administration, elected and working upon a Home Rule basis, is in office, sustained by a popular majority from the whole kingdom, between three and four times as large as that which Lord Salisbury got in 1886, and upon which he lived and worked vigorously against Ireland for six long years (applause).

It is true, that owing to those accidents which our imperfect system of parliamentary representation allows, that popular majority though three or four times as large, has produced a parliamentary majority only as large as Lord Salisbury had; and it is true that we feel the misfortune and the weakness incidental to that circumstance. But, after all, in these days, ladies and gentlemen, we don't pay so much to the question of the chances and the accidental turns which an imperfect system of representation may produce in a particular district as to the popular voice demonstrated by the strength of the people at the polls. We look to the poll books, we count up the numbers, when we consider the fate and progress of a great cause. And is it not encouraging that we should know there was in 1892 a majority over the whole United Kingdom in favor of Home Rule, reversing the policy of the Tories, and turning out their government, a majority three or four times as large as sufficed to put the Tories in in 1886 and to keep them in for six years? (Applause.)

The question then arose, What should our tactics be? Our tactics should always be directed to one object—to secure Home Rule, to secure self-government for Ireland. What should our tactics be, that being our object? At the beginning there could be no question. They were to see that an efficient Home Rule bill should be introduced early and pressed vigorously to an issue with the utmost power of the Parliamentary Party. Such a bill,

more satisfactory and efficient than the bill of 1886, which had been universally accepted, was so introduced, and was pressed by the venerable statesman who led the House of Commons with a vigor, an energy, a persistence, a cheerfulness, a vigilance, a determination which no man who did not see him there, the youngest apparently in spirit, the most fervent in ardor, though the oldest in years, could ever realize or believe (applause). It was pressed for nearly six months. During that time, with the necessary intervals, we labored at it; and in the end we were obliged to resort to drastic methods to reach any conclusion, because it had become perfectly plain that the game of the Tories was by the use of obstruction to prevent any conclusion. We reached that conclusion after unprecedented debate.

THE ACTION OF THE SECOND CHAMBER.

The House of Lords, an irresponsible body, owing their power to thwart the people's will, speaking of them as a body, not to their own merits, to any position created by themselves individually, but to the accident that they were the sons of their fathers, or the grandsons of their grandfathers, or the great-grandsons of their great-grandfathers—(loud laughter)—I don't care to go further back or search more deeply into the accidents of birth—(laughter)—the House of Lords, that irresponsible assembly, by a majority of ten to one, in four days' time threw out our bill; partly on the ground that these high and exalted critics, looking down upon the dust and sweat and toil and turmoil of six months in the House of Commons, said we hadn't taken time enough to consider the question, and partly because they said "The people have been deceived, and we insist that there shall be a new election before this measure passes into law." These were their main reasons.

The enemy's aim and game and tactics were to force us to the polls at once. They thought that if they could do that they could say throughout Great Britain, "Look at these men. When they came before you to win your suffrages they told you if you gave them power they would pass such and such democratic and popular measures; and now they come before you again empty-handed, not having made a single effort to pass one of the measures which they said they would give you. We would not object to these measures. Our objections are to Home Rule—not to English popular and democratic measures." They hoped, thus to put our Liberal allies in a false position which would have tended to the prejudice of our cause and given the Tories the victory. They hoped that the Irish would insist upon an immediate dissolution; they said so. I quoted a while ago in another place a speech of Lord Randolph Churchill's, in which he announced that the Irish would insist upon an immediate dissolution, because they could not stand the strain of a continuance in Parliament; they were too poor, and they could not afford it; they were too impatient, and they could not restrain themselves; they would force a dissolution upon Mr. Gladstone and his party in spite of himself and then the Tories would come in.

TAKING A LESSON FROM THE ENEMY.

Well, gentlemen, I suppose you know enough about politics—I shall not insult you by supposing you don't know enough about politics to be aware that it is useful sometimes to be taught by your adversary; but when you find your political opponents proposing to you to do thus and so, I apprehend that you don't ordinarily fall into their trap, and do exactly what they would have you to do. What political chief, what general in the conduct of a war could ever win a battle who should allow his adversary to dictate his plan of campaign. For my part I suspect any plans which my adversaries may propose to me for adoption; I prefer to make my own plans; and they are not generally those which my adversaries would like. (Applause).

So we considered that was the reason of the case, and we decided that since Home Rule could not become law after the declaration of the Lords until there was a popular verdict afresh in its favor, it was to the common interest of ourselves and our allies, to do those things and to submit to those short delays which might be necessary and reasonable to enable us to go to the constituencies, to which we look for strength, on the most favorable terms, so as to produce a good verdict. Our allies said, and they said with force, "If we proceed to dissolve at once we shall be charged with having broken our pledges; we shall be charged with having neglected our duty." We shall be told, "It is true, you have failed to carry Home Rule through the Lords, but you carried it by the popular vote through the Commons. There are other things which you might carry through both the Houses, in which we are deeply interested, and we want them. And if these people are so impatient that they force you to dissolve without even an effort to do those things which come close to our doors, which are of our daily needs, to which you pledged yourselves, how long do you think our sympathy will remain at high-water mark, and how favorably do you suppose Home Rule will be considered?" They added this, that the Tories should be put face to face with those other popular and democratic measures as to which they wanted to avoid the odium of rejecting them. Particularly the Liberal-Unionists, who still masquerade to some ex-

tent in the guise of Liberals, want to avoid being put face to face with other popular and democratic measures, and being obliged to say "yes" or "no" to them; and that is one of the reasons they were anxious for the dissolution.

The Irish Nationalists of Great Britain, than whom there is no more intelligent and patriotic body, no body determined to do justice to Ireland, no body more keen to perceive the tactics and course by which justice may be best done; the Irish Nationalists of Great Britain, mixing as they did with their British allies every day, and fighting their battles together, were themselves fully convinced of the necessity and importance of putting the Tories face to face with these popular and democratic reforms, and of continuing the Parliamentary contest to that end.

There was another reason. Just laws are wanted for the elections. The battle is to be fought at the polls within a few months, and laws are required in order that we may get a just verdict at those polls. These laws we ought to pass through Parliament if we can, and if not through the whole Parliament, at any rate through the popular body, and throw the odium of rejection on the House of Lords, which has stood between us and our dearest aspirations (applause).

TORIES LEARN THE ART OF OBSTRUCTION.

Well, gentlemen, the government proceeded, and they placed before the House of Commons popular and democratic measures, some affecting both countries, some affecting Ireland, some affecting Britain. The Tories in the Commons have pursued a course of persistent obstruction. Their plan is that unless the majority give way to the minority, and emasculate measures, cut them and carve them to suit the minority, the minority shall take up so much time in so called discussion that the Government shall only be able, with the greatest difficulty, to pass a single measure or so, and shall be obliged to throw aside all the remaining measures. And to a considerable extent that policy of obstruction has prevailed in point of delay, and more time has been taken than was at first expected. The Lords have used their legislative power to mutilate and murder; they have taken the good out of some measures, and others they have altogether destroyed. Still much British and Irish business has been dealt with in one shape or another. A good deal has been pushed forward. There has been much House of Commons' decision, and I point your attention to that as no unimportant circumstance. It is the fact that no first-rate measure keenly exciting political feeling has ever passed the House of Commons by a fair and good majority which ultimately failed to get on the statute book; the consummation may be postponed, but the result so far as precedent goes is inevitable. And the circumstance, with reference to Irish measures, that those to which I shall point have passed their House of Commons' stages by majorities always beyond the normal, sometimes twice as great, once half as great again, and once considerably in excess of the normal Government majority, is pregnant with good fortune and good omen for the ultimate triumph of those measures (cheers).

WISDOM OF THE IRISH PROGRAMME.

Meantime I want to know whether the position of Ireland, and of Irish claims and of the Irish members as the representatives of those claims, was not being improved by our course? Time and again have the most responsible statesmen in office and out of office gravely and publicly acknowledged the debt of thankfulness which the British democracy owes to the Irish Parliamentary Party for its self-sacrificing and assiduous attendance in pressing forward the objects of that democracy. Do you suppose that that is not advancing the cause of Home Rule? Do you suppose that to accumulate claim after claim upon the good feeling, upon the attachment, upon the respect, upon the confidence, upon the fidelity of our Liberal allies, is not to forge link after link in an inexorable chain, an irrefragable chain, which shall draw and keep our own questions to the front in proper time and season, and which shall prevent the possibility of a capture or of a desertion in reference to our claims? (applause.) The Liberal debt to Ireland, great early in the struggle, has been increasing every day. And this is a debt which we don't count out in dollars and cents, in respect of which there is no bond or mortgage; but it is a debt of honor, it is a debt of good faith, it is a debt of sympathy, it is a debt of kindness, which is always repaid, not, indeed, with usurious or counted interest, but with measure heaped up and running over by those who are worthy of the name of men (cheers).

The Liberals, our allies, expect shortly to present to the people a considerable programme, and to fortify our case against those men in the gilded chamber who have for the moment blighted our hopes, to fortify our case by the attitude which these men may take with reference to unsettled reforms. In that programme the very first and most prominent article must be, is to be, is understood to be, the concession of Home Rule to Ireland. (Loud applause). The concession of Home Rule to Ireland is to be taken as the settled Liberal policy, announced in 1886, upon which they then ran an election, upon which they were then defeated, announced again in 1892, upon which they again ran an election, upon which they were then successful, and on which they expect a decisive verdict now!

(At this point some smoke appearing in one of the boxes caused commotion.)

Mr. BLAKE—Keep your seats. Don't be frightened by a puff of smoke. (Applause).

Now, our allies, like ourselves, are not all men of exactly the same temperament, and don't view this question from exactly the same standpoint; I have seen many of them; I have addressed many scores of meetings and talked with many scores of the rank and file, besides mixing with the leading men of that party; and I think I have been able to form, as I have made it my business to form, some estimate of the general tone and temper of the Liberal party with reference to Home Rule. The great bulk of them—and the further you go amongst the masses and the more radical and democratic you find the men, the stronger and wider is that sentiment; the great bulk of them are ardent sympathizers in and believers in our right to Home Rule. (Applause). But there are some who think though after all it is the best plan, yet it is experimental and so doubtful; and there are others who think it inevitable, but who still, perhaps, might prefer some other way, if it could be obtained. Gentlemen, everything is fish that comes to my net. (Applause). I would rather have an ardent friend than a cautious, temporizing, doubtful friend, and if I have a cautious friend I will try to turn him into an ardent friend. (Applause).

The vast mass of the Liberal party is as ardent, devoted and determined as you could expect; and for the rest, they are with us, and we expect to make them as ardent, devoted and determined as the great majority of that party.

Then remember that we have common interests. We have the interests of their party, as of our own, to win. Political parties want to win. It is the interest of the British Liberal party to win, it is the interest of the Irish Nationalist party to win; and I think you know enough of politics to appreciate that that is not a little thing. A man will do a great deal, and parties will do a great deal to win. We have the interests of the two democracies against class privileges, against the abused privileges of the House of Lords, against the continuance of unjust conditions respecting the masses. Our co-operation has engendered a better feeling between the two peoples; and all the time, most important for us, we have been still engaged, not as assiduously as we might, as I shall later explain, but yet we have been engaged in still more enlightening and informing the British masses, in still more settling their minds, as to the treatment of this question as an absolutely settled business, which they are determined shall be disposed of, once and for all and that right soon, by the concession of a substantial measure of Home Rule to our country.

THE TASK BEFORE THE ENGLISH LIBERALS.

Now, our Liberal allies have 570 districts to deal with; we have 100 in Ireland. They want to win; and even if we differed a good deal from their opinion as to the best tactics for them to win by, I think you will agree with me that we should on this head defer very greatly to their opinion, because they have much better sources of knowledge, they know more about it, as we know more of the feelings and wants of the people of Ireland and of the secret springs of action in their own country; and when they say "such and such are the tactics which we require to follow in order that we may fight our allied battle successfully," we would be fools if we were lightly to reject their advice and say "We Irishmen are wiser than you about English public opinion, and we tell you you are mistaken, and you ought to act in a different way." We may tender our advice; but, after all, with reference to those who are responsible for 570 constituencies in which they want to win a majority, we must let them to a considerable extent in point of tactics play their game, as they must let us play our game (applause).

A general election, to be fair to the masses, demands more legislation. We want a registration law. At the present time there is an enormous transitory population in the country, and the registration law is so cumbrous that at any general election a very large portion of the population is practically disfranchised. That is unjust, it is unfair, no matter what the politics of the disfranchised are. But it bears infinitely harder on the popular party than it does on the aristocratic and wealthy and stay-at-home part of the population; and, therefore, justice and expediency alike demand that we should prepare for a full and free vote by amending the registration law.

We want every man to have one vote; but at the same time we must see to it that no man shall have more than one vote (applause). At present many men have many votes, and we want that changed. We want the elections held on one day. We want the public expenses of the election, which at present in that country which you will call benighted, are borne by the candidates, to be borne by the public, that the constitution of the great public machine for public purposes should be accomplished, so far as the public expenses of the sheriff and returning officers are concerned, at the public expense. And we want

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 burked 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's;" 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

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 is 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 those 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-

plause). I agree with that view; I sympathize with it. I, myself, am under the Irish pledge. I signed no pledge. But I understood myself to be honorably bound by it, and I have acted under it. I would not have taken it in my own country. I took it under the conviction that the Irish cause demanded the large degree of sacrifice of private opinion which that pledge exacted, and by it, in spirit as well as in letter, I intend to abide. (Applause).

A great convention was held by the National party in Dublin, in November, 1892. I have not troubled you with quotations; but I prefer on this important question of national unity to give you the words of men of greater weight and experience than are mine. True those words were addressed in terms to somewhat different conditions; but in the circumstances and the principle they apply to-day. At that convention our ablest parliamentarian and our most eloquent speaker, Mr. Sexton (loud applause), spoke thus:

"A united Irish people, a united Irish party, has been substantially restored. Great principles, indispensable principles of conduct and of action have been the subject of our struggle. If those principles had been suppressed the Irish cause was lost. What were they? Let me recall them to your minds, and I ask you to fix them in your minds for ever. The first of them was, that the Irish cause, the cause of Irish liberty, the fortune of the Irish people, is supreme in its allegiance and in its claim upon the life and the service of every Irishman, and that no other cause and no other claim shall ever be brought into rivalry or competition. The second principle is, that the representatives of a people struggling to be free must firmly act together. They must act together or they will not win. The third principle is, that in order that they should act together they must pledge themselves to discipline and obedience. And the fourth and final principle in this code of the fundamental and indispensable principles of the Irish cause is this, that the penalty for breach of the solemn pledge is exclusion from public life. I say if these principles had been suppressed the Irish cause was lost. These principles were challenged. They were attacked. They were attacked, but they were defended. They were defended and they have been maintained. They have been maintained and carried to the front of our public life, and there they will remain for ever." (Loud applause).

Now I read you a quotation from a speech made at the same convention by another able and prominent member of the Irish Party.

"What, then, should be the spirit in which we approach this occasion? I say, in a spirit of reserve, in a spirit of recollection, in a spirit of due solemnity. And I say that if there were patriotic hearts in Ireland, I care not how extreme they be, that to hail the coming of that day they should rejoice and they should be willing to work in unison with their brethren, no matter what minor details have separated them. I decline the invitation to make current controversy in Ireland one long *post mortem* examination. And if we fail by our dissensions, by our divisions to achieve the purpose which we all assert, history will not engage in a discussion as to a nice apportionment of blame, but will curse the folly of the men who in the last and declining years of a great statesman, whose life is dear and precious to Ireland, spend the time in odious recrimination."

And again:

"True it is they rate themselves very highly and adopt noble maxims. Did you ever know in the history of heresy and schism one was ever started without maintaining that it alone had the true deposit of faith? Did you ever know any creed to be promulgated in any country that there was not something to be said in favor of? And accordingly I take my stand in regard to all the questions of the future, in regard to the Home Rule bill or any other matter. I judge them by one fact, namely this—that they pledged themselves before conventions and the country to abide the rule of the majority, and they have broken their word. And why is it that they stand aloof from their countrymen? Is it a question of principle?—some question about the land or the judiciary? I say it has become the merest personal question. There are certain natures who would rather rule in hell than serve in heaven, who would rather be captain of the Forty T'ieves than a private in the regular army. If these nine statesmen came back within the bosom of their party—for it is their party—and had but debated in the forum and councils of that party with Mr. Sexton, Mr. John Dillon or Mr. O'Brien on questions of Land or judiciary or of veto, I think they would pretty soon find their level and their match." (Applause).

That is an extract from the speech of Mr. Healy. True, its application was to the Redmondites; but its spirit and principle are eternal and inimitable; and each of us should take them to his heart to-day. (Applause). The National cause is indestructible by its enemies; but its friends have greater power for ill as well as for good. We cannot be murdered, we may commit suicide!

Well, gentlemen, our enemies rely on these discords; they make much of them. They make much of our petty wrangles and they look for triumph because they believe that the Irish people will not remain steady and will not remain united. Disappoint their expectation! Do not refuse to support the views of the Irish Parliamentary Party because of any differences which you hear. Do you yourselves act up to the pledge as we act up to the pledge. Help us to sustain the unity and the solidarity of the Irish Party—

A voice—And we will.

MR. BLAKE.—Or else you, yourselves, may be to blame as pledge breakers and promoters of schism.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

Now, gentlemen, I turn to the question of the sinews of war. You know that an army in the field is said to march upon its belly, because it must have food; and political battles cannot any more than battles in other fields, be carried on without reference to the question of money. In Boston last January I gave a free and full and frank statement of our finances. And on the basis of this year being the election year, a basis which has not been realized, but which is to be realized next year, I estimated that we need from one source or another for the ordinary expenses, for the evicted tenants, for the election fund, and for the payment of certain debts occasioned by the paralysis of the split, \$240,000. That estimate included the expenses of the British propaganda, \$20,000; of the general election, \$45,000; for the debts, \$31,000; making on these three heads alone, \$96,000.

As to the propaganda. We have not been able to spend one dollar of that \$20,000, because we didn't get it. A few of us who could manage to do so have travelled about the country, and have held meetings at our private charges. But the work which I explained then, and which I repeat to-night, I regard as most important for the success of the next election, was left undone this year; and I do hope and trust that the friends of the Irish cause will not permit it to be left undone in the next and critical year, the last before the general election.

Then there are the general election expenses. You know that the public costs of the returning officers are to be borne by the candidates. We hope in the near future to secure the redress of that abuse. But we cannot tell, we cannot be sure that a measure so advantageous to us will be passed by our enemies, and, therefore, we must prepare, as prudent men, to meet the necessary expenses of the election.

As to registration work, which was amongst my estimates, I am glad to tell you that we have economized as much as it was possible to economize; and, gentlemen, I may say that I have known something during the last two years of our receipts and our expenditures. I have scrutinized them carefully; it has been my not very enviable lot as one of the committee, to have something to do with them, and I declare that so far as I can judge you may confidently rely upon the prudence, the uprightness and the economy with which these funds have been administered. We have economized to the utmost, and in some cases we have obtained relief from unexpected local sources. We have already spent this year in registration about \$6000 and expect to have to spend more. The result of our work has been extraordinarily fortunate. So far the indications are that we will obtain in different quarters results for which, when I left the country, I hardly hoped; and that if only good fortune, unity, fair play and reason rule in our councils, if nothing darkens the present prospect we shall come back to Parliament a very much stronger Parliamentary Party in numbers and morale than we are to-day.

As to the debts, we were enabled to pay only one-quarter of my estimate.

As to the evicted tenants, the disbursements were cut down. I regret to say necessarily cut down largely, and the funds are now exhausted.

But we have been able by these means, by omitting some things which were important to our cause, and by the circumstance of the postponement of the election, to keep the expenses within the receipts. Had the election come on, however, we would have been sadly, might have been fatally crippled.

As I have said, the election must come shortly after the close of the next session. The sum I estimated last year is therefore substantially required. Of course if the Paris funds are released we will be free for the year from the burden of the evicted tenants; and that will be settled now in a few days. The only question is whether an appeal is to be taken from the present decision; and this we shall know, I understand, in the course of the present week. If that appeal is not taken it may be understood that a very considerable sum will be at our disposal for the tenants. If an appeal is taken an indefinite postponement of help from that quarter will result.

This country, the citizens of whose metropolitan city I am

addressing, did for Ireland hardly anything last year. The City of Boston gave \$5000; the City of Chicago gave \$5000; both after meetings which I had the honor of attending. From all other quarters came only \$1000. About \$11,000 was what the United States of America sent last year. But I am not complaining. I know the circumstances right well. We did not appeal to you except in those one or two cases in which we were assured it was possible to obtain a partial answer without great inconvenience. We made no general appeal. We knew the severe and long protracted financial and commercial crisis to which you had been subjected. We knew of the silver crisis. We knew of the tariff crisis. We knew it would not be reasonable, or even humane to suggest under these circumstances an immediate appeal. I cannot ignore that there were other reasons also. We knew that the long continuance of the struggle had worn out the patience of some; and that continued dissensions greatly magnified, and largely or wholly needless, had paralyzed the efforts of others.

In these distressful conditions I am glad to say as a Canadian, I am proud to be able to say as a Canadian, that my country came forward, and that Canada gave at the most critical period, when but for her the movement might have collapsed, \$15,000, half as much again as these United States. (Applause).

We could not appeal to Ireland till lately, because of the currency of the Evicted Tenants' Fund. Had we appealed early, the attempt to create a new fund, while the other subscription was going on, would have paralyzed both funds. Later we appealed with fair, though hardly brilliant results.

Having made that brief statement I want to give you some details of receipts and expenditures. We have adopted the plan of having no secrets. We have let everybody know—all the world, friends and foes—what we get, where we get it, and how we spend it. (Hear, hear). We believed you were entitled to this information; we believed it was the only way, after all, of throwing upon the friends the responsibility of determining whether they would permit the movement to fall or whether they would assist its progress. I cannot give you the accounts for the whole year, because the year is not up; it ends at the close of this month. But in anticipation of this meeting I took the precaution of obtaining the rough accounts up to the close of last month, that is for the eleven months.

During that time we have had four funds—the Evicted Tenants' Fund, the Home Rule Fund, the Irish Parliamentary Fund, and the new Parliamentary Fund started in Ireland. I cut them in two. I take the Evicted Tenants' Fund, which is a separate fund, by itself, and I trouble you with a few figures which to many might be uninteresting, but which I believe will be interesting to the hearts of those who are anxiously looking to the result of the struggle. Our receipts and payments, in round figures, including the balances from the previous year, were as follows:

EVICTED TENANTS' FUND—RECEIPTS.	
Balance.....	\$1,850 00
From Ireland.....	58,650 00
“ Britain.....	2,850 00
“ U. S. America.....	50 00
“ S. America.....	1,600 00
“ Australasia, &c.....	1,700 00
TOTAL.....	\$66,700 00

PAYMENTS—Treasurers Evicted Tenants' Committee,	\$63,550 00
Expenses, office, conventions, printing,	
advertising, stationery, &c.....	2,950 00
TOTAL.....	\$66,500 00

Which makes the expenses and the receipts about balance, and leaves us at this period of the year without a shilling in the treasury for the evicted tenants.

I take the other three funds together—the Home Rule, the Irish Parliamentary, and the Parliamentary funds, as they are all for the same general purposes. We received—

Balances.....	\$4,000 00
From Ireland.....	24,700 00
“ Britain.....	4,000 00
“ U. S. America.....	11,050 00
“ Canada.....	15,250 00
“ Australasia, &c.....	1,300 00
Anonymous and unallotted.	2,850 00

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... \$63,150 00

We paid—

To the Treasurers of the Parliamentary Committee for members' allowances.....	\$41,200 00
Which pays them to the close of the year.	
Irish National Federation, to aid registration expenses.....	5,850 00

Brought forward.....	\$4,7050 00
Repaid Mr. Curran, M. P., on account of his loan at the last general election.....	7,750 00
Election expenses, petitions, law costs and special grants.....	2,350 00
Expenses, offices, conventions, printing, advertising, stationery, &c., including \$1500 advanced to Irish National League of Great Britain in connection with their operations,	5,250 00
TOTAL.....	\$62,400 00

As against \$63,150 received.

So that you see those funds are about exhausted.

In round figures, the funds at the disposal of the party for the past eleven months, including balances, thus amounted to \$130,000, of which over \$88,000 came from Ireland (applause) and under \$42,000 from elsewhere.

The disbursements amounted to \$129,000, of which \$66,500 were applied to the evicted tenants' account, and \$41,000 to the members' allowances. So that you see that after all, Ireland has not lost hope and courage, and that, although she labors under very great difficulties, and has large local expenditures to make, yet irrespective of those local expenditures which do not go into the central accounts, she has given two-thirds of the whole central funds provided to carry on the struggle.

Our appeal has been always, as it is to-day, to our own people. Much painful discussion has lately arisen, in regard to an unfortunately worded circular sent by error of some local branch officers to some British Liberals, including members of Government, and responded to by many good friends of ours, including our venerated friend, whose name will always be received as it has been received this night—Mr. Gladstone. (Applause). Of him I need not speak: his eulogy is written in the heart of every true Irishman. (Cheers) The response included also one of our firmest and staunchest friends, Lord Tweedmouth, better known to the Irish people as Mr. Marjoribanks, of whose fidelity to the cause of Ireland, of whose strenuous devotion to her interests, of whose skill and ability in connection with the weary months' discussion of the Home Rule Bill and the maintenance of the solidarity of the Home Rule party, I can speak with confidence, because I know; I was there. And I can say that the Irish people owe to him a deep debt of gratitude for unwavering fidelity, staunch devotion and most skillful labor in their cause. (Applause). I could have wished that friends and colleagues of the Chairman of the Irish National Party had communicated with him privately before engaging in public discussion on this subject, and that if public discussion were thought necessary another tone had been adopted in that discussion.

THE LIBERAL LEADERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS.

You know Mr. Justin McCarthy (loud applause). But you do not know, no one who has not mixed in intimate association with him, who has not seen him, watched him, lived with him, heard him, observed him, as I and some others have for the last two years, can know the virtues of his character. A more unselfish, a more self-abnegating man, a man more mild, more genial, more desirous to promote harmony—a man who along with all those qualities retains a more unwavering grasp of great principles, and a more tenacious determination that good shall be done, if it can be done, for Ireland, than Mr. Justin McCarthy I do not know. (Applause). He has labored and suffered for your cause. He has retained, at enormous personal sacrifice of health, of means, of comfort, of all that a man can wish for, the post of chairman in the interests of the party, and to no man do we as a party owe more than to him. (Cheers).

Well, our Chairman, who happened to be in London alone, supposed that the two subscriptions which were sent to him direct—the subscriptions of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Tweedmouth—were spontaneous; and that the reference contained in Lord Tweedmouth's letter to a circular applied to some notice which he might have seen in some newspaper, and not at all to any application which had been made to him. Our Chairman thought it impossible to refuse Mr. Gladstone's testimonial of good will, and difficult to return Lord Tweedmouth's check, which was sent by Lord Tweedmouth in the letter covering Mr. Gladstone's. I will quote Mr. McCarthy's own words: "I thought it a grateful action on the part of the Grand Old Man, who is now out of public life, and I did not think I could distinguish between the two offerings which came together under the one authority."

Please remember that those subscriptions of one hundred pounds apiece were but a drop in the bucket. Ireland had given about £5000 at the time, and was still subscribing; and two hundred pounds from these sources did not in the least degree alter the national character of the tribute which was being paid

Mr. Blake's speech continued on page 13 of HOME RULE BULLETIN.

Mr. Blake's speech continued from page 12 of the SUPPLEMENT.

for the members of Parliament. We were at that time, comparatively speaking, flush of money; and more was coming in; and the fund, notwithstanding these subscriptions, was and remained a national fund, an Irish fund, to which these sums made no material pecuniary addition, although the sentiment resulting in their spontaneous offer would be valuable to the cause. (Applause).

Still, after full consideration, and when it had become clear that these and some other subscriptions had been sent in response to the circular erroneously addressed, the Chairman, looking over the whole situation, thought it better to avoid all risk of misconception by causing all such subscriptions, save that of Mr. Gladstone, to be returned; and this has been done. So that in name and in form and in substance this question remains as it was before that circular was issued. In truth, and I can speak upon this subject with absolute confidence on evidence by which I shall convince you, there never could have been any idea in the mind of Mr. McCarthy, or, for that matter, as I know and as I shall prove to you, in the mind of Messrs. Sexton, Dillon, O'Brien, or O'Connor, of asking for subscriptions from those quarters for the Parliamentary Party fund.

I give you my proof. Last spring, in our very darkest hour, when the session was going on, when the fate of the Home Rule government and the Home Rule cause depended upon the Irish vote being kept at Westminster, when the Canadian subscriptions were exhausted, when there was nothing from the States, when it was absolutely impossible, for reasons connected with the evicted tenants' fund, which I have described, to make any appeal to Ireland, when we did not know where to turn, when we were within measurable distance of collapse for want of funds, I myself, as a person who was known to have had some little success in collecting funds on this continent, was approached by a generous friend, by a British Liberal, who was a staunch ally of our cause, who had done much for us politically, and who did not want to see it fail in this miserable way. I was approached by him, and he said to me, "I have done a little for this cause. I have labored for it. I don't want it to fail in this way. It ought not so to fail." And being a very wealthy man, he said to me, "I am willing, and I offer as a testimony of my continued interest in the cause, to give you in my own name or anonymously, or any way you please, two thousand pounds sterling."—\$10,000—"as a subscription to the Irish Parliamentary Fund." That, gentlemen, was Lord Tweedmouth. (Loud applause). The offer was made in the handsomest spirit. It was made in a spirit of respect for those to whom it was made. I told Lord Tweedmouth that I did not believe it would be possible to accept that offer; but that I was not going, in the circumstances under which we stood, to take on my own shoulders the responsibility of decision. I had some private conversation, not mentioning the name—for this is the first time I have mentioned the name; I have thought it due to Lord Tweedmouth, under the circumstances, that it should now become known, and I make it known to the world to-night. Without mentioning the name I told the offer to some friends, to the gentlemen I have named—Messrs. McCarthy, Sexton, T. P. O'Connor, Dillon and O'Brien. They one and all declared to me their opinion that the money could not be accepted (applause), even although a collapse of the movement were inevitable. They said, "Better the movement should fail than that we should put ourselves in the position of accepting such a subscription from a member of the British Government." (Applause).

I felt that the party must have the opportunity of dealing with the offer because the situation was too serious, for the assumption of individual responsibility; and I named it at the meeting of the party at which we were considering our financial condition. We had three meetings before we decided to make an appeal to Ireland. I conveyed the offer to the party at the first of these meetings. But the party did not accept the offer; they determined instead to appeal to Ireland; and I communicated to Lord Tweedmouth that the Irish Parliamentary Party had decided on that course, not availing itself even in that crisis and that emergency, of his handsome proposal. Now, gentlemen, there is only one single man of the Irish Parliamentary Party, whose name, if I should give it, you would hear with great amazement—there is only one single man whom I have at any time heard propose an appeal to members of the British Government for aid.

I think you will agree that this incident, which recent circumstances have induced me to reveal to the whole world is honorable alike to Lord Tweedmouth and the Irish Party, and proves that our independence has remained intact under great trials and difficulties. (Applause).

In truth, there never was a poorer party as to worldly means, than the Irish Parliamentary Party. You could not get a true representation of Ireland, unless it were largely composed of men of the people; and the circumstances of that country as you know

have prevented the majority of its people from amassing wealth. But there was never a party acting on such independent principles. What is it to us, whether leaders or followers that British ministers or British parties should rise or fall? (Hear, hear). We take no offices. We take no salaries. We take no honors. (Cheers). Our sole interest is to put in and to keep in the friends of Ireland, to put out and keep out the foes of Ireland; and our sole object in putting in the one and keeping out the other, and in mingling in the play of parties, is to advance the sacred cause of self-government for Ireland. (Applause). It is to this that we bend our energies; and we count confidently on our people here and elsewhere to help us in our struggle by the exhibition of their sympathy and by their material aid.

I think I have shown you plainly, freely, fully, frankly, first, what our tactics are, and, secondly, what are our necessities. I ask you by your voices and by your actions to show that you approve of our tactics, and that you are prepared to do what is necessary to enable us to prosecute this great and sacred cause to a triumphant end, I hope, a speedy issue. (Prolonged applause).

DR. WILLIAM B. WALLACE,

who was cordially received, then addressed the meeting as follows: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—After this very excellent discourse that we have heard this evening, after this latest message from that battle in which we are so deeply interested, I may say after the brushing away that you have experienced of the clouds that have overshadowed that field for the last year and a half, it would ill become us to part to-night without giving back to those poor fellows who are fighting this fight in Ireland some re-assurance that we are still with them.

Let us just once consider what is it that is going on. Whose fight is it that is going on? Is it theirs? Are these men whom you have heard of to-night going through all the privations they have been braving, are they fighting a fight for themselves—

A voice—No.

DR. WALLACE—Or are they fighting a fight for our race? Is there any man in this hall to-night that can say to himself that the time has come when he can turn his back on this struggle without a blush of shame in his face? (Applause). I entered it, for one, when it was started, and I shall not leave it until the cause triumphs. (Applause).

Many of my countrymen are not of my way of thinking. It is evident to you we are not all of the same mind in this question. But I could not help thinking when I paid a short visit to Niagara when I saw the waters coming along to that mighty fall in the Niagara River so calmly majestic, and falling over that mighty precipice in all its majesty—I could not help thinking that calm as that was, it was not more powerful, not more grand, not more determined to reach the place beyond the lower lock than the rapids which boiled and fought and struggled between the rocks as they were passing over them. And I am glad to say that there are Irishmen of different views from our own in all these questions. I like to see them differ, because only in that shaking will come out the truth in the end, and history will be enabled to write, as it will justly write, the merits, the valor, the self-sacrifice of these men, one of whom has addressed you to-night. (Loud applause).

Come, gentlemen, if you be Irishmen; come, if you have any spirit of pride of race; come if you have not forgotten the blood and ashes of those who have gloriously printed their names on the pages of Irish history; come and do your simple duty. It must be done. It must be persevered in.

How can these men carry on this gigantic fight? You know they have no resources except what their own people give them. Are you not of that people? What then are the resources you have been giving within the last two years while these men have been fighting? There was a time when George Washington, who has given all this glory to this country, had to beg for food, had to beg for clothes, from the people for whom he was fighting. The snows in Jersey were red with the blood of his soldiers' feet. Irishmen there fought because they loved liberty. The hearts of these men in Ireland to-day, fighting that very same enemy, are grieving because you Irishmen won't stand by them.

Come, gentlemen, I invite you to-night. Begin it now, because this cause is not done nor sleeping. It cannot sleep. You cannot shirk your duty; if you do, no name of yours joins in the triumph that is about to come. We ask you to-night to send home a message, and I call on you here, gentlemen; I don't care how small you begin—with a dollar, with a half dollar, with a quarter of a dollar; it is a pledge that you will stick to your guns.

I ask some gentleman to start here to-night a subscription that we will undertake shall make the other cities of this Union blush—somebody of spirit. Do not leave the talking to me. Or, if you will, let somebody talk more eloquently by standing up in this hall and starting this collection.

The subscription was then started.

After Mr. John J. Walsh had addressed the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

