

to be made or any time that would be required. With unshaken steadfastness we adhered to that policy. A hundred distractions arose; a hundred attempts were made to draw us to this side or to that side away from our straight line of policy; a thousand doubts were dinned into the ears of our fellow-countrymen. Our fellow-countrymen were told we would be sold, if we hadn't already been sold, by the Liberal Party. We were told that the Veto of the House of Lords was like some great rock which could never be shaken. We were told that, even if it was shaken and removed, its removal would be used by the Liberal Party solely for their own interests, and not for the interests of Ireland. We were told that Home Rule would never be proposed by Mr. Asquith. We were told alternatively that if it was proposed it would be a 'sham' Bill; and alternatively again we were told that if it was not a sham Bill it would split the Liberal Party from top to bottom, and in any event the Irish people were told that we were practically a party of fools, with no political foresight, experience, or wisdom amongst us—that in the end Ireland would find herself sold by the Liberal Party. Fellow-citizens, we made one very simple answer to those men. We asked the Irish people

To Trust Us and to Have Patience.

Amongst any body of sane men in the world trust in their leaders is essential to political progress. If you doubt your leaders change them, but so long as men are in the position of leaders you are bound, unless you are guilty of political insanity—you are bound to trust them. We asked the country for trust, for patience, and for moderation; and the country responded to our appeal. A more splendid demonstration of trust, of patience, and of moderation in both words and acts was never made, I believe, than that made by the Irish people for the last three years. Where would the cause of Ireland—where would the cause of Home Rule be to-day if we had allowed ourselves to be diverted from our policy by the Budget, or any other side issue from time to time? If we had done so we would have destroyed absolutely the chance of smashing the Veto of the House of Lords, and the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords would have meant its destruction and the destruction of the Government who proposed it; whereas to-day its rejection is merely a stage in its certain and early passage into law. Is it quite realised by everybody that at the latest, in spite of anything that the House of Lords can do, the Home Rule Bill will be the law of this land in fourteen months from this moment? The time for argument on the Home Rule Bill has disappeared—it has gone. All that now remains is an automatic process. In April, in a few weeks, next April the Home Rule Bill will appear again in the House of Commons. The House of Commons will not be asked again to spend forty-two days discussing the provisions of the Bill. The Bill will be passed through all its stages in a week. It will be in the House of Lords again in the month of May, and again it may be rejected by the House of Lords. If it be rejected again by the House of Lords, then this month next year—the month of February, 1914,—we will be passing it in a few days the third time in the House of Commons, and then,

In Spite of the House of Lords,

on May 9 it will pass into law. That is the latest day to which the passage of this Bill can be postponed. But the debate in the House of Lords, to anyone who has studied it, seems to foreshadow a much earlier date. Allusion has been made to the extraordinary change in the tone of the House of Lords on this question. In 1893 there was but one argument against Home Rule in the House of Lords, and that was a blunt non-possumus. But in the recent debate it was almost pathetic to see Lord Londonderry standing alone, except for the help of a few utterly unknown specimens of the Irish representative peerage, uttering the old worn-out cries about the sacro-sanctity of the Act of Union, about Home Rule meaning 'Rome Rule' and separation, and all the other rubbish which the most of the English people have buried once and for ever. The significant thing in this debate was this, that all the

intellect in the debate—and there is intellect in the House of Lords—that all the intellect in that debate condemned and abandoned the Act of Union. No man of any importance or weight who took part in the debate attempted to deny the existence or the extreme gravity of the failure of Irish Government which had to be faced, or the urgent necessity of settling the question speedily. No one ventured to contradict Lord Grey when, coming home from the self-governing dominions, he asserted that all the great self-governing dominions of England are to-day unanimously in favor of Home Rule for Ireland, and that this is a problem which must be settled, not only for the sake of Ireland, but in the highest interests of the Empire itself. Everyone who spoke, with the exception of Lord Londonderry and his friends, admitted the existence of the malady, but they did not like the precise remedy suggested in the clauses of this particular Bill.

What an Extraordinary Change?

What does it foreshadow for the future? I know not. What does it mean in the present? I think I can tell you. Like all the great reforms in the political history of the past century Home Rule has survived every open frontal attack that has been made upon it. It is now to be subjected to more indirect flanking movements by suggestions of compromise. Now, fellow-citizens, when in two or three months' time the Bill goes to the House of Lords the second time, we may be met not by rejection, but by a suggestion of compromise. Now to obtain a settlement of this question by agreement would be of course so blessed a thing that it would be worth paying a large price to obtain, but there are some things in which compromise would mean disaster and despair. For our Northern fellow-countrymen we are willing to do much to assuage their bitterness, to allay their fears, to win their allegiance and their great qualities to the service of our motherland, but there is no earthly consideration upon which we could agree to

The Mutilation or Partition of a Nation.

Ireland is one land from Inishowen to Cork, and from the Hill of Howth to Galway. Ireland has been one land all through the ages, through her sufferings and her bitterness and her torture, and one land she shall remain in the coming years of her happiness and glory. Fellow citizens, in the few short months that will now intervene, I appeal once more to Ireland—I appeal to her to maintain a little longer the magnificent attitude of trust, of patience, and of moderation. We are winning, and God knows we can afford to be generous. Let us exhibit during these months an attitude of broad toleration to those who differ from us, either in creed or in politics. Let us remember we are all brothers in this land, and that there is no Orangeman so bitter that we would not prefer to have him governing Ireland than the best Englishman. Let us during these months, then, be animated by a spirit of the broadest toleration, by a spirit of

Unity Amongst Ourselves,

by a spirit of moderation in word and in action, and by an exhibition of good order and peace, and by the absence not merely of crime, but of any violence of any sort or kind that can be pointed to by our enemies as a proof that our people are not seriously minded in this struggle. Let us do that, and by so doing we will be giving to the world a foretaste of that blessed day which is now at hand, when justice, toleration, and liberty will preside over a free, a happy, and loyal people.

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