

aggression. (Applause.) That I repeat. Therefore, I will be able to face the Australian people without hiding my head. I go to them as I went originally, an Irishman to the backbone—proud to be an Irishman, and never as proud as I am now. (Applause.)

I will be able to tell them that the Irish people are looking for nothing except what they are justly entitled to; that they are asking for nothing except for that self-determination to which nations great and small were declared to have an absolute right during the war. (Applause.)

Ireland's Demands.

Ireland is only asking England to foot the bill. Ireland is only asking them to fulfil their promise. Ireland is only asking that pledges solemnly made should be redeemed; and if they are redeemed Ireland will be contented and happy, and, I hope, prosperous, and there will be peace all round these shores—a peace that will take place in England, Scotland, and even Wales. (Laughter and applause.)

If you listen to people over here you will find that they are harping over and over again upon the impossibility of establishing a Republic in Ireland. They consistently harp upon the fact that Ireland has declared for a Republic, and one would think when listening to them that if she didn't ask for a Republic, why, almost anything else she might have.

Right to Republic.

Ireland has asked for a Republic. Ireland claims the right to have a Republic, and Ireland is the only one, and the Irish people the only people, that have a right to say what Ireland wants and what Ireland will be satisfied with.

While that is quite true, fundamentally, the essential thing is that when the Irish people have the right admitted and granted, and when they will themselves rule for the good of Ireland, they should not be interfered with from outside, whether in legislation of economics, or in any other way.

Irish People's Right to Choose Form of Government.

So far as it is possible for any nation to be rid of any interference from outside—and it is not possible, absolutely—Ireland has the same right as any of the others. The essential thing is that Ireland's right to complete and full self-determination should be admitted.

If Ireland wants a Republic, that is Ireland's business. Ireland is looking for a Republic; but if she were to change to-morrow and say she preferred a Kingdom, Ireland's right to self-determination would be found in the Kingdom, just as well as in the Republic.

Therefore, anybody who has any special antipathy to a Republic—anybody who bases his opposition to Ireland's claim upon any particular form of government that Ireland has adopted—that man is trying to hide the real fundamental issue.

The Main Thing.

Does he admit or does he not that Ireland has a right to rule herself, like Belgium or Poland? Pin him down to that. (Cheers.) Don't discuss the merits of a Republic as against a Monarchy, or an Empire, or any other form of government.

The main thing is to get them to face what they won't face, namely, the right of Ireland, like Poland or Belgium, to rule herself, just as these countries rule themselves. (Cheers.) In Australia, in America, in Scotland, or anywhere I have gone, my claim has been, and is, that Ireland has this right; and until it is granted there will be no peace in Ireland; there will be no peace between Ireland and England, and I hope there will be no genuine friendship between England and anybody who can endeavor by withholding friendship to make England do her duty. (Loud cheers.)

Can Have Anything Else.

They will tell you, too, that short of a Republic Ireland can get anything she wants—anything at all. That is what we hear whispered about by those that are supposed to be in the inner circle and are able to explore avenues that probably are closed to you and me.

They say, "Give them full Dominion Home Rule—anything at all within the Empire." Now, I refer to this

simply to say that, so far as I know, there has been no clear, firm offer of anything—I don't say worth taking, but anything worth considering—absolutely nothing worth considering up to the present moment.

They talk of Dominion Home Rule. Well, there are some Australians here, and they know what Dominion Home Rule is.

No Partition.

They know, first of all, that in Dominion Home Rule we have nothing like Partition. England does not say to Australia that she should be carved up according to the sweet will of the people in Downing Street. Australia is a unit within the Empire, and nobody at this side of the water would dare to say that he would partition or cut up Australia into sections.

To those people, therefore, who talk about giving Dominion Home Rule, put the question, what about the Partition Act, or are they going to stand by partition or not? I would like a clear answer to that. I would like to ask them also when they speak of Dominion Home Rule do they mean that Ireland would have an absolute right to make her own laws without interference from outside?

What Do They Mean

When they talk of the Irish Parliament they propose to set up, do they mean that it would have exactly the same right to legislate for Ireland that the Parliament of Australia has to legislate for Australia? Perhaps they mean that, but I am not sure that they do.

I would like an answer to another question also. Are you aware that Australia has an army and navy of her own? When they talk of giving Dominion Home Rule to Ireland, do they mean that Ireland also is to have her own army and navy.

I don't think Ireland is very anxious to rule the seas. (Laughter.) I am not sure that she wants to set up a big navy—(laughter)—but the fact is there that Australia, that has no Imperial ambitions either, has her navy and her army.

Silent Work.

The Irish people have at last given up talking and sharing their confidences. They are silently doing their work, and they are doing it well. (Loud applause.) The Irish people, as far as I can judge, stand heart and soul behind President de Valera. (Loud and prolonged applause, the whole audience rising to its feet and cheering enthusiastically.)

When they are looking for peace and talking of peace negotiations, I can tell them where to go with the dove of peace. I can tell them where they can go, without wearing goggles. (Laughter and applause.)

They have to go and negotiate with the only representatives of Ireland that are entitled to talk for Ireland; and at the present moment the only person entitled to talk for the whole of Ireland is President de Valera. (Loud applause.)

The Test.

I know, of course, that these people will tell you that President de Valera holds the people of Ireland only with the help of the gunmen, as they call them. Well, perhaps that is so; but they have the opportunity of testing it at the present moment. The elections are now on in Ireland, and I invite these people to show that the President does not represent Ireland. (Cheers.)

Therefore, if I might appeal again to the British Government, I would say to them, give up exploring all those avenues, and get on the main road—(applause)—give up all this hugger-mugger, as they call it in Ireland. Go straight to the only people that can talk straight to you. There you will get your answer, whatever it is. If you are able to agree, there will be peace soon between the two countries; but if you are not, then, deplorable though it may be, the present struggle, I suppose, has to go on until another opening comes.

England Will Be Compelled to do Justice.

But I am hopeful; and, indeed, confident, Dr. Mannix continued, that we are approaching a time when there must be peace; when the pressure of the whole world—America and the rest of the world—will compel the British people to do justice to Ireland's case, and understand it, and knowing it, then to do justice to Ireland; and make