

rent have been wiped off, and they have obtained, I believe, a permanent reduction of rent amounting to some fifteen or twenty per cent. per annum. But it is not only as regards the direct results in the case of these tenants that our attitude and action is to be commended. We have achieved by this action beneficial results, enormously beneficial results of an indirect character for the rest of the Irish tenantry. Wherever a landlord saw the tenantry on an evicted estate supported by the funds of the League, that estate was a sign and a mark to the rest of the landlords of Ireland that if they did likewise—if they unjustly evicted their tenants—those tenants would be maintained by the League, and that in the long run the landlord would get the worst of the transaction (applause). And I believe that this policy which we have pursued has enabled hundreds of thousands, certainly a hundred thousand, Irish tenants to make settlements out of the Land Court with their landlords, and that it has saved many thousands of families from the eviction which would have been otherwise their cruel fate. I regret that we have not been able to awaken in the minds of the tenant farmers of Ireland a sufficient sense of the importance of supporting the victims of the land war. It would have been very much better for them if they aided our exertions, exertions which were sustained by money from Australia chiefly (applause).—It would have been of untold benefit for the farmers of Ireland generally if they had shown themselves sensible of the importance of supporting the tenants on evicted estates; and I trust that the example of the settlement that the Tottenham tenants and other tenants have obtained by standing together in a body will instruct the rest of the Irish tenantry, and that they will come forward suitably at the commencement of this winter, and subscribe to the funds of the League, which are mainly used for the relief of evicted tenants, and so show the landlords that in the present depression of prices, they do not intend to allow themselves to be trampled upon (applause). Now, gentlemen, we have held to-day a very important meeting of the Irish party. I think quite the largest meeting of that body which has ever had a session in Dublin, and we have arrived at very vital important resolutions with regard to the question of the selection of candidates during the next two or three months for the general election. These resolutions will be published in the Press to-morrow, and I do not intend to read them or to refer to them in detail, but I may tell you that generally the resolutions invite the country to select as candidates men of approved worth and reliable character (hear, hear), men who are well fitted for the work in hand, and who may be depended upon to maintain and secure the unity of the party of the country (hear). The resolutions further advise the constituencies to select their candidates in consultation with my colleagues and myself (hear, hear) at conventions to be duly summoned for the purpose (hear, hear). A pledge has been further formulated in detail (loud cheers), and the constituencies and the conventions are urged to refuse to consider the candidature of any candidate who refuses to take the pledge (loud laughter and applause). With regard to the calling of conventions for the purpose of making the selection of candidates for the different constituencies, I propose, when the proper time arrives—and it is not desirable that the conventions in many of the more important districts should be held until we are able to approximate more closely to the result of the revisions than we can now do—I propose, when the proper time arrives, to take steps from this office to enter myself into communication, as the chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, with the different constituencies throughout the country, in order to fix suitable and convenient dates—dates in sequence to each other—for the holding of these very important delegate assemblies. I have said that the dates for holding the conventions will not be during the next two or three weeks, but after that interval I trust that we shall be able to arrange for several important conventions as a lead-off throughout the country. And the mode of procedure adopted at the proceedings of these bodies will be a guide to the other assemblies of a similar nature, which will have to be convened in the various constituencies for the important work in hand. I desire to take the opportunity which has been afforded to me in the presence of such a very large and representative gathering as this, composed of the members of the Central Branch of the League, many of whom have come from different parts of Ireland to express to you my conviction, which has become, if possible, more firm than ever, of the very near approach of the speedy triumph of the National cause (loud applause). There can be no shadow of doubt, gentlemen, that if you use your recent victory with judgment and with moderation you will have the two English parties vying with each other in the settlement of the Irish question (hear, hear). I believe that we will get a settlement of the National question from whichever Government or whichever party may be in power, whether it be Whig or whether it be Tory (hear, hear). There may be slight variations in the terms which we may succeed in securing from the one body or the other; but I believe that the settlement which we shall be able to obtain from the Tories will be as valuable and as important for the interests of Ireland and for the prosperity of the nation, as the settlement that we shall be able to obtain from the Whigs or the Radicals (applause). We are therefore in the position that no matter which of the English sides loses or which of them wins we are bound to win (cheers). We ask, gentlemen, from you in return that you should insist in your different districts upon absolute unity of purpose (hear, hear), and I think that we are entitled to claim for ourselves—and we claim nothing more—the right of consultation and of advising with the different constituencies throughout the country (cries of "Quite right.") A general has always some voice in the choice of his officers (loud cheers). None of us desire to dictate to the constituencies (hear, hear). We should be only too glad to have the difficult burden of selection lightened by the judgment and experience of the different localities interested in this very important question; but we do think that there should be absolute union in our ranks (hear, hear); and that if we have shown ourselves in any way worthy of your regard that you should continue to depend upon us (cries of "We will") until we show that we are unfit for the trust we have held up to the present (cries of "Never"). I thank you, gentlemen, for the patience with which you have listened to me. I desire nothing

more than to place in the power of Irishmen and of the people of Ireland the right to govern themselves and to manage their own affairs. When we have restored to us our own Parliament it will be possible for you to discuss and thresh out every question. Every man of different ideas will then have a stage on which he will be able to exemplify and enlarge his views, but for the present solidity is necessary in our ranks (loud cheers). Our desire is to restore to you the power of making for yourself and working out your own destiny (cheers). When you have got that power, gentlemen, I believe you will use it rightly and bravely, and that the Irish nation will prosper and be perpetual (loud cheers).

CLIFFORD LLOYD.

(Dublin Freeman, August 29.)

THE *Times* last week published a long paper from Mr. Clifford Lloyd on the political necessities of Ireland, and we give extracts on page nine. From whatever standpoint we regard it, this pronouncement appears to us to be one of the most significant indications of a coming change in the principles and methods of Irish Government. To begin with Mr. Clifford Lloyd himself, his arbitrary acts in the South and West of Ireland during the later period of the Land League agitation earned for him the bitter ill-will of the people. In Newcastle West and Kilmallock he imprisoned children for the crime of whistling "Harvey Duff" in the hearing of a policeman; in Miltown-Malbay he arrested in one day more than a dozen tenants on some vague charge, the real object attributed to his action being to break down a combination not to pay rent. He ruled over Loughrea for a time with a rod of iron, and he is accredited—unjustly he declares—with having quartered the extra police force upon the citizens of Limerick, thereby laying up an abundant store of troubles for Governments, past, present, and future. And yet, it appears, Mr. Clifford Lloyd was not a particle more odious to the people at large than to those friends of "law and order," the unpaid magistrates. In Ireland, as subsequently in Egypt, he appears to have had strong opinions of his own, and as he swerved neither to the right nor to the left, being a perfect law unto himself, he made enemies on both hands. His letter to the *Times* explains his actions, and goes far to account for the utter failure of his efforts to rule the people over whom he was placed by sheer force. He was the instrument of a system which is anomalous and inefficient, which lags behind the age, seeking to govern a nation permeated with independent ideas on the principles of a narrow despotism. Dublin Castle he pronounces an utter failure. In such emergencies as the Land League storm the complex bureaucracy gets clogged with work, and the machinery of Government is at once brought to a standstill. Even when all is peace, when only the humdrum work of administration is to be done, the system bears fruits which condemn it. According to Mr. Clifford Lloyd, in such seasons "the fire of revolution smoulders on from month to month and year to year, only to be blown into the blaze of rebellion by the first favourable gust of wind." He gives other reasons for his sweeping proposal to entirely abolish the Castle and all connected with it, but they will weigh with Imperialists rather than Nationalists. On the ruins of the Castle he would construct a decentralised system of administration. To elective county boards he would commit the management of all their purely local affairs, reserving to the Crown entire control over justice, police, and taxation. The bureaucracy of the Castle being no more, he would entrust its functions to the bureaucracy of the English Home Office. The last of all the Viceroys having gone for good, he would procure a representative of Royalty to visit Ireland occasionally and to "perform those social duties which are so conducive to the well-being of the people." It is very questionable if the Irish tenantry and the Irish artisans would become suddenly reconciled to English rule by being permitted to decide for themselves "in what direction a new road should run, the accommodation required for the sick, the lunatics, and the paupers; of the most remunerative destination of local funds and the most equitable manner of replenishing them." These are the subjects with which, in the opinion of the *Times*, the county boards should deal. And the fact that the paper will be enabled to announce periodically that a landlord or two, with their families, had the honour of receiving invitations to dine with a prince of the blood would not win an additional particle of popular support for Mr. Clifford Lloyd's system—supposing for a moment that any Government would be foolish enough to set it up, or that the Irish Party would permit such folly. Mr. Clifford Lloyd is dead against Home Rule in any shape or form. It is an absolute impossibility "so long as there is an Ulster peopled as at present." The time-honoured bogie of civil war is again requisitioned, though we had thought that the last had been heard of it. In the warlike language of Mr. William Johnston, of Ballykibbeg, "every ditch from the Boyne to Belfast" was to have been lined with rifles and Orange sharpshooters to the back of them at least half a dozen times in the last twenty years. When the Church was disestablished, when Isaac Butt started the Home Rule agitation, when the Land League was established, when Healy went to Monaghan and proved Nationalism was a living force in the North, when the National League organisation commenced to extend all over Ulster—on each and all of these occasions we were to have a bloody civil war. But we never had, and there is not the slightest probability that we ever shall have, a war of provinces. Mr. Clifford Lloyd should surely remember that Ulster is not as anti-national as Ireland altogether is anti-British. It may be a choice of evils, but in that case the lesser evil is the wisest choice. Ulster, the home of independence, would benefit by Home Rule, and would soon come to accept it, not with reluctance, but with pride. More than half the province is National, and therefore the question is whether the Orange section is to rule all Ireland, or to dictate whether we are or not to have Home Rule. We do not take Mr. Clifford Lloyd's *non possumus* for a final answer. "And yet it moves," said Galileo, when his doctrine that the earth revolved around the sun was condemned; "and yet we will have it" is the reply of Irishmen to the assertion that an Irish Parliament must never sit in College-green.