Irish Unionist Alliance.

PUBLICATIONS.

VOLUME I.

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED BY
THE IRISH UNIONIST ALLIANCE:
Dublin: 109 GRAFTON STREET; *Belfast:* 1 LOMBARD STREET;
London: 26 PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER.

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It is intended to continue the issue, from time to time, of the publications of the Alliance in this form, each volume containing about 500 pages.

A complete INDEX is appended to this volume, which it is hoped will assist the reader to master the various matters dealt with in the collection.

All the publications of the Alliance are stereotyped so that a supply of any particular Leaflet or Pamphlet can be had at any time.

March, 1893.

HUMPHREY AND ARMOUR,
PRINTERS,
CROW STREET, DUBLIN.

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LEAFLET No. 1.] [*SIXTH SERIES.*

MORAL POINTS

IN THE

HOME RULE CONTROVERSY

BY

THE REV. WM. ARTHUR.

Reprinted (by permission) from the "TIMES."

AND THE

IRISH NONCONFORMIST APPEAL.

The following letter appeared in the *Times* of the 21st January, 1891, and is reprinted in this form by permission of the Proprietors

MORAL POINTS

IN THE

HOME RULE CONTROVERSY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—Recent events having given some beginning of confirmation to the belief I always held that the union brought about by Mr. Gladstone between Parnellism and religious men could not endure, but by reason of moral imcompatibility must break up, perhaps you will permit me to submit a few considerations on the moral questions involved in that union. Such considerations may not at the present moment be altogether resented by some whose state of mind, so long as they believed in Mr. Parnell, did not invite to serious reasoning.

We have made one great gain of common ground for those who wish to do justly; they who did and they who did not believe Mr. Parnell to be bad company, dangerous to private virtues and to public morals, are now at one. Greatly to my disrepute in the eyes of men whom it was grief to me to offend, but whom I could not permit to lead me into what I believed to be sin and shame, I always insisted that Mr. Parnell was a wholesale trader in crime; that by crime he made his power and made money, and that complicity with him was complicity with crime, clearly so when it aimed at raising him to power.

Whether this estimate of Mr. Parnell were right or wrong, many protests against its uncharitableness notwithstanding, it continued to be my fixed judgment, even when again and again tried by such amateur tests as I knew how to apply. Now, on no point of human accountability is my faith deeper than on this, that we are all accountable for our judgments. For myself, travelling as I do westward from the line of three score years and ten, straight towards the setting sun, the strip of time in which idle words may be spoken is narrow, and the light not far off in which they must be read again, under the eye of Eternal Justice.

When, therefore, an authoritative test was supplied by the Special

Commission, with slow and searching care did I read every word of the evidence in those invaluable little volumes published by *The Times*. So with the Report of the Judges. The speeches I did not feel bound to read carefully, except that of Mr. Davitt, which, for me, was in the nature of evidence. Some who confined their reading to the selections given in some Home Rule papers, or to the speech of Sir Charles Russell, might, without loss to themselves from a moral point of view, take advantage of an easy test now furnished to their hand. They might read that portion of Sir Charles Russell's speech which gives the description of Mr. Parnell, and compare it with facts at present known. If they neglect such gentle checks on judgment, and yet, in the face of men who do not tell lies, in the face of sworn evidence, and of the solemn judgment of a weighty Bench, go on calling bad things by good names and good things by bad ones, all the time mentally setting up some self-justification, then will the moral debilitant sink in and work its way down to the roots of their nature.

As a specimen of my amateur tests I may say that when, after 1886, it clearly appeared that the policy of "keeping Ireland in a state of unsettlement" was to be taken over from Mr. Davitt (who greatly errs if he dreams that he was its author) into English hands, not superseding, but aiding and comforting, the regular staff of unsettlement, I neglected most other reading on the question in order to scrutinize the utterances of one conspicuous person. In doing so I kept in view two ends—(1) to compare those utterances with others out of the same mouth made under responsibility; (2) to compare statements as to facts with the facts themselves. The first process I did not continue long. I do not envy the moral nature of the man who voluntarily could. The second I did, in important cases, continue for about 18 months, and then solemnly and in sadness laid it finally down.

I make a difference between the moral character of co-operation with Parnell before the Report of the Special Commission and after it. The floods of falsehood poured on the public ear as to things and persons in Ireland were, to my knowledge, believed in, at least in part, by people whom beforehand I should have assumed to have passable information. Men were so transformed, by some strange spell, that one who would offer to them good information instead of bad might as well be employed putting lighted candles into the Thames. But, so far, they were only setting the untested testimony of men never accused of telling lies against that of men habitually accused of doing so, and yet never seriously troubled by the accusation, and setting the

testimony of men with no self-interest to promote against that of men with interests and ambitions enough strongly to solicit their judgment.

This position of the conflicting testimonies, as being both untested, was wholly changed by the Special Commission. What had been dismissed under such formulas as "Ulster bigotry" and "Protestant ascendancy," "Landlord interests," "No Popery cry," "Tory lies," "*The Times* fabrications," and so forth and so forth, was now point by point, with fatal accuracy, traced out, sworn to, cross-examined, set up unassailable, and then solemnly confirmed by a judgment which will be for ever memorable. Even points in "Parnellism and Crime" which I believed could not be established were established.

This, I repeat, made a serious change in the moral position. It was no longer open to truthful men to doubt whether the crimes were facts or only the coinage of politicians, to doubt whether or not they were perpetrated with concert and upon system, to doubt whether or not they were organized by men who did not risk their persons in perpetrating them, to doubt whether or not they were instigated by men who did not even run minor risks by organizing any particular crime, or to doubt whether some men did not unite in themselves the characters of instigators of crime with that of upholders of organization, even giving such touches of general superintendence as might comport with personal safety. No more was it any longer open to any truthful man to doubt whether the end in view was or was not one hostile to the peace and stability of the Empire, and, therefore, to the guarantees of both civil and religious liberty. These points were settled. What men, some ignorant, some interested, had called either fancies of bigotry or inventions of placemen, had now solidified as judicial history.

These points being settled, then arose the question, "How could men be acquitted of complicity who ignored all this, who even employed the crime of one of the fraternity, Pigott, to cover up all the crimes of those who were his fellow-labourers and official successors?"

Suppose that the wretch Pigott had been charged with robbery, in addition to other things, and that on this count he had been acquitted, on the others convicted. What ought religious men to have thought of me had I declared him triumphantly acquitted, and ignored the fact that he was convicted of forgery, perjury, systematic lying, complicity with treason, with treason-felony, and with murder for treasonable ends? What ought they to have thought of me had I

said that, though bad, his misdeeds were not so bad as the laws of Parnellism which provoked them, or had I said that, such as those deeds were, being committed with a view to bring to justice a political culprit like Parnell, they were political offences, incidents of a great struggle, and, indeed, patriotic? But far worse still. Suppose that Pigott had been acquitted of being a forger, and had been convicted only of being a perjurer, what ought they to have thought of me had I then tried to make him the first ruler in a kingdom?

What they ought in such a case to think of me that ought they n equity to think of any man who, in the case of Parnell, did likewise in respect of points on which he was convicted.

Take another person, one who was not convicted of any crime. What would any honest man think of me if I proposed (1) that the people of Scotland shall lose the Imperial franchise and receive back a local one; (2) that the suffrage shall be so arranged that the great majority in Parliament shall be nominees of the Roman Catholic and Episcopal clergy; and (3) that the officers to take over the executive power shall be Major Le Caron and his closest associates? I doubt if, on such a proposal, Scotchmen would call me a man of enlightened conscience.

But was Le Caron accused of such crimes as the men of the Clan-na-Gael or the Land League? Was he convicted of complicity in any man's or woman's blood? Were or were not his operations conducted for a political end? Then why object to exalting him when you insist that in Ireland it would not come true that the wicked would walk on every side when the vilest men were exalted? The answer I make to your soul is, They would.

Now, trying to exercise fairness of mind, could men be acquitted of complicity in sin who, after judgment given, set themselves with fresh zeal to force up into power a man whose own oath had declared that his word in Parliament was a lie (I hold to the old definition of a lie—language used with the intention to deceive); who in more than one case swore in contradiction to facts established, whose swearing in instance after instance was not believed by the judges; who was convicted as a criminal, as a conspirator in crime, as persisting in intimidation after evidence that it led to murder, as the ally and, in respect of money, the beneficiary of the preachers of the lowest forms of crime which have ever been, in a civilized nation, commended in print, as the beneficiary of men like Patrick Ford, a wretch at whose name every honest man ought to shudder, whom Mr. Davitt regards—and

told the judges so—as an admirable example of the Christian and philanthropist ? How, I repeat, could those who, with all this proved, would set up Parnell in the chief place of power in Ireland be acquitted of partaking of his sins ?

This question would seem to have sat lightly upon some. It did not sit lightly upon me. It made me look upon men whom I would fain have held in honour, and ask, Can I, before their Master and mine, acquit them of heavy moral blame? Should I propose to set up such a wretch, with such an accompaniment of wretches, to rule over them, ought they to acquit me or to condemn me? Not to speak of public teaching to a flock, should I dare to teach a single person that in cases of crime, not spontaneous, but organized, the instigator is less guilty than the organizer, and the organizer less guilty than the perpetrator ? True, the perpetrator greatly exposes himself to the criminal Courts, the organizer practically little, the instigator scarcely at all. But, in the light of a judgment to come, I believe that in the measure in which organizer and instigator cover themselves from the stroke of human justice, in that measure do they all the more lay themselves open to the stroke of Divine justice. Whether to one in private, or to many in public, I must, with John Wyclif, teach, " God wole that he that eggeth a man to yvel have double penance of him that doeth the yvel."

Now, when the egging on to evil is done from behind a desk, or from before the reporters, done to millions at a time, and when the man egging on to evil, knowing the tendency of his words, takes his chance of their making organizers of crime by the score or the hundred, and of such organizers each making perpetrators by tens or by units, then has the guilt reached its height.

Well, I used to say so, and one naturally thought so. The guilt of Irish crime used to rise no higher than the Irish instigator. Is it so to-day? Has not birth been given to a new person in the tragedy since the time when first Parnellism was certificated from the front bench? Have we not now the Parliamentary apologist of Irish crime, the Parliamentary patron and yoke-fellow of convicted criminals?

I have not put the case, and do not wish to go into it, of men who, after the judgment of the Special Commission, tried to persuade the public that Mr. Parnell was a gentleman of the highest honour, incapable of crime, who even then would set him up as one whose character would guarantee to Ireland such good government that Irishmen who made a difficulty of parting with the guarantee of the

Imperial franchise in favour of this sounder and nobler one were worthy to be sneered at as not trusting their fellow-countrymen ; while religious men, who hesitated to exchange the same tried guarantee of religious equality for what they took to be only a precarious chance of religious liberty, were called bigots. Surely some who so acted will now ask their own hearts, was it either equitable or merciful or the part of a good citizen? Is it too much to hope that they will also ask themselves whether, history being our guide, we should look upon the difference between a security so unquestionable and one so questionable as one of those things about which a free people will only argue, or one of those about which they fight?

Before the Commission reported, the ignorance which might or might not be voluntary, but which, at all events, seemed invincible, admitted of some semblance of excuse. Moral evidence had indeed been treated as nothing, and legal evidence was denied to be possible. At last legal evidence was forthcoming ; but because Pigott had been wicked against Parnell there was condonation ready for those who had been wicked against us all. I say against us all, for those who, like me and the multitude, have no protection but law and order, always have, whether we know it or not, an enemy in any one who sets these aside and makes himself or his clique into a counter authority.

It was more than condonation ; it was justification, or what with the multitude would pass for it. It was more than justification ; it was the renewal of co-partnership, coupled with ostentatious effort to confer on the men of the double oath, the double face, and the double tongue, on men steeped not in crimes of passion, but in organized crime, the chief places of power in a kingdom. And professedly religious men stood this, and ministers of the Gospel smiled consent, or even spoke it.

Oh ! I thought, for one blast of the trumpet of noble John Bright, who knew that in such cases the only Christian, the only philosophical temper is the strongest moral indignation of which the human soul is capable ! He might, perhaps would, have quoted the words of Solomon, "He that saith unto the wicked, Thou art righteous ; him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor him." Moral certainty of sin, and horrible sin, had not sufficed, legal conviction had not sufficed ; conscience seemed dazed to blindness or drugged to death. So sure were the co-partners of their following that close on the threshold of the Divorce Court was the moral spectacle seen of an

ex-Prime Minister, in the person of his envoy, Mr. John Morley, soliciting the sole virtue of which ill-omened Parnell seems able to boast—namely, his steadfast truth to professions and promises. If this one virtue, when all others failed, had really stood by him, it could scarcely be more self-consoling to him than self-humiliating to some other persons. It was well tested. Thousands a year, the immediate patronage of Irish offices, and great openings to future power were no small temptation. Would he not take office under a British Cabinet? This would be to sell his party behind its back. Some persons, being equal to that, are equal also to tempting others to it. Now, coming out of the Divorce Court, he brags of his fidelity to pledges as against a great bribe offered when about to go into it. At the moment when the veil is torn from his own face he drags aside the curtain and lets the public catch a glimpse of the two figures of his tempters covering themselves behind a thin screen of excuses. As if the publican, turning not penitent, but Pharisee, cried "I am not as the other man."

The day had come. Sentence fell; not this time a mere judgment to be recorded, as in the case of the Commission, but a sentence to be executed. The evidence could not be hidden as so much had been. Men with consciences and families learned, for once, the facts as they stood. The long-smothered sub-consciousness of a dangerous fellowship with wickedness flamed up, and soon colossal piles of wood, hay, and stubble, heaped up in support of Parnell, were smoke and ashes. The wrath which had long been spared to crime fell black and heavy upon vice. The Christian family had saved the British State. For this result the poor politicians could claim no credit. The English pro-Parnellites met for political work and said nought. The Irish Parnellites met and acclaimed the leadership of Mr. Parnell. Nine days' wonder waited on the silence of Mr. Gladstone. But others were not silent; and to the Churches alone is due the tardy and correctly qualified suspension by Mr. Gladstone of joint leadership.

I find here, at a place where different nations meet, that much as some Continental journals mock at the "hypocrisy" of the Puritan party, who would coquet with such crime as in any Continental country would be crushed out by the strong hand, and yet could take fire at a vice little heeded in States where Puritans do not exist, they nevertheless say, "If in England offences of this sort have extinguished Parnell and Sir Charles Dilke, some of our own honourables might as

well take a hint." So do both our indulgence to evil and our awaking to righteousness make an impression on other nations.

When I have told friends that in the cases brought out by the Special Commission one of the houses fired into was one in which in my very young days I had preached; that a place mentioned was one hard by which I was waylaid for preaching in a village, and escaped through the sudden appearing of a stranger; that one gentleman was one whose father I had known in my father's house, and another the namesake and near kinsman of one who was my friend and the friend of all good men in West Cork; that a third who was shot down near his own gate, with five bullet wounds, was a dear friend of my early youth, who had many times driven me in Mayo and Sligo over bog and hill to preach to a handful of scattered people, and whose voice well did for the hymns what mine tried to do for the sermon; when I have told this, and also how, at my own table, two gentlemen from a city in South Ireland had related—making me feel as if I had scarcely a right to sit under my own vine and fig tree while my brethren were in danger of having the protecting roof of law and order wrecked over their heads—related how, in the city in question, in the Wesleyan Chapel, one Sunday, when it was known that the Circuit Steward, being in danger of his life, was sitting with a revolver in his pocket, there appeared a local preacher from England, said to have figured (or to have come to figure) at some "eviction scene," and "Ah," said they, "how every decent Methodist felt disgraced!"—when I have told such things, the answer has been, "But we do not approve of crime."

The first time this reply was made to me I stood dumb. It was an amiable and excellent man. What, I said to myself, Mr. —— brought to this, that he feels some necessity of saying he does not approve of crime? So the Rev. Dr. —— soberly tells me that he does not approve of such things; that, indeed, he detests them. For what reason should so good a man think of saying so? No Unionist ever thought of saying it. Neither did any minister of the Gospel in London think of saying that he did not approve of the doings of the Paris Commune, that league of the autonomists of the Seine. And on good ground. None of them tried to raise these men to the powers of autonomy for which they murdered and burned, for which also they were hewn or blown to death in such masses that if all the victims of Irish conflict since the day of the Union were placed beside them, they would bulk as a plume to a hearse. Some men who had only lent their respect-

ability to the Communards, and who did not, in the abstract, approve of crime, had short shrift in the day of retribution from the Republican Government.

The last thing I should seek to do would be to fasten upon any Christian minister so dark a charge as that of publicly palliating crime. But we must be just before we are generous. In the pages of *The Times* have appeared words from two ministers in London which, here in quietness, I may possibly call an unconscious palliation of crime, but which, while I speak the truth, I could not deny appear to me to be virtual and, for political purposes, efficient palliation of crime.

Not approve of crime? No, certainly no. Detest the low, dark tyranny of the Land League? Yes, assuredly. That is the spirit of multitudes whom cunning men have led into error. One thing, however, Christian ministers could do for Parnellism and crime more helpful than approval of the crime. From them the last thing Parnellism would ask for would be to approve of crime. That once frankly done by them, their usefulness to instigator, organizer, perpetrator, was gone. What all these want from Christian ministers is to lend them respectability and to get them power. As to the use to be made of that power, they can see to that. While employed in getting them the power, the more respectable detestation of crime you show the better their chances, the worse those of their victims.

Parnellism did not want the clergy of either the Presbyterian or Congregational, the Baptist or the Methodist Churches, to give absolution for robbery, maiming, and murder. It did not want them to secure to the murderer the comforts of eternal hope in a deferred future and in the immediate future the certainty of posthumous martyr repute. It did stand in need for the perpetrators, and now and then for a chance organizer, of services of that kind; but only from the proper clergy. All it sought from the Protestant clergy was certificates of good character for the instigators—not, indeed, certificates of past good conduct; that point might be omitted or glossed over; but bold, clear certificates of good conduct for the future, upon which portion of the history of its ornaments Parnellism held them bound to store their minds with unimpeachable information. And unimpeachable their information as to the future of Mr. Parnell in particular was. Any poor person like myself who ventured to doubt was to be lectured on passion, prejudice, blindness, distrust, and hatred of the Irish race. Now, in my own case, ignorance is so pronounced that I never feel satisfied that I can safely judge of a man

by his future. Indeed, I could not honestly deny the charge that I do not know what Mr. Gladstone will propose next. Sometimes I might, perhaps, venture to form some opinion as to a man's future by marking well his past. As applied to the fine men of Parnellism I learned that any such procedure was a sign of an improper spirit. So I must fall under the sentence due to those wicked bigots in Belfast and elsewhere who would not see that Mr. Parnell, Mr. Ford, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Finerty, with other persons of similar antecedents, were only to be judged by their future, *i.e.*, by unwritten history, being, as they were, the authors and executive of unwritten law. We might come to this conclusion that, whereas written law begets breaches of law, and whereas written history depicts bad men, therefore be it resolved that henceforth, with a view to the common weal, judgment of acts shall be given only upon unwritten law and judgment of character only upon unwritten history.

As to the additional light given by the recent disruption, it is no new light to Irish Unionists. They knew the men and their manners. All the scenes in Westminster, Dublin, and Kilkenny, whether scenes of election or reprobation of Mr. Parnell, have done nothing but show that in what the Irish Unionists said all along, they were men of sound knowledge and just testimony Under the eyes of those who would not give them credit now lie their vouchers, furnished by the proper bailsmen. Of those who did give them credit some will now be equitable and wise—perhaps even some of those who at present seem as if even this lesson were lost upon them, and seem to mean to take out a fresh licence in the old, wild line.

The idea that Parnellism under some other leader will offer better guarantees, or guarantees of anything but civil war in Ireland, and in England such furies of party, as were never known since James II. took ship, the idea that its triumph would settle Ireland and leave England quiet, is one such that the men who seriously present it, if any sane man seriously does, surely are prepared to be seriously pitied. Men who have no interests involved may play with such tools, not men who have at stake good employment, farms, shops, factories, shipyards, or churches. The Union banished from the soil of Ireland civil war; it has reared up one great national industry and many flourishing auxiliary ones, and a powerful middle class, whom even Mr. Finerty, in his *Chicago Citizen*, confesses to be, in succession to the landlords, the English garrison of the present day, so much so that, excellent gentleman as he is, certificated in the mass with others from pulpit and platform, he

declares that the only way of settling the Irish question is to "beggar" the linen folks, masters and men, constituents as they are of Saunderson and the like of him; and that the way to compass this beggaring (of course innocent because its end is political) is to get America to put on duties of a hundred per cent.

Now this mighty middle class are of this mind, that in Ireland there has been enough of beggaring; that in the parts of the country where it has most thriven it has not done the people much good. They are by hard work bringing into the country, year by year, millions of money, for which they send out sound value in cloth, yarn, ships, chemicals, and so on. If they are let alone they will in time make the whole country industrious and loyal, as they have already made one province, by nature the poorest, before the Union the most troublesome. They will make it so in spite of the apostles of "unsettlement," although these are yearly driving capital out of the country at one end, while the manufacturers and their men are bringing it in at the other. Masters and men are of a mind—one of Mr. Finerty's charges against them. In the same districts landlords and tenants are of a mind. Farm labourer and factory hand, farmer and trader, manufacturer and landlord—every man knows what his neighbour thinks, and they are all of a mind, They want only two things—peace and the protection of law. They would abhor the idea of fighting; but their words are to this effect—the franchise and rest under law and order which the English and the Scotch have we have. This industry has come of security, this security of settled government, that settled government of the Union. We shall not let go our Imperial franchise. We shall not be put under a Parliament in Dublin. The Imperial franchise and all which that guarantees is our birthright. No man shall take it from us. We will never sell it. If Englishmen and Scotchmen will not let us live and die in the freedom we were born to, they will have to come and kill us.

On that ground stands the strongest party in Ireland—mark the word; for as surely as the Home Rule party is the larger, so surely is the Unionist party the stronger. Ask any military man who has spent a few years in the country. Do not ask journalists or politicians.

Settle the Irish question by putting the stronger party under the weaker! You would only change a count of heads into a trial of strength. Instead of the polling booth, where nothing counts but heads, you would set for the two parties another trysting place. There brains count, education counts, purses count, habits of hard work

count, habits of command and habits of obedience count, habits of success count, delight in overcoming difficulties counts, northern tenacity counts, and there are other things which I do not mention that would count.

Let not the two parties be summoned to that trysting place. Bid both sit still and mind their business under the sword and shield of Imperial law. Let the word be—Every man shall have equal laws. Any who lawfully seek amendment of law shall be heard. Any who coerce others shall be themselves coerced. Any who claim powers not enjoyed by all their fellow citizens shall be denied. Any who, to gain exceptional privileges, use force shall have force used on them. Anyone who takes the law into his own hands shall be punished. Any who organize coercion by unwritten law shall be dealt with as traitors to law itself and as enemies to the community.

If that word be spoken in such wise that men may know it to be not yea and nay, but yea, then will the years to come, like those since the Union, see no civil war, but a steady growth of peace and goodwill. Hoping in some humble measure to serve that end, and trusting that I may never see such times as both of my grandfathers saw.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

WM. ARTHUR.

PALLANZA, *Italy, Jan.* 9.

IRISH
NONCONFORMIST APPEAL.

The following appears in the "RURAL WORLD" of *March 12th*, 1892.

"WE, the undersigned Irish non-Episcopal ministers, desire, through your widely-read paper, to draw the attention of our Nonconformist brethren in England to our attitude towards Home Rule for Ireland.

"Almost every one of the *990 non-Episcopal ministers in Ireland is opposed to Mr. Gladstone's scheme*, or any other scheme which would establish a Parliament in Dublin possessing legislative and executive authority.

"The events which have occurred in Ireland since 1886 have strengthened us, and the Churches of which we are ministers, in our determined opposition to a Dublin Parliament.

"The recent struggles between the Parnellites and M'Carthyites have impressed us more strongly than ever with the tremendous influence exercised by the Irish priesthood—an influence which would be paramount in a Dublin Parliament. The effects of such clerical interference in the sphere of politics in other countries confirm us in the judgment that under a Home Rule Government the interests and liberties of the Irish people, and especially of Irish Protestants, would be insecure.

"The struggle between Catholics and Protestants would be intensified, and the eventual result would be the all-but certainty of civil war of a most sanguinary character.

"Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme we hold to be at once degrading to us as citizens, and dangerous to the interests of the Empire.

"Our interests, and the interests of our people, are secure in the keeping of the Imperial Parliament; and we have no grievance which the Imperial Parliament does not show itself willing to remedy.

"We claim the aid of our brethren in England and Wales in our resistance of Mr. Gladstone's policy—a policy which we hold to be one of surrender and despair; and we appeal with the utmost confidence to the descendants of the Nonconformists of 1662 to put an end at the coming general election, for at least a generation, to attempts such as Mr. Gladstone has made to disintegrate and destroy the unity and glory of the Empire and our Queen.

"N. M. BROWN, D.D., Presbyterian.
"R. J. LYND, D.D., Presbyterian.
"JOHN JAMES M'CLURE, Presbyterian.
"GEORGE CRON, Independent.
"WILLIAM USHER, M.D., Baptist.
"WESLEY GUARD, Methodist."

NOTE.—Dr. N. M. Brown is the Moderator (or Chairman) for the present year of the General Assembly—the Supreme Court—of the Irish Presbyterian Church, which numbers almost half a million of the people of Ireland. He is a Radical, and is and was a tenant-righter long before the majority of Nationalists had dreamed of such a thing as tenant-right. Dr. Lynd is an ex-Moderator of the General Assembly, and probably the most eloquent non-Episcopal minister in Ireland. He has been a Liberal all his days. Mr. Wesley Guard is an eloquent Wesleyan Methodist, and is representative of the Methodist Community. Dr. Usher is the foremost Baptist pastor in Belfast, and is entitled to speak for the Baptist Community. Mr. Cron is an Independent minister of ability. Mr. M'Clure is Secretary of the Presbyterian Representation Association.

WHAT IS IRELAND TO BE?

A

REPUBLIC OR COLONY.

It will be seen from the subjoined passage clipped from the *Manchester Guardian*, the great North of England Gladstonian organ, that at last an admission, regarding the true character of the Nationalist movement, has been wrenched from English Home Rulers. We read:—

"The more Mr. Parnell speaks the more abundantly clear he makes it that he is a man with whom no party leader in this country can come to terms. The whole of his speeches yesterday consisted in a denunciation of the doctrine of supremacy of the Imperial Parliament and **a demand for what practically amounts to separation.**"—*Manchester Guardian*, 24th February, 1891.

Mr. Parnell is frightening the Gladstonians by the violence and extremity of his demands **now.** But just before Mr. Gladstone entered into an alliance with Mr. Parnell the latter was saying exactly the same things as he is saying now, and in language quite as violent and extreme. What Mr. Parnell has been for the last ten years that he is to-day, and what he is to-day that has he been for the past ten years. He has been for that period, and is now, a conspirator, an inciter of, and an apologist for, crime, and a wilful and persistent liar. He is also, from the political standpoint, a strong man, who knows his own mind, and who always pursues in the most implacable way a definite object. He has always advocated the same policy; he has always been an out-and-out separatist; indeed, this strong silent man has been most uniformly consistent.

Mr. Parnell now demands, not a subordinate, but a co-ordinate Parliament. He demands complete control of the police. He demands the right to "protect" Irish commerce. He demands Irish independence, and the right of Ireland to Nationhood. **The Gladstonians now admit this.** They forget that Mr. Parnell has always demanded these things. Here are his words:—

(1) In LONDON, March 17th, 1885.—"We should not impede or hamper the march of our nation. Though our programme may now appear limited and small, it should be such a one as shall not prevent **hereafter** the fullest realization of the hopes of Ireland."

(2) At WICKLOW, October 5th, 1885.—"I claim this for Ireland, that if the Irish Parliament of the future considers that there are certain industries in Ireland which could be benefited by Protection, which could be nursed by Protection * * * * the Parliament ought to have power to carry out that policy * * * * It is impossible for us to give guarantee."

(3) To correspondent of *New York Herald*, November 7th, 1885.—"What Irishman of influence or importance would undertake any responsibility in a Local Legislature **without having the control of the police force?**"

Let any Englishman read these statements and the following passages side by side, and ask himself if Mr. Parnell has not all along been a consistent separatist:—

MR. PARNELL IN 1885.

At Castlebar, 3rd November, 1885:—

"Speaking for myself, and I believe for the Irish people, and for all my colleagues, I have to declare that we will never accept, either expressly or implied, anything but **the full complete right to arrange our own affairs, and to make our land a nation; to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own cause among the peoples of the world.**"—*United Ireland* Report.

MR. PARNELL IN 1891.

At Strokestown, 23rd February, 1891:—

"Now what are the inducements that they offer to Ireland to surrender the path of Irish nationality? They tell you that if you obey the orders of the Grand Old Man you will get a Parliament in College Green, but what sort of a Parliament? **When I stood in this county ten years ago I told you the belief in my heart, and it is the same belief to-day. I took off my coat for the purpose of obtaining and consummating the future of Irish nationality.** That position was accepted by the men of Ireland, and upon that position I have stood during these long years." (Cheers.) —*Freeman*, 24th February, 1891.

At Waterford, on the 24th January, 1891, Mr. Parnell plainly stated what he wanted, after expressing regret for "being too amiable with this Grand Old Man."

"The Liberal Party and Mr. Gladstone," said Mr. Parnell, "know what Ireland wants;" and he continued: "It is now known to all men, English and Irish, that what we want is that, when our Parliament has been restored to us, the elected representatives of the people shall have power to make laws for Ireland, and that there shall be no English veto upon those laws except the constitutional veto of the Crown, exercised in the same way as it is exercised by the Crown upon the Imperial Parliament." (Cheers).—*Freeman's Journal*, 25th January, 1891.

Here, then, is a definite statement. The only veto which will be tolerated is the veto of the Sovereign. The English Parliament, or English Ministry, will have no controlling power. An Irish Prime Minister will be accountable alone, and direct to the Crown; and it is scarcely necessary to point out that the Queen only exercises her veto and prerogative upon the advice of her Ministers. Assuming such a state of things came about, under the Premiership of Mr. Parnell or Mr. T. M. Healy, and that either of these Ministers recommended Her Majesty to extend her pardon to the Phœnix Park assassins and dynamiters now in English prisons, and the Queen, on the advice of the English Cabinet, refused to do so, what would be the outcome? Another Irish grievance would be propounded, and steps taken to fulfil Mr. Parnell's remarks at Navan, on 1st March, 1891, when he addressed the following words to an enthusiastic assembly:—

"Men of royal Meath, perhaps some day or other in the long distant future some one may arise who may have the privilege of addressing you as men of **republican Meath.**" (Loud Cheers).—*Freeman's Journal*, 2nd March, 1891.

It was admitted, in Committee Room No. 15 [December 4th, 1890], that Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1886 was accepted *pro tanto*, as a "Parliamentary hit" to begin with. In such a manner would the Waterford demands be accepted as a step towards establishing a republic.

This is the state of affairs from a Parnellite point of view.

How about the other wing of the Nationalist party, ranged under the banner of Mr. Justin McCarthy?

During the "Union of Hearts" period, such Members as Mr. John O'Connor and Mr. Pierce Mahony were going up and down England stating, on hundreds of platforms, that

Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1886 was a final measure to satisfy the "legitimate aspirations of the Irish people," and all they wanted was to remain "part and parcel of the British Empire." Mr. John Deasy, M.P., amid the assenting cheers of the anti-Parnellites, described these gentlemen at Cork, on 27th January, 1891, as "going about with a lie on the tip of their tongue," and "going over to England and uttering falsehoods."

To men who will think and reason, this is conclusive, and that the anti-Parnellites' demand "what practically amounts to separation," as well as Mr. Parnell.

Take another illustration of anti-Parnellite demands, which appears so late as March, 1891. Sir John Pope Hennessy, the latest recruit to the Nationalist anti-Parnellite fold, and eminent ally of Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mr. Gladstone, in a letter dated 28th February, 1891, thus speaks of the impossible separatist, Mr. Parnell. "As far as I can make out the meaning of his latest declarations, I go further than he seems disposed to go." Sir John then demands a full Colonial Constitution for Ireland. "This would give us," he writes, "complete control of everything local—not only complete control of the land, the police, and all appointments, but control of our Customs and our fiscal system." Sir John proceeds to insist on the necessity of protection. "Otherwise our National claims would be imperfectly realized."

It is thus demonstrated that not only the Parnellites, but the anti-Parnellites demand separation, and the final establishment of either a Republic, or a Colony, within sixty miles of the English shore.

THE IRISH PEOPLE

AND

MR. BALFOUR.

Habitual readers of Nationalist newspapers and auditors of National Members of Parliament during the past few years, could only arrive at the one conclusion that Mr. Balfour was a man thoroughly hated by the Irish people; that he was, in their estimation, a tyrannical despot, trampling on all liberty and every National sentiment. The output of **United Ireland's** animosity against the Chief Secretary could not be equalled in violence of language. Such epithets as bloody, brutal, cowardly, dastardly, inhuman and malignant have been freely used. He has also, over and over again, been designated as "Bomba the Little," "Cromwell the Second," a "Priest hunter," and a "Snob." Such representations have remained too long uncontradicted, and it is gratifying to record the following expressions of approval of Mr. Balfour—expressions not enunciated by either Landlords or Unionists.

During his tour in the west and north-west districts of Ireland, Mr. Balfour passed through Killala, county Mayo, on 25th October, 1890. He was stopped by Father Nolan, the parish priest, who asked him to honour them with a few minutes of his time in the Board Room. Mr. Balfour, after some pressure, as his time was limited, consented; and Mr. May, one of the elected guardians of the poor, addressing the Chief Secretary, stated: the Board, having heard that Mr. Balfour was to pass through Killala, had adjourned their business **in order to thank him,** and to enable Father Nolan to express the views of the people.

Mr. Balfour having entered the Board Room and taken a seat, while every one else remained standing.

The rev. gentleman said he desired, **on the part of the people of Killala, to thank Mr. Balfour** for coming among them, and also for granting them a much-needed railway from Ballina. . . . This was a work that the people were unanimous and anxious about, and **on their behalf he had to thank Mr. Balfour** for the great kindness he had already bestowed on their district.

Mr. Balfour responded.

At Achill, on 27th October, Father O'Connor remarked, "that the people, who had come in such large numbers to welcome the Chief Secretary, they would be glad if he would say a few words to them." Mr. Balfour had no objection, and in his short speech stated he had hopes of being able to extend the railway as far as the Sound. (Loud cheers and waving of hats. Cries of "**God Bless you,**" "**Thank your honour,**" and "**Cheers for Mr. Balfour.**")

Newport was reached on 28th October, and the Rev. M. Grealy, parish priest, in addressing the Chief Secretary, stated: "He did not think any Government in Europe could confer greater benefit on their people than Mr. Balfour was conferring on the people of Newport. This visit would be productive of great good. **He had read with pleasure the able and powerful speeches which Mr. Balfour had made about this country, and the steps which he had taken to help her.** These things, together with such visits as the present, would yet produce peace and prosperity in Ireland. They only regretted that they did not see more of Mr. Balfour, and that he did not see more of them."

At Killybegs, county Donegal, on November 4th, the parish priest, the Rev. Michael Martin, thanked Mr. Balfour for the great favour he had conferred upon them, and **they regarded him as a**

true and real benefactor. They did not want public works to employ the people, as the railway works were commencing, but still they took the opportunity of saying a good word for the districts around about. . . . History would yet record the great services that Mr. Balfour had conferred upon his country. **He was one of the best Chief Secretaries they had ever had,** and if he constructed the pier it would be another gem in his crown.—*Daily Express* Report.

At the meeting of the Tralee Town Commissioners on November 11th, 1890, Mr. O'Rourke proposed a resolution asking the Government to consider the advisability of opening some relief works in county Kerry.

Mr. Latchford, in seconding the motion, said he was proud to be a Nationalist, and he had always an interest in the welfare of the farmers and people of the country, and he thought **the best thanks of the country were due to Mr. Balfour** for the way in which he was working in the poor districts in the West of Ireland, and the work he was preparing for the poor. He thought it would be well if Mr. Balfour came to Kerry, for if he did he would do something for the people.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.—*Daily Express, 12th November*, 1890.

On 20th November, 1890, Mr. Daniel Crilly, M.P., attended a meeting of his constituents in the Board Room of the Killala Workhouse, county Mayo. The Rev. P. F. Nolan, P.P., in the Chair. On Mr. Crilly rising to speak, he was unable for some minutes to obtain a hearing, those present being anything but friendly disposed. In course of his remarks, Mr. Crilly said, "they had a visit lately from a gentleman [Mr. Balfour] with whom he strongly differed in politics, and who, in order that he might be able to see the country better, got on top of a round tower." [Voices—**He has done some good for us, what you haven't**]. (Cheers).—*Freeman's Journal, 21st November*, 1890.

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The Annual Meeting of the National Sea Fisheries Protection Association was held in the Fishmongers' Hall, London, on 16th March, 1891. Father Davis, P.P. of Baltimore, county Cork, expressed his gratitude and that of Irish Fishermen generally, for the interest that Association had taken for several years in their prosperity. "He," Father Davis, "was not present so much to accuse the present Government, but, on the contrary, to express the hope that **Mr. Balfour, than whom no Statesman who had filled the onerous post of Chief Secretary had done so much for the National interests of the Country,** would see his way to accede to their wishes."—*Cork Herald, 17th March,* **1891.**

THE MUTILATION

OF

DUMB ANIMALS.

Mr. John Dillon, speaking at Kildare (15th August, 1880), said:—

'In the County of Mayo, where the organization is pretty strong, we have many a farm lying idle, from which no rent can be drawn, and there thy shall lie, and if the landlord shall put cattle on them, **the cattle won't prosper very much.**"—*Official Report*, Queen *v.* Parnell, &c., p.289.

IN his charge to the Grand Jury of Co. Kerry at the Spring Assizes, 1891, the Irish Lord Chief Justice congratulated the Jury on the marked diminution of boycoting. "In the year 1887," said the Judge, "there were 273 persons boycotted in the County Kerry There are in this present year but five." Thanks to the administration of the Crimes Act, this subtle cruel, and demoralising form of crime has consequently almost ceased to exist in one of the worst spots in Ireland. Turning from the question of boycoting, the Judge referred to that most dastardly species of crime, the mutilation of animals, and said:—

"Now it is melancholy to record this sickening detail, but what is the remedy for it? I should be very sorry indeed—and I am sure that you should be very sorry to think that it would be necessary to have recourse to flogging in this country—as an Irishman, and you, as Irishmen, should be very sorry that that species of degrading punishment was thought necessary; but, after all, can any person be more degraded than the man who commits this loathsome form of

crime? I do not advocate flogging. I regret that it was thought necessary to apply to the use of the lash. I should be very sorry to think it, and I should be far from advocating it. It would be a melancholy thing to think that recourse to such a thing should be necessary. I am far from advocating it; but some very drastic remedy will be necessary if this repulsive form of crime is persisted in."—*Cork Herald*, March 13th, 1891.

The following list, which the Judge had before him, shows the number of injuries perpetrated on animals—in nearly every case after dark—and mostly the property of poor agriculturalists, who had in some way offended the "unwritten law."

1890.

May 1.—A filly, the property of John F. Powell, cut with some sharp instrument and partly destroyed at Dooneen.

May 7.—A yearling filly, the property of C. D. O'Connor, stabbed on the left hind leg, and partly destroyed at Moatmole.

May 10.—A mare, the property of John Howard, cut with some sharp instrument on left fore knee at Bawnaglana.

June 29.—A donkey, the property of Thomas Sheehan, cut and stabbed (from the effects of which it died), at West Barrow.

July 10.—A donkey, the property of Patrick Fallon, stabbed and killed at Ballinacaha.

July 10.—A heifer, the property of Margaret Bouqueline, leg broken and houghed at Inch.

July 11.—A mare, the property of Hanoria Casey, severely cut on hind leg at Dirra.

July 15.—Two calves, the property of Cornelius Daly, driven off lands of Dirreen and killed.

July 15.—One calf, the property of Captain Magill, also driven off and killed.

July 15.—A mare, the property of James Dawson, stabbed with some sharp instrument and partly destroyed at Bawnbee.

July 17.—A heifer, the property of Daniel Shea, injured and abused, from the effects of which it died.

July 21.—Two cows, the property of John Downing, part of their tails cut off at Inchinaleega.

July 23.—A donkey, the property of Thomas Grogan, wounded and partly destroyed at Caterwisheen.

July 25.—Two three-year-old heifers (in calf), the property of the Earl of Kenmare, driven off lands at Inchicorrigane and never recovered.

August 4.—A donkey, the property of Mrs. G. F. Featherstone, had its tongue cut out at the Spa.

August 7.—A horse, the property of Mrs. Mason, injured and partly destroyed at Gutbrack.

August 10.—A horse, the property of Roger Wharton, had one of its legs broken, in consequence of which it had to be shot, at Cloncarrig.

August 10.—A bull, the property of Denis Sullivan, killed at Rusheen.

August 10.—One three-year-old bullock, the property of the Land Corporation, forcibly driven off the lands of Knockasartnett and killed.

August 17.—A jennett, the property of William Horan, stabbed at Gurteendrouragh.

August 21.—A heifer calf, six months old, the property of Bridget O'Connell, stabbed about neck and shoulder with sharp instrument, from the effects of which it died, at Laharn.

September 4.—A cow, the property of Catherine Horgan, killed and wholly destroyed at Bannskeby.

September 9.—A goat, the property of Robert Hilliard, killed at West Commons.

September 11.—A cow, the property of Mrs. Julia Shea, injured by striking the animal in the side with some sharp instrument at Dooks.

September 14.—A mare, the property of Timothy Fealy, cut and destroyed in one of the hind legs at Clieveragh.

September 14.—A valuable mare, the property of Patrick Murphy, cut with a knife or other sharp instrument.

September 22.—A bullock, the property of S. M. Hussey, driven off the lands of Garrenderagh and killed and destroyed.

November 5.—Horse, the property of Margaret McNamara, had portion of its ear cut off at Gothard.

November 30.—Goat, the property of Thos. Doyle, legs tied with a cord, its tail cut off, and then drowned, at Moneypeel.

1891.

January 17—A Cow, the property of Margaret Mahoney, of Skehonagh, died from injuries inflicted.

February 21.—A Horse, the property of John Kearney, stabbed at Scarboglen.

February 28.—A Cow, the property of Eugene Sullivan, killed at Killeah West.

March 1.—A Bull, the property of Jeremiah Roche, one leg broken at Tubbermang.

Englishmen, will you hand over to these people who thus torture and kill dumb animals, and do acts which would disgrace savages, the lives and property of the loyalists of Ireland?

THE ARREARS QUESTION.

It is generally stated that the "Arrears" question has never been dealt with in Ireland, and that the failure to settle it on the part of the Imperial Parliament is a proof of the incompetence of that body to settle the Irish Land Question; and further, the poorer tenants are weighed down with an overpowering burden of arrears, which they cannot shake off.

How untrue is the statement can only be realised by those who know that in 1882 an Arrears Act was passed for Ireland.

That Act provided that those tenants whose valuation for rating purposes was below £30 per annum—that is, the tenants of 88·6 of the holdings—should be given a fresh start. They were enabled, no matter how many years' rent they owed, to clear themselves by the payment of *one year's rent.* The Government paid the landlord another year's rent out of the fund of the Disestablished Church, and wiped out by Act of Parliament the residue of the tenant's debt. Of course the Court had, in justice both to the landlord and the country, to inquire as to the ability, or inability, of the tenant to pay.

Under this Act 126,882 holdings, or about one-fourth of all the tenants in Ireland, were benefited. The annual rental of these holdings was £1,185,265, and £1,820,586 of arrears was absolutely wiped out. (*See* Parliamentary Return presented in 1884 by the Land Commission, of which the following is a summary):—

	Holdings.	Arrears wiped out.
Ulster... ...	41,134	£561,391
Munster ...	18,994	341,198
Leinster ...	12,879	223,902
Connaught ...	52,883	634,333
Extra cases under Sect. 16 of Act	992	59,762
Total ...	126,882	£1,820,586

Under the Land Act of 1887 [a Unionist measure] no tenant can now be harshly or capriciously evicted; nor can he be evicted at all for arrears of rent, if he is able to satisfy the Court that his inability to pay does not arise from his own conduct, act, or default, and if he is willing to pay his arrears of rent and the costs, by such instalments as the Court may think fit to appoint.

IRELAND UNDER THE UNIONISTS.

A COMPARISON.

The increase since 1886 in the deposits in Irish savings banks and joint stock banks, as well as the growth of the railway receipts, bear testimony to the greater prosperity which Ireland now enjoys as compared with the period when Mr. Gladstone was in power.

Equally remarkable is the reduction which has taken place in the volume of emigration, poverty and crime, and the decrease of evictions, in the same period, as the following statistics show:—

PAUPERISM.	
Average number of paupers in Irish workhouses, 1881-5 .	51,558
The same on January 1st, 1891	46,110
11 per cent. decrease under Unionist Government .	5,448
EMIGRATION.	
Number of Irish emigrants in five years, 1881-5 . .	398,658
The same in the five years, 1886-90	335,817
16 per cent. less emigration under Unionist Government	62,841
INDICTABLE OFFENCES.	
Number of indictable offences in 1886	7,315
The same in 1890	5,289
28 per cent. reduction in serious crimes . . .	2,026
AGRARIAN OUTRAGES.	
Number of agrarian offences in 1886	1,056
The same in 1891	455
57 per cent. decrease in agrarian crime . . .	601
BOYCOTTING.	
Persons under police protection against intimidation in 1886	4,901
The same in March, 1892	0
Number of persons relieved from persecution . .	4,901
EVICTIONS.	
Number of evictions in 1886	3,781
The same in the year 1891	799
79 per cent. decrease in evictions since 1886 . .	2,982

THE FOUR IRELANDS.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON, M.P., speaking at the Irish Unionist Alliance meeting, in Dublin, on April 8th, 1891, said :—

"When Sir George Trevelyan was Chief Secretary, he said there were two Irelands—one, he believed, the larger part, consisting of the law-abiding classes, and the smaller part, consisting of those who sympathised with and condoned crime—but now there were more than two. He would go through them.

THE BLACKGUARD IRELAND.

First, there was Parnell's Ireland. What Ireland was that? He would not describe it himself. He would take Healy's description of it. Mr. Healy was a man of great ability, in many ways a remarkable man, and he made a speech the other day in Dublin, one of the many speeches he was in the habit of making now under police protection. In that speech, made about two months ago, he said it was a curious thing that all the blackguards were with Parnell—Blackguard Ireland! When he read that speech of Mr. Healy's he said to himself, what a confession! Mr. Healy had himself, up to a short time before, been one of the staunchest adherents of those whom the Unionists always knew to be what they were (laughter). That had been the opinion of the Unionists when Mr. Healy was a member of the party, but they did not employ the phrase, because it was not Parliamentary. Well, there was Mr. Parnell's Ireland. He believed that Mr. Gladstone agreed with Mr. Healy, and they might conceive that when he presented another Home Rule Bill, it would not be to satisfy Blackguard Ireland.

THE MACTEAPARTY IRELAND.

Then there was Ireland presided over by Mr. MacTeaparty (laughter)—Mr. M'Carthy. He always associated the word "tea-party" with that party, from the description of the leader. What Ireland was that? It could only be described as an Ireland of Roman Catholic priests. He ventured to say that if the Roman Catholic Priests in this country refrained from turning themselves into electioneering agents, that Mr. Parnell would have carried the election both at Kilkenny and Sligo. Did Mr. Gladstone intend to bring in a Home Rule Bill that would satisfy the priests of Ireland? What would Nonconformist conscience say then? There was another Ireland in the House of Commons—there was another party.

2

THE INDOOR IRELAND.

There was Mr. Healy's Ireland. He would call it an indoor Ireland, because there was no place in Ireland where Mr. Healy could speak out of doors unless he had the protection of Mr. Balfour (cheers) and Mr. Balfour's police (laughter). In the House of Commons, as far as he could see, Mr. Healy's party was a party of two. There was Mr. Healy himself and Mr. Sexton, and they both alternately led each other (loud laughter). Well, with regard to Mr. Healy, he must pay a tribute to his ingenuity. This was the only following he had in the House of Commons. What following he had in Ireland was a following that generally expressed its opinion of him with brickbats and blackthorns, but he himself deserved the prize, as being the champion venom-squirter of his age (loud laughter). He had never been exceeded, never been equalled, and never would be surpassed. He had a limitless supply. He pumped day by day out of an inexhaustible reservoir, he always kept full to the brim by his knowledge and the memory of the turpitude of his former companions (loud laughter), and if the nauseous liquid was not strong enough for his taste he stirred it up with the fire-escape (renewed laughter). He (Col. Saunderson) did not think Mr. Gladstone would probably bring in a Home Rule Bill to satisfy Mr. Healy's party.

UNIONIST IRELAND.

There was another party in the House of Commons—there was the party of the Unionists (cheers), and he was certain Mr. Gladstone or anyone else would never bring in a Home Rule Bill to satisfy them (cheers). For the wit of man, or the ingenuity of the greatest and most ingenious statesmen that ever had lived, or ever could live, could not possibly imagine or devise any Home Rule scheme whatsoever that would ever be accepted or adopted by the Unionist Party (loud cheers).

He had now ran through all the various Irelands, and, as far as he could see, when Mr. Gladstone—if he lived to become Prime Minister of England—sat down to formulate a Home Rule Bill, he would find himself confronted with an insoluble difficulty; and they would take care that that difficulty shall present itself to the mind of the House and to the country."—*Daily Express*, April 9th, 1891.

TIPPERARY

UNDER

NATIONAL LEAGUE COERCION.

List of Outrages committed in connection with the Smith Barry Estate in Tipperary.

THE METHODS BY WHICH THE AGITATION IS MAINTAINED.

This List does not include the many Outrages committed on the Police.

No.	Date of Outrage.	BRIEF PARTICULARS.
1	4th Sept., 1889.	The houses of J. Doherty, James O'Neill, Edmond Fitzgerald, who bought in their interest at Sheriff's Sale, were wrecked by a mob of 3,000, followed by a band.
2	5th Sept., 1889.	Joseph Woods, caretaker, had his donkey-cart, with load of straw and some oats, set on fire and totally consumed.
3	7th Sept., 1889.	A metal box of a cart wheel, charged with powder, was exploded in the Estate Office window of Mr. Smith-Barry, M.P.
4	13th Sept., 1889.	A metal box, charged with gunpowder, was thrown into Edmond Fitzgerald's yard, and an explosion occurred. Fitzgerald had purchased his interest at Sheriff's Sale.
5	16th Sept., 1889.	A leaden pipe, charged with gunpowder, was thrown against the back bedroom window of J. Heffernan's house. Explosion occurred without injury, except breaking a pane of glass. Heffernan dealt with E. Fitzgerald. (*See above.*)
6	26th Sept., 1889.	Patrick Barlow's cart stopped in the street, and a parcel of calico which had been purchased from James O'Neill (a boycotted Shopkeeper) was taken out and burned, after first being saturated with oil.
7	27th Sept., 1889.	Some powder, rolled in brown paper, placed in J. Ryan's window, with fuse attached. Explosion occurred, breaking the glass.
8	29th Nov., 1889.	A leaden pipe, full of gunpowder, thrown through Mr. Nolan's plate-glass window into his office.
9	2nd Dec., 1889.	A shell, filled with powder, placed near a police patrol, and exploded, breaking the eave-shoot of a house and a gas lamp adjacent.
10	5th Dec., 1889.	Printed Boycotting Notices posted in Tipperary.
11	6th Dec., 1889.	Two windows smashed at the house of Patrick Hanrahan, Clerk of the Works on Mr. Smith-Barry's estate. A bottle full of blasting powder, with fuse attached, left outside.
12	20th Dec., 1889.	Five shots fired into the house of John Quinlan. He had paid his rent.

No.	Date of Outrage.	BRIEF PARTICULARS.
13	Between 16th and 30th Dec., 1889.	A number of sub-tenants, who were evicted in Tipperary Town, on 31st December, burned the doors, window sashes, &c., before leaving, in order to injure the property.
14	1st Jan., 1890.	Three panes of glass and a shutter broken by stones in Dr. Nadin's window, and three panes of glass broken in John Maloney's window.
15	18th Feb., 1890.	Six shots fired at Pegsboro', two of which went through the window of Mr. Bell's house. Mr. Bell was believed to sympathize with Mr. Smith-Barry.
16	27th April, 1890.	Boycotting Notices found posted in town and neighbourhood, calling on the people to boycott eleven shopkeepers and farmers believed to have paid their rents.
17	14th June, 1890.	A bag of flour, the property of Mrs. Fahey, of Drumwood, Dundrum, cut open. She had purchased the flour from Rutherford, a boycotted shopkeeper.
18	14th June, 1890.	When passing down Meeting Street, James English, servant to Mr. Rutherford, mentioned above, was struck on the head by a heavy weapon.
19	19th June, 1890.	The children of the Convent and other schools, out on strike, because children of unpopular persons attended it. A man named Quinlan, when passing into the town, was stoned and hooted by those children, because he had paid his rent. A little girl was stoned because she attended the school.
20	20th June, 1890.	Wm. Sadlier (son of Mrs. Sadlier, of Carroclough, boycotted because she paid her rent), met on his way home from Tipperary, and attacked with stones from behind a wall.
21	24th June, 1890.	A number of Boycotting Notices found posted through the town and neighbourhood to boycott certain persons who had paid their rent.
22	24th June, 1890.	The house of P. Clifford wrecked and his wife assaulted. He had supplied unpopular persons with newspapers, and his name appeared in a Boycotting Notice, June 24th, 1890.
23	25th June, 1890.	A brass tube, filled with gunpowder, thrown by Thos. Kirwan at the house of J. F. Duggan, a shopkeeper, boycotted because he paid his rent. (*Kirwan was convicted and sentenced at the Nenagh Assizes to 18 months' imprisonment with hard labour.*)
24	28th June, 1890.	Two female servants of Mrs. White's, Greenrath (boycotted because she paid her rent), attacked on the road home from Tipperary by two men, who were immediately arrested.
25	16th Aug., 1890.	Twenty-three printed Boycotting Notices found posted in and around Tipperary.
26	20th Aug., 1890.	An earthenware jar, filled with gunpowder, and fuse attached, exploded on the fanlight over the shop door of Jas. Godfrey (boycotted shopkeeper), dinging the side posts of door and breaking the glass.
27	30th Aug., 1890.	Boycotting Notices found posted, calling on the people to boycott a man named Barrett.

No.	Dae of Outrage.	BRIEF PARTICULARS.
28	5tl Sept., 1890.	Three iron spikes driven in the ground in corner of meadow of Mrs. White, injured her mowing machine. (Mrs. White boycotted because she paid her rent.)
29	7tl Sept., 1890.	Boycotting Notices posted, naming several persons to be boycotted for having paid their rent.
30	9tl Sept., 1890.	Similar Boycotting Notices to the ones above.
31	9tl Sept., 1890.	Similar Boycotting Notices (but in manuscript).
32	11h Sept., 1890.	Glass in the window of Jockeys' room, racecourse, and four panes in another were broken, and a window and some fixtures taken away, the property of Jas. Sadlier, who was boycotted for paying his rent.
33	20h Sept., 1890.	Two windows and fanlight in Michael Gillane's house broken with stones.
34	25h Sept., 1890.	A jar, filled with powder, with fuse attached, placed on window sill of Dr. O'Ryan's house, which exploded, breaking several panes of glass.
35	12h Oct., 1890.	Notices of a scurrilous nature posted around the town, calling on the taxpayers not to elect Messrs. Breen & Co. to some vacant places in the Town Council, because they protested against the system of intimidation reigning in Tipperary.
36	13h Oct., 1890.	Rev. D. Humphries, C.C., meeting Sergt. Jas. Mullin R.I.C., and his wife, accused the latter of being a prostitute, and assaulted her by seizing her by the shoulder and attempting to drag her away. He was fined £20 or 3 months' imprisonment at Petty Sessions, on 23/10/90.
37	2rl Nov., 1890.	Mrs. Mullin, the injured woman, in above case, lodged with Mrs. Linney, also a policeman's wife, and on that account Mrs. Linney was assaulted by a man named Fleming on the Street, who struck her with his fist in the stomach. This brought on miscarriage, which endangered her life. She had been previously threatened. (*Fleming was convicted and sentenced at the Nenagh Assizes to* 18 *months' imprisonment with hard labour.*)
38	10h Nov., 1890.	A man unknown threw stones at Mrs. Mahoney, and afterwards broke into the evicted house of Jno. Lowrey, into which the Mahoney's were about to move as caretakers. One pane of glass was broken, and tops of chimney pulled down.
39	14h Nov., 1890.	House from which Patrick Halloran was evicted on 5/5/90 found on fire by police patrol so as to deter Halloran from re-taking possession.
40	15h Nov., 1890.	A house from which Patrick Lysaght was evicted on 6/6/90 was discovered on fire. Four men with white cloths on their faces were seen going to the house and afterwards running away. House burned.
41	15h Nov., 1890.	Boycotting Notice found on wall of Churchyard, signed "A Tipperary Girl."
42	15h Nov., 1890.	House formerly occupied by Mrs. Eliza O'Connor (evicted), known as Railway Hotel, redeemed by Bank of Ireland, set fire to in the rear to prevent anyone taking it.

No.	Date of Outrage.	BRIEF PARTICULARS.
43	22nd Nov., 1890.	House from which John Lowrey was evicted on 22/10/90 burned down, to prevent former tenant re-taking it.
44	29th Nov., 1890.	Notice posted in and about Tipperary to boycott various shopkeepers, &c., tenants of Mr. S.-Barry, and persons who had given evidence in recent case against Wm. O'Brien, M.P., and others.
45	7th Dec., 1890.	A notice posted in Lisvernane similar to above.
46	21st Dec., 1890.	A notice posted in and around Tipperary calling on the people to treat traitors as traitors ever were treated.
47	6th Jan., 1891.	Printed Boycotting Notices posted in and around Tipperary to boycott certain shopkeepers and farmers who had paid their rent.
48	8th or 9th Jan., 1891.	A barn, the property of Mr. Smith-Barry, was maliciously torn down at Carronreddy, formerly belonged to Mr. Dawson, Town Clerk. A cabin roof pulled down and timber taken away.
49	27th Jan., 1891.	Michael Landers was arrested posting a Boycotting Notice in Tipperary, calling on all Nationalists to boycott, crush and banish various shopkeepers and tenants on the Smith-Barry estate. (*Convicted and sentenced at the Cork Assizes to* 12 *months' imprisonment with hard labour.*)
50	28th Jan., 1891.	Michael Hanly caught posting one of the above Boycotting Notices, and four more were found in his possession. (*Pleaded guilty, and sentenced at the Cork Assizes to* 18 *months' imprisonment with hard labour.*)
51	28th Jan., 1891.	John Foley, a well-known vigilance man, arrested on suspicion of having firearms. An explosive substance was found in his possession, with a fuse attached. (*Convicted and sentenced at the Cork Assizes to 7 years' penal servitude.*)
52	6th Feb., 1891.	Col. Caddell, R.M., was returning to Tipperary by car, and when at Bohercrow, beside the house of an evicted tenant, a wire was tightly stretched across the road in order to throw the horse.
53	15th Feb., 1891.	Mr. Wm. Baker found a wire stretched breast-high across the public road between Bansha and Ballydavid. Mr. Bates, Stock Manager, and Mr. Bowles, Dairy Manager, to Mr. Smith-Barry, were fishing at the time, and were expected to return that way.
54	2nd April, 1891.	A caretaker employed by Mr. Smith-Barry attacked by seven men. His revolver missed fire, and he had to fly for his life. One of the men was arrested, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P., who is largely responsible for the state of things set out above, and who was prosecuted and convicted for taking part in the Tipperary conspiracy, addressed a Meeting of the Smith-Barry tenants at Cashel, on 27th May, 1890, as follows:—

"Your cause has not been sullied by a single stain of crime that could call a blush to the cheek of our English friends."

ENGLISHMEN, JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES THE VALUE OF MR. O'BRIEN'S UTTERANCE.

The following is a copy of a Boycotting Notice circulated in Tipperary during April, 1891, with the object of Terrorising the people and preventing the round-robin being signed praying Mr. CROKE to interfere and bring about a settlement.

BOYCOTT! BOYCOTT!! BOYCOTT!!!

Renegades, Pledge-Breakers and Hirelings

STAND ASIDE!

Nationalists of Tipperary, you are once again appealed to, and, it is hoped, not in vain, to Boycott and Crush and Banish the following Hirelings who are fighting Smith-Barry's battle in Tipperary, and using every effort in their power to bring ruin on his Evicted Tenants and on all the Evicted Tenants in Ireland. The following are the names of those whom you are called upon to Boycott:—

JOSEPH F. DUGGAN, Hardware Merchant, Tipperary;
JOHN MILLEA [or DUNLEA], Pawnbroker and Draper, Tipperary;
Mrs. MARNANE, Flour and Meal Merchant, Main Street, Tipperary;
DENNY BREEN, Leather Cutter, Main Street, Tipperary;
T. and J. ENGLISH, Butchers, Tipperary;
MARY ANNE RYAN, Corn Buyer, Tipperary;
Mrs. GEORGE W. ENGLISH, Hardware Merchant, Tipperary;
MAURICE HEALY, Blacksmith, Tipperary;
PADDY CURTIN, Farmer, Crogue, Tipperary.
JIMMY DOBBYN, Hotel Keeper;
MATTY O'DWYER, Hardware, Main Street;
JOHN B. SMITHWICK, Farmer, The Cottage.

Farmers and others are reminded that it is to their interest to put down Smith-Barry and his Syndicate, because they may be forced into a fight with their landlord to-morrow or next day, when they will be friendless if he wins the Tipperary Campaign. Remember this ere it is too late, and remember that you can get as good and better value in any shops in Tipperary as from the above renegades. Any person found holding dealings or communications with these people will be visited with the severest possible censure, and will do so at the peril of their lives, and they will also have their names published in due course.

More Shopkeepers and Traders and Round-Robin men will have their names published immediately. Traitors, look out!

GOD SAVE IRELAND!

[P.T.O.

HOW THEY TREAT BOYCOTTERS IN AMERICA.

Michael Kane, of 416, East Eleventh Street, Patrick McManus, of 95, Leroy Street, and Michael Lawlor, of 501, West Fortieth Street, were sent to the Island for

SIX MONTHS

each by Justice Gorman in Jefferson Market Court yesterday for following the wagons of Tracy & Russell, ale brewers, and

DISTRIBUTING BOYCOTTING CIRCULARS

to saloon keepers taking ale brewed by that firm. This is a copy of the circular the men were distributing:—

"THOU SHALT NOT STEAL!"

Appeal to the Public:—

The firm of Tracy & Russell, ale brewers, of 71, Greenwich Avenue, have discharged all the men in their employ who would not leave the Union, thereby depriving them and their families in the commencement of Winter of bread and butter. We ask every man and woman not to go in any place where the ale and porter of Tracy & Russell is sold, so as to place the seal of condemnation on Hog and his production.

John Brennan, aged 33, of 77, Greenwich Avenue; Patrick Shortell, aged 30, of 296, West Tenth Street; James Carey, aged 30, of 108, Third Avenue, Brooklyn, and Michael Mulcahey, aged 23, of 258, West Tenth Street, were arrested by Policeman Jennings on Sunday at First Avenue and Seventeenth Street for distributing circulars boycotting Tracy & Russell. In the Yorkville Police Court yesterday the charge of

DISORDERLY CONDUCT

was changed to one of

CONSPIRACY,

and Shortell was discharged and the others remanded.—*New York Sun*, December 31st, 1889.

"UNITED IRELAND"

AND THE

PHŒNIX PARK MURDERS.

As Mr. William O'Brien stated in his evidence before the Special Commission, the issue of *United Ireland* succeeding the date of the Phœnix Park murders contained on the first page a kind of mourning card expressive of the abhorrence and shame with which the murders were regarded in Ireland. The first leading article was also devoted to a denunciation of the crime, and Mr. O'Brien also stated that "all the pages of that issue were filled with expressions of horror." It is true that in this very same issue the editor of *United Ireland* wrote another article in which he said that the Irish people had already thoroughly washed their hands of the crime—it is to be presumed by the mere expression of their horror and detestation of it. Similar cleansing was not overlooked by Carey, who, before the murders were a week old, seconded with all decorum a vote expressive of the shame and abhorrence he felt in common with the other members of a trade society with which he was connected. Mr. Parnell did not think, however, that the Irish people had thoroughly washed their hands of the deed, for he was the first person who signed the Manifesto declaring "that until the murderers would be brought to justice the stain of the outrage would sully their country's name." It may not be uninteresting to see how far the organ of Mr. Parnell and Mr. O'Brien aided the proceedings of justice from the time that the first private preliminary inquiry into the Invincible organization was held up to the time when the members of the conspiracy were finally brought to justice.

The private inquiry before Mr. John Ayde Curran was in progress when the issue of 23rd December, 1882, appeared containing an article entitled "**Star Chambering,**" in which the investigation is described as a "mummery."

"Men," says *United Ireland*, "are summoned before Mr. Curran to the Castle, mewed up there for a day, cross-questioned, bullied, insulted, threatened with fourteen days' imprisonment if they refuse to answer, and they were dismissed with the order to return next morning at 10 A.M. to go through the same round."

But for the investigation thus described, the Invincible conspiracy would never have been unravelled. On the 13th January, 1883, as the result of the investigation alluded to, the police of Dublin, under the control of Superintendent Mallon, made a *coup*, perhaps unparalleled in the annals of any police force, when no fewer than seventeen persons, every one of whom were afterwards proved to have been members of the conspiracy, were arrested in one night. *United Ireland* describes (20th January, 1883) the incident thus:—

"The midnight *battue* of Friday, and the subsequent proceedings in the Police Court, might be a chapter from St. Petersburg history, *tempo* Nicholas II., instead of an incident in the reign of the Irish Haroun al Raschid. Seventeen

citizens of Dublin, one a member of the Corporation, were roused from their beds in the dead of night on Friday, hauled away to the police stations, brought before the Police Magistrate next morning, and charged on warrants signed by John Ayde Curran, Q.C., with conspiring to murder somebody. No evidence was adduced in support of the charge, no attempt made to prove even the usual *prima facie* case, yet a remand was granted, bail was refused, and the prisoners were driven away to Kilmainham in black vans. . . . It may be that the step is a sort of last chapter to the Inquisition at the Castle, that machinery having failed up to this to manufacture a witness, more material torture being thought advisable."

In the issue of 27th January, 1883, the editor demands to know "why the prisoners were remanded?" "Why no bail was accepted?" and suggests that the "long" remand (of a week) by the Police Court Magistrate was in order—

"To give other informers, influenced by terror or gold, or the virtuous example of Robert Farrell, the opportunity of turning up," and says the Irish public have the right to protest "against men accused of conspiring to murder Mr. Field being sent for trial on prepared evidence before juries of a dozen Mr. Fields."

Farrell, the approver, is described as being "satisfactorily manufactured." Avowing a desire to avoid expressing "pronounced opinions" on a case which was *sub judice*, the editor proceeds to "examine" the evidence, and arrives at the conclusion that Farrell's evidence (afterwards proved to be true in every particular) was a "highly-spiced sensational romance."

In the next issue, a Mr. Thomas Fitzpatrick, who is said to have been the secretary of James Mullet, makes *United Ireland* the medium of contradicting the report that he was about to give evidence in the forthcoming trials. His letter is headed, "**A Reply to Slanderers.**" The third leading article is an appeal for a defence fund. "If," says the editor, "to all men's satisfaction, any of the prisoners were adjudged deserving of punishment," he had "no desire whatever to see the law interfered with;" but the next sentence says "that the writer is entitled to **anticipate** that the prisoners are innocent;" and alluding to Fitzpatrick's letter, calls it an "indignant denial" of the "abominable assertions made about him." The "abominable assertions" were that, being supposed to be in possession of important information, he was about to aid the course of justice by placing it at the disposal of the Crown. Again, the evidence of the preceding week is "examined." Contemptible as the first informer, Robert Farrell, was made to appear in the previous issue, he was paraded as an angel of light compared with Lamie, who was described as having "trembled most when a certain murder in Skipper's Alley was mentioned," the meaning of the reference being obvious. Alice Carroll, who could not be described as an "informer," was spoken of as a "demirep," and her evidence poohpoohed, the editor summing up the result of the week's proceedings in the Police Courts by saying that—

"The suspicion that the whole case may turn out to be as trumpery an affair as ever was patched together out of the imaginations of perjurers and demireps is rebuked as a daring scepticism."

As usual, the evidence is "examined" in the issue of the 10th February, and apparent discrepancies between the evidence of the various witnesses noted and commented on. Another week passes, and Kavanagh, the carman, stands in the witness-box. Again the evidence is analysed, as though the editor of *United Ireland* held a brief for the accused, and the assumption is enter-

tained that Alice Carroll (whose evidence it was that furnished the first tangible clue which enabled the police finally to unearth the conspiracy) was a rank "perjurer." To be sure, in order to arrive at this assumption, it was necessary for *United Ireland* to entertain the assumption that Kavanagh, the carman, who had turned approver, spoke the truth. Alice Carroll's testimony untainted and unshaken would be, of course, of immense weight

The first trial at the Commission was that of Brady, commenced on the 9th April, 1883. During the continuance of the trials *United Ireland* contained each week a descriptive article of the proceedings. The writer thus describes the scene when the prisoners were called upon to plead:—

"They boldly pronounced the words, 'not guilty, not guilty,' and up through the crowd in the gallery ran a thrill which would have developed into a cheer if the proprieties of the Court had permitted the demonstration."

Speaking of Brady, when he was put forward for trial, they say—

"It would have been hard, without an effort of malice or imagination, to read murder in the bluff and honest-looking face of the prisoner, or to suppose that so calm an exterior could cover a heart of guilt."

No particular comments are made upon the trial, but referring to Brady's conviction in the next week's issue they say—"The gallows rules in Ireland; *vive l'échafaud;* Anglice, Rule Britannia!" The descriptive article referring to the difficulty of obtaining admission to the Court says:—

"All this insolence and parade of armed force are not arrayed against the people merely because a prisoner is on trial. It is not the life of a man, but the life of a nation which is concerned. The trial in Green Street does not signify a miserable tussle with an individual; it means a wrestle between the Crown of Great Britain and the people of Ireland. . . . In its tramping troops, heavy mounted dragoons, and naked sabres, the Crown betrays the secret and the meaning of the cause which is before the Green Street Court, and a **'specially picked jury of picked men and true.'** Daniel Curley is on trial now; he is described as 'finely featured, handsome, intelligent, with a compressed calm fixed, not without dignity, upon his firm face. His bearing in the dock is unostentatious; as natural and easy as though he came to look on at a drama that little troubled him.'"

James Carey is described as an arch villain, fidgetty, haggard-looking; conscious of the disgusting baseness of his character. His brother, Peter Carey, is described as a quaking coward, with a hang-dog countenance. An independent witness named Emma Jones, who witnessed the struggle in the Park, and had identified Carey, is introduced to the readers of *United Ireland* as "*Simpering Emma.*" "She was a right good witness for the Crown. Did the jury believe one word she swore? It is hard to measure the credibility of a Crimes Act jury." Referring to the apparent discrepancy between the expert evidence of the distinguished sanitarian, Sir Charles Cameron, and James Carey, the writer says:—

"The Crown threw Cameron overboard. Had the Crown preferred Cameron to Carey, the jury would also have preferred him. We leave the conclusion to the public."

In the cartoon in next week's paper the Green Street Court-house is described as the "Bastille Court." The descriptive writer, referring to the cavalry escort which accompanied the police van conveying the prisoners from and to Kilmainham, says:—

"The mob, seething in virtuous indignation, lie in wait to smash in the weak panels of the van and tear the culprit to pieces? So it looks; but . . . in Ireland many things are not what they seem. The indignation is there, and deep down in the heart of the populace; but the prisoner is not the object of their anger. Out of the van the people would drag him, not to slay, but to save him from judgment and the gallows. Hence the ring of iron which encircles the accused, that the Irish crowd may not defeat British law and subvert the scaffold, upon which sits enthroned the supreme sovereignty of England."

There is a long description of Tim Kelly (who, it will be remembered, cut the throat of one of the victims), which concludes by saying, "Tim Kelly's face is a living argument against every allegation of the Crown and its diabolical witnesses." The case for the defence (which consisted of an *alibi*) is sketched under the heading, "Unimpeachable," and after declaring that the Judge's charge was "undoubtedly unfair," the writer sums up the evidence by saying, "On the Crown case alone, putting the *alibi* aside" (which had just been described as "unimpeachable"), "I fail to see how the jury could convict the boy at the bar." Last week it was Peter Carey who had the hang-dog countenance; now (5th May) it is another approver, Smith, who wears a "hang-dog" look. It is only right to say the charge of the Judge in the case (Fitzgerald's) is described as fair. Patrick Delaney, who pleaded guilty, is described as a "sickly, miserable creature." This plea, of course, more inconvenient to the members of the conspiracy than a conviction after trial, was assailed by the writer in *United Ireland*. "Die he shall not on the scaffold, I prophesy," says the writer, "nor yet Thomas Caffery, who also pleaded guilty." Unfortunately for the reputation of the writer as a prophet, Caffery was executed. And if ever a man not actually a participator in a crime deserved a reprieve, it was Delaney, who undoubtedly saved Judge Lawson's life. In the next issue, the readers of the paper are begged to remember the difference between "Joe" Mullett, who refused to plead, and "James" Mullett, who also pleaded guilty. Referring to the execution of Brady, the editor says, under the heading "The week's work:"—

"Mr. Marwood, we are told, has had to decline Scottish retainers. He can feed fat upon the provender which Irish informers, inquisitors, and legal practitioners are providing for him."

While a sketch of the prison in which the convicts were executed is given, the black flag being described as the emblem of England's rule. Such is the way in which *United Ireland* aided the proceedings of justice in connection with the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Bourke, a crime which filled the civilised world with horror, and of which Mr. Parnell said the stain would sully his country's name until the murderers were brought to account.—*The Scotsman*, June 7th, 1889.

THE IRISH BISHOPS IN POLITICS.

The *Irish Catholic*, of the 21st February, 1891, contains a letter of protest from Archbishop Walsh against the speech of the Chairman of the *Freeman's Journal* Company, Limited, delivered on the 19th. Dr. Walsh writes :—

"Mr. Parnell's infatuated supporters seem bent upon allowing no rest or breathing time to anyone whose duty it is to raise a warning voice against their insidious appeals to our faithful Catholic people to make little or to make nothing at all of the shocking infamy that was laid bare to the world by the reported evidence in the O'Shea divorce case . . . A duty, painful, inexpressibly painful, was forced upon us by the publication of the evidence in the London Divorce Court—evidence which, inasmuch as it was unrebutted, and even uncontradicted, we could not but treat as conclusive evidence of Mr. Parnell's unhappy fall."

The *Daily Express* of the 21st February, in a leading article, commented on the Archbishop's letter, and concluded as follows :—

"There can certainly be no doubt that if there was singular laches on the part of **the Bishops in not denouncing Mr. Parnell's moral delinquency at the time**, and condemning the action of his Parliamentary and other followers who condoned it, and scoffed at those who expressed abhorrence at it as hypocrites, they are now doing all they can to rivet their condemnations upon the public mind, for they omit no possible opportunity of dwelling on the theme."

Dr. Walsh replied to this stricture the following day, in a letter to the Editor of the *Express*, in which he stated :—

In your article on my letter published in the second edition of this week's issue of the *Irish Catholic*, you imply, if, indeed, you do not directly state, that 'the Bishops were guilty of some negligence in duty' in not denouncing Mr. Parnell **at the time.**

"The O'Shea and Parnell divorce suit was opened on Saturday, the 15th of last November. The conditional order of divorce was granted by the Court on Monday, the 17th. The Leinster Hall meeting was held on the Thursday of that same week. On the following Tuesday, November the 25th, Mr. Parnell was elected to the chairmanship of the Irish Parliamentary Party for the present session of Parliament. Next day, the 26th of November, was published Mr. Gladstone's letter to Mr. Morley. Mr. Parnell's

'Manifesto' appeared on Saturday, the 29th of November. On that Saturday the meeting of the Bishops was called for the following Wednesday, when it was held in Dublin, and Mr. Parnell's claim to be upheld as leader of the Irish people was denounced in terms which I have not as yet heard criticised on the score of any want either of clearness or of vigour.

"Your point, however, is not that the denunciation fell short of the requirements of the case, but that it was not issued at some earlier date—that it was not, in fact, issued 'at the time.' May I, then, once more ask at what 'time?' If you kindly formulate, by answering this question, the charge of negligence on which you seem inclined to arraign the Bishops, I shall be very happy to indicate to you the grounds on which, I have no doubt, when your attention has been called to them, you will see that the charge is altogether groundless.

"I assume, of course, that you make no difficulty in recognising that, for those who hold an office so responsible as that of the Episcopate, **there are few dangers more sedulously to be avoided than that of precipitancy in action.**"—*Daily Express*, 23rd Feb., 1891.

His Grace here urges that few dangers more sedulously to be avoided is that of precipitancy in action, which is the reason advanced for the delay on the part of the Bishops in not denouncing Mr. Parnell sooner than the 3rd December, sixteen days after the decree *nisi* had been pronounced by Mr. Justice Butt. Let us examine how far Dr. Walsh and his colleagues are consistent in this matter of precipitancy.

On Saturday, February 2nd, 1889, the *Freeman's Journal* announced in large type "the outrage on Mr. O'Brien's" breeches. The *Freeman* of Monday, the 4th February, contained "a noble protest from the Irish Hierarchy," signed by twenty-six Bishops and Archbishops denouncing the Government in the following language for "this infamous outrage":—

"We, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, feel imperatively called upon to join in a solemn protest against the shameful indignities and inhuman violence which, as we have learned, have been inflicted upon Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., in Clonmel Jail, to the manifest peril of his life and the danger of the public peace.

"In the interest alike of humanity and order we deem it our duty to declare that Her Majesty's Government should not suffer a moment to be lost in securing the discontinuance of maltreatment, which is shocking to adherents of all political parties and opposed to the usages of civilization."—*Freeman*, 4th February, 1889.

How can this fact be reconciled with the recent action of the Bishops? It only took forty-eight hours for their lordships in 1889 to issue their protest against the Government on a matter purely political, and even then founded on a newspaper rumour and no way officially confirmed. Part of this forty-eight hours these prelates were generally supposed to be attending to the spiritual welfare of their flocks instead of drafting and signing political manifestoes. On the other hand, they "avoid precipitancy" in not condemning for sixteen days the "shocking infamy that was laid bare to the world by the reported evidence of the O'Shea divorce case," evidence "unrebutted and even uncontradicted," and a matter well within their hierarchical sphere as moral guardians of the Catholic Church. Further, after this sixteen days delay, only twenty-three Bishops signed Mr. Parnell's denunciation, compared to twenty-six names appended to the protest against the alleged rape of Mr. O'Brien's breeches collected in a few hours.

FROM ANOTHER STANDPOINT.

Mr. E. Leamy, M.P., addressing the Central National League from the chair on 10th March, dealt at length with the position of the Archbishops and Bishops. He said:—

"Let the Bishops make up their minds as to what is the real character of our offence before they condemn us. They offer an excuse for remaining silent for weeks, some couple of weeks, after the Divorce Court proceedings were published. Yes, but during these weeks Ireland was rallying to the standard of the Chief who up to that time was assailed only by Englishmen and the colleagues who, at the bidding of Englishmen, had deserted him. During that time you and men like you throughout the country were meeting at the boards of guardians and the town commissioners' rooms, everywhere, in your National League—you were all pledging your fidelity to Parnell. If you are guilty of a crime in standing by him now, you were guilty of a crime in standing by him then, and I ask the Irish Bishops how can they claim to be the watchful guardians of the people's morals, how can they claim to be the men whom we are to look to in trust and confidence, if they could stand idly by for a whole fortnight when their nation was running to perdition and ruin? (Applause.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, 11th March, 1891.

Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., followed, and stated:—

"They heard a great deal of talk about Mr. Parnell's retirement being advocated in private letters, but he threw out the challenge that day to the Archbishop of Dublin, to the Primate, to prove that he wrote even a private letter condemning Mr. Parnell's leadership before Mr. Gladstone's letter appeared. (Applause.) . . . Did any Bishop exclaim to any party or any individual before Mr. Gladstone's letter had appeared? That was the question they

had to face; and if they had so declared then he should say they were bound to respect the opinion of the Bishop who so declared. (Applause.)"—*Freeman*, 11th March, 1891.

DR. WALSH THEN AND NOW.

Letter to *Irish Catholic* from Archbishop WALSH, 28th Nov., 1890:—

"I observe that in the first edition of this week's issue of the *Irish Catholic* you make reference to the possible and even probable **formation of some new 'Irish National Liberal Party.'** As you have done so, I feel bound, in replying to your letter of this morning, to add that this is a project which could not, in any combination of circumstances that I can conceive as possible, receive even the smallest measure of support from me."—*Irish Catholic*, 29th November, 1890.

Letter to Mr. Webb, M.P., from Archbishop WALSH, 9th March, 1891:—

"This, then, is the great work now before the country — to organise and to make manifest, its electoral force, and to do this in every constituency, and in every district, every ward or parish, of every constituency throughout Ireland.

I enclose a cheque, £25, as my first contribution to the fund, which, I assume, will forthwith be opened, to furnish the treasury of **the New National Organization** that is henceforth to take the place of the disorganised and discredited League."—*National Press*, 11th March, 1891.

A FAIR QUESTION.

Mr. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON, M.P., at Limerick, Saturday night, 10th January, 1891, stated:—

"If the Irish Priests and the Irish Bishops thought that this was a question of morals, where were their functions of veto going to stop? If they set aside Mr. Parnell according to their view, were they going to guarantee the moral integrity of Mr. Justin M'Carthy—(cheers)—or were they going to guarantee that of any man who led the Irish party, and that the Irish cause may not be made again to suffer through him? (Cheers.) The question they had to consider was whether this cry that was raised was an honest cry, whether the opposition to Mr. Parnell's leadership sprang, not from a love of morality, but from an innate love of Whiggery in the hearts of the men who were proclaiming themselves Nationalists to-day?"—*Freeman's Journal*, 12th January, 1891.

Mr. Parnell on his M.P.'s.

ROGUES WHO HAVE BEEN FOUND OUT.

Mr. Parnell, at Enfield Railway Station, 15th March, 1891 :—

"Now, according to them (the McCarthyites) I was everything that was bad during all these years, and that they knew it according to them. If they knew it, what sort of men were they who supported me, and who said to the country that I was entitled to lead them? If they are not rogues to-day they must have been rogues then; and if they were not rogues then they must be rogues to-day. (Laughter.) But in my opinion they were always rogues. (Loud cheers.) A good many of them, anyhow; but their day has come, and they have been found out, and Ireland will not long put up with them. (Loud cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal,* 16th March, 1891.

ONLY CYPHERS.

Mr. Parnell, at Cork, 17th March, 1891 :—

"Well, now, I want to ask you why you think it is likely, after having gone through this time, and having sprung from such a small beginning, I am going to be afraid to-day? (No, no, and applause.) Who are those gentlemen—(cyphers)—who are asking me to give way to them? I know everyone of them—(applause)—and their weaknesses, private and public. (Applause). I know what can be made of them and the position they can best fill, and I have in my time made good use of them. (Applause.)"—*Freeman's Journal,* March 18th, 1891.

AND LIARS.

Mr. Parnell, at Sligo, 28th March, 1891 :—

"They are the very men who, when they expected anything from me, loaded me with fulsome adulation. (Hear, hear). And whether are you to believe them when they loved or reverenced me, with every knowledge of my public and private life—whether can you believe them then or whether should you believe them now? I say that they were liars always and always remain so. (Cheers). But they were just as much unworthy of credit when in the years gone by they exaggerated my good services to Ireland as they are to-day, when they seek to defame and destroy me. (Cheers)."—*Freeman's Journal,* 30th March, 1891.

The M.P.'s on Mr. Parnell

A DICTATOR.

Mr. John Deasy, M.P., at Cork, 27th January, 1891 :—

"His (Mr. Deasy's) private opinion was that Mr. Parnell didn't care two straws for the evicted tenants of Ireland, or for any class in the community, so long as he could go along as dictator. (Hear hear.)"—*Cork Herald*, 28th January, 1891.

CREATED BY THE "BANTRY GANG."

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at National Federation, 22nd April, 1891 :—

"Why, I might say it was the 'Bantry Gang' who created Mr. Parnell. It was Mr. A. M. Sullivan who put him forward; it was Mr. T. D. Sullivan in the *Nation* newspaper, when every journal and individual who is now supporting him, had nothing for him but insults, when the *Freeman* said he had called Irish members 'Papist rats;' it was T. D. Sullivan who backed him up, and when he wanted a pen to explain his policy and position in the country, mine was the hand he selected. I have written out his speeches for him; I have given interviews in his name; his public letters were often my composition."—*National Press*, 23rd April, 1891.

THE CARNARVON CONTROVERSY.

Mr. John Deasy, M.P., at Monaghan, 19th May, 1891 :—

"Mr. Parnell said that Lord Carnarvon had promised him Home Rule. Lord Carnarvon was the only Tory who had held out any hopes in this direction. They should also remember that there was a controversy between Mr. Parnell and Lord Carnarvon as to what actually did take place, and owing to some of Mr. Parnell's recent performances he (Mr. Deasy) would be very much inclined to give credence to Lord Carnarvon's version of the matter."—*National Press*, 20th May, 1891.

THE MONEY QUESTION.

Mr. T. Condon, M.P., at Lucan, 14th June, 1891 :—

"Mr. Parnell had been playing ducks and drakes with Irish National funds for years past, unknown to the members of the Irish Party. He was now charged openly and above board with misappropriating money that was confided to him to advance the Irish cause."

Mr. Healy, at Dublin, 11th June, 1891 :—

"He says he will submit a balance-sheet to Mr. Wm. O'Brien. I question whether Mr. O'Brien will look at his dirty balance-sheet."

PARNELLITE

AND

ANTI-PARNELLITE.

Both work for Separation.

UNDER the head of "Irish Nationality," *United Ireland* of the 7th February, 1891, publishes the following :—

"What are we struggling for?

"At a time like the present, when so many Irishmen appear willing and anxious to place the destinies of their country in the keeping of English-Irishmen, we think it our duty, as a journal which for the last nine years has kept its place steadfastly in the front of the battle, and held aloft the national banner, in some measure to answer this question.

"Is a mere Parliament the end of Ireland's aspirations? An old Doric temple in College Green, Dublin, filled with three or four or five hundred gentlemen from the country come up to town to put their heads together as how best to drain the Suck—is this the thing for which we have striven so long and so bitterly? Is it an assembly with a prime minister, a mace, and a sergeant-at-arms, called together to enquire into the possibilities of our mines, to construct our railways, and to increase our fishing fleets, that is to satisfy the yearning and longing of the Irish heart? Is it even the power to order and govern our own constabulary, to appoint our judges, and to settle our land question that is to satisfy us for ever? No, fellow-countrymen! **We are struggling to make Ireland a nation.**"

THE SAME LANGUAGE AND THE SAME MEN.

Mr. T. M. Healy M.P., at Newry, 15th March, 1891.

"And if the Liberal Party should fail us, then we shall be free and independent to deal with them, as we were in dealing with the Tories in 1886. I am satisfied they will not fail us; but if they did, I would say—

"We've a hand for the grasp of friendship,
Another to make them quake,
And they're welcome to whichsoever
It pleases them most to take."

Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., at Killarney, 31st August, 1885.

"If the olive branch that we are holding out to England now should meet with no better response than the raving of the cockney newspapers—

"We've a hand for the grasp of friendship,
Another to make them quake,
And they're welcome to whichsoever
It pleases them most to take."

THE COAT STILL OFF.

MR. PARNELL, speaking at Galway, October 1st, 1880, said:—

"I wish to see the tenant-farmers prosperous; but, large and important as is the class of tenant-farmers, constituting as they do, with their wives and families, the majority of the people of this country, **I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence.** (Cheers.)"

At Ballina, April 20th, 1891, Mr. Parnell referred to the various Land Acts which have become law, and his action in supporting the Land Purchase Bill, continued:—

"It was for these things that I took off my coat in 1880—(cheers)—and it is for these things that I have got my coat off still—(loud cheers)—and that I intend to keep it off—(cheers)—until we have banished traitors and seceders from the Irish ranks—(groans for them)—until we have secured once more a united army and a united country, pressing on for the recovery of Irish freedom and Irish legislative independence. (Loud cheers)"—*Freeman's Journal*, 21st April, 1891.

A NOTE FOR MR. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Thomas Sexton M.P., at Cork, on 17th December, 1890, referred to Mr. Gladstone's declining to give the assurances asked for by Mr. Parnell, as regards his next Home Rule Scheme, and stated:—

"I may here say that unless Mr. Gladstone, of his own accord, gives a statement of his intention satisfactory to us, it will be our duty, a duty we shall execute in due time, to obtain assurances from him before any National interest is jeopardized; to obtain assurances from him not only upon the points included in Mr. Parnell's manifesto, but upon every point which, in the interests of Ireland, must and should receive attention."—*Cork Herald*, 18th December, 1890.

MR. JOHN DILLON IN AMERICA.

In a speech delivered at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, on November 11th, 1890, Mr. John Dillon said:—

"The cause as claimed for the Irish people is the right to make their own laws and name their own representatives. It is the same fight in which your forefathers bled and fell. The acquisition of these rights which you obtained has made this country what it is. Prior to the Revolution your great Republic was a miserable, downtrodden province of a Government which now oppresses us. This is the cause which we have made bold to appeal to the sympathy of the American people."—*New York World*, 12th November, 1890.

THE HOME RULE ROAD.

Mr. Edward Harrington, M.P., at Tralee, 1st January, 1891:—

"My friends, there may be yet a long road to travel. It is a difficult and a tiresome journey before we get Home Rule, and we want every Irishman in that fight. (Hear, hear.) . . . Don't be betrayed into any expressions against Mr. Gladstone or any of the

English Liberal Party. (A voice—To hell with them.) No, we don't want to send them to hell. We will want their help, so also will they want ours. (Loud cheers.) I say this. I believe Mr. Gladstone is sincerely desirous to give us Home Rule, but at the same time he has to look to the class of Home Rule he will give; and I will say this, speaking in the name of the young manhood of Tralee, if we don't get the management of our own affairs free from outside control Home Rule is not worth our taking."—*Freeman's Journal*, 3rd January, 1891.

LIES AND DECEIT FOR THE ENGLISH.

Mr. JOHN DEASY, M.P., at Cork, 27th January, 1891:—

"Who won the Hartlepool election? Was it the Parnellites? (No, No). Where was the great Crowbar O'Connor on that occasion? Where was the sycophant of the Irish party, Mr. Pierce Mahony? They were dancing round Mr. Parnell in Dublin or somewhere else, those were the men who have been going round Great Britain for years, preaching doctrines that he (Mr. Deasy) and those who were with him would not preach. He (Mr. Deasy) had never said on an English Platform what he would not say there that night. He had not been saying that they all wanted to be part and parcel of the British Empire, with the lie upon the top of his tongue. He was not going to disgrace his constituents and make himself a public liar by going over to England and uttering falsehoods there and coming back and saying he was deceiving the people of England at the time."—*Cork Herald*, 28th January, 1891.

SOME CONTRASTS

BY

MR. T. M. HEALY, M.P.

No. 1.

Mr. T. M. HEALY, at Leinster Hall, November 20th, 1890:—

"Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., who was warmly cheered, in seconding the resolution, said—**I hope my voice will be sufficiently strong to enable me to reach the limits of this vast meeting**, and allow me to say that in the words that I shall address to it I shall endeavour to address myself to the head rather than to the heart, and to keep myself as far as I can to argue this question with timid friends outside upon the cold granite of facts." (Applause.)—*Freeman's Journal*, 21st November, 1890.

Mr. T. M. HEALY, at National Federation, March 10th, 1891:—

"And now I will deal with my friend of the Leinster Hall (a voice—'He is gone.') I hope he was there that night, but the curious fact is this, that nobody was there. **It was the greatest frost of a meeting I ever addressed.** There was a small charge for admission, but the promoters of the meeting had to open the doors and go out into the highways and byeways and bid them to come in." (Hear, hear.)—*National Press*, 11th March, 1891.

No. 2.

Denounces Col. KING-HARMAN'S youthful indiscretion in House of Commons, 9th March, 1888.

"The Government had searched every incident of their lives, but what had they been able to cite against them? What, however, was the case of the right hon. gentleman [Colonel King-Harman], the Member for the Isle of Thanet. . . . Who had been sen-

Whitewashes Mr. PARNELL at Leinster Hall, Dublin, 20th November, 1890.

"I would say to the English people and to our friends in England two things, the right of Ireland to Home Rule, the right of Ireland to put down misgovernment, oppression, and coercion; the right of the majority of the Irish people to rule their own land depends upon the personal character of no

tenced for a disgraceful offence to hard labour by a London magistrate in connection with a place which has happily ceased to exist—Cremorne Gardens. (Cheers.) It was the purest Conservative party which was making this appointment. He asked the House whether it was not natural that the Irish members should protest against the appointment of a gentleman of this character to deal with Irish affairs."—*Times*, 10th March, 1888.

No. 3.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan, 16th March, 1891 :—

"Let me tell you this, as the name of Sir Joseph McKenna has been mentioned, that in 1885 Mr. Parnell put it upon me to carry Sir Joseph McKenna along with myself in for Monaghan. Well, I got the Convention to select him, landlord and all as he was; the people did not want him, and I saw it. My friend, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, presided. I said to Mr. O'Connor—'T.P.' said I, '**I feel soiled**'—(laughter, and a voice—so you ought)—and the other day in Committee Room 15 Sir Joseph said to me, 'I will vote in this business whatever way you like me to go.' 'Well,' I said, 'Sir man. (Applause.) . . . . I am satisfied with the National party, and by the National party and the National leader I shall abide."—*Freeman's Journal*, 21st November, 1890.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at Monaghan Convention, 22nd October, 1885 :—

"The second candidate whom you will shortly have an opportunity of hearing for yourselves has now been connected with the public cause for nearly a generation, and I can speak that, during my comradeship with him in the House of Commons, he **was a faithful, earnest, and zealous representative**, and that at the time when the strongest temptation was held out to break up and disintegrate the Irish Party, when taunts of being criminals and outrage mongers were being thrown in our face, and when we were associated with infamous acts, enough to tempt

Joseph, take your own course.' I was afraid he would vote for us. (Laughter.) I knew the people of Farney would never have him again—(we never will)—and furthermore, **I knew that the more men like that Mr. Parnell had on his side the quicker the people of Ireland would see through them.**" (Applause.) — *National Press*, 18th March, 1891.

men's souls, **Sir Joseph M'Kenna was found faithful, honest, and true.**"—*Freeman's Journal*, 23rd October, 1885.

No. 4.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at Queenstown, 22nd March, 1891:—

"She [Miss Anna Parnell] has never spoken to her brother since the Kilmainham treaty." —*National Press*, 23rd March, 1891.

Miss Anna Parnell's letter to *National Press*, 30th March, 1891:—

"Please allow me to say this [statement of Mr. Healy's] is not true."

No. 5.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at Leinster Hall, Dublin, 20th November, 1890:—

"I say yet it would be criminal on our part, it would be criminal—aye, it would be absurd and foolish in the highest degree—were we at a moment like this, because of a temporary outcry over a case that in London would be forgotten tomorrow, if there were a repetition of the Whitechapel murders or some more scandals from the Gold Coast connected with Mr. Stanley's voyages. (Hear,

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at Committee Room No. 15, 1st Dec., 1890:—

"It will be maintained, under these circumstances, that Mr. Parnell having been declared against by the body and volume of English opinion, purchased his place at the head of our party by driving out of our cause and out of the ranks of political service the first great political statesman who has held out the hand of help and fellowship to Ireland. (Cheers). . . . We have nothing before us but

hear.) I say we would be foolish and criminal if we, the seasoned politicians, who had seen and who have been able to watch the vagaries and tempests of political passion, if we upon an occasion of this kind, at the very first blast of opposition, surrendered the great chief who has led us so far forward."—*Freeman's* Report.

stern realities. (Hear, hear.) We cannot found our position upon sentiment, upon the claims of friendship, upon anything except the awful necessities that surround us in the presence of a trembling Irish cause. I then say and declare that my vote shall be for the deposition of the chairman of this party."—*Freeman's* Report.

MR. HEALY REVIEWED.

Mr. Andrew J. Kettle, one of the founders of the old Land League, speaking at the Wood Quay Branch of the National League, Dublin, 28th May, 1891, said:

"What the world knew Mr. Healy to be since the Leinster Hall meeting—(groans and cries of 'Maryborough')—he knew him to be for the last ten years—(applause)—and that was a poor, changeable, volatile, uncertain-minded man. (Applause). Tim Healy was one of those audacious, shallow men who started in public life working on the line of bulldozing everybody with whom he came in contact. (Applause). His truculent impertinence would not have been permitted for one month in the House of Commons, only Charles Stewart Parnell and his army was behind him. (Applause). He attained a certain position as Member of Parliament, and reached so far as to have a standing invitation to Gladstone's table or Chamberlain's table. No man of the calibre of Gladstone could think for a moment of taking Mr. Healy seriously; they took him to use him. The clause in the Land Act that was associated with his name was largely due, for whatever it is worth, to Mr. Hugh Law. They would find that all Mr. Healy's smartness amounted to nothing for the Irish people, but it amounted a good deal for Tim Healy himself"—(applause).—*Freeman's Journal*, 29th May, 1891.

THE IRISH PRIEST IN POLITICS.

THE CLAIMS OF THE BISHOPS.

"But in Ireland the line between religion and politics is a line by no means easy to draw. I have some experience now in critically observing such matters, and I have never known that feat to be accomplished with perfect success."—Dr. WALSH, Archbishop of Dublin, 18th September, 1885.

" . . . possessing, **as priests, and independent of all human organizations, an inalienable and indisputable right to guide their people in this momentous proceeding, as in every other proceeding where the interests of Catholicity as well as the interests of Irish Nationality are involved.**" (Cheers.)—Dr. WALSH, Archbishop of Dublin, at Enniskerry, 20th September, 1885.

" . . . **We are face to face at the present moment with a great disobedience to ecclesiastical authority. The doctrines of the present day are calculated to wean the people from the priests' advice, to separate the priests from the people—TO LET THE PEOPLE USE THEIR OWN JUDGMENT.** If that teaching goes on it will succeed in effecting what all the persecutions of England could never effect, it will succeed in destroying the faith of the Irish people."—Dr. LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, at Cookstown.—*National Press*, 7th April, 1891.

HOW IRISH ELECTIONS ARE WORKED.

Mr. T. HARRINGTON, M.P., speaking at the fortnightly meeting of the National League, in Dublin, 30th December, 1890, and referring to the recent Kilkenny election, pointed out:—

"If the English people wish to gauge the significance of the Kilkenny election I will give them one fact in connection with it. I will read for you the personating agents appointed by Sir John Pope Hennessy who presided for him at the polls:—

Ballyragget—No. 1 Booth, Rev. W. Carrigan; No. 2 Booth, Rev. Martin Holohan.

Castlecomer—No. 1 Booth, Rev. James Timothy; No. 2, Rev. W. Costigan; No. 3, Rev. James Brennan.

Freshford—No. 1 Booth, Rev. James Henneberry; No. 2, Rev. G. Fogarty.

Grace's Old Castle—Rev. P. Aylward.

Grange—No. 1 Booth, Rev. John Cahill; No. 2, Rev. John Doyle.

Johnstown—No. 1 Booth, Rev. W. Brennan; No. 2, Rev. P. Treacy.

Kilmanagh—Rev. John Ryan.

That, gentlemen, is a complete list of the personating agents, in the handwriting of Sir John Pope Hennessy himself, and **many of these clergymen used language from the altar of a character which, when exposed before the whole world, will, I trust, bring upon them the condemnation of the Ecclesiastical authorities."** (Applause.)—*Freeman's Journal*, 31st December, 1890.

CLERICAL BOYCOTTING.

In a leading article in *United Ireland* under date the 20th May, 1891, the following appears:—

"Now throughout the country the men who have remained loyal to the Leinster Hall resolution, approved of by his Grace Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, are visited, in the name of religion, with spiritual, and in some cases temporal, penalties. In some dioceses **the Sacraments have been refused** to them. In others members of Parnell Leadership Committees **have been denounced from the pulpit** as members of secret societies condemned by the Church. In Belfast public **prayers have been offered up at the altar against them,** and they have been compelled to listen in silence. In the diocese of Meath **the Easter offerings of some were returned** to them. In some dioceses priests who are suspected of Parnellite leanings **have been censured and threatened,** or have been removed to out-of-the-way parishes."

POOR LAW ELECTIONS—CLERICAL DOMINATION.

The following citations are from the columns of the *Daily Independent* and *United Ireland*, papers of Home Rule principles, written and owned by Roman Catholics.

[*Daily Independent*, 30th March, 1892.]

The action of the Catholic clergy in many parts of the country, in the Poor Law Elections which have just closed, is too grave a matter to be passed over without **a protest from all who value freedom of election.** The subject is one which Catholics, for obvious reasons, are loth to touch, and in touching which they are extremely liable to misrepresentation. But at the same time it is one which cannot be shirked unless we are to abandon the rights of many humble voters in every district throughout Ireland to exercise, according to the dictates of their consciences, the franchises with which they are endowed by the Constitution, and under these circumstances it is cowards alone who will fail to speak out the truth on such a topic.

What we desire to say, therefore, is that if many of the statements made within the last few weeks regarding the part taken by Catholic priests in the Poor Law Elections are true—and so far the statements to which we refer have been left uncontradicted—**those elections have in many places been a perfect farce.** No one objects to the Catholic clergy exercising, in such a case, all the rights and privileges possessed by all other citizens, and Catholics are prepared to go further, and say that, in the matter of the election of Poor Law Guardians, they have, as guardians of Catholic interests, a special duty to discharge. They are at liberty to organize and address meetings, to exhort, and to persuade, if they can do so, those who differ from them in opinions. **But they are not justified in using the altar as a platform for their deliverances on the Poor Law Elections:** nay, they are expressly prohibited from doing so even by the statutes of the Church. **They are not justified in going into the homes of humble men, in insisting on voting papers being filled up as they and not as the voters themselves desire, and in actually tearing up the voting papers if they find the voters obdurate in holding to their convictions.** It looks, too, an extraordinary proceeding that things should be so contrived that, in some places, the voting papers for a whole country side should be left at the house of the parish priest or curate, and not at the homes of the individuals by whom those papers are to be filled and signed. Yet all this is alleged to have happened extensively in the course of this year's Poor Law Elections.

[*Daily Independent*, 4th April, 1892.]

What would happen to this old land, and what would be its future, if to-day—if at this moment when we now pen these words—Independent opposition, with its supporters and all who believe in it, understanding its full meaning, were swept away by some dispensation of Providence? Consider, in the light of recent revelations, what material would be left behind for the building up of a nation. **We would have the Archbishops and nearly all the bishops, a large majority of the clergy, a great preponderance of the religious orders, and some hundreds of thousands of poor people who dream that if they disobey the local curate in the matter of voting for a Poor Law Guardian they will burn in hell for all eternity.**

[*United Ireland*, 2nd April, 1892.]

We have on our desk a letter from a well-known gentleman in Navan declaring that the result of the elections in that Union has simply been brought about by "**clerical intimidation of the ignorant and superstitious.**" The election, he declares, was made a religious question, and clergy were brought in from distant parishes to help in the "**insidious and contemptible methods**" by which the Nationalists were defeated, lest the local clergy alone might not be sufficient to intimidate the people. **This is the most glaring, as it has been the most public, instance of the interference of the clerical authorities with the civil rights of the people during the struggle.**

Mr. MAHONY'S CHARGE SHEET.

MR. PIERCE MAHONY, M.P., at Drogheda, 26th April, stated:—

Mr. Dillon, I presume, would like to be considered an honourable opponent.

Does he approve of the conduct of the priest, who, in the neighbourhood of Castlecomer on the Sunday before the polling day, when Dr. Ffrench Mullen and Mr. Baker attended Mass in his Church, from the steps of the altar said to the congregation—"There are two of Mr. Parnell's friends in the Church, and you will know how to deal with them outside? (Cries of "Shame.")

Does he approve of the way in which Mr. Harrington and his own cousin, Mr. Val. Dillon, were driven out of the village of Grange, in the County Sligo, and stoned, a priest standing by, and by his gestures apparently encouraging?

Does he approve of the language used by Father Fidelis in Kilkenny towards the women of Kilkenny and the members of the Workmen's Club in that city?

Does he approve of a priest beating women off a railway platform in the South of Ireland, hitting them with a stick when they came there to welcome Mr. Parnell?

Does he approve of a priest calling a crowd, who had assembled to welcome Mr. Parnell, a crowd of soupers because there were one or two Protestants amongst the people?

Does he approve of the recent threat of a priest in Mullingar to ruin the business of Protestant traders of the town because of their political opinions?

Does he approve of the action of a priest near Carlow, who, a few days before the polls, allowed Dr. Hackett, of Kilkenny, to be stoned in his presence and nearly blinded, without one word of protest? (Cries of "Shame.")

He claims for the priests of Ireland the rights of citizens. I freely grant them those rights. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") But does he approve of priests, for whom he claims the rights of citizens, being forbidden by their bishops to exercise their political opinions as Canon O'Neill was in the County Carlow? (Cries of "Hear, hear.") Does he think it becoming of a minister of religion to separate himself from a large portion of his flock because of their political opinions? If he approves of these things let him say so: if he does not, let him have the courage to say so, if he has any courage left in him. (Applause).—*Independent*, 27th April, 1892.

A VOICE FROM THE PULPIT.

The Rev. B. BRADY officiating at Mass, at Dunboyne, County Meath, on May 29th, 1892, gave the following advice:—

"In conclusion, he appealed to the illiterate voters to go with the priests, as they were incapable of deciding for themselves how they should vote; and if they erred, they did so at least in decent company. He furthermore told such of his parishioners as were not of his views not to present themselves at the meeting which would be held, not in the Chapel yard, as originally announced, **but in the Sacristy.**"—*Independent*, 1st June, 1892.

IRISH OPINION ON MR. GLADSTONE AND THE LIBERAL PARTY.

MR. J. J. CLANCY, M.P., at Tallaght, on Sunday, 18th January, 1891 :—

"I believed that in the face of all that, if we submitted to Mr. Gladstone's dictation, our independence would then and there have absolutely ceased, and that we would be forced to swallow hereafter some insufficient measure of Home Rule, which would be no settlement of the Irish Question, and would be but a humbug and a delusion and a snare." (Cheers).—*Freeman's Journal*, 19th January, 1891.

MR. PARNELL at Newry, 8th March, 1891 :—

Now, I have spoken of the coercion of both political parties, but who was it who taught Lord Salisbury's Government how to coerce? (Cries of "Gladstone.") What party was it who put a thousand of us into jail without trial in 1882? (Groans for Gladstone.) What party was it who passed the Crimes Act of 1882?

A Voice—The Grand Old Humbug. (Groans.)

Mr. Parnell (continuing)–Under which these removable magistrates first came into existence. What party was it who instituted the power to levy blood money and to tax small portions of Ireland for extra police? What party was it who wrote all these things in large letters upon the Statute Book? Why, it was the Liberal Party. It was the very men who now tell you that it is your duty to hand me over—(never)—and to pitch me into the common ditch of the camp. *Freeman's Journal*, 9th March, 1891.

MR. JAMES DALTON, M.P., at Rotunda, 10th December, 1890 :—

"He (the Speaker) did not believe that it was a sense of justice that had converted Mr. Gladstone; but it was the eighty-six independent members of the Irish party, and as long as they could keep these eighty-six independent members of the Irish Parliamentary

Party, so long would they be able to get Home Rule from an English party, and no longer." (Cheers.)—*Freeman*, 11th December, 1890.

Mr Gladstone in 1881.	Mr. Gladstone in 1890.
"THE greatest and most unrivalled slanderer of the Irish race that ever undertook the task." [Mr. Parnell at Waterford, 9th October, 1881.]	"THE unrivalled coercionist of the Irish race. [Mr. Parnell in Committee Room 15, December 1st, 1890.]

CRITICISING MR. GLADSTONE'S letter to MR. FURNISS, the Separatist candiate for West Hartlepool, the Dublin *Evening Telegraph* points out :—

"Mr. Gladstone has to-day offered an epistolary contribution to the public discussion. It is most noteworthy from the fact that he says nothing about Home Rule. He embraces the delusion that Mr. Parnell has been got out of the way, of which we can see no evidence. But what is the consequence of this belief that Mr. Parnell is now a person who need not be reckoned? Simply this: that Mr. Gladstone drops Home Rule, and apparently proposes to devote the remainder of his Opposition leadership to a denunciation of Balfourism. **Mr. Gladstone will have to give up his delusions just as he had to surrender them in 1885.**"—*Evening Telegraph*, 10th January, 1891.

Let us clear our minds of cant [says *United Ireland*, 17th January, 1891] What is Mr. Gladstone to us, as practical politicians, more than an ally who, in consideration of Irish co-operation, is willing to concede a measure of Home Rule? What are we to him more than allies who, for the sake of obtaining Home Rule, are willing to do their utmost to restore Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Party to power? It has been thoroughly well understood from the beginning that **the Liberals took up Home Rule because they could not help themselves** otherwise, and that the representatives of Ireland, put out of sight the ghastly incidents of Liberal Government in Ireland, from 1880 downwards, simply because the Liberals had committed themselves to the support of the Irish demand. **The Liberals acted under pressure**; the Irish members were influenced by considerations of political expediency. The Liberals will continue to act so long as the pressure is maintained; no Irishman who is not hopelessly astray in his estimate of public men, and his judgment of events can fancy for a moment that the conversion of the Liberal Party to Home Rule was due to a sudden access of affection for us.

Can you trust or believe them?

On the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill a leading Article appeared in *United Ireland* of the 15th May, 1886, under the Title of "Will you trust us and believe us?" Englishmen can easily answer this query after perusing the following:—

Mr. T. M. HEALY, M.P.

[At Leinster Hall, Dublin, 20th November, 1890.]

"I say yet it would be criminal on our part, it would be criminal —aye, it would be absurd and foolish in the highest degree— were we at a moment like this, because of a temporary outcry over a case that in London would be forgotten to-morrow, if there were a repetition of the Whitechapel murders or some more scandals from the Gold Coast connected with Mr. Stanley's voyages. (Hear, hear.) I say we would be foolish and criminal if we, the seasoned politicians, who had seen, and who have been able to watch the vagaries and tempests of political passion, if we, upon an occasion of this kind, at the very first blast of opposition, surrendered the great chief who has led us so far forward."—*Freeman's Report.*

[At Committee Room No. 15, 1st December, 1890.]

"It will be maintained, under these circumstances, that Mr. Parnell having been declared against by the body and volume of English opinion, purchased his place at the head of our party by driving out of our cause and out of the ranks of political service the first great political statesman who has held out the hand of help and fellowship to Ireland. (Cheers.) . . . We have nothing before us but stern realities. (Hear, hear.) We cannot found our position upon sentiment, upon the claims of friendship, upon anything except the awful necessities that surround us in the presence of a trembling Irish cause. I, then, say and declare that my vote shall be for the deposition of the chairman of this party."—*Freeman's Report.*

Mr. JUSTIN McCARTHY, M.P.

[At Leinster Hall, 20th November, 1890.]

"I am thinking of nothing but the Irish people and the Irish cause. (Hear, hear.) I care about no question, personal or political, as I stand here, but the question personal or political, which concerns the Irish people and the Irish cause (bravo); and I am going to say to you, and I stake on the saying whatever I have of personal character and of public responsibility, either in Ireland or in England, that we are not going to change our leader because of a cry got up against him."—*Freeman's Report.*

Mr. Justin McCarthy voted for Mr. Parnell's deposition on 2nd December, 1890, in Committee Room No. 15.

Mr. THOMAS CONDON, M.P.

[At Leinster Hall, 20th November, 1890.]

"But no matter from what source such statements came we, speaking in the name of the Parliamentary Party and of the Irish people, tell all whom it may concern that we will not swerve one iota from Mr. Parnell as leader of the Irish nation. (Applause.)"—*Freeman's Report.*

Mr. Thomas Condon, M.P., voted against Mr. Parnell in Committee Room No. 15.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE, M.P.

[At Galway, 20th November, 1890.]

"After some preliminary remarks about the divorce case, asserted his determination to uphold Mr. Parnell's leadership."—*Freeman*, 24th November, 1890.

Sir Thomas Esmonde also voted against Mr. Parnell on the 2nd December, in Committee Room No. 15.

Mr. DAVID SHEEHY, M.P.

[At Galway, 20th November, 1890.]

"Were they going to please their enemies, the Piggotists, the *Times* and the Unionists, by throwing Mr. Parnell overboard? Never."

Mr. Sheehy voted for Mr. Parnell's overthrow on 2nd December.

Ireland under Mr. Balfour.

FIVE YEARS OF UNIONIST GOVERNMENT.

On Tuesday evening, 23rd June, 1891, Mr T. W. Russell, M.P., was the guest of the Liberal Union Club at the Criterion Restaurant, London. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., presided. After thanking the Club for the great compliment paid him, Mr. Russell said :—

When I received and accepted your invitation for to-night, I had to think of what I should say. It is easy to talk the platitudes of politics. What I asked myself was, whether it would not be possible to say something which would be of use to the Members of this Club in the work they are doing all over the country. Looking at the matter in this light, I resolved to endeavour to do two things : First, to ask what had been the results of our action as a party in 1886 as regards Ireland, and Second, to make clear what we had lost and gained by the Unionist Alliance. We are nearing a General Election, when we shall be called upon to make answer on these two points, and I hope that which I am about to say, and the facts and figures I am about to quote, may prove useful beyond the confines of this room.

IRELAND IN 1885-86.

What then was the position in Ireland when the Unionist party came into power? It is quite true that there was a lull in Irish disorder between June, 1885, and June, 1886. The dates are full of significance. During the first part of that period the Conservative leaders were coquetting with Mr. Parnell, and, during the second, Mr. Gladstone had gone over, bag and baggage, to the man and the party he and his followers had previously denounced. During this period, therefore, Irish disorder was held in check. But with the advent of the Unionist party to power, the dogs of war were let loose once more. Agrarian crime at once began to increase. The plan of campaign was formulated. Juries disregarded their

oaths, and acquitted prisoners whose guilt was clearly established. Boycotting was extended and became an engine of savage and heartless cruelty. Evictions increased. Everything was, in fact, done to make Government impossible. This was the position of affairs shortly after the Government took office.

IRELAND IN 1891.

Let me give some figures illustrative of how things stood then, and how they stand now. For many months England rang with the story of Irish Evictions. They constituted the staple of Gladstonian oratory all over the country. At bye-elections they were made to do enormous service. Now we never hear of them. Why is this? Here are the figures.

EVICTIONS.

Year.	Total of Actual Evictions.
1886	3781
1887	3869
1888	1609
1889	1356
1890	1421

These figures speak for themselves. They are official, and cannot be questioned, and they prove that, so far from the Unionist policy having encouraged or increased evictions, the passage of the Land Act of 1887, and the Crimes Act of the same year has reduced them by over 60 per cent.

AGRARIAN CRIME.

Agrarian crime has always been the special disorder of Ireland. We condemn it, and we do right. But we ought to remember (and the thought ought to make us not indeed tolerant of the crime, but anxious to find the remedy) that this evil tree sprang from a root of our own planting. It is a sad history the record of these three hundred years—the abolition of the old Irish land system under which tribal rights were acknowledged; the planting of Irish landlordism under the English system of tenure; the strife, the bloodshed, the misery which followed, and the wild revenge of secret societies, by means of which the peasantry sought to right their wrongs. It is a ghastly record—only lit up by the awakening of England in recent years to a sense of her duty and her obligations. But with all this I am only incidentally concerned to-night. The real question before us is, how has Ireland fared in this respect since 1886? I again quote the official figures.

Year.	Agrarian Crimes exclusive of threatening letters.	Threatening letters.	Total.
1886 ...	632 ...	424 ...	1056
1887 ...	591 ...	292 ...	883
1888 ...	411 ...	249 ...	660
1889 ...	341 ...	194 ...	535
1890 ...	320 ...	199 ...	519

Here, again, there is absolutely no room for doubt. A solid reduction of 50 per cent. in this class of crime is something worth boasting about; and the decrease still goes on, the quarter ending 31st March of the present year showing a downward tendency, with only one single offence against the person.

BOYCOTTING.

This offence, in many respects the most heartless and cruel product of the Irish and Gladstonian conspiracy, assumed alarming proportions in 1886. Mr. Gladstone understood what it was, and denounced it in 1882. He invented the name of "Exclusive dealing" for it in 1887. But how much Ireland suffered, and how many people were hopelessly ruined by it, may be gathered from the official records:—

Date.	Persons wholly boycotted.	Partially boycotted.	Total.
30th June, 1887 ...	866 ...	4035 ...	4901
31st Dec., 1887 ...	287 ...	2182 ...	2469
,, 1888 ...	56 ...	656 ...	712
,, 1889 ...	2 ...	150 ...	152
,, 1890 ...	— ...	472 ...	472
31st May, 1891 ...	— ...	403 ...	403

It will be seen by these figures that this evil was almost extinct in 1889, and that it revived in 1890. This was due entirely to the Tipperary struggle, now happily being brought to a close. And the significance of these returns will be seen when I mention the fact that out of the 403 persons partially boycotted at the present moment 312 live in the area still left under the full effect of the Crimes' Act. In other words they are in County Clare, or on the Clanricarde, Smith-Barry, and Olphert estates. Outside of this area there are only 91 persons partially boycotted in the whole of Ireland. It is almost impossible for those who have not seen the working of this system of torture to realize what these figures mean.

THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

The Plan of Campaign has for several years been the great weapon of the Parnellite and Gladstonian alliance. I am aware that now, when it is dead or dying, politicians of the type of Mr. Samuel Smith and Mr. Rathbone are making haste to declare that they never approved of it. But whilst Mr. O'Brien was shrieking its praises and defending its palpable dishonesty below the gangway, these gentlemen, with a great load of Welsh Nonconformity weighing down their consciences, were conveniently silent. What are the facts to-day regarding the Plan? Mr. O'Brien maintains that it has everywhere triumphed. Has it triumphed at Tipperary? There, on a great scale, involving probably an expenditure of £50,000, this scheme of dishonesty and insanity had a fair field. It was blessed by an archbishop, who, now that the whole edifice has come tumbling about his ears, mournfully tells his people that "Home Rule is dead," and that he at all events "will not live to see it." It was backed by a system of terrorism almost infernal in its completeness. It has absolutely failed. Mr. Smith-Barry has not been ruined. Tipperary has nearly been destroyed. Has it succeeded at Luggacurren, at Coolgreany, at Gweedore, at Dunleer, or at New Ross? The fact is the Plan of Campaign is on its last legs. It is not quite dead. But it is dying. And those "Children of the Nation," who, Mr. O'Brien was wont to assure us, would be taken care of by the Irish race so long as they had a shilling to spend or a crust to spare, are now being handed over to that broad-shouldered but on the whole kindly gentleman, the British taxpayer. A few weeks, or at most months, will probably see the last of this wild and insane policy.

THE CRIMES ACT.

Gentlemen, the Crimes Act constitutes the head and front of our offending. Coercion was not only doomed to failure, it was to sound our death knell as a party. Has it failed? So far from having failed, practically the whole of Ireland has been relieved from the provisions of that Second Section around which such fierce battles were fought in the House of Commons. But there are things so suggestive about the later history of this measure that I cannot refrain from mentioning them. I have two sets of figures—the first of which brings the working of the Act down to the end of 1890—the other to the end of April, 1891. Here is the first :—

Period.	Total.	Discharged.	Convicted.
Prosecutions under Act to			
31st December, 1887	628	213	415
,, ,, 1888	1,475	393	1,082
,, ,, 1889	839	242	597
,, ,, 1890	530	130	391

These figures are highly satisfactory. But they do not possess the same interest as the second set to which I have referred. I secured them in reply to a question in the House from the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The figures deal with the first four months of 1890 and 1891.

ULSTER.

First Period.

Courts Held.	Cases Tried.	Persons Tried.
9	9	42

Second Period.

4	4	18

LEINSTER.

First Period.

Courts Held.	Cases Tried.	Persons Tried.
4	6	27

Second Period.

3	5	23

MUNSTER.

First Period.

Courts Held.	Cases Tried.	Persons Tried.
33	33	136

Second Period.

15	16	48

CONNAUGHT.

First Period.

Courts Held.	Cases Tried.	Persons Tried.
23	24	48

Second Period.

7	8	10

In the first period, the four months of 1890, there were 71 Crimes Courts held. In the second period there were 31. In the first period there were 72 cases tried. In the second there were 33. In the first period, the persons involved numbered 238. In the second, there were only 101.

These are most suggestive figures. What caused the drop of 65 per cent.? The answer is plain. This class of crime requires incitement. It requires organization. It requires the incitement of vitriolic speech. It requires the organization of the paid organizer. No Irish peasant goes moonlighting out of sheer gaiety of heart. No. It requires organization, and oftentimes coercion. During the past six months, the vitriolic speech has been entirely absent from Ireland—or, if it has been heard at all, the patriots were fiercely denouncing each other to the neglect of what they call the common enemy. And as for the paid organizer—he, too, has felt the pinch. His weekly allowance has been stopped to the immense advantage of the country. This, and this alone, explains the collapse of this form of crime—a collapse which has enabled the Government not indeed to dispense with the Crimes Act sword, but to return it to its sheath.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

And, finally on this head, the House of Commons attests the reality of the pacification of Ireland. We are nearing the close of one of the most memorable Sessions that any Parliament ever witnessed. It was heralded by a great flourish of Opposition trumpets. It has been a triumphant success. Ireland has secured a great measure, under which it will at least be possible for 100,000 tenants to become owners in fee of their holdings, and on terms such as no State in the world ever dreamed of giving. She has also secured, and will shortly be in the full enjoyment of, an extension of her railway system, such as few Irishmen ever contemplated. A period of want in the congested area has been successfully met. Education is to be freed and made compulsory, and a great measure of temperance reform has received the approval and support of the Government. But, whilst all this has been done, or is in process of being done, the change in the House of Commons is very great. Mr. O'Brien no longer shrieks below the gangway. Mr. Dillon's pensive face is not to be seen. Mr. Parnell flits in and out, but does not stay. Even Mr. Healy prefers his briefs in Dublin to his duties at Westminster, and Mr. Sexton is all that is left of the famous band. What things have come to may be realized when I say that an Irish member in my hearing lately gave utterance to an opinion that "the Chief Secretary was not utterly depraved." Things are sadly out of joint when an Irish debate empties the house —when members go about declaring that there is nothing to equal it in dullness, save, perhaps, a Scotch discussion on a Roads and Bridges Bill.

COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY.

But, Sir, we have not only secured a peaceful, we are rapidly approaching a prosperous Ireland. In 1886 there were 18,640,000 passengers travelled on Irish railways. In 1889-90 the number had risen to 20,293,000. In 1886 the goods traffic amounted to £1,270,000. In 1889-90 it had risen to £1,369,000. The Irish Banks tell the same story. The cash balances standing in these Banks at the close of 1886 amounted to £30,172,000. At the end of 1890 they stood at £33,325,000, whilst the balances at the end of both years in the Trustee and Post Office Savings Bank stood at £4,710,000 and £5,696,000 respectively. It does not really matter into what path the enquirer strikes, the result is the same. The population is diminishing. This is the stock cry of the Irish patriot everywhere. It is true, and the pity is that the exodus is not always from the congested area. But even here the balance is on the right side. During the five years ending 1885, 398,658 persons left Ireland for other countries. For the same period, 1886-90 the number was 335,817, a reduction of 16 per cent.

PAUPERISM.

If we turn to pauperism the figures are also satisfactory. The average number of paupers in Irish workhouses for the five years ending December, 1885, was 51,558. For the same period ending 31st December, 1890, the number was 46,110—a reduction of 11 per cent., whilst ordinary as distinct from agrarian crime has sunk to a lower figure than it has stood at for twenty years.

FIVE YEARS OF UNIONIST GOVERNMENT.

I hold, therefore, that in the face of the country we can give not only a good, but a triumphant account of our work in Ireland. It is almost an unbroken record of success. Others may claim the credit. Those who laboured to make Government impossible, who launched the Plan of Campaign, who have ruined whole districts and thousands of people, may say that these results are due to their action, that we have had no policy, save that of coercion. This will hardly deceive the ordinary British elector. We have, undoubtedly, coerced people. We have coerced the evil-doer. We have coerced the coercionist, and by our action real freedom has been restored to the country. And, whilst doing this, we have redressed wrongs, remedied grievances, and gone a long way towards solving the Irish Land Question, the real root of all the trouble in that country. Whether, therefore, we win or lose at the General Election I am certain that the historian will do us justice, and that these five years of Unionist Government of Ireland will stand out as the most successful of modern times. (Cheers).

FURTHER FACTS.

It is universally admitted that one of the surest indications of the prosperity of a country is the state of its commercial credit; and the improvement in the condition of Ireland during the last five years cannot be better tested than by examining the value of the shares in her leading commercial securities. We give below a table showing the market value of the shares in the leading Irish banks, railways and tramways at three different periods :—First, in January, 1886, before the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill; secondly, in May, 1886, while that Bill was before Parliament, and its fate was uncertain; and thirdly, at the present time, when a Unionist Government has been nearly five years in office, and the fears which were excited by the possibility of the establishment of an Irish Parliament have died away. We commend these figures, which are taken from the Stock Exchange quotations, to the attention of business men, who can appreciate their full significance :—

	1886. January.	1886. May.	1891. Dec.
Bank of Ireland Stock	271	260	326
Ulster Bank Shares (£2 10s. paid)	10$\frac{5}{8}$	9$\frac{1}{8}$	10$\frac{5}{16}$
City of Dublin Steamship Company	113$\frac{1}{2}$	110	121
Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Ordinary ...	69$\frac{5}{8}$	68	122$\frac{1}{2}$
Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Preference...	98$\frac{3}{4}$	93$\frac{1}{2}$	116
Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Debentures .	105	101$\frac{1}{2}$	120
Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway, Ordinary ...	54$\frac{1}{2}$	42$\frac{1}{2}$	43
Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway, Preference .	100	99	126
Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Ordinary	103$\frac{3}{4}$	95	131$\frac{5}{8}$
Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Preference ...	104$\frac{1}{4}$	101$\frac{1}{2}$	131
Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Debentures ...	107$\frac{1}{4}$	105	123
Great Southern and Western Railway, Ordinary ...	102$\frac{1}{8}$	95	117$\frac{3}{4}$
Midland Great Western Railway, Ordinary	68	61$\frac{1}{4}$	105$\frac{7}{8}$
Midland Great Western Railway, Preference	100	94	116
Midland Great Western Railway, Debentures	103	100$\frac{1}{4}$	122$\frac{3}{8}$
Belfast Street Tramways	11$\frac{1}{16}$	10$\frac{13}{16}$	15$\frac{3}{4}$
Dublin United Tramways	10$\frac{3}{8}$	10$\frac{1}{16}$	10$\frac{5}{16}$

THE

CORK ELECTION OF 1891.

The Priest in Politics

The *Daily News*, in commenting on the result of the Cork Election, when Mr. Martin Flavin, the Clerical Candidate, was returned by a large majority, states, "The cry of clerical intimidation is altogether absurd." How far this assertion is true can be judged by the following records and facts:—

"UNITED IRELAND'S" STATEMENT.

The action of some of the Cork clergymen during the last few days proves beyond all question that the priests are resolved to become by any and every means the dominant power in politics. One of them has had the hardihood publicly to declare that he, as a minister of the Gospel, would tell the electors who promised to vote for Mr. Redmond that it is their duty to break their promises. And yet this estimable clergyman will get up in the pulpit to-morrow or the next day and preach to his flock of the beauty of truth, and will tell them that the devil is the father of lies.—*United Ireland*, 31st October, 1891.

CANON O'MAHONY'S CONFIRMATION.

I have already stated on a former occasion when addressing you that those who made promises to vote for Mr. Redmond were not morally bound by the promise.—[Rev. Canon O'Mahony at Cork, 4th November. *Cork Herald*, 5th November, 1891].

DURING THE FIGHT.

The following passages are taken from Cork speeches; all the speakers are Roman Catholics:—

Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., Saturday, October 24th:—

He (Mr. O'Connor) went to Blackpool and had not spoken to a dozen people when there came riding down upon him Canon O'Mahony—(continued hisses, and

a voice, "clerical intimidation")—and two other curates, **one of them bringing the breviary of his holy office under his arm.** Now, he was speaking to Corkmen and Roman Catholics like himself—(hear, hear)—and he would not by any act be deprived of that privilege—(cheers)—and in anything he would say there would be due respect for his religion and the pastors of his religion—(hear, hear)—but he was ashamed, and he was shocked that day to find that the pastors had used their office for the political purpose of driving a political opponent from the scene of action. (Cries of "shame.")

Mr. Patrick O'Brien, M P., October 27th :—

Well may the Protestants of Ireland look on and ask, **"If the Catholic people are thus treated, what would they do if they had us ?"**

Mr. John Redmond, October 31st :—

Their opponents were using agencies which were not intended to be political agencies, but agencies to direct men to lead good lives and save their souls, and he said as a Catholic—he was not like his opponents going about boasting of his saintliness—they would not permit for a moment or tolerate the ministers of the religion they believed in and loved to boss them in political affairs. (Cheers.) If they were beaten in that election—(no, no)—supposing they were, they would know what it was that beat them, and they might take his word for it, **that as long as the English people saw elections carried on in Ireland by the united exercise of the tendency he had referred to they would not give Home Rule for Ireland.** (Cheers.)

Dr. Kenny, M.P., October 31st :—

They were in the middle of a fight, and **they had to meet every infamous means that could be used against free men,** but they should possess their souls in peace. They were not afraid of clerical dictation—(no, no)—nor of mob dictation. When the priests came to them they should show them no disrespect, on the contrary show them the respect their office demanded, but they should say to them, **back to your sanctuary; serve your God as is enjoined on you,** and do not come and dictate to us what we are to do in politics.

Mr. E. Leamy, M P., November 2nd :—

He wished to point out one thing that happened yesterday. A certain gentleman and member of Parliament went to a house and asked a man for his vote. He replied, "I am going to vote for Mr. Redmond, I promised to do so." The priest said, **"You need not keep the promise, and this man,"** pointing to the member of Parliament, **"do you know this man ?"** The man replied, **"Well, father, I am only a poor man, I am not a gentleman, but it is not because he broke his word to Parnell that I will do the same."** (Loud cheers.)

Mr. John Redmond, November 1st :—

He had been told in addition in many places some of the clergymen and others had told some of the more illiterate voters that the secrecy of the ballot was a sham, and that the priests and others would be able to know how a man voted. (Shame)—[*Cork Constitution* Reports.]

THE POLLING DAY.

The most important of all the polling stations was that for the North-west ward. Before nine o'clock Messrs. W. O'Brien, Condon, Davitt, Flavin and

Dr. Tanner arrived on the scene, accompanied by Canon O'Mahony and seven other priests. The clergy took up position at once, and remained there throughout the day. As each voter passed the gate he was button-holed by Canon O'Mahony or one of his curates, who most industriously proceeded to tell them to put his mark **"opposite the first man's name on the paper."** During the day the Parnellites got at loggerheads with the clerics. Father Shinkwin, it is asserted, was observed asking a man whom he would vote for, and telling the man to vote for Flavin. Mr. James O'Brien asked him what he meant, and Father Shinkwin said he merely asked the man his name, and demanded of Mr. O'Brien did he want to bully him. Mr. O'Brien said he did not, but thought that the votes should be left alone. At another time Mr. John O'Connor M.P., and Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., had several hot words with different priests for the latters alleged interference with voters. One voter was asked the usual question by Canon O'Mahony, and having answered that he would vote for the Federationist candidate, Mr. Harrington said, "Remember your country and vote for Redmond." Canon O'Mahony, however, led the man away, and, having spoken to him, led him into the booth. To show the extent to which "the priestly dictation" was carried in the ward, a case might be mentioned. A rather aged man was about entering one of the booths, when a personating agent asked him his name. The man stared at him vacantly for a few seconds, and then said, **"I will run and ask my priest."** He returned again, and showing some doubt as to whether "O" should be prefixed to his name or not he went again and consulted his adviser. As one old man approached, a priest accosted him and asked him if he could read and write. On receiving a negative answer the clergyman took him by the arm, and in spite of the efforts of some of Mr. Redmond's friends, he led him to the entrance of the polling booth, and did not lose sight of him until he appeared to be satisfied. He was in the hands of Mr. Flavin's friends. In another instance a man was seen disputing with a priest, and was heard saying, **"We are on the same level here; I won't be intimidated by you or any other man."** Mr. Harrington, who was standing by, intervened and said, "You are quite right; you have exactly the same right here as the priest." The discussion then ended. Another man, when he was approached by a priest, said, **"Ah, go away and attend to your proper business; you have no right to be here."** To try and settle affairs, Mr. J. O'Connor suggested to the priests that if they let the voters go to the poll without questioning them, his side would do the same. To this they would not agree, which was the means of intensifying the party feeling, and the police found it necessary to take possession of the passage leading from the street to the schools.—(*Cork Constitution* Report.)

THE LESSON OF THE ELECTION.

Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., at Cork, after the declaration of the poll stated:—

They were beaten because their priests left their churches and their own business to enter into politics and bulldoze the electors of Cork. (Cheers.) They opposed Parnell because of what they called his moral crime. There was no moral crime against his (Mr Redmond's) brother or himself, and he said while as Catholics they respected the priests, and were ready to defend them, they said that in political matters they had no right to dictate to the people how they should vote. (Cheers.) **If they allowed dictation from the priests, the people of England would never give them Home Rule.**—*Cork Constitution*, November 9th, 1891.

Mr. J. Dalton, M.P., said:—

The people of England would not be slow to take to heart the lesson which the election taught. If they were going to have the priests supreme in their

elections—(no, no)—if they were going to have elections decided upon what Father this or the Bishop of that thought **the sooner the franchise was taken from Ireland the better.** (Cheers.) . . . If Parliamentary representation in that country was to depend upon the opinion of the priests and bishops for the time being, all he could say was the best thing to settle the whole matter was to hand over Parliamentary representation to them altogether. (Cries of "never.") Let the bishops meet in Dublin or Cashel, or anywhere else they like, and let them select eighty or eighty-six curates, and on public form—and what he meant by public form was **the amount of intimidation of electors, which, if exercised by men in private life, would incur for them a penalty of six months' imprisonment.** (Cheers.) Let them select these eighty or eighty-six curates and send them over to Westminster and see what they could do for the people.—*Cork Constitution*, November 9th, 1891.

Mr. Pierce Mahony, M.P., remarked:—

The people should know, and they should feel that no Government would dare to propose to hand over Ulster to the government of these men (the clerical nominees). They might have bitter feelings towards some men in Ulster, but **after all they owed much to the Protestants of Ireland.** (Cheers.) —*Cork Constitution*, November 9th, 1891.

Englishmen and Scotchmen, are you prepared to endorse this state of things in the sister isle, and be a party to handing over the government of Ireland to a Clerical Home Rule Parliament in Dublin? Now is the time to decide.

VOTE FOR THE UNIONIST PARTY

AND

CIVIL FREEDOM.

NONCONFORMIST ELECTORS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

READ THIS,

And then ask yourselves if you are prepared to vote for Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule in opposition to the unanimous testimony of your co-religionists in Ireland.

On November 14th, 1888, an address was presented to Lords Salisbury and Hartington on behalf of **the Nonconformists of Ireland** protesting in the strongest terms against Home Rule. "We deprecate," said the address, "in the strongest manner, as disastrous to the best interests of the country, a separate Parliament for Ireland. . . . . We do not believe that any guarantees, moral or material, could be devised which would safeguard the rights of minorities scattered throughout Ireland against the encroachments of a majority vested with legislative and executive functions. We especially claim the aid of our co-religionists in Great Britain in resisting strenuously any such policy."

At that time there were 990 Nonconformist ministers in Ireland, and of these 864 signed the above address, while only 8 declared themselves Home Rulers, the remaining 118, although Unionists, declined to sign on the ground that, being ministers of religion, they wished to have nothing to do with politics.

At the banquet which accompanied the presentation of the address, the **Rev. Henry Evans, D.D.**, speaking for the Methodists of Ireland, said: "I have been asked to indicate the hurt which a Parnellite Government would do to Ireland. It would inevitably put education under the priesthood, and I ask English Nonconformists how they would like that for themselves in England. The subjection of Ireland to a government such as is proposed would banish capital and warn off capital from the country. It would also drive away the Protestant people from a vast number of places, and would be the speedy extinction of our existence over vast areas."

Rev. Arthur Mursell, the well-known Baptist Minister, writing to a Rossendale correspondent, on 20th January, 1892, says: "Nonconformity has struggled and suffered for political and religious freedom, but its struggle has taught it little, if it has not enabled it to discriminate between a reformer and a rebel. . . . . Vote only and solely on the one issue, Union or Separation; imperial integrity or national surrender."

The late **Rev. Charles Spurgeon** wrote, "I feel especially the wrong proposed to be done to our Ulster brethren. What have they done to be thus cast off? The whole scheme is as full of dangers and absurdities as if it came from a madman."—(May, 1886.)

And to the same effect speaks the **Rev. William Arthur** (ex-president of the Wesleyan conference): "I cannot conceive," says

he, "how any Nonconformist, Scotch or English, can for a moment think of depriving the Protestants of Ireland of the civil and religious guarantees which the Constitution accords to them, and of placing them in the power of a Parliament composed as they know one in Dublin would be composed. If they stand by and see this effected, they will undo much of the work done by their fathers, and will leave to their children weary tasks in attempting to repair the breaches made by their unfaithfulness."

Nonconformists! weigh these words! they are the words of men who are the glory of English Noncomformity, and if you do, you will support Nonconformity in Ireland by

VOTING FOR THE UNIONIST GOVERNMENT.

Englishmen, read this.

THE following is from the *Freeman's Journal*, of February 18th, 1886, the leading Home Rule daily paper in Ireland.

"We contend that the good Government of Ireland by England is impossible, not so much by reason of natural obstacles, but because of the radical, essential difference in the public order of the two Countries. This, considered in the abstract, makes a gulf profound, impassable—an obstacle no human ingenuity can remove or overcome. It is that the **one people is Christian** and the **other non-Christian.** . . . To put the contrast again in the plainest form—the one order of civilization is **Christian** the other **non-Christian;** the one people has not only accepted, but retained with inviolable constancy, the Christian, the other has not only rejected it, but has been for three centuries the leader of the great apostacy, and **is at this day the principal obstacle to the conversion of the world**"

Not only does the *Freeman* deny your right to be styled Christians, but it actually has the audacity to accuse **you of being an immoral nation.**

Speaking of the PARNELL scandal the *Freeman* on 21st November, 1890, said—

"The Irish Members are responsible for much of the hubbub in England at the present time. They have been so flattering the **English** that like **all dense-headed and thick-witted people trying to govern a clever one** the English have begun not to know themselves. **It is living in England which has contaminated Mr. Parnell.**"

THE ENGLISH ARMY IN IRELAND.

A reply to Gladstonian Misstatements.

The Gladstonians are distributing all over the country a leaflet, headed

"THE COST OF COERCION,"

which contains the following words :—

In 1878, when war with Russia threatened, we had 109,201 soldiers at home. To-day we have 106,767 ! For what purpose ? To coerce Ireland. In 1885, we had only 91,579 ; in 1886, we had 98,057. Coercion is thus responsible for an increase of 8,710 ! We have 30,000 troops in Ireland, who annually cost us £2,250,000. . . . As Mr. Gladstone has worked it out, the home service charge for the Army is 16/- per head of population in Ireland, against 5/- per head in Great Britain ! That is to say, it costs about 11/- for every man, woman and child to collect landlords' rents and to drive the tenants from their homes.

I need hardly say that it would be difficult to compose a more complete tissue of falsehoods, and those who publish it are perfectly well aware of this, but unfortunately a large number of the electors take it for absolute truth, as they do every statement made by Gladstonians, and they believe that the population of Ireland are actually being charged 16/- per head for the maintenance of troops there, while the English only pay 5/- per head. They have no the smallest idea that the charges for the army are provided out of one consolidated fund, and that, **as far as taxation goes, it would not make the slightest difference if every soldier were quartered in England, Scotland, or Ireland.** It seems almost childish to have to notice these falsehoods, but if they are left unnoticed they are believed.

Gladstonian orators are very fond of dilating on the number of

TROOPS QUARTERED IN IRELAND,

which they variously estimate at from 30,000 to 40,000, according to the humour they happen to be in. The facts are these—the average number of troops in Ireland—

In 1872, was 27,000;
In 1882, a little over 29,000;
and on September 1, 1891, 27.600.

In no other year than 1882, at any rate since 1861, has the average strength reached 28,000. The force at home is regulated by the force we have to maintain abroad, and **troops are quartered in Ireland because we have not barrack accommodation for them in Great Britain. The real excess kept in Ireland is cavalry, and they are kept there because it is cheaper. The Government are quite willing to reduce the force in Ireland, but the population resent any reduction of troops as a direct reduction of income.** The War Office is flooded with petitions the moment such an idea is mooted.

[Letter to the *Times*, Dec. 26, 1891, signed by a "Unionist."]

IRISH PUBLIC OPINION.

The following facts should be borne in mind by Englishmen and Scotchmen when Gladstonian orators rail against the "British Garrison" of thirty thousand "bayonets" being quartered in Ireland to "coerce" the inhabitants and maintain "foreign" law. The expressions of opinion here quoted do not emanate from "orange" Ulster, or representatives of the "privileged or landlord" classes, but from what Mr. Gladstone calls "the people."

Early in January, 1891, the War Office decided to remove the troops from Dundalk, leaving only a few men to take charge of the barracks. A Memorial was immediately presented to Lord Wolseley, commanding the forces in Ireland, signed by the High Sheriff of Louth, Chairman Dundalk Town Commissioners, Chairman Poor Law Guardians, Chairman of the Dundalk Steam Packet Co., and Chairman of the Harbour Board, praying the authorities to abandon the intention of removing the cavalry from the town, on the following amongst other grounds :—

"The removal of the cavalry would entail a serious loss upon the traders of the town, and more particularly on the farmers of the district, who largely depend on the military for the disposal of their produce."—*Dundalk Democrat*, 31st January, 1891.

The idea was consequently abandoned.

Recently the authorities contemplated bringing some of the militia regiments over to England for their annual training, and on the 28th January, 1892, a meeting of the Wicklow Town Commissioners and principal inhabitants of the district was held, to consider what steps should be taken to prevent the soldiers being removed to England. Mr. Peter O'Brien, Chairman of Board, presided, and in his remarks, said :—"The Murrough is second to no place in Great Britain for the training and drilling of troops," and "as to the removal of the great body of the troops for training elsewhere, he considered it a great hardship and injury to the town." The following resolution was unanimously carried :—

"That a deputation, consisting of the following gentlemen, namely, Messrs. Peter O'Brien, C.T.C., E. M. Harding, John Nolan, Joseph M. Carroll, T.C., and W. H. H. Kennedy, be appointed to take immediate steps to wait on Lord Wolseley, with a view of preventing the artillery training being removed from Wicklow to England."—*Daily Independent*, 29th January, 1892.

That English soldiers are popular in Ireland may be judged from the following resolution, adopted by the Athlone Town Board :—

Resolved :—"That we, the Town Commissioners of Athlone, express our regret at the removal from our town of the Wiltshire Regiment; that we direct our clerk to convey to the commanding officer our appreciation of the excellent conduct of the men during their time here, and of the friendship entertained by the townspeople with this regiment."—*Daily Express*, 12th May, 1890.

Irish Unionist Alliance.

REPORT OF

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

ON

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

OCTOBER, 1891.

NOTE.—Shortly after Mr. Balfour's speech at Plymouth, upon the 10th of August, 1891, announcing that the Government intended to bring in a Bill dealing with the question of Irish Local Government, the Council of the Irish Unionist Alliance appointed a Special Committee of gentlemen composed of both Unionist political parties, to consider the question, and to take such action in the interests of Irish Unionists as the Committee might deem necessary. The following Preliminary Report was issued by the Committee in October, 1891.

Irish Unionist Alliance.

REPORT OF

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

ON

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

1. The system of Local Government in England either before the passing of the Local Government Act of 1888 or since, bears scarcely any resemblance to that existing in Ireland. One point is clear, however. Ireland has long had, and still has, a system of County Government superior to that of England, as regards simplicity, uniformity, economy and efficiency.

In illustration of this statement it may be useful before proceeding to deal categorically with the various matters entrusted to the management of County Councils in England, to point out the different modes by which the most important county work—viz., that of the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges—is carried out in the two countries.*

* Arthur Young, writing about 112 years ago, says:—"For a country so very far behind us as Ireland, to have got suddenly so much the start of us, in the article of roads, is a spectacle that cannot fail to strike the English traveller exceedingly. . . . . I found it perfectly practicable to travel upon wheels by a map. I will go here. I will go there. I could trace a route upon paper as wild as fancy could dictate, and everywhere I found beautiful roads, without break or hindrance, to enable me to realize my design. What a figure would a person make in England who should attempt to move in that manner, where the roads, as Dr. Burn has very well observed, are almost in as bad a state as in the time of Philip and Mary."—(ARTHUR YOUNG'S "Tour in Ireland, vol. ii., part 2, pp. 56-57., Dublin, Ed. 1780.)

DESCRIPTION OF IRISH SYSTEM.

2. The Irish system may be briefly but with sufficient accuracy described as follows:—In every barony in Ireland a court or meeting called a Presentment Sessions is held every half-year, at which the utility of public works, which it is proposed to carry out, is considered. This meeting is not composed necessarily of Grand Jurors. Every Justice of the county is entitled to attend, but it is unusual for Justices to attend Presentment Sessions unless they possess property in the barony. There are associated with them a certain proportion of the highest cesspayers in the barony.

In view of the utterly erroneous impression which prevails with reference to the powers of the Grand Jury to nominate these associated cesspayers, a few lines of detailed explanation may be useful. The Barony Constable (who is the cess collector) is bound to make a return to each Grand Jury of the names of the 100 persons in his barony who in the previous half-year have paid the highest amount of county cess, classifying the names according to the amount paid by each, so that the name of the person who has paid the largest amount shall appear at the top of the list, and so on. The Grand Jury have power, and are indeed required at each assizes, to make an order fixing the number of associated cesspayers for each barony, which must not be less than 5 nor more than 12. Let us suppose that a Grand Jury decide that 8 shall be the number of associated cesspayers entitled to sit at Presentment Sessions for a particular barony. They next proceed to nominate double that number, or 16. When the time of holding the Presentment Sessions arrives, out of these 16, 8 are chosen by ballot to act. The impression is that Grand Juries have a wide range of choice, and out of a list of 100 names can select their favourites. This is not so. Their functions in this respect are almost automatic. In the illustration taken above they must select the 16 highest cesspayers. At the next assizes, before making the new list, they must strike out the names of half of those whose names appeared on the previous list. Even here the Grand Juries cannot strike out any names they please. They must first strike out the names of those who have already served, and only after these are exhausted have they any choice. In the case just taken 8 fresh names (the next highest on the list) would have to be added, and the list would be once more complete. The cesspayers are

therefore chosen by what is practically an automatic process out of the list of 100, furnished by the Barony Constable. The area of selection is confined to a number equal to three times that fixed for each barony—the greatest area of choice being 36, the least 15.

In practice some Grand Juries in order to exclude men unable through age or infirmity to serve, or to distribute the representation more effectively through the Barony, nominate some of those whose names appear on the Collector's list below or outside the narrow limits defined by the Act; but any cesspayer could challenge the legality of this course by simply appealing to the judge at the assizes.

The bodies thus formed (which for the purposes of this Report it will be convenient to call Baronial Sessions), deal only with matters strictly relating to the districts in which they act. They may either adopt, limit, or reject any proposal put before them for the construction or repair of a road, or for other public works. Having gone through the list of applications, which are in every case made either by any two cesspayers of the county, or County Surveyor, they adjourn until a further date. In the meantime the County Surveyor prepares, where necessary, plans and specifications of the various works approved of by this body; advertisements are issued inviting tenders for their execution, an adjourned meeting of the Baronial Sessions is held, when the tenders are opened, and the contractor, who then and there enters upon a contract for the due execution of the work, declared. The adjourned Presentment Sessions are bound to accept the lowest tender, except the contractor and sureties are not considered sufficiently solvent.

The Sessions already spoken of act for Baronies. A "County at Large" Sessions is composed by the County Justices and one cesspayer selected by each barony out of the cesspayers sitting at the Baronial Sessions. The "County at Large" Sessions deals with proposals, the cost of which it is proposed to levy off the whole county.

Up to this point the Grand Jury have not appeared upon the scene at all. The proceedings of the Baronial and County at Large Sessions are sent forward to be considered by the Grand Jury of the County at their next meeting. Broadly speaking, the Grand Jury have only the right to say "yes" or "no" to the various proceed-

ings of the Baronial Sessions. Contracts not approved of by the Grand Jury fall through ; those approved of are carried out, subject to the conditions laid down at the Presentment Sessions. The Grand Jury, therefore, have no power to *initiate* any public expenditure (except in a few limited cases), their business being solely confined to that of *control.* Salaries of certain officers, imperative presentments, such as contributions to lunatic asylums, instalments in payment of loans, etc., and certain works of a more important nature, (mail roads are charged half on the county at large, and half on the barony or baronies through which they run) are charged upon the "county at large," while the works directly belonging to the various baronies or districts are paid for by the districts to which they relate.

A further power possessed by the ratepayers. *Any person paying County Cess* may apply to the Assize Judge for liberty to traverse any presentment, whether for illegality, inutility, or damage ; and, if permission is given, the traverse is tried before the Judge, with the assistance of a common jury, who, as in all other cases, are sole judges of the facts. As illustrative of current misrepresentations of the existing system of Local Government in Ireland, it may be worth while to quote what Mr. Richard O'Shaughnessy says upon this point, in the article he contributed to the Cobden Club volume, dealing with "Local Government and Taxation," he said :— "Any cesspayer is allowed to appeal against the ratification of the Grand Jury. The judge has no special knowledge about the convenience of a road, or the construction of a bridge. It is not unnatural, nor is it to be regretted, that appeals on the ordinary subjects of administration to so unsuitable a tribunal are few." One would imagine from reading this that the judge was the sole and final tribunal to which the cesspayer could appeal ; whereas, as a matter of fact, it is to a common jury, composed of persons belonging to his own class, in all cases where issues of fact are to be tried.

It is worth noting that where the presentment traversed had its initiation at Presentment Sessions (and in nine cases out of ten this is so), the notice of intention to traverse must be given in the way provided in the Act, within two days after the date of the Sessions (except in the case of traverses to presentments for malicious injuries). Here again the importance of the Presentment Sessions is recognized, as in nearly every case it is *their* action, and not that of the Grand Jury, which is challenged when a traverse is entered.

In the paper to which allusion has been made Mr. O'Shaughnessy further says:—"The farmers chosen by the Grand Jury, being "generally little disposed to come a long distance from private "business on the chance of success in a ballot which can only give "a nominal part in the affairs of the barony, are slack in attendance, "while the Justices, usually men of leisure, assemble in numbers."

This is by no means universally the case, as is shown by the following table of attendances at the various Presentment Sessions held in the County of Kerry previous to the Spring Assizes of 1887 (taken from the list of applications sent to the office of the Irish Unionist Alliance for quite another purpose, some time since):—

	Magistrates.	Cesspayers.
Clanmaurice Barony ...	6 ...	6
Corkaguiny „ ...	3 ...	7
North Dunkerron „ ...	1 ...	3
South „ „ ...	4 ...	5
Glanerough „ ...	3 ...	7
Irraghticonnor „ ...	8 ...	3
Iveragh „ ...	2 ...	7
Magonihy „ ...	5 ...	6
Trughenackeny „ ...	10 ...	7

The duties of the Presentment Sessions and Grand Juries are fairly and impartially discharged. In all Ireland there were only eleven objections to presentments, other than for damage, made to the Judges of Assize during the year 1890, while there must have been several thousand presentments made. The cause of this is certainly not the unsuitability of the tribunal to try them, but the absence of any grievance.

It will be seen that every presentment for public works has to be considered and approved by two courts, viz., (1) the Presentment Sessions and (2) the Grand Jury, and even then may be challenged and investigated by a third. It is impossible to rate too highly the security thus afforded against jobbery and extravagance by the Irish system.

Of course other duties are discharged by the Grand Juries and Presentment Sessions, to which reference will be made later on, but that of the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges is by far the most important, the amounts spent being in 1889 almost 50 per cent. of the total expenditure.

ENGLISH SYSTEM OF ROAD MAINTENANCE.

3. In England the system of road construction and maintenance is totally different. It is only within the last thirty years that the county authorities in England became involved in highway management at all, and then only in a very indirect way. Previously to that, the parish, which in Ireland does not exist for any civil purpose, was the road authority, and the duty was cast upon the parish vestry of maintaining the roads within their jurisdiction. In 1864 the Quarter Sessions (or in other words the County Justices), was empowered to group certain parishes into highway districts, and the highway boards, which were formed under this system, succeeded to the powers of the parish surveyor. But it would be a mistake to suppose that all England was mapped out into highway districts. At the present moment there are 362 highway boards acting for 7,129 parishes, 40 rural sanitary authorities exercising the powers of highway boards for 738 parishes; while there are still 6,464 parishes each with their own system of road maintenance and construction.

The unsatisfactory method of maintaining in uniform, or, indeed, proper repair, the great roads between large centres of population by, perhaps, some hundreds of separate authorities, through whose jurisdiction portions of the road were carried, led from time to time to the formation of commissioners under various special acts, for the purpose of keeping these principal highways in efficient condition. These commissioners were empowered to collect tolls, and in this way turnpike trusts were created. There were thus, up to 1870, two authorities dealing with highways in England, viz.—the various turnpike commissioners, maintaining great arterial roads upon the one hand, and the various local authorities, maintaining district roads, on the other. Up to this time no county authority had any direct interference with road management, but in 1870 an act was passed providing for the gradual extinction of turnpike trusts, and investing the Quarter Sessions with the care of the roads thus disturnpiked.

Parenthetically it may be interesting to observe that in this matter also, Ireland was a long way ahead of England. Mainly through the efforts of the Grand Juries, turnpikes were abolished in Ireland in 1857.

English disturnpiked roads were from 187c described as "main" roads. From that time the Quarter Sessions, aided by a sub-

stantial contribution from the Treasury, constructed and maintained main roads and bridges, the minor local authorities still retaining the management of the district roads. The Quarter Sessions exercised this power for somewhat less than twenty years, when it was handed over, by the Act of 1888, to the newly formed County Councils.

The definition of a main road is now somewhat wider. It embraces

(1) Disturnpiked Roads.

(2) Other roads serving as a communication between great towns.

(3) Roads leading to a railway station.

(4) Roads which, while not coming within the two latter descriptions, taken literally, might in a general sense be understood to communicate between important points, or lead to a particular point where there was a large amount of traffic.

All proposals to "main" roads must come from the district authorities; all proposals to "dismain" roads from the County Councils.

"Main" roads are now managed by the County Councils in almost every imaginable sort of way. Some counties spend all the money necessary for the maintenance of main roads directly, maintaining a plant and staff for the purpose. Others contract with the various local authorities, either for a fixed sum or for the actual outlay. Most of the main roads in England are maintained upon the latter plan, so that in practice, the highway boards, local boards, parish surveyors, or sanitary authorities, as the case may be, maintain all the roads within their respective jurisdictions, obtaining a refund for main roads from the County Councils. The tendency is in the direction of complete control by county authorities.

The amount spent directly by County Councils during the first year of their existence on the maintenance, improvement, and repair of main roads was £247,004, and the amount paid by them to various local highway authorities for the same purpose was £913,247. Of course no payment to any local authority is made by the County Council for main roads, except upon the certificate of their surveyor.

In East Suffolk, deputy surveyors, who are mostly farmers, or resident in the district, superintend the maintenance of portion of a road, varying from five to ten miles in length, at a remuneration which must not exceed £2 per mile, per annum. This system, which is an approach to the Irish practice, is preferred to the alternative system, also in vogue in some parts of the administrative county, of employing foremen under the direct supervision of the county surveyor. In another division of Suffolk the Council contribute to the maintenance of all roads, both main and district. The cost per mile of main roads in England varies as much as from £1,175 per mile for maintenance, paid by the County of Surrey for portion of their roads, to £18 per mile in more rural parts of the country. In the year 1888-89, which is the last one for which the complete returns are available, the expenditure on highways in the rural districts of England was £2,167,797, of which the Quarter Sessions contributed £541,804, towards the maintenance of main roads and bridges. It will be seen from the figures quoted above that County Councils have largely increased the expenditure upon main roads. According to an opinion given by Mr. Alex. M'Morran, who is one of the best authorities in England on Local Government Law, it appears that County Councils cannot take over the management, or, in other words, "main" all the roads in a county. The County Authority "must have regard," to quote the words of a communication from the Local Government Board to the Gloucester County Council, "to the circumstances of each particular road."

This part of the subject has been dealt with at some length, because not only in Ireland, but to a great extent in England, the expenses of maintaining roads figure largely in the accounts of the Grand Juries and County Councils.

SYSTEM OF ROAD MANAGEMENT IN SCOTLAND.

4. Up to the year 1878 there was a multiplicity of road authorities in Scotland. An effort was made in this year to evolve some sort of order out of the existing chaos, and a comprehensive measure—the Road and Bridges (Scotland) Act—was passed. Under its provisions a county road board of thirty members was appointed, of which the half, and in some cases two-thirds were "Commissioners of Supply." The "Commissioners of Supply" have existed in Scotland for a very long period, and have discharged a great variety of functions. They may be briefly described as landlords or representatives of

landlords. The whole incidence of certain taxation fell upon them, until the Local Government Act of 1889 divided it equally between the owner and occupier, with certain exceptions that it is not necessary to enter into here. As has just been said the Commissioners of Supply were one element which entered into the composition of the County Road Trustees formed under the Act of 1878. The other element was the representatives of the ratepayers of the various parishes and burghs.

The powers of the County Road Trustees, formed in the way described above, were transferred by the Local Government Act of 1889, to County Councils, or rather to a Road Committee, not exceeding thirty members, elected by the County Council at their first meetings.

Counties are divided by the Council into Districts, and District Committees, formed of the Councillors for the electoral divisions comprised in the district, together with one representative from each parish and burgh comprised in it, form a local authority for the management of the highways and other matters.

There is no distinction in Scotland as between "Main" and "District" roads.

The "Joint Committee"—a body to which further reference will be made—have important powers with reference to new works.

It will be seen from the foregoing summary of the way in which highways have been managed in Ireland as compared with England and Scotland, that the systems possess no features in common, and that to transplant systems evolved or partially evolved out of chaos within the last twenty years to Ireland in substitution of a consistent and uniform system, thoroughly reformed and re-organized as long ago as 1836, which has worked well and stood the test of over half a century, would be a retrograde step. On the ground of economy the Irish system is acknowledged to be much superior.

OTHER COUNTY AFFAIRS.

5. Having dealt with the question of Road Management at some length on account of its great importance it will be necessary to refer more or less briefly to the other matters entrusted to the management of the County Councils in England and Scotland, pointing out from what authorities they have been transferred, and whether similar duties are imposed upon any local authority in Ireland.

The question of the police may at once be left out of consideration, as Mr. Balfour has specifically stated that it is the intention of the Government to maintain them as an Imperial force.

RATES.

6. With reference to the collection of rates, the English system is radically different from that in force in Ireland. Here the Grand Jury make and levy their own rates through the medium of their barony constables or cess collectors. In England the County Council after it has made an estimate of the amount required to carry on its operations makes a rate at so much in the £ of the valuation, and then having the rateable value of the various parishes before it, fixes the total amount to be levied on each parish according to the valuation. All the parishes comprised in a Union are grouped together and a precept is sent to the clerk of the union stating that the County Council require a specified contribution from each parish comprised in the particular Union to which it is addressed. The union authorities in turn deal with the parishes, which is in their unit of area, (corresponding to the poor law electoral divisions in this country) adding to the amount required by the County Council the amount necessary to carry on their own work. The precept is sent in full to the overseers of each parish. Other bodies, such as the sanitary authorities (which may in some cases be the Board of Guardians over again), highway boards, parish surveyors, etc., all send in their claims to the overseer, who makes a parochial rate sufficient to meet all these demands.

The overseers are chosen at an annual vestry in a manner that it is not necessary to describe here in detail, but they do not actually collect the rates. This is done by assistant overseers, or, as they would be called here, rate collectors. These officials are appointed, paid, and liable to dismissal, not by the overseers, but by the Boards of Guardians. When the collection is made the amount is paid by the assistant overseer not to his employers, but to the overseers who distribute the amounts to the various local authorities from whom they have received warrants. Out of the amount remitted by the overseers to the Boards of Guardians, the latter bodies remit the quota required by the County Council to its Treasurer.

The power of revising the basis of the county rate was not contained in the original bill, but was inserted in committee.

It is scarcely necessary to say that in Ireland (with the exception of a few instances in which urban authorities pay an ascertained amount to Grand Juries) these bodies and the Board of Guardians collect their own rates.

BORROWING.

7. Borrowing money for County purposes, was a power exercised in England, before the passing of the Local Government Act, by the Quarter Sessions. In Ireland Presentment Sessions and Grand Juries have power to borrow money, in certain cases, and under certain limitations and restrictions. In some cases, such as the erection of asylums, the advance is made by an order of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Grand Jury have only the duty of repaying the instalments. No further loans can, however, be effected by the County Council without the consent of the Local Government Board in England (or the Secretary of State in Scotland) who, before giving their consent will take into consideration any representation made by any ratepayer or owner of property rateable to county contributions. If the amount proposed to be borrowed will raise the total debt of the County Council to over one-tenth of the annual rateable value of the county, then a further check is imposed, the money cannot be borrowed except in pursuance of a provisional order of the Local Government Board confirmed by Act of Parliament. The "Joint Committee" in Scotland have also a check upon the action of County Councils with respect to borrowing.

ACCOUNTS.

8. The accounts of the County Councils in England and Scotland are subject, like the accounts of the Grand Juries in Ireland, to a Local Government Board audit.

COUNTY BUILDINGS.

9. (*a*) Assize and other courts, judges' lodgings, and county property generally, previously to the passing of the Local Government Act were under the control of the Quarter Sessions, and are now, both in England and Scotland, under the control of the County Councils, subject, as to the use of the necessary buildings, by the Quarter Sessions and Justices. High Sheriffs have the custody in Ireland of Assize and Quarter Sessions Courts, and appoint and can dismiss the keepers of these buildings

(*b.*) Police stations. This of course is part of the question of police, and while the control of the police stations in England are now transferred to the County Councils, they are not under the control of any local authority in Ireland.

MUSIC AND RACECOURSE LICENSES.

10. The licensing of houses and places for music and dancing, and the granting of licenses under the Racecourses Licensing Act of 1879, have been transferred to County Councils in England, No licenses for any of these purposes are necessary in Ireland. As a matter of fact, in England the Racecourses Licensing Act is only applicable within a radius of ten miles from Charing Cross.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

11. The construction, maintenance, and management of asylums for pauper lunatics were duties hitherto exercised by the Quarter Sessions in England and by a Committee mainly nominated by the Commissioners of Supply in Scotland. It is in respect of the erection of Lunatic Asylums that the greater part of the debt of the County Authorities in England has been created. In Ireland, since the year 1817, the lunatic asylums have been in the hands of special boards of governors, appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, acting under the general supervision of inspectors. When in the opinion of the advisers of the Lord Lieutenant it becomes necessary to build an asylum, the money for the purpose is advanced out of the Consolidated Fund, repayable by the Grand Juries of the various counties affected, in such instalments as the Treasury may fix. Towards the maintenance of the asylum, the Treasury contribute four shillings per week per patient. This comes on the average to about half the total cost. The Grand Juries are bound to provide the remainder of the necessary money. In 1889 the average cost of maintenance per patient was £20 os. 11d., of which the Government contributed £10 6s. od. In England and Scotland there was also a Treasury contribution to the Quarter Sessions and the Asylums Board for the same purpose, but since the passing of the Acts of 1888 and 1889 the County Councils are bound to provide the amount out of the proceeds of certain licenses transferred to them. In Ireland, the Board of Governors control the admission and detention of patients.

In England this power, hitherto exercised by the Committee of visitors of the Quarter Sessions, is *not* transferred to the Committee of visitors appointed by the County Council.

REFORMATORIES AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

12. The power to contribute to the maintenance and establishment of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, hitherto exercised by the Quarter Sessions is now transferred to County Councils. Similar powers are vested in Grand Juries in Ireland.

LOCOMOTIVES.

13. All the powers hitherto vested in Quarter Sessions in England, under the Highways and Locomotives Act of 1878, have now passed to the County Councils. As many of these powers in England referred to the power of compelling Highway Authorities to repair the roads there, this portion of the Act had no application to Ireland. The power of granting licenses to owners of locomotives is exercised by the Grand Juries in Ireland.

COUNTY OFFICERS.

14. Sub-Sections IX., X., and XI., of Section 4 of the Local Government Act transfer the powers hitherto exercised by Quarter Sessions to County Councils in respect of salaries and fees allowed to inspectors of weights and measures, public analysts, and coroners, and the appointment and removal of county officials other than the clerks of the peace and clerks of the justices. However, special provisions are inserted in the Act declaring that the Clerk of the Peace shall also be Clerk of the County Council, and that he shall be appointed from time to time by the standing "Joint Committee," consisting of an equal number of members of the County Council and the Quarter Sessions. This does not merely refer to the existing officers, but, what is more important, it deals with all future appointments as well. With reference to the justices' clerks, it is scarcely necessary to burden this report with reference to them, as they have never come under the control of the Grand Jury in Ireland. The mode of remunerating them is entirely different from the system either now prevailing in England or before the passing of the Act of 1888. With reference to other officials, there are sections protecting officers who were transferred from the Quarter Sessions to the new County Councils, providing that they should hold their offices under the same tenure

and conditions as it the Act had not been passed, and also providing compensation for any officer whose office is abolished, or who has suffered any diminution or loss of salary by the passing of the Act. This clause is so far-reaching as to include the officers of highway districts and parishes, whose duties in the maintenance of district roads have been lessened in consequence of the tendency to main roads, so that their immediate employers have reduced their emoluments. Of course officers so affected who are not satisfied with the amount of compensation proposed to be awarded by the County Councils can appeal to a department of the State to arbitrate upon the matter.

POLLING DISTRICTS.

15. The division of the county into polling districts for election purposes is a power which has been transferred, in England, from the Quarter Sessions to the County Councils. This power is exercised in Ireland by the Lord Lieutenant, assisted by the county justices at Quarter Sessions.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ANIMALS, DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, ETC.

16. The execution as Local Authority of Acts relating to (*a*) Contagious Diseases of Animals, (*b*) Destructive Insects, (*c*) Fish Conservancy, (*d*) Wild Birds, (*e*) Weights and Measures, (*f*) Gas Meters, and (*g*) Local Stamp Act of 1869, were all exercised before the passing of the Act of 1888 by the Quarter Sessions in England, and have been transferred to the County Councils.

(*a*) In Ireland the Acts relating to Contagious Diseases of Animals, and

(*b*) Destructive Insects, are administered by the Boards of Guardians.

(*c*) The County Councils in England have power to nominate certain members upon boards of conservancies for fishery districts. The question of local authorities in Ireland being entitled as such to seats upon boards of conservancies is not an unimportant one, from the point of view of affording proper protection to the owners of fisheries.

(*d*) The provisions of the Act with reference to Wild Birds, relates to the power of Justices to petition a Secretary of State with reference to varying the close time.

(*e*) The provisions of the Acts of Parliament dealing with weights and measures, as far as they relate to the action of local authorities, are administered by Grand Juries in Ireland. In Ireland (except in Dublin) the Constabulary are the custodians of the standards.

(*f*) The inspections of gas meters by county authorities are only adoptive.

(*g*) The provisions of the Local Stamp Act do not affect county authorities in Ireland.

MALICIOUS INJURY BY RIOTOUS ASSEMBLY.

17. The powers of compensation for malicious injuries by riotous assemblies were placed in the hands of Grand Juries by the Act of 1853, and is analogous to the powers transferred in England from Quarter Sessions to County Councils. Of course this class of injury differs widely from, and is not to be confounded with, that provided for in our Grand Jury Act of 1836. It is, however, very important to note that in the case of the Metropolitan Police District of England, the power of awarding compensation under the English Act is *not* handed over to the County Councils.

REGISTRATION OF RULES OF SOCIETIES.

18. The registration of rules of various societies, and the recording of places of religious worship, are either matters which have no application in Ireland, or are not of any great practical importance.

This concludes the list of powers transferred by the Local Government Act from the control of the Quarter Sessions to County Councils. The powers dealt with below were transferred from other authorities.

CORONERS.

19. The appointment of coroners is now placed in the hands of the County Councils. In Ireland, speaking generally, the coroners are appointed, as they were in England, by the parliamentary electors of the district for which they act.

THEATRES.

20. The licensing of theatres was hitherto exercised by the Lord Chamberlain in London, and by the justices in the country; these powers are now transferred to the County Councils. In Ireland it is exercised by the Attorney-General.

POLLUTION OF RIVERS.

21. The powers of sanitary authorities in England, with reference to the pollution of rivers, is also transferred to County Councils. In Ireland the provisions of this Act are administered by Boards of Guardians, acting as a sanitary authority.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

22. Power is also given, by the Act of 1888, to enable County Councils, with the approval of the Local Government Board, to oppose bills in Parliament, but they have no power to take any steps or incur any expense in *promoting* bills.

MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH.

23. County Councils in England have also power to appoint and pay a medical officer of health, whose duty it will be to see that the Public Health Act of 1875 is properly put in force by the various sanitary authorities. In case of default the County Council have the right to direct the attention of the Local Government Board to the matter, but apparently have no power of any further direct interference. No other power under the Public Health Act is transferred from any local authority to the County Council, although in several matters they have relations with them.

ALTERATION OF BOUNDARIES.

24. Another important duty cast upon the County Council is the initiation of any change in the boundaries of areas of Local Government, of any electoral divisions, of the number of divisions, and other matters of a similar kind.

As has been already stated they have only the power of representation to the Local Government Board, and even this department has only the

power, if it sees fit, to make a provisional order, subject to the final sanction of Parliament. The Local Government Board have powers upon the representation of County Councils to deal with such matters as the conversion of a rural into an urban district, or *vice versa*.

This completes the list of powers transferred to County Councils from other bodies.

HISTORY OF THE 10TH SECTION.

25. The 10th section of the English Act enables the Local Government Board to make a provisional order transferring certain departmental powers to County Councils. Under the provisions of this section, the Local Government Board made a provisional order, transferring a number of powers, hitherto exercised by various departments, amongst which were certain powers of the Secretary of State with reference to parochial grants, and the power of abolishing or fixing days for holding fairs, powers of the Board of Trade to make provisional orders with reference to the construction of piers, quays, waterworks; licensing of provisional orders under the Electric Lighting Act; of the adoption by parishes of the Baths and Washhouses Act, and certain powers under the Public Health and other Acts.

When this provisional order came to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, it met with strenuous opposition on the part of persons interested in the construction of tramways and of the representatives of what are known as non-county boroughs, and the result was that the provisional order dropped.

The other local authorities affected by the Act seem in every case to have preferred to remain under the control of the central departments, and to have been completely opposed to the idea of decentralization.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.

26. An Act passed in 1889 conferred on County Councils in England, and urban or rural sanitary authorities in Ireland, the power to devote certain funds to the promotion of technical instruction. Under the provisions of the Act, dairy, cookery, and other schools have been established in various parts of England.

SUMMARY OF POWERS OF ENGLISH COUNTY COUNCILS.

27. The following is a summary of the powers exercised by County Councils in England, arranged so as to show the authority, if any, under which similar powers are exercised in Ireland:—

ADMINISTERED IN IRELAND BY GRAND JURIES.

(i.) Roads and bridges (only exercised by County Councils with respect to main roads.)

(ii.) Assessment and collection of taxes (the county rates in England are not collected directly by the county authority).

(iii.) Borrowing of money (also exercised in Ireland by other local authorities).

(iv.) Assize and other courts, and county buildings generally. The High Sheriff is the partial custodian of the Assize and Quarter Session courts.

(v.) Contributions to the erection and maintenance of reformatory schools.

(vi.) Certain powers under the Locomotives Act.

(vii.) Administration (partial) of Weights and Measures Act.

(viii.) Appointment of Public Analysts.

(ix.) Payment of Coroners (according to fixed scale).

(x.) Appointment and removal of county officials, (*see* exception with reference to Clerk of the Peace who in Ireland is appointed nominally by the Lord Lieutenant, and in England will in future be appointed by the Joint Committee of the Quarter Sessions and the County Council), subject to compensation for loss of fees or diminution of income.

(xi.) Provisions dealing with the publication of the list of Parliamentary electors.

(xii.) Compensation for malicious injuries caused by riotous assemblies (NOT transferred in Metropolitan Police District to County Council).

ADMINISTERED IN IRELAND BY BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

(xiii.) Administration of Acts relating to Contagious Diseases of Animals.

(xiv.) Administration of Acts relating to Destructive Insects.

(xv.) Administration of Acts relating to Pollution of Rivers.

(xvi.) Administration of Acts relating to Technical Education (conferred in 1889).

IN IRELAND UNDER IMPERIAL CONTROL.

(xvii.) Police Stations.

ADMINISTERED IN IRELAND BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

(xviii.) Licensing of Theatres.

ADMINISTERED IN IRELAND BY SPECIAL BOARDS.

(xix.) The management of Asylums.

(xx.) Fish Conservancy.

(xxi.) Revision of Parliamentary Polling Districts.

IN IRELAND STILL APPOINTED BY AN ELECTION *AD HOC*.

(xxii.) Coroners.

MATTERS WHICH DO NOT ARISE IN IRELAND.

(xxiii.) Licenses for Music and Dancing.

(xxiv.) Licenses for Racecourses.

(xxv.) Appointment of Medical Officer of Health.

MATTERS ADMINISTERED BY GRAND JURIES WHICH DO NOT ARISE IN ENGLAND.

28. The following matters administered in Ireland by Grand Juries, have either no application in England or are discharged by other bodies than the County Council.

(i.) Compensation for malicious injuries other than by riotous assemblies.

(ii.) Several important Acts relating to the construction of Tramways and Light Railways. The first of these Acts passed in 1860, provided that instead of having to apply to Parliament for an Act to construct a Tramway, a presentment might be obtained from the Grand Jury, needing only confirmation by the Lord Lieutenant in Council.

(iii.) A further step was taken in 1881, empowering Grand Juries to regulate the speed up to ten miles an hour.

(iv.) The most important Act, however, was that passed 1883, known as the Tramway Guarantee Act, by which Grand

Juries were empowered to give a guarantee, in perpetuity, chargeable upon a barony or portion of one, that dividends would be paid upon paid up capital of a Tramway or Railway, not exceeding five per cent. Under this Act 172 miles of Tramways or Light Railways have been constructed and opened for traffic, the amount guaranteed being £720,000. Sixty-one miles are in process of construction under baronial guarantees, to the amount of dividends upon £246,000 of capital. The Government contribute two per cent. to the guarantee thus reducing the amount contributed by the county authorities from £28,080 in 1880-90 to £16,345.

(v.) Other duties were imposed upon the Grand Juries by the Light Railways Act of 1889. Under this Act Grand Juries have approved of projects aggregating to 247 miles of Light Railways, principally in Donegal, Mayo, Galway, and Kerry.

The foregoing statement contains a summary of the principal duties imposed upon County Councils in England (and generally speaking in Scotland) and points out under what local authority similar duties are now discharged in Ireland. There remain one or two other matters to which it may be useful to draw attention.

"STANDING JOINT COMMITTEES."

29. One of the most important provisions contained in the English and Scotch Acts is that by which a "Standing Joint Committee" is appointed for certain purposes.

The Standing Joint Committee in England consists of an equal number of members nominated by the Quarter Sessions and the County Council. In some cases twelve members are returned from each body to form the Joint Committees, in others it is composed of the whole Council with an equal number of Magistrates. The following matters are controlled by the Joint Committee in England:—

(i.) The Police.

(ii.) Appointment of future Clerks of the Peace (who are also to be Clerks to the County Councils).

(iii.) Fixing their remuneration.

(iv.) Fixing fees to be taken by Justices' Clerks, (subject to confirmation of Secretary of State).

(v.) Providing accommodation for Quarter Sessions, or Justices out of Session.

(vi.) Use by Justices or Police of Buildings or premises.

In Scotland the Standing Committee is composed of an equal number (not exceeding seven) of the Commissioners of Supply (which are continued for the purpose of this election), and of the County Council, with the Sheriff—who is in Scotland a judicial personage, said to correspond to the County Court Judge in Ireland—as an *ex officio* member. The powers of this "Standing Joint Committee" are as follows :—

(i.) They are the Police Committee under the Police Act of 1857.

(ii.) No money can be borrowed by County Councils without their consent.

(iii.) No work involving the erection, rebuilding or enlargement of buildings, the construction, reconstruction or widening of roads and bridges, the construction or extension of drainage or water supply works, or the acquisition of land for any of these purposes, can be undertaken without the consent in writing of the Joint Committee.

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTIES.

30. Every County in England forms an "administrative County" with certain exceptions, namely Yorkshire and Lincolnshire which are each divided into three, and Suffolk, Sussex, Cambridge and Northampton which are each divided into two. Certain Counties of Scotland on the other hand are united to form an administrative area. Of course the whole area of a County is not always an area of Local Government. Counties may contain the whole or portion of a borough which is an administrative County in itself. County Boroughs are generally speaking all boroughs having a population of over 50,000 or Counties of Cities or Towns having a population of 20,000. The following places in Ireland have a population of over 50,000 :—

Dublin.
Belfast.
Cork.

The following places have a population of between 20,000 and 50,000 :—

Pembroke
Rathmines and Rathgar

Limerick
Waterford
Londonderry.

31. Each County in England and Scotland is divided into Electoral Districts, and one Councillor is elected by each district. The Local Government Board in England and the Secretary of State in Scotland determine the number of Councillors to be comprised in each County Council, and the Quarter Sessions in England and a Boundary Commission in Scotland determine the areas of the electoral divisions. In England, at the first meeting of the Council, a number of aldermen (equal to one-third of the entire number of councillors), were appointed by the newly-elected councillors. There are no aldermen in Scotland but certain persons—namely, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Convenor of the County, Chairman of the Road Trustees, and Chairman of the County under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, are *ex officio* Councillors for the first two years.

The elections in England are triennial, in Scotland biennial.

THE COUNTY COUNCIL FRANCHISE.

32. The Franchise of the County Council in England is practically an extension of the qualifications contained in the Burgess Act of 1882. Broadly it may be said to be for all practical purposes the Parliamentary Franchise. Lodgers cannot be county electors, nor persons claiming under the Service Franchise. On the other hand, peers and women disqualified, by reason of their position or their sex from being Parliamentary voters, are entitled to vote in County Council Elections.

In Scotland all persons on the Parliamentary Register, except those exempt from, or who do not pay county rate, are entitled to vote in County Council Elections. Peers and women are also qualified in addition as in England.

Throughout all Ireland, with the exception of a few counties containing an urban population, the present Parliamentary rolls do not contain the name of any person entitled to vote as a lodger, or in respect to the Service Franchise, and on the other hand, the number of peers and women to be added to the list would not be so great as to produce any appreciable effect in an election.

QUALIFICATION OF COUNCILLOR.

33. Speaking generally, every person entitled to elect a County Councillor is qualified to become a candidate.

Clergymen who were disqualified to serve on Town Councils are qualified to be candidates for seats at the County Councils.

INCIDENCE OF TAXATION.

34. This is a matter immediately connected with the question of the franchise. When it is stated that County Councils in England are elected upon a wide and popular franchise, not merely is it forgotten that in the composition of the Councils a totally different result would be arrived at, but that the incidence of local taxation is also widely different. In England the whole Poor Rate, as well as all the County Rates, fall upon the occupier. In Ireland the landlord is bound to pay half the Poor-Rate upon a holding valued at upwards of £4, and the whole of the Poor-Rate on holdings valued at that sum and under, unless the occupier has other holdings in the same Union which bring the aggregate of his holdings to a valuation exceeding £4.

As regards the County Cess, it appears to be for the most part primarily paid by the occupier, and in this way the landlords, of course, pay the whole County Cess on all lands and buildings in their own occupation, which represents a considerable proportion of the total County Cess. Moreover, under the Act of 1881 the landlord must allow half the County Cess in all agricultural or pastoral tenancies created since the passing of that Act (unless the tenant's holding or holdings represent a valuation of £150 or upwards); and he is also *primarily liable* for the whole of the County Cess since 1881, in all new agricultural or pastoral tenancies valued at or under £4.

NUMBER AND VALUATION OF HOLDINGS IN IRELAND.

35. The following table (taken from a Parliamentary Return issued during the past Session) gives the number and valuation of agricultural holdings in Ireland. It will be useful as furnishing an idea of the relative proportion of small and large holdings.

					No. of Holdings.	Aggregate Valuation.
	£4	and under			151,901	£326,902
Over	4	„	„	£15	232,084	1,958,895
„	15	„	„	30	88,361	1,871,204
„	30	„	„	50	38,731	1,497,459
„	50	„	„	150	34,497	2,769,394
„	150	„	„	200	3,051	526,834
	200				3,724	1,185,805
				Total,	552,349	£10,136,493

This return does not give the number of town holdings, which would largely increase the proportion under £4 valuation.

36. In dealing with Local Government in Ireland it is absolutely necessary to refer to the manner in which local affairs have been administered by Boards of Guardians in Ireland. It was not for a considerable time after the creation of the Poor-Law system that powers were given to the Local Government Board for the dissolution of Boards of Guardians, and the substitution of paid vice-guardians in their place. The circumstances under which this power was given arose in the famine years. It was found that many Boards of Guardians were not so much unwilling, as apparently unable, to cope with the enormous difficulties which suddenly presented themselves, and the Act to which allusion has been made was passed to enable the Local Government Board to deal with the crisis.

During the famine visitation it was found necessary to resort to the provisions of this Act in thirty three different cases. When the crisis was over only two cases arose, until quite recently. Within the past ten years it has been found necessary to suspend ten boards.

(i.) In 1882, the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians repeatedly adjourned without transacting the ordinary business of the Union. The nature of the business remaining untouched was matters arising out of the Contagious Diseases of Animals Act, the adoption of a rate, the disposal of the reports of several sanitary officers, and the signing of cheques for the purpose of out-door relief. The funds for this purpose had to be advanced by the Clerk of the Union out of his own resources.

(ii.) In 1886 the Board of Guardians of the New Ross Union established a "Ward of Honour" for certain families evicted from town holdings. Their conduct was repeatedly objected to by the Local Government Board but the Guardians defied that authority and expressed their determination not to conduct the institution placed under their care under the general orders relating to the management of Workhouses. The result was the dissolution of the Board on the 14th December, 1886.

(iii.) In October, 1887, the Guardians of the Belmullet Union

had failed to make any provision for the food necessary to support the inmates. A special meeting summoned at the instance of the Local Government Board for the express purpose of considering tenders for the supply of those necessaries, adjourned without making any provision for the poor committed to their charge, and as a matter of fact on that day the supply of food on hands was only sufficient to provide for one meal. The Local Government Board threatened that a continuation of this scandal would result in the dissolution of the Union, but the warning was of no avail and the Board had eventually to be dissolved.

(iv.) Scarcely less scandalous was the condition of things in the Swineford Union. In February, 1888, the contractors for the supplies to the Workhouse threatened that unless they were paid they would stop them. At this time the Guardians were in debt to the extent of nearly £6,000, and in consequence of this state of matters the Board was dissolved.

(v.) In May of the same year the Board of Guardians of Ballinasloe Union was dissolved, because the members of the Board engaged in a series of disputes which culminated in acts of violence on the part of the Guardians to each other, to the complete neglect, it is hardly necessary to say, of the ordinary and proper business of the Union.

(vi.) The Athy Union in the same year issued a cheque for the amount of surcharges made by the Local Government Auditor against one of their body who had signed cheques for illegal out-door relief. Persisting in this misappropriation of the funds of the Union the Board was dissolved by sealed order.

(vi.) In the same year the Dungarvan Board of Guardians accepted a tender for the supply of bread at $5\frac{1}{4}$d. per 4 lb. loaf, from a Mr. Casey, although they had before them another tender from a Mrs. Armstrong at $4\frac{3}{4}$d. In the letter enclosing the order dissolving the Board, the Local Government Board stated that Mrs. Armstrong had invariably carried out her contracts to the satisfaction

of the Guardians and their Medical Officer, and that upon frequent occasions the bread supplied by Mr. Casey, whose tender had been accepted, was either insufficiently baked or unfit for food.

(viii.) In the same year the Ballyvaghan Board of Guardians were dissolved under the following circumstances. In the month of February, 1888, they were in debt to the amount of nearly £1,600, their only assets being outstanding rates to the amount of £225. Under these circumstances there was naturally great difficulty in procuring supplies for the workhouse inmates. The clerk's estimate showed that over £2,100 would be required to carry on the work of the Union, but the Guardians reduced the rate to £1,550, a sum which they were perfectly well aware was totally inadequate. Frequently during the previous half year the Guardians cheques were dishonoured, and on the 27th September, an auditor had to report that the collection of rates was not closed, that several Guardians had not paid their own rates, and that many of the officers were owed as much as half a year's salary. In October the guardians again declined to make a rate for the amount necessary to carry on their business, and when the Local Government Board remonstrated with them upon these extraordinary proceedings, they simply marked the letter "read."

(ix.) A similar state of things was found to exist in the Portumna Union in 1889. The Union treasurer in that year refused to honour the cheques of the guardians; a year's salary was due to the chaplains of the workhouses and the Sisters of Charity in the hospitals, and half-a-year's salary to all the other officers of the Union. No one would contract for straw, and the turf contractor, not being paid, stopped the supply, which had to be bought from anyone who brought in fuel, and was willing to wait upon the convenience of the guardians for payment. The children were almost in rags, mostly their own clothes. Only one person tendered for the supply of clothing and bedding. The guardians were in debt to such an extent that all their outstanding

rates would have been only sufficient to discharge their liabilities, and would have left no funds for carrying on the business of the Union. The Vice-Guardians appointed by the Local Government Board speedily rectified this disgraceful condition of things.

(x.) In the same year the Cork Board of Guardians insisted upon discussing political topics before the transaction of the ordinary business of the board, Dr. Tanner, M.P., being one of the principal offenders. This conduct was repeated again and again in utter disregard of the warnings of the Local Government Board, until finally that body stated they were compelled to abandon all hope that the management of the affairs of the Cork Union would be carried on with any regularity and in accordance with the law, and suspended the Board. When the Vice-Guardians took charge of the Union on the 26th January, 1890, cheques to the amount of £6,329 17s. 0d. had been issued and dishonoured, while the balance against the Union on foot of the treasurer's account was £2,216 7s. 1d. There was also owing to contractors a sum of £2,500, for which cheques had not been issued. In less than two months the Vice-Guardians had lodged to the credit of the Union no less than £18,378, more than enough to clear off all liabilities, and during their year of office they reduced the rates by 20 per cent. It is important to observe that this was not a small obscure Union in some out-of-the-way part of the country. It embraced within its area the third city in Ireland, and there are actually twenty Irish counties, none of which have a total valuation equal to that of the Cork Union.

These cases in which Boards of Guardians have been suspended are, of course, only a fraction of those in which serious abuses have occurred.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LABOURERS' ACTS BY BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

37. Not less instructive is an examination of the proceedings of several Boards of Guardians, with reference to the administration of the Labourers' Acts of 1883 and 1885.

The scope of these Acts may be roughly stated in a few words.

Upon the representation of twelve ratepayers the Board of Guardians of any Union may entertain a scheme for the construction or repair of cottages suitable for agricultural labourers. The Guardians, if they entertain the proposal favourably, prepare a draft of the scheme, by which they propose to erect cottages, showing the cost, site, and other particulars of the proposed structures. This scheme is forwarded to the Local Government Board, who examine into the matter. Certain parties have the right to oppose the scheme, amongst others, those on whose lands it is proposed to erect the cottages. The Local Government Board, after due inquiry by one of their inspectors, have power to approve, disapprove or vary the scheme. There is a still further appeal from the Local Government Board to the Lord Lieutenant in Council. This appeal was given under the Act of 1885. Previously to that the only appeal was to Parliament, when the matter came forward in the nature of a proposal to confirm the Provisional Orders made by the Local Government Board.

It would be utterly impossible within the limits of this Report, to give in detail even the barest particulars of the cases that were brought before the Privy Council, by persons objecting to schemes made by Boards of Guardians under the Act.

There were in all 227 petitions lodged for hearing before the Privy Council up to 20th March, 1889, the date to which the last Parliamentary Report is brought. In 31 of these the Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board were confirmed, and in 196 they were rejected, varied or withdrawn.

In one case the Kilmallock Board of Guardians attempted to place a cottage upon an evicted farm which was strictly boycotted, with the view of letting it to the evicted tenant, the Guardian who selected the site being the Secretary of the local branch of the National League. In another case the Tullamore Board of Guardians proposed to place two cottages upon a farm of 40 acres in extent upon which there were five other cottages already erected, the only offence of the unfortunate victim of this proposal apparently being, that he had held aloof from the National League. The Nenagh Board of Guardians prepared a scheme by which, amongst other things, they proposed to erect a cottage upon a farm belonging to a Mr. J. Bayly, and place in it as tenant a man who had been

convicted by that gentleman for poaching. They also proposed to place three cottages, like so many forts, upon the lands of a Mr. White, one behind and one before his gate lodge, and another at his back entrance. In the case of a Mr. King they proposed to erect a cottage opposite his hall-door. They also proposed to erect five cottages upon a farm of 40 acres belonging to Miss Anna Bolton, from which she had been compelled to evict a tenant for non-payment of rent, and upon which there were two cottages already, the "agricultural labourers" which occupied them being a hackney car driver, and a tenant of the Chairman of the Board of Guardians. While they proposed to place seven cottages upon Miss Bolton's farm of 40 acres, it was not proposed to erect a single cottage upon the remainder of her property in the occupation of tenants. The Board of Guardians of Newcastle West, in the County Limerick, endeavoured to place three cottages upon the farm of a man who had been subjected to a great deal of persecution, because he did not vote for a certain candidate as Poor Law Guardian, although he had actually in the course of erection, with the concurrence of the Poor Law Guardians, a similar number of cottages of his own. In a case where it was proposed to erect four cottages on the holding of a farmer in the Oldcastle Union, the objector gave evidence to the effect that he was the subject of an outrage in 1881, that the bullet was then (1887) still in his knee, that the farm upon which it was proposed to erect the cottages was all laid down in grass, and, finally, that it had been proposed to exempt him from having these cottages thrust upon him if he would subscribe £3 to a "certain fund." In another case in Ballinasloe Union, a Mr. Parker had been for fifteen years a Poor-Law Guardian, and was turned out by the Nationalist party. Meetings had been held with reference to him, and resolutions passed against him, and although the Poor-Law Inspector reported that the repair of a cottage already existing would be quite sufficient, three of the guardians, accompanied by a mob, proceeded to Mr. Parker's farm, and selected a site for a new cottage. In another case it was proposed to erect a number of cottages on the estate of Captain Cosby, in the Queen's County, although that gentleman had himself erected 70 cottages in the neighbourhood suitable for labourers, for which he had been awarded prizes by the Royal Agricultural Society. There was so little necessity for any additional cottages that eleven of those

already existing were vacant for want of tenants. It was only when the Plan of Campaign had been put in force on Lord Lansdowne's estate, and when, as a consequence, fewer labourers were wanted, that it occurred to the local Board of Guardians to erect a number of cottages on Lord Lansdowne's property. In another case it was proposed to erect a cottage on the property of Mr. Rochfort Boyd, for a man who had been in his employment for several years, but who one day left the horses he had been ploughing with standing in the field (where they were found at night), and went off, never returning to Mr. Boyd's employment. The Croom Guardians proposed to place a cottage close to the back entrance gate of a gentleman who was boycotted, for the reception of a person that was obnoxious to him. The same guardians also proposed to erect a cottage for one of the leading spirits of the local National League, upon the farm of a man who had abstained from joining that organization. In a district in the south-east of Cork, where it was proposed to erect eight cottages, not a single site was chosen upon farms belonging to members of the National League, but, on the contrary, the selected sites were, curiously enough, all upon farms belonging to persons who had voted for the election of a Poor-Law Guardian who was opposed to that organization. In another case it was proposed to erect four cottages upon the farm of a man who was under police protection, the persons selected to occupy the cottages being those who were evicted some time previously.

Cases like these might be multiplied over and over again, but it may be worth while, before closing this portion of the Report, to mention the case of Mr. Michael Kelly, of the Co. Limerick. Mr. Kelly acted as agent for his brother, and in 1885 refused to reduce the judicial rents of three or four tenants. Shortly afterwards four of his cattle were driven away, and were not recovered for months; one hundred tons of his hay was burned; his herd refused to remain any longer in his employment. Early in 1886 an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Kelly, and at the time of the Privy Council inquiry, in 1887, some of the slugs were still in his body. He identified a man as his would-be assassin, but a Cork jury acquitted him. A man named Vaughan, who worked for him, was attacked and beaten, and his skull fractured in three places. At the inquiry a speech delivered by Mr. Finucane, M.P., at the local National League meeting, was read, in which he stated that the herdsman who

had left his employment received a weekly wage for doing so, and that he had been promised the first labourer's cottage erected in the district.

FINANCIAL CONDITION OF IRISH UNIONS.

38. According to a return moved for by Mr. Russell in the year 1888, it appeared that on the 29th of September, 1887, in the following Unions (50 out of 162) the total assets, mainly consisting of outstanding rates, was less than their liabilities (not counting amongst the latter any capital sum due beyond the current instalment payable and interest).

Union.	Total Liabilities.	Total Assets
Lurgan	£838	£603
Cavan	1,344	1,236
Glenties	697	624
Banbridge	1,162	725
Downpatrick	1,034	528
Kilkeel	492	212
Newtownards	514	439
Omagh	1,443	840
Ballyvaughan	2,650	1,579
Scariff	2,883	2,085
Fermoy	1,322	1,158
Macroom	2,341	761
Mallow	1,217	851
Youghal	938	658
Dingle	1,993	494
Kenmare	1,246	984
Rathkeale	1,244	1,099
Borrisokane	483	299
Clogheen	2,063	676
Dungarvan	2,120	1,240
Kilmacthomas	2,018	742
Lismore	2,951	1,127
Athy	1,727	1,116
Celbridge	545	381
Thomastown	1,212	714
Urlingford	831	553
Ardee	1,545	753
Drogheda	6,249	4,464
Dundalk	1,041	514
Navan	2,023	1,899
Trim	2,521	1,444
Delvin	1,835	740
Gorey	888	619
Clifden	6,146	1,356
Glennamaddy	1,135	598
Gort	1,255	717

Union.	Total Liabilities.	Total Assets
Loughrea	£1,700	£1,100
Oughterard	4,719	1,593
Portumna	1,240	1,164
Tuam	1,915	888
Manorhamilton	1,456	318
Mohill	1,036	465
Belmullet	2,602	1,354
Castlebar	700	624
Killala	1,167	1,089
Swineford	5,923	3,252
Westport	5,212	1,784
Boyle	1,379	1,044
Castlerea	886	605
Tobercurry	1,421	515

COLLECTION OF RATES BY POOR LAW AUTHORITIES.

39. The question of rate collection is a matter of much more importance than might at first sight appear, as the consequences of a slovenly or corrupt discharge of these duties has the effect of unduly increasing the taxation of the larger ratepayers. The following table shows by Provinces the total amount of rates and arrears to be collected on the 29th September, 1887.

Province	Total Rates and Arrears	Rates Due	Percentage Uncollected.
Ulster ...	£219,157	£22,098	10
Leinster ...	375,978	73,490	19·5
Munster ...	403,133	150,797	37
Connaught ...	129,702	25,282	19·5

COMPARISON OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES AND UNIONS BY PROVINCES.

40. The following table shows by Provinces the total Assets and Liabilities of Poor Law Unions, on the 29th September, 1887.

	Assets.	Liabilities.	Proportion per cent. of Liabilities to Assets.
Ulster ...	£ 55,464	£14,534	26
Leinster ...	111,630	44,737	39
Munster ...	185,097	97,006	52
Connaught ...	35,754	47,813	133

PROBABLE RESULT OF APPLICATION OF FRANCHISE OF ENGLISH ACT

41. In this report an attempt has been made to point out the radical difference that exists between Great Britain and

Ireland in respect of the matters administered by County Authorities and of the system of management. This difference has existed for centuries. The parochial system of road management, which seems to be gradually doomed to extinction, was tried in this country for a short time in the reign of James I., but proved a total failure. These are all considerations of the very greatest importance, but they occupy a secondary place when one comes to consider the probable composition of Irish County Councils as compared with the bodies recently established in England and Scotland.

The Acts relating to these countries were in theory and appearance of the most sweeping character. But in their practical outcome they were not so. In 15 counties of England which have been selected in a purely haphazard way (taking one under each letter of the alphabet), out of 1,152 members constituting the County Councils, 493 or nearly 43 per cent. are members of the Quarter Sessions. Probably the same thing is true of Scotland. The most remarkable feature of the figures given below is that the newly formed body of Councillors, consisting in a large proportion of gentlemen who did not belong to the Quarter Sessions, not merely had so little hostility to this body but felt the value and necessity of their co-operation to such an extent, that out of the 288 aldermen belonging to the counties referred to 176 or 61 per cent. are members of the Quarter Sessions. The following is a table showing the result of the County Elections from this point of view in the following English Counties :—

		Magistrates and Members of Quarter Sessions.
Berkshire	17 Aldermen	12
Do.	51 Councillors	23
Cambridgeshire	16 Aldermen	4
Do.	48 Councillors	4
Derbyshire	20 Aldermen	17
Do.	60 Councillors	29
Essex	21 Aldermen	18
Do.	63 Councillors	20
Gloucestershire	20 Aldermen	12
Do.	60 Councillors	33
Hampshire	25 Aldermen	19
Do.	75 Councillors	27

		Magistrates and Members of Quarter Sessions.
Kent	24 Aldermen	14
Do.	72 Councillors	20
Lancaster	34 Aldermen	23
Do.	102 Councillors	45
Middlesex	18 Aldermen	13
Do.	54 Councillors	14
Norfolk	19 Aldermen	10
Do.	57 Councillors	27
Oxford	15 Aldermen	7
Do.	45 Councillors	16
Rutland	7 Aldermen	3
Do.	21 Councillors	4
Shropshire	17 Aldermen	9
Do.	51 Councillors	19
Warwick	18 Aldermen	9
Do.	54 Councillors	21
York (East Riding)	17 Aldermen	9
Do.	51 Councillors	15
	1,152	493

SOME PROBABLE DANGERS.

42. It may be well to point out a few of the dangers that would ensue from the establishment of popularly elected County Boards in Ireland.

(i.) Broadly stated the effect of the English Act was to bring about a partial change in the composition of the *personnel* of the county authorities. What would be the result in Ireland under a Franchise similiar to that which exists in England? The most sanguine view that can be taken is that in probably not more than six counties of Ireland would any appreciable number of those who have hitherto administered county affairs be elected to the new boards. In four other counties probably a few members representing the minority would find seats. But in the remainder of the country, especially in those

parts where the maladministration of the Poor Law and Labourers' Acts has been so notorious, where the loyal minority would need most protection, in very few cases would one single member of that class be returned. In a word, the machinery which in England and Scotland has produced a partial, and, perhaps, an innocuous change, would in Ireland produce what would practically amount to a revolution.

(ii.) The largest taxpayers would either be wholly unrepresented or completely outvoted.

(iii.) It is the declared intention of the Nationalist party in this country, and the hope of the Gladstonians, that Irish County Councils shall be made not so much the machinery for discharging the ordinary business of the county, as engines of political warfare. *United Ireland* in its issue of the 31st March, 1888, says:—"**We will unscrupulously use every position we can capture, board room or town hall, as a Home Rule fortress, and drive the enemy unsparingly off the ground.**" This is not merely an alarmist view held by loyalists. The *Pall Mall Gazette* (6th February, 1889), dealing with the effort of the *Star* newspaper, when under the control of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, to "gerrymander" the London County Council, so as to exclude any representation of the minority on the list of "Aldermen," said:—"What is it that Mr. T. P. O'Connor has done. He has taught all men that when Parliament has created a subordinate assembly to carry on the work of Local Self-Government, it is in accordance with Irish ideas of fair play to deny to the minority the right to be represented in accordance with its numbers. . . . The one preoccupation of the inspiring genius of the *Star* has been . . . to control everything, not from the point of view of the actual administrative work that is to be done, but in order to use the privileges already conceded to extort more."

(iv.) The making, assessment, and collection of rates is a very serious matter when one bears in mind the conduct in

this respect of so many Boards of Poor Law Guardians. At present the barony constable, is bound under bond to lodge the whole amount of his "warrant" on or before a certain day. If there are any rates he cannot collect he must appear before the Grand Jury and make a statement on oath with respect to them, and if they have reason to believe that the rates are uncollectable they have power to "re-present," or, in other words, refund them.

(v.) There would be great danger in the tendency to undertake new works of an unnecessary or extravagant character.

(vi.) In the giving of contracts, and in the treatment of contractors with regard to payment and otherwise, undue favour would be shown to the political and personal friends of the majority of the Council, and hardship inflicted on Unionist contractors and cesspayers.

(vii.) The protection apparently afforded by the provisions referring to compensation for malicious injuries under the Act of 1836, 1853, and other enactments, would be altogether illusory if placed in the hands of Irish County Councils.

(viii.) County officers who were not regarded as sharing the political views of the Board would soon be compelled to retire, no matter what provisions might be devised for their protection. Apart from the gross injustice thus inflicted on individuals, the counties would be thereby deprived of the services of many officers of long experience. In the appointment of new officers, moreover, incompetent men would very often be appointed.

MUNICIPAL FRANCHISES IN THE COLONIES.

43. The following facts with reference to the Municipal Franchises existing in the Colonies mentioned below have been collected through the courtesy of the Agents-General. It will be seen that in nearly all of them a system of plural voting exists :—

(i.) In New South Wales, in which there are 64 Boroughs and 83 Municipal Districts, every occupier of a holding rated at less than £25 is entitled to 1 vote.

Every occupier of a holding rated at £25 or less than £75 is entitled to 2 votes.

Every occupier of a holding rated at £75 or less than £150 is entitled to 3 votes.

Every occupier of a holding rated at £150 or over is entitled to 4 votes.

In this Colony, according to the most recent available statistics, there are 138,507 persons entitled to vote.

There are 79,148 entitled to 1 vote.

There are 38,407 entitled to 2 votes.

There are 12,028 entitled to 3 votes, and

There are 8,924 entitled to 4 votes.

(ii.) In Boroughs, in New Zealand.

The occupier of a holding rated at less than £50 is entitled to 1 vote.

The occupier of a holding rated at £50 and less than £100 is entitled to 2 votes.

The occupier of a holding rated at £100 and less than £150 is entitled to 3 votes.

The occupier of a holding rated at £150 and less than £350 is entitled to 4 votes.

The occupier of a holding of over £350 is entitled to 5 votes.

For County Councils in the same colony, plural voting does not come into effect until the voter is rated at over £1,000, when he may have two or more votes, according to his rating, the limit being five votes in respect of a rating of over the annual value of £7,500.

(iii.) In Victoria, the Franchise in respect of Urban Municipalities is as follows :—

In respect of property rated at under £50, 1 vote.

In respect of property rated at £50 and under £100, 2 votes

In respect of property rated at £100 and upwards, 3 votes.

In counties and road districts, plural voting takes effect when the voter is rated at over £25, the limit being four votes in respect of property valued at over £75.

(iv.) In Canada, plural voting does not seem to exist, but there is a high franchise for electors, and a still higher qualification for representatives to the various municipal boards is in force. The following table shows the various classes of municipal and county authority, with the rating qualification for electors and candidates in Ontario, which is the most advanced province of the Dominion in the direction of popular government.

Description of Authority.	Nature.	Rating Qualification for Electors.	Qualification for Candidates.	
			Freehold.	Leasehold.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Incorporated Villages ...	Population of over 750	40 0 0	40 0 0	80 0 0
Townships ...	Area from 8 to 10 square miles. Population from 3,000 to 6,000 ...	20 0 0	80 0 0	160 0 0
Towns ...	Population over 2,000	60 0 0	120 0 0	240 0 0
Cities ..	Population over 15,000	80 0 0	200 0 0	400 0 0

County municipalities are composed of the heads of the different minor municipal divisions.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND.

44. In view of the fact that the Local Government Act of 1888, establishing County Councils, was in many respects based upon the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, it may be useful to refer briefly to the existing conditions of Municipal Government in Ireland.

There are four forms of Municipal Government in this country regulated by the following statutes :—

(1.) The Act of 1828.

(2.) The Municipal Corporation Act of 1840.

(3.) The Towns Improvements Act of 1854, and

(4.) Various Local Acts.

A Special Act for Dublin was passed in 1849, which was an offshoot from the Act of 1840. The other local Acts under which twelve municipalities are governed, are mainly offshoots of the Act of 1854.

(1.) The Act of 1828 was originally adopted by sixty-six towns. The Towns Improvements Act provided that no further Municipalities should be created under the Act of 1828, and that towns which had adopted it, could abandon it in favour of the later enactment. This latter provision has been so largely availed of that there are only eight towns now remaining under the Act of 1828.

It is scarcely necessary, therefore, to discuss that Act further. The Acts of 1840 and 1854 are the important measures to which attention should be directed.

(2.) The cities and towns under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1840, or modifications of it, are, although comparatively few in number, by far the most important in the country. They are—Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Londonderry, Waterford, Kilkenny, Drogheda, Wexford, Sligo, Clonmel. The receipts and expenditures of the Municipalities in these places, were, during the last financial year for which returns are available, £856,005, and £843,548, respectively. The corresponding figures relating to the eighty-four towns under the Act of 1854, were £79,440 and £75,829, respectively.

The franchise under the Act of 1840 is as follows :— The voter must be an inhabitant householder, resident for

six months previous to the 31st of August, in the borough, or within 7 miles, and in occupation of premises valued at £10 Subsequent Acts have reduced the franchises in Dublin and Belfast.

Councillors under this Act are elected for three years, Aldermen for six.

(3.) The Act of 1854 has been adopted, as has been already stated, by 84 towns in Ireland, only 16 of which, however, have a population of over 6,000. The elector under this Act must be:—

(i.) The immediate lessor of premises within the town valued at £50 or upward, and residing within five miles.

(ii.) The occupier as tenant or owner of premises valued at £4 or upward.

(iii.) The immediate lessor of premises rated at £4 or upward, provided the owner is himself rated in respect of the premises.

(4.) The places which are governed by local Acts are principally the important townships constituting the surburbs of Dublin. The provisions of the special Acts mainly relate to the payment of rates for county and Grand Jury purposes, and special qualifications for the electoral and governing body.

It is important to note, however, that although offshoot of the Towns Improvements Act of 1854, the franchises in almost every one of these places is considerably higher than that contained in the Act upon which they are modelled.

As regards the qualification required for membership of the governing bodies of towns an Act passed in 1880, provided that every person shall be qualified to be Elected and to be a Member who is at the time of Election qualified to Elect to Membership.

THE GRAND JURY ACT.

45. Whatever else may be done with reference to the question of Local Government in Ireland, it would be a very great pity if the Act of 1836, which is acknowledged to be one of the best drawn Acts in the Statute Book, and has worked so efficiently for upwards of half a century, should not be preserved as the basis upon which any new body created to administer it should work. Following the analogy of the Acts referring to England and Scotland probably this will be so.

SAFEGUARDS.

46. It is acknowledged by all shades of Unionist opinion, one might also venture to say by the less violent members of the separatist party, that any measure drawn up for Ireland must of necessity contain effective safeguards against extravagance, maladministration or the oppression of certain classes. This Report, however, expressly abstains from the advocacy of any particular form of such safeguards.

Results of Home Rule

WHAT I want you to consider is the position in which such an event, if it takes place, will leave England in the eyes of Europe and of the world. Europe and the world will know very well what the circumstances of the case have been. They will not be misled by any sentimental observations about the union of hearts. They will know that Ireland has forced England to give what will then be given, and what will it be? England is the free trade country of the world. You will be setting up within a mile and a half of her shores an ultra-protectionist island, which will be protected by England in the adoption of those theories. England is the Protestant nation of the world. England has resisted more than any other country the domination of the clerical profession, however deeply honouring it in the exercise of its legitimate functions; and has resisted the secular domination of the clerical profession. You are going to

Create an ultra-clerical State

under the government of Archbishops Croke and Walsh. You are going to give the power of the majority in that State, and therefore the power of the State, to those who through long ages have always been the enemies of English influence and English power. They fought against us when we quarrelled with Spain, when we quarrelled with America, and when we quarrelled with France. They took the side of Spain, of America, and of France. And you are going to submit to place under the heels of this majority a rich, progressive, enlightened minority, who are in deep sympathy with yourselves. You are going to give to that majority, which contains all that is backward, all that is un-progressive, all that is contrary to civilization and enlightenment in Ireland, power over all that is enlightened, civilized, and progressive. And you support this State, well knowing the conditions in which it must go forth. It will be utterly impecunious. The exchequer of the future Irish—I was going to say of the Irish republic, but I suppose I must call it

The Irish province

—the Irish exchequer will be needy from the first, and new burdens must be imposed, and when the question comes as to who shall bear them, the majority will remember that the minority are rich, and Belfast and Londonderry, and all the flourishing and wealthy districts that surround them, will have to bear the chief part of the burden in enabling the ultra-protectionist, ultra-clerical, and uncivilized community to float. And when Europe and the world look on and see that you have allowed this to be done—have allowed this to be wrenched from you—what conclusion will they draw? What conclusion would you draw if you saw that Italy was forced to give up Sicily under similar terms, or that Germany was forced to give up Hanover, or that France was forced to give up Brittany? You would say at once **"This State is either so weak that we must conclude that the period of its vigour has passed by and the time of its senility has set in,"** or, **"this State is so torn by thoughtless factions that men are willing to sacrifice**

even the integrity of their empire and the principles in which they most believe, and the classes who have borne everything for them, and to whom they are most attached, in order that they may get a few more votes in support of their political party." Do you think that this will be without effect upon your power and standing in the world? What is it that gives to

This little Island

its commanding position? Why is it that fleets from every nation, from every quarter of the globe, come into your ports; that the products of countless regions are subject to your industry; and that the manufactures which the industry of your people complete are carried to the furthest corners of the globe? What is it that gives to you this privileged position? It is that your flag floats over populations far more numerous and regions far vaster than your own, and that upon the dominions of your Sovereign

The Sun never sets.

But when they see that, under the pressure of Irish disaffection, you have lost the nerve, or the fibre, or the manliness to uphold the integrity of your Empire, will they not apply the lesson to themselves, and many of them say, "Now is the time for us to shake off this connexion and stand alone and independent in the world"? Remember, there are vast regions and vast populations over which you rule, though it cannot be said you rule by force, because your rule is mild and gentle, and over which you would not rule if your force was not believed in. I cannot conceal the deep apprehension with which I look to any failing or flinching on the part of this people during the trial which destiny has appointed to them. We are now at what may be called the turning point of the ways. We are now at the point where, if we show qualities by which our ancestors attained empire, we may be thought worthy to retain it and hand it on. But if we are deceived, if we allow ourselves to be

Deceived by hollow sentimental follies

which are in reality only excuses for weakness and want of courage, the day of our power will be set, and slowly we shall recede from the great position that was handed down to us. If you fail in this trial, one by one the flowers will be plucked from your diadem of empire, you will be reduced to depend upon the resources of this small, over-peopled island. I do not say it is the next election—I have told you that I consider the conflict will be a much longer one than that—but to the conflict which now impends the eyes of every patriotic man who loves his country will be directed. I appeal to you, and to all well-loving members of this great community at this critical hour of our fate, not to be untrue to the great traditions of the splendid possessions which our fathers have handed down to us, but to make every effort and to set aside every secondary issue or cause of conflict, in order that we may avoid before it be too late this crowning calamity and disgrace.—LORD SALISBURY at Exeter, 2nd February, 1892.—*Times report.*

Karl Blind on Home Rule.

Karl Blind has spent 60 years at Revolution, has been times without number in jail, has had numerous expulsions, and is now an exile in England, writing in six languages.

Having been asked by an English friend, "as one who had lived so long in this country, and taken part in its political movements," to express his opinion as to Home Rule, M. Karl Blind replied as follows :—

"I have been urged to do so before, and I can only say this—If you wish to break down the strength, to cut the very heart-root of your Parliamentary power, which has been gained in so many hard popular struggles, and to open the way for the possibility of intrigues of some future despotically minded ruler or statesman—then by all means establish Two Legislatures, one for an 'Irish Naiton,' so that constant friction shall arise, which may be made use of by an ambitious schemer. If you wish to render an alliance defensive and offensive possible between some foreign Powers, or combination of Powers, hostile to England, and an organised enemy in Ireland, then set up Home Rule for those whose real aim is secession, and as soon as you are in a great difficulty, or a series of difficulties abroad, the enemy will have a splendid opportunity for '*destroying the last link*,' as Mr. Parnell has fairly warned you beforehand. If you want to get rid of 'retrenchment' for ever, and to be compelled to militarise your institutions out and out, so as to be constantly on your guard against a never-ceasing danger in your closest neighbourhood, then let a Parliament come together in College Green, which at the first propitious moment could seize sovereign power, and call upon all soldiers of Irish birth to flock to its standards in order to carry out the often-avowed final aims of Mr. Parnell. If you desire to harass the most industrious, the most loyal Irish population, and to bow it down under the yoke of that Papal Church which puts Intellect upon the Index ; if you wish to imperil religious equality and the free civil institution founded thereon—then concede that which the superiors of the Jesuit Order in England and Ireland, in a confidential correspondence that came to light some years ago, declared themselves in favour of—namely, Home Rule. IF YOU ARE NOT SO INCLINED —THEN **NOT.** THEN KEEP TO 'ONE PARLIAMENT, ONE LAW.' To set up a mainly Roman Catholic Legislature in rivalry with the Central Parliament is a danger long ago foreseen as such by one of the most thorough-going land reformers, and one of the most equitably judicial minds—namely, John Stuart Mill. This is a critical moment in England's history, and I feel the danger all the more deeply because I have for years past been fully conversant with that League literature to which Mr. Lecky has properly directed attention. No thoughtful foreign Liberal, Radical or Democrat, not hostile to England, can wish to see England cease to be a great Parliamentary Power founded on Legislative Union. As one of those who have always felt the fullest sympathy with the Reform aspirations of men like John Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Trevelyan, and others, I can only hope that patriotic men will now, irrespective of party, make a firm stand at the eleventh hour, so as to prevent the State chariot from being driven down the abyss."

J. S. MILL

ON

HOME RULE.

"IT is my conviction that the separation of Ireland from Great Britain would be most undesirable for both, and that the attempt to hold them together by any form of federal union would be unsatisfactory while it lasted, and would end either in reconquest or in complete separation.

For generations it is to be feared that the two nations would be either at war or in a chronic state of precarious and armed peace, each constantly watching a probable enemy so near at hand that in an instant they might be at each other's throat. By this state of their relations it is almost superfluous to say that the poorer of the two countries would suffer most. To England it would be an inconvenience; to Ireland a public calamity, not only in the way of direct burthen, but by the paralysing effect of a general feeling of insecurity upon industrial energy and enterprise.

Let it not be supposed that I should regard either an absolute or a qualified separation of the two countries otherwise than as a dishonour to one and a serious misfortune to both."

ENGLAND AND IRELAND.
By J. S. M.

"NO Irishman is now less free than an Anglo-Saxon, nor has a less share of every benefit, either to his country or to his individual fortunes, than if he were sprung from any other portion of the British dominions. . . There is now next to nothing except the memory of the past and the difference in religion to keep apart the two races, perhaps the most fitted of any two in the world to be the completing counterpart of one another."

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, 1865.
By J. S. M.

Irish Roman Catholic Protest against Home Rule.

The following letter and form of petition are being extensively circulated among Roman Catholics in Ireland :—

"TO OUR FELLOW ROMAN CATHOLICS IN IRELAND.

"As a false impression has been created that the contest upon the Home Rule Bill is, in reality, only a contest between a Roman Catholic majority and a Protestant minority, we have thought it right, in order to make their position clear, that Irish Roman Catholic Unionists should have an opportunity of joining in a separate and distinct petition to Parliament against the Bill.

"While deprecating certain anti-Catholic utterances to which the excitement of the moment may have given rise, we are, so far as our objections to Home Rule rest upon purely secular considerations, heartily in accord with our fellow Unionists. More than this, we believe that Home Rule, if imposed upon Ireland, would, under the peculiar conditions of the country, foster a revolutionary spirit disastrous to the true interests of our religion.

"We therefore invite our fellow Roman Catholics in Ireland to join us in signing the petition, a copy of which is appended to this letter. (Signed)

Fingall, Killeen Castle, Co. Meath.
Kenmare, Killarney House, Co. Kerry.
Louth, Louth Hall, Ardee.
Emly, Tervoe, Limerick.
De Freyne, Frenchpark, Roscommon.
Westmeath, Pallas, Co. Galway.
Count de la Poer, D.L., Gurteen, Co. Waterford.
John Harold Barry, Cork.
C. W. Bellew, Dunleer, Co. Meath.
Henry Grattan Bellew, Bart., Mount Bellew, Co. Galway.
J. Ross of Bladensburg, Rostrevor House, Co. Down.
John V. Cassidy, 53 Upper Mount Street, Dublin.
W. H. F. Cogan, P.C., Tinode, Co. Dublin.
F. R. Cruise, M.D., 93 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Stephen de Vere, Bart., D.L., Foynes, Limerick.
Edmund Dease, D.L., Rath House, Ballybrittas, Queen's Co.
Gerald Dease (Colonel), The Abbey, Celbridge, Co. Kildare.
John Arthur Farrell, D.L., Moynalty, Co. Meath.

Taaffe Ferrall, D.L., 73 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Percy R. Grace, Bart., D.L., Boley, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
R. Ashurst Gradwell, Dowth Hall, Co. Meath.
Stephen Grehan, D.L., Clonmeen, Banteer, Co. Cork.
William Kenny, M.P., 35 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin.
J. MacDermott, J.P., Ramore, Ballinasloe.
Charles Martin, 12 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin.
Richard Martin, Bart., 81 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Maurice Murray, D.L., Beech Hill, Cork.
Thomas Moore Madden, M.D., 55 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Maurice O'Connell, Bart., Lakeview, Co. Kerry.
Daniel O'Connell, D.L., Derrynane, Co. Kerry.
A. More O'Ferrall, D.L., Balyna, Enfield, Co. Meath.
Philip O'Reilly, D.L., Coolamber, Co. Westmeath.
James Talbot Power, D.L., Leopardstown Park, Co. Dublin.
R. J. Rice, J.P., Bushmount, Lixnaw, Co. Kerry.
John Smithwick, D.L., Kilcreen Lodge, Kilkenny.
Nicholas Synnott, Lincoln's Inn, London.
John Sugrue, D.L., 9 Sidney Place, Cork.
J. H. Talbot, Castle Talbot, Enniscorthy.
John White, D.L., Nantenan, Co. Limerick.
Piers F. White, Q.C., 12 Fitzwilliam Square East, Dublin.
John J. Whyte, D.L., Loughbrickland House, Co. Down.

109 GRAFTON STREET,
DUBLIN.

MARTIN BURKE,
RICHARD FARRELL, } *Hon. Secs.*

"TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS
OF
THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.
"THE HUMBLE PETITION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS IN IRELAND

SHEWETH—

"That we entertain unshaken allegiance and devotion to the Crown and Constitution under which we live and enjoy full civil and religious liberty.

"That we regard the maintenance of the Union between England and Ireland as a necessary safeguard of that liberty.

"That we believe the establishment in Ireland of a separate Legislature and Executive in the manner proposed in the Government of Ireland Bill recently introduced into your Honourable House would be most prejudicial to our religion, and disastrous to the best interests of Ireland.

"We beseech your Honourable House to reject the said Bill.

"And your Petitioners will ever pray."

IRELAND IN 1892.

HOW IS IRELAND GETTING ON?

THERE is now exactly one eviction in Ireland for every four when Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister. That is one good test.

In no part of the Queen's dominions are the savings of the lower classes increased as in Ireland! That is another.

Under the fearful Coercion Act, on 1st March, 1892, not one person was in gaol; and yet mark its results.

TAKE THE OUTRAGES.

In 1886 they were	1,056
In 1887	883
In 1888	660
In 1889	535
In 1890	519
In 1891	455

TAKE THE LIST OF PERSONS BOYCOTTED.

On July 31st, 1887, these numbered ...	4,901
On January 31st, 1888	2,075
On December 31st, 1890	472
On December 31st, 1891, not one person ...	0

Who deserves the credit of this?

NOT THE NATIONALISTS.

At Manchester, on the 28th September, 1889, Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., declared that the watchword of the Irish National party was "boycott, boycott, boycott."

Writing to the *Irish Times* [10th May, 1890], Rev. Father Humphries, replying to a letter of a "Protestant Irishman," which appeared in that Journal, says:—

"He (a Protestant Irishman) says that the Catholic clergy of Tipperary are doing all they can to stop boycotting. As one of the Catholic clergy of Tipperary I protest against **this libel on me.** I am doing nothing to stop boycotting; I should be very much ashamed of myself if I were."

IRELAND'S COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY.

It is universally admitted that one of the surest indications of the prosperity of a country is the state of its commercial credit; and the improvement in the condition of Ireland during the last five years cannot be better tested than by examining the value of the shares in her leading commercial securities. We give below a table showing the market value of the shares in the leading Irish banks, railways and tramways at three different periods :—First, in January, 1886, before the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill; secondly, in May, 1886, while that Bill was before Parliament, and its fate was uncertain; and thirdly, at the present time, when a Unionist Government has been nearly six years in office, and the fears which were excited by the possibility of the establishment of an Irish Parliament have died away. We commend these figures, which are taken from the Stock Exchange quotations, to the attention of business men, who can appreciate their full significance :—

	1886. January.	1886. May.	1891. Dec.
Bank of Ireland Stock	271	260	326
Ulster Bank Shares (£2 10s. paid)	10⅝	9⅛	10⅜
City of Dublin Steamship Company	113½	110	121
Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Ordinary ...	69⅝	68	122½
Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Preference...	98¾	93½	116
Belfast and Northern Counties Railway, Debentures .	105	101½	120
Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway, Ordinary ...	54½	42½	43
Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway, Preference .	100	99	126
Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Ordinary	103¾	95	131⅝
Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Preference ...	104¼	101½	131
Great Northern of Ireland Railway, Debentures ...	107¼	105	123
Great Southern and Western Railway, Ordinary ...	102⅜	95	117¾
Midland Great Western Railway, Ordinary	68	61¼	105⅞
Midland Great Western Railway, Preference	100	94	116
Midland Great Western Railway, Debentures	103	100¼	122⅜
Belfast Street Tramways	11 11/16	10 13/16	15¾
Dublin United Tramways	10⅜	10 1/16	10 5/16

The following paragraph appears in the Dublin Chamber of Commerce Annual Report for 1892 :—

"The council are glad to be able to record their opinion that the improved condition of the general trade of the country, referred to in their last report, still continues, due in a great measure, as stated therein, to the wise policy of the Government, and to the judicious manner in which Mr. Balfour administered the duties of the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. They trust that in the still higher position which he now occupies—viz., that of First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons—he may be able to help on and bring to completion the useful measures which he originated or had in contemplation whilst Chief Secretary."—*Irish Times*, 27th Jan., 1892.

WHAT Mr. BALFOUR

HAS DONE FOR

DISTRESSED IRELAND.

In November, 1891, the relief works which Mr. Balfour was responsible for in the distressed districts in the West of Ireland were brought to a successful close, there being, happily, no longer any necessity for their continuance. Of course the first object in view was to afford immediate relief to the peasants who were threatened with famine. It is satisfactory to find that there has been an entire absence of either useless or extravagant expenditure, such as brought discredit on similar works in the past. The Government had been actively on the alert long before the period of actual distress had arrived, and had all their plans matured. Overseers, gangers, and supervisors had been appointed, so that on the very day the necessary authority was given to open works, no matter how remote the place, the machinery was perfect. The works were intended for those who could not avail themselves of employment on the State-aided Railways, on account of the distance it was necessary to travel in order to get to the work. As the season advanced the total number on the relief labour list rose to 16,000, while the employés on the railway works were about 8,000. The works undertaken, while proving of lasting benefit to the people, afforded employment to thousands who would otherwise have had to look to public charity to save them from starvation.

The works were divided into two classes. In the first class payment was made in cash at the rate of 1s. 2d. per day for male labourers, with a lodging allowance of 1s. 6d. a week for persons coming over five miles from their homes; female labourers, 10d. per day; infirm and aged people, incapable of performing an able-bodied man's work, 5s. per week; boys under 16, 8d. a day, or, where no other member of the family could work, 1s. a day; where a family exceeded 8 members, a second person in the family could be employed with the approval of the Government, but the united earnings of both

were not allowed to exceed 12s. a week. In the second class payment was in kind at the rate of 6 stones of Indian meal, or its equivalent in flour, per week per able-bodied man, with $4\frac{1}{2}$ stones per week for women, boys, and infirm men. Payment was made by cheques on local tradesmen. The recipients, when being paid were informed that any grievance as to weight or quality of meal should be at once reported to the local police, who were also required to report weekly as to the prices and quality of stores sold in their district. Lodging allowance in money was allowed as in Class 1, while in both classes no less part than half a day was taken into account. The fortunate owner of a horse and cart was able to raise his wages to 3s. 6d. a day, while for the use of a mule and cart, with his own services, the labourer got 3s.; and for an ass and creel 2s. Those who know the important part the donkey plays in the daily life of the peasantry in the West, will readily appreciate the value of the last-named concession. Children under 14 years of age who should be at school were ineligible, and female labourers were not employed where there were male persons in the family able to work. Although the rate of wages paid was comparatively small, yet, when the seed time came, and the season arrived for gathering seaweed, which is largely used for manuring purposes, the people were inclined to remain at the works, heedless of their future interests, and the necessity for planting their little plots of land. They were not allowed, however, to do so. Their hours of employment on the works were shortened, and other arrangements were made which enabled them to devote some time to the cultivation of their small holdings.

The peasantry of the West are naturally a kindly people, and all along the western seaboard they speak of Mr. Balfour in terms of gratitude. A correspondent who recently went over the distressed district says that many of the people now apply the name of Mr. Balfour to even the smallest article of furniture and implements of agriculture which the relief works had enabled them to add to their modest collection. On one occasion he heard an old man address a lad on the wayside who was gazing unconcernedly after a pig careering along the road, "Arrah Mike, will ye stir yourself; don't ye see Arthur James runnin' away?" Mr. Balfour was the first British statesman that many of these peasants had ever heard of, and certainly the first they had ever seen amongst them as a benefactor. A glance at the general character of the past number of useful works which have been carried out in all the distressed districts lying between Donegal and Kerry will indicate their importance and utility.

In Achill Island Mr. Balfour was only able to proceed as far as the little fishing hamlet of Dooega, and even in order to reach that point, which is only half way across Achill, Miss Balfour and the rest of the party were obliged to proceed on foot over a mountain path, the car road having terminated more than a mile from the village. The road is now not only completed into Dooega, but on to Dookineely, where it joins another highway leading to Doogort, on the northern shore, thus opening up one of the most picturesque of the bold coast lines on the western shores. This road is likely to prove a very favourite route for tourist traffic as soon as the railway to the Sound places Achill within easy access. During his visit to this part of the Island, Mr. Balfour's attention was called to a dangerous causeway through a swamp dividing two thickly-populated districts, and he promised to have a bridge constructed at his own expense. This work has also been carried out, and "Balfour Bridge" has proved a great boon to the poor people. The railway from Westport will not only enable the Achill fishermen to find a ready market, but it will give fresh impetus to the idea long entertained by Mr. Jackson of placing steamers on Blacksod Bay, for the purpose of opening Westport to the fishermen living on the Mullet. Meveenish Island was approached from the mainland by a long, narrow, ill-constructed causeway, fitted only for pedestrians, when Mr. Balfour visited it. The causeway has now been widened to admit of carts passing, so that Meveenish has practically ceased to be an Island at all, and the inhabitants rejoice in the advantages of free communication with the mainland, regardless of wind or weather.

Other equally important works have also been carried out on North and South Inniskea, Arran Clare, Innisturk, Innisboffin, Lettermore, Gorumna, and Tory Islands. Many much needed boat slips and places of refuge have been constructed for the fishermen who obtain a precarious livelihood on these inhospitable Islands. One of the most urgent of these works is at Kildavnet, in Achill Sound, where hookers call on their way through from Belmullet to Westport, which is the nearest point at which there is a mill. The most important works in North Mayo are those at Rossport, where a new boat slip has been constructed, and a new road made between Inver and Aghoos. Rossport is one of the poorest districts in the country, and about 250 persons applied for and obtained employment on the works there. An entirely new road has been made from Falmore, the most southerly village on the peninsula. This road, with various by-roads leading from the coast on both sides, joins the road at Elly Harbour, so that the whole of the Mullet is now well provided with good highways. A most popular work was

carried out at Glencastle (also in North Mayo). Here a new bridge was placed across the Glencastle river at a ford where lives had frequently been lost after heavy rains; the Kiltaine graveyard was protected from further inroads of the river by a heavy and troublesome retaining wall; a 47 road from Shanamoura to Goolamore was put into proper order; and a bridge at Claggan ferry will enable the people of Claggan to reach the Curraun peninsula by a short cut instead of travelling all around Ballatragher Bay, as the vehicles had to do on the occasion of Mr. Balfour's visit to Achill.

The only works in South Mayo which call for special reference are a new road from the head of Killary Bay to Ashlea, along the north shore to Bundurragha, and on to the Killeries, where there is, unfortunately, still a gap before one can reach the Delphi mountain and the beautiful Doo Lough. There is only a pony path along the lake at present, and the idea was to continue the road by the lake until it joined the road from Louisburgh. The bridges and difficult parts of this work have been completed, and the remainder will be given into contract. This road, when finished, will form a new tourist route, very picturesque, but at present very little frequented owing to the absence of a car road. Not far from this district, but in the adjoining county of Galway, lies the Joyce Country, which some years ago sprang into unenviable notoriety owing to the atrocious massacre of a whole family there; and further east is Lough Mask, which also figured prominently as the scene of some revolting crimes. The whole district is exceedingly poor, but extremely beautiful in parts. Many new roads of an excellent description have been constructed through it, and as some of them give greater facilities for visiting the lake and rugged mountain scenery they are likely to be used by many persons besides the inhabitants. A number of much-needed roads have been made in the Connemara districts, including two at Silerna on the west coast. The work carried out between Ballyconneely and Roundstone was of the most difficult character. A road of the most primitive description existed between these two places, along a very rocky and rugged coast. In order to make it fit for vehicular traffic rocks and hills had to be cleared away. Then on the other side of Bertraghboy Bay, in the Carna district, a new road opens up communication between Cuilleen and Mace. $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles were added to a road already partially constructed from Derrynea in Cashla Bay towards Oughterard. The highway still, unfortunately, remaining unfinished; but as the people of the district derive their supplies from Oughterard, it will, no doubt, in time be completed. It is urged that it would afford great facilities for the conveyance of seaweed to the country around

Oughterard, and thus give new and much-needed employment There is only one other part of the distressed districts to which detailed reference is necessary—South Donegal. It will be remembered that Mr. Balfour's party had a very unpleasant experience on a bad road during a severe storm while travelling from Donegal town to Carrick. The more dangerous parts of the road have been made secure, and a great retaining wall has been built at a portion where the sea threatened to ingulf not only the highway, but a considerable tract of land besides. At Glencolumkille a diversion has been made with the view of avoiding Castle Hill—a trying bit of road for any horse. A new road has been constructed from Teelin Harbour up the side of Slieveleague mountain, which Miss Balfour descended on a pony, and is continued up to the point at which the distinguished party halted for the purpose of viewing the magnificent scenery of Bunglass Bay from a height of a thousand feet. In addition to these important improvements, a large tract of country leading to limestone quarries has been opened up, and a road has been extended into the village of Mahara.

It will readily be seen from this brief enumeration of a few of the more prominent of the relief works, that they are beyond question such works as are best calculated to confer lasting benefits on the district in which they have been carried out.

THE MONEY EXPENDED.

A Parliament return gives the following details of the relief works undertaken in 1890 and 1891 under Mr. Balfour's Act. The return shows that in 24 unions of 9 counties 161 works were undertaken, and that the sum of £160,570 was expended. Four-fifths of the amount went for wages:—

County.	Unions.	No. of Works.	Wages.	Supervision and Material.	Totals.
Donegal	2	8	£7,864	£1,249	£9,113
Clare	1	3	315	73	388
Kerry	1	2	255	134	389
Cavan	1	1	269	101	370
Sligo	2	3	1,002	730	1,732
Galway	4	37	45,647	10,090	55,737
Cork	5	24	22,842	5,155	27,997
Mayo	8	83	50,304	14,540	64,844
	24	161	128,498	32,072	160,570

THE LIGHT RAILWAYS.

The foregoing has no reference to the Light Railways in course of construction contemporaneously, and carried out under Mr. Balfour's Light Railways Act of 1890. During February, 1891, between seven and eight thousand men found employment on these railways. The different lines are as follows:— Donegal to Killybegs, 19 miles. Ballina to Killala, 8 miles. Wexford to Mallaranny, 18 miles. Galway to Clifden, 49 miles. Killorglin to Valentia, 27 miles. Headford to Kenmare, 20 miles. Skibbereen to Baltimore, 7¾ miles. Bantry Extension, 1¾ miles. Downpatrick to Ardglass, 8 miles. Collooney to Claremorris, 47 miles.

THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS' BOARD.

Under the Land Act of 1891, a Congested Districts' Board was established, consisting of gentlemen of different political opinions and religious beliefs. Their powers are large, and their operations will be mostly confined to the western sea-board. They are empowered to take such steps as they think proper for aiding migration or emigration. They have power for providing suitable seed potatoes, seed oats, for sale under certain restrictions; they have power for aiding and developing agriculture, forestry, the breed of horses, live stock, and poultry; weaving, spinning, fishing, including the construction of piers and harbours, and the supply of fishing boats and gear, and industries subservient to fishing, and many other suitable industries. The Board may proceed either directly or indirectly, and may make gifts or loans to any person upon such conditions as the Board think expedient. The Board has already got to work. Lord Zetland (The Lord Lieutenant), speaking in Dublin on March 14th, 1892, made the following statement under this head :—

"Several grants have already been made for the following purposes for the development of the Spring mackerel fishing in Galway Bay. The operations under the scheme are at present being carried out under the superintendence of the Rev. W. S. Greene, for whom the Board have chartered a steamer. Nets and gear are also being lent to local fishermen to assist in this operation. Steps have been taken to improve the curing of cod, ling, and other fish, along the Western Coast of Ireland; and in connection therewith the services of a Norwegian fish curer have been secured by the Board. The Board have entered into an arrangement with the Galway Bay Steamboat Company for providing a regular steamboat service between Galway and the Arran Islands, and for this purpose the Board propose to grant

a yearly subsidy. The improving of the breed of horses has received careful consideration, and, through the agency of the Agricultural Department of the Land Commission, several schemes for carrying out that object have been undertaken. A number of stallions have been purchased by the Board for distribution in the congested districts, and substantial grants have also been made by the Board for improvement in the breed of live stock and poultry. The Board have taken over the carrying out of the forestry operations in the county of Galway, which were commenced by the Land Commission, and it is proposed to consider at a future date the question of extending operations by securing additional land. Arrangements have also been completed for instituting inquiries into, and obtaining reports on, the condition and the resources of the congested districts, and with reference to the numerous memorials and applications that have been addressed to the Board."

PRIVATE AID.

It will be recollected that, apart from official assistance, Mr. Balfour and Lord Zetland made a private appeal through the Press for subscriptions, to enable them to help those in distress who could not participate in the relief and light railway work. A generous public in short time responded, and placed £50,000 in their hands to be dealt with. The system of relief was as follows:—"The Royal Irish Constabulary prepared provisional lists of helpless and distressed families. This list was revised at meetings held in the districts by an inspector of the fund, aided by the members of the local dispensary committee, and the clergy of the different denominations in the district. The list for the district was thus settled, and a duplicate given to the local constabulary, who each week gave a relief cheque to the head of each family on the list. On this cheque was entered the amount of meal the holder was entitled to receive, one stone being allowed to each member of the family over ten years of age, provided their numbers did not exceed two; if so, half a stone was allowed for each additional person. These cheques were negotiable by any local trader, precautions being taken that no other goods were supplied than those authorised, and that full measure was given to the persons relieved. This system of cheques gave general satisfaction, trade having been kept in its natural channels, local trades having material and substantial benefit. From the 28th February to the 15th August, 1891, this system was in operation, with the result that 12,594 helpless families, representing 50,641 persons, were relieved. A certain sum was set aside and divided amongst the different managers for the scheduled schools in proportion to the average attendance of children, and taking into account the degree of

distress prevailing in their respective districts. The National school inspectors, who were desired to report from time to time on the operation of the system of relief, have not found a single instance where it produced demoralization or interfered with the general efficiency of the school, the result being that relief was given to 932 schools, an average of 29,337 children getting fed daily, at a total cost of £8,670."

The Catholic Bishop, whose diocese includes some of the poorest and most congested districts, wrote to Lord Zetland :—

"Both my clergy and myself are well satisfied with what has been done for us during the terrible times of last year. Your fund has done much good service, and kept the schools filled with their normal numbers, and supplied with the necessaries of life hundreds of children who would otherwise have been left without them. The people here in our impoverished districts ought to be, and are, grateful for what has been done."

A MESSAGE OF THANKS TO MR. BALFOUR.

At the meeting of the Swinford Board of Guardians on 8th March, 1892, fifteen members present, the following resolution was adopted with reference to Mr. John Dillon's speech in the House of Commons, 29th February, 1892, on the Government relief works in East Mayo :—

Resolved—"That we, the Guardians of the Union of Swinford, have read with amazement a speech of Mr. John Dillon, M. P. for East Mayo, reported as having been made by him in his place in the House of Commons. We repudiate in the strongest manner his assertion that the people of this county regard the expenditure of the Government Relief Funds of last year, and we assert Mr. Dillon's statement to the contrary, notwithstanding, that but for the timely and statesmanlike assistance of our starving people in the sore need by Mr. Balfour in the year '91 would undoubtedly have witnessed a recurrence of the terrible scenes of '47. The bishop and clergy of the diocese of Achonry, and the grand jury and leading inhabitants of Mayo and Sligo, have given their sanction and approval to the proposed line of railway from Collooney to Claremorris, and the ex-Chief Secretary has earned the thanks of all sorts and conditions of men in this portion of our county for having given effect to their desires by entering upon its construction. Mr. Dillon's assertion that he never asked for the railway may be true—he does not appear to ask for much that would tend to the benefit of his constituents—and, although we have been granted this boon unsought for by our Member of Parliament, we beg to thank Mr. Balfour for it again, and we feel compelled further to express our disapprobation of that manner of representation which consists in standing calmly aloof while our people are in the iron grip of famine, and only coming forward to interfere when it is supposed that political capital can be manufactured out of untrue and carping criticism of the man who put bread into the mouths of the hungry." —*Independent*, 10th March, 1892.

ENGLISHMEN!

THERE ARE IN IRELAND—

Over 600,000 Protestant Episcopalians,
,, 446,000 Presbyterians,
,, 55,000 Methodists,
,, 6,200 Independents,
,, 4,800 Baptists,
,, 3,600 Quakers.

These men, with **hundreds of thousands of loyal Catholics,** are devotedly attached to the maintenance of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. They have strenuously protested against Mr. Gladstone's proposals to set up a Parliament in Dublin, and for doing so they have been denounced by the Fenian newspapers as "Aliens and Foreigners."

ENGLISHMEN!

Will you suffer these, your loyal Irish friends, to be deserted, and the disloyal set over them?

The above are not to be found in the Province of Ulster only, but are spread over the whole of Ireland. The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, in addressing the local synod in Dublin said:—

"Remember that there are 100,000 members of the Church within these three dioceses, who are to be regarded as forming a part of the Irish people; **that they are Irishmen by lineage and Irishmen by heart**—(applause)—that they are as enthusiastic in their love for their country as any of those who monopolise the sentiment, but that, just because **they love their country,** they have no sympathy whatever with any of these schemes or theories **which tend to weaken their connection with the British Empire—to undermine that Imperial nationality,** upon the maintenance of which, as they believe, mainly depends the welfare of their native land." (Hear, hear.)—*Dublin Mail*, November 2nd. 1888.

READ THE OTHER SIDE.

IRISH NONCONFORMIST APPEAL.

The following appears in the "RURAL WORLD" of *March 12th*, 1892.

"WE, the undersigned Irish non-Episcopal ministers, desire, through your widely-read paper, to draw the attention of our Nonconformist brethren in England to our attitude towards Home Rule for Ireland.

"Almost every one of the 990 non-Episcopal ministers in Ireland is opposed to Mr. Gladstone's scheme, or any other scheme which would establish a Parliament in Dublin possessing legislative and executive authority.

"The events which have occurred in Ireland since 1886 have strengthened us, and the Churches of which we are ministers, in our determined opposition to a Dublin Parliament.

"The recent struggles between the Parnellites and M'Carthyites have impressed us more strongly than ever with the tremendous influence exercised by the Irish priesthood—an influence which would be paramount in a Dublin Parliament. The effects of such clerical interference in the sphere of politics in other countries confirm us in the judgment that under a Home Rule Government the interests and liberties of the Irish people, and especially of Irish Protestants, would be insecure.

"The struggle between Catholics and Protestants would be intensified, and the eventual result would be the all-but certainty of civil war of a most sanguinary character.

"Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme we hold to be at once degrading to us as citizens and dangerous to the interests of the Empire.

"Our interests, and the interests of our people, are secure in the keeping of the Imperial Parliament; and we have no grievances which the Imperial Parliament does not show itself willing to remedy.

"We claim the aid of our brethren in England and Wales in our resistance of Mr. Gladstone's policy—a policy which we hold to be one of surrender and despair; and we appeal with the utmost confidence to the descendants of the Nonconformists of 1662 to put an end at the coming general election, for at least a generation, to attempts such as Mr. Gladstone has made to disintegrate and destroy the unity and glory of the Empire and our Queen.

"N. M. Brown, D.D., Presbyterian; R. J. Lynd, D.D., Presbyterian; John James M'Clure, Presbyterian; George Cron, Independent; William Usher, M.D., Baptist; Wesley Guard, Methodist."

NOTE.—Dr. N. M. Brown is the Moderator (or Chairman) for the present year of the General Assembly—the Supreme Court—of the Irish Presbyterian Church, which numbers almost half a million of the people of Ireland. He is a Radical, and is and was a tenant-righter long before the majority of Nationalists had dreamed of such a thing as tenant-right. Dr. Lynd is an ex-Moderator of the General Assembly, and probably the most eloquent non-Episcopal minister in Ireland. He has been a Liberal all his days. Mr. Wesley Guard is an eloquent Wesleyan Methodist, and is representative of the Methodist Community. Dr. Usher is the foremost Baptist pastor in Belfast, and is entitled to speak for the Baptist community. Mr. Cron is an Independent minister of ability. Mr. M'Clure is Secretary of the Presbyterian Representation Association.

THE NATIONALISTS ON THE LIBERAL PARTY:

"SERVILE, COWARDLY, AND UNPRINCIPLED."

THE following Manifesto to the Irish voters in Great Britain was, on Friday, **November 20, 1885,** submitted to **Mr. Parnell,** and by him approved and ordered to be circulated :—

'TO OUR COUNTRYMEN IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

'**The Liberal Party** are making an appeal to the confidence of the Electors at the General Election of 1885, as at the Election of 1880, on **false pretences.** In 1880 the Liberal Party promised peace, and it afterwards made unjust war ; economy, and its Budget reached the highest point yet attained ; justice to aspiring nationalities, and it mercilessly crushed the national movement of Egypt under Arabi Pasha, and murdered thousands of Arabs "rightly struggling to be free." To Ireland, more than to any other country, **it bound itself by most solemn pledges,** and these it most **flagrantly violated.** It denounced coercion, and **it practised a system of coercion more brutal** than that of any previous Administration, Liberal or Tory. Under this system juries were packed with a shamelessness unprecedented even in Liberal Administrations, and innocent men were hung or sent to the living death of penal servitude ; **1,200 men were imprisoned without trial ;** ladies were convicted under an obsolete Act directed against the degraded of their sex ; and for a period every utterance of the **popular Press and of the popular meeting** was as **completely suppressed** as if **Ireland** were **Poland,** and the Administration of England a **Russian autocracy.** The representatives of Liberalism in Ireland were men like Mr. Forster and Lord Spencer, who have left more hateful memories in Ireland than any statesman of the century. The last declaration of Mr. Gladstone was that he intended to renew the very worst clauses of the Coercion Act of 1882 ; and if our long-delayed triumph had not turned the Liberal Government from office, Lord Spencer would at this moment be in Dublin Castle, coercion would be triumphant in Ireland, and the landlords, instead of making the reasonable abatements demanded by the depression of agriculture and conceded by every landlord in England and Scotland, would be evicting wholesale, with the encouragement of Lord Spencer and the backing of police

soldiery, coercion magistrates, and filled gaols. The Liberals began by menacing the Established Church, and under the name of free schools made an insidious attempt to crush the religious education of the country, to establish a system of State tyranny, and to fetter the right of conscience, which is as sacred in the selection of the school as in the free selection of one's Church. The cry of Disestablishment has been dropped; the cry of free schools has been explained away; and the two last cries left to the Liberal party are the so-called reform of procedure and a demand to be independent of the Irish party. Reform of procedure means a new gag, and the application to all enemies of Radicalism in the House of Commons of the despotic methods and the mean machinery of the Birmingham caucus. The specious demand for a majority against the Irish party is an appeal for power to crush all anti-Radical members of Parliament—first, then, to propose to Ireland some scheme doomed to failure, because of its unsuitability to the wants of the Irish people, and, finally, to force down a halting measure of self-government upon the Irish people by the same methods of wholesale imprisonment by which durability was sought for the impracticable Land Act of 1881. Under such circumstances, we feel bound to advise our countrymen to **place no confidence in the Liberal or Radical party**, and so far as in them lies to prevent the government of the Empire falling into the hands of **a party so perfidious, treacherous, and incompetent.** In no case ought an Irish Nationalist to give a vote, in our opinion, to a member of the Liberal or Radical party, except in some few cases in which courageous fealty to the Irish cause in the last Parliament has given a guarantee that the candidate will not belong to **the servile and cowardly and unprincipled herd that would break every pledge and violate every principle** in obedience to the call of the Whip and the mandate of the caucus. The executive of the National League will communicate the names of the candidates whom they think should be excepted from the terms of this Manifesto. In every other instance **we earnestly advise our countrymen to vote against the men who coerced Ireland, deluged Egypt with blood, menace religious liberty in the school, the freedom of speech in Parliament, and promise to the country generally a repetition of the crimes and follies of the last Liberal Administration.**

(Signed) 'T. P. O'Connor, *President of the Irish National League of Great Britain.*

'Justin M'Carthy, Thomas Sexton, T. M. Healy,
'J. E. Redmond, James O'Kelly, J. G. Biggar,
Executive.'

THE CAPITAL OF ULSTER.

Its Growth and Prosperity.

TO those who still attempt to argue that the Irish question is a political and not an economic one, Belfast is an eyesore and a grievance, for, by the very fact of its existence, it constitutes a standing contradiction to their theories. That a provincial town, remote from the great centres of coal and iron, should thrive and prosper during the very period when we were assured that, from political causes, Ireland was bound to decay, would in any case be provoking. But Belfast has not merely held its own as an Irish town; it has taken its place as one of the great world-centres of industry and commerce, challenging the supremacy of the Clyde in ship building, and of Belgium and France in linen weaving, holding its own with all comers in a score of smaller industries, and attaining the position of the third Customs port in the United Kingdom. It is true that from time to time an attempt is made to ascribe a political origin to the prosperity of the North, on the ground that a couple of centuries ago the Deputy, Strafford, favoured the growth of flax, while English jealousy hampered or destroyed the woollen industry.

THE FLAX SUPPLY.

But this is an argument of the nature of that connecting Tenterden Steeple and Goodwin Sands, for, although it is true that England has favoured linen, and linen has made Belfast, it is forgotten that any other town in Ireland had the same opportunity. In fact, in this as in other matters, any advantage there is lies with the South, where both climate and soil are more suitable to the growth of flax than are those of the North. What was wanted was an agricultural population, industrious and patient enough to grow the crop properly, and a city with merchants enterprising enough to manufacture and export it. To this day, although there is practically an unlimited demand for fine flax in Belfast, two-thirds of all the material woven there is imported from Russia, France, and Belgium, because the severer climate of the North of Ireland renders the growth of the finest qualities impossible, while in the South, where as good flax could be grown as in Belgium, the peasants will not take the trouble to grow it, or to acquire the skill necessary for the manipulation of so sensitive a crop. It is pleasant to be able to add that persistent efforts are being made by an association of Belfast merchants to promote flax growing in the South, and that there are good hopes that, in time, a fairly regular supply may be obtained from that quarter. Lecturers and instructors have been sent out, and such of the people as are willing to learn have had the opportunity of developing a branch of agriculture that might transform the face of more than one of the southern counties.

THRIVING SINCE THE UNION.

Those who endeavour to ascribe the modern prosperity of Belfast to the favouritism of an English Deputy, may, with profit, reflect on the fact that, in 1807, when Strafford had for many a generation been with his fathers, there were only four looms engaged in the weaving of linen in Belfast. No; the city dates its prosperity from modern times, and owes it to simple causes. Belfast has thriven since the Union, and by the Union, and has risen because its people chose to work, and to develop the resources that lay nearest to them, while the rest of the Island has chosen to sulk, has preferred "to weep on and dream on, while the household goes to wreck."

THE LINEN TRADE.

A few figures taken from the Board of Trade and other official Returns will serve to show the extraordinary strides made by Belfast in quite recent years; a rate of development that suggests comparison with some of the great towns in the Western States of America rather than with our soberer English cities. Let me begin, in a somewhat Irish fashion, with an item that has recently shown a large falling off. The export of linen was less in 1891 than in 1890 by no less than 25,000,000 yards, representing a value of over half-a-million pounds sterling. This, of course, was owing to the M'Kinley Tariff, by which the United States attempted practically to prohibit the import of linen. But the alarming-looking figures must be read with a recollection of the fact that, before the Tariff came into force, the Belfast merchants had thrown every yard of stuff that could be got into the United States, the Custom House officials being engaged in clearing cargoes up till midnight of the day before the rates were raised. But there is no uneasiness about the ultimate result of the struggle. The American climate is a better "Protectionist" in its own way than any tariffs, and nowhere between Canada and Mexico can there be found that peculiar combination of mildness, moisture, and equable temperature which is essential to the growth and manipulation of flax at every stage. Irish linen will again find its way across the Atlantic, all Customs regulations to the contrary notwithstanding.

SHIPBUILDING.

Steel shipbuilding continues most striking in its rapid increase. Last year 94,000 tons were launched, as against 66,000 in 1890. One firm, the famous builders of the *Teutonic* and *Majestic*, attained their ambition last year by launching 64,962 tons, a figure exceeding that of any other shipyard in the United Kingdom. The industry has spread to Londonderry, where one yard has made a very promising beginning with 11,000 tons. Some idea of the rate of the growth of this industry may be gathered from a glance at the figures of five years ago, when all the Belfast yards together only launched 35,000 tons. It should be added that there are no peculiar local advantages to account for this: every ton of coal and of iron used has to be imported.

RAILWAY TRAFFIC.

Another very significant increase is to be noted in the railway traffic returns, the three railways centring in Belfast having increased their traffic 9½ per cent. last year, whilst the average of increase all over the United Kingdom in the same period was less than 1½ per cent. One little railway, the Belfast and County Down, actually showed an increase of 50 per cent. in its passenger traffic. It is not surprising, in view of these figures, that a project is on foot for making a great central station in the heart of the city, with through traffic, connecting the three lines, which now drop their passengers at an inconvenient distance. When the further scheme, which enthusiastic engineers believe to be not impossible, of connecting Scotland and Ireland by a tunnel, is carried into effect, London passengers anxious to catch the great ocean steamers will be able to get into a through carriage at Euston, and reach Queenstown, *via* Portpatrick and Belfast, without leaving the train.

WHISKY AND TOBACCO.

But, to come back from this somewhat distant speculation to the ground of solid fact, pretty well every trade tells the same tale of expansion. Whisky has been comparatively depressed, a fact which has an element of satisfaction. The duty paid last year was £2,247,528, as against £2,128,446 in 1890. Tobacco is rising rapidly, £678,000 being paid in duty on it last year. One well-known firm alone paid £35,000 more in 1891 than in 1890. Aërated waters have become a speciality, and the output is enormous, although there are no official figures to be obtained. Oddly enough, no one has had the enterprise to start a bottle-making establishment and, in consequence, millions of soda water bottles have to be imported from Germany. The natural harbour accommodation is very bad, and the improving, widening, and deepening of the approaches are being steadily pushed forward. Three and a-half miles of a new deep channel were opened in 1890.

LOCAL STOCKS.

The steady rise in the value of local stocks of all kinds shows the confidence of the commercial community, and emphasises the lesson taught by the disastrous fall that took place in 1886, when the Home Rule Bill was introduced Two local Banks declared dividends at the rate of 20 per cent., and other similar concerns are not far behind. When such results are possible under "British tyranny" in Ireland, would it not be well for some of our friends to reflect whether it would not be wiser for the rest of the country to follow the same example, and try the effects of steady industry instead of Constitution-tinkering ?—["*Standard's*" *Special Correspondent*, April 20th, 1892.]

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE REPORT.

At the Annual Meeting of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce on February 18th, 1892, the President (Mr. Mitchell), referring to the great progress of Belfast, said :—

Last year a census of the United Kingdom was taken. The population of our city was returned as 255,896, as compared with 208,122 in 1881, an increase of 47,774, being equal to 23 per cent., a very striking increase, which indicates the rapid prosperity of our city. The inhabited houses in Belfast in 1891 were 46,432 as compared with 34,982 in 1881, and our valuations during last year amounted to £738,404, as compared with £597,913 in 1881. Our population now exceeds that of Dublin, as according to the last census the population of the metropolis amounted to 254,709 as compared with 249,602 in 1881, being an increase of 5,107, which is equal to 2 per cent. The contributions made by our city to the Imperial Exchequer are to some extent an indication of our commercial prosperity, and Belfast still occupies a very important position in regard to the revenue collected under the Customs Department. The following is a list of the eight principal ports of the Kingdom, as regards revenue, and their collections under that department for 1890, the returns for the past year not being published yet :—

London ...	£9,834,171.	Bristol ...	£1,323,445.
Liverpool ...	3,263,301.	Dublin ...	904,028.
Belfast ...	2,128,446.	Leith ...	669,907.
Glasgow ...	1,341,435.	Newcastle ...	378,319.

It will be observed that Belfast comes third on this list, the only ports exceeding her in revenue being London and Liverpool. The customs revenue of our port for 1891 amounted to £2,247,528, being an increase over 1890 of £119,082. If I am correct in my estimate it follows that Belfast contributes the magnificent sum of over three and a half millions to the Imperial Exchequer. (Applause.) The statistics connected with our harbour give ample evidence of continued prosperity, not only in respect to the increase of shipping, arriving and departing, but also in regard to the increasing business transacted by the Harbour Board. The total tonnage cleared from the port during last year amounted to 1,931,177, as against 1,840,666 for 1890, while the revenue of the port for last year was £121,533. This is an exceedingly satisfactory state of affairs in respect of revenue, when we take into account the fact that a reduction of about 20 per cent. was made some time ago on the dues on goods. This reduction must have caused a decrease of revenue of nine or ten thousand pounds; and yet the total income is as high as last year, and the surplus this year amounts to £25,674, as compared with £25,689 last year. The value of the total property under the jurisdiction of the Belfast Harbour Commissioners now amounts to the enormous sum of £1,360,973.

IRISH HISTORY IN A NUTSHELL.

THE people of Ireland are a very mixed race. Scarcely anything is known of the aboriginals, but they were absorbed or wiped out at a very early age by various waves of the great Celtic migration. There was a further mixture of Danes long before the time of William the Conqueror. When Henry II., with the help of two Popes, laid hold on Ireland, he did not really conquer it. In time the Celtic Irish got back much of the land they had lost; but the race of English settlers was not driven out. Many learned to speak Irish, and used Irish laws and customs. In the time of Henry VII. English law was only obeyed for twenty miles round Dublin, and in a few towns on the coast.

In the time of Henry VIII. the English Church ceased to obey the Pope; but the people of Ireland liked the Pope better than the King of England, and a difference of religion made matters worse between the two countries. Queen Elizabeth, the head of the Protestants of Europe, conquered Ireland, but did not convert the Irish. The Protestants of Ireland are mostly descended from Englishmen or Scotchmen who went over within the last 350 years. The Roman Catholics consist of the Celtic Irish (mixed with Danes), and of the descendants of those English who went over during the 350 years between Henry II. and Henry VIII.

James I. settled a great many of his own Scotch subjects in the North of Ireland. Most of their descendants are Presbyterian Protestants, like their kith and kin in Scotland. In the year 1641 the native Irish rose against the new settlers. In the end they were put down by Cromwell. They had been very cruel, and when beaten they also were treated very harshly. When Protestants in later days made bad and cruel laws against the Roman Catholics, they remembered how their fathers had been treated in 1641.

James II., who was a Roman Catholic, tried to put down the Protestants of Ireland with the help of a French army. The sons of the English and Scotch settlers held the small and weak town of Londonderry for fifteen weeks against a great army of French and Irish. Ireland was thus preserved for England, instead of becoming a kingdom subject to France. King William III. went over and won the battle of the Boyne, and since 1690 the English power has always had firm hold of Ireland. Of the way in which the island was ruled from that year to 1800 no Englishman can be proud. Ireland suffered from two penal codes, one commercial, the other religious.

As early as 1663 Ireland was prevented by an English law from sending cattle to England. The price of a cow at once fell from fifty shillings to ten shillings, and that of a common horse or pony from thirty shillings to one shilling. Later on, nearly every kind of Irish industry was destroyed by English laws. The people of the South and West found that spinning and weaving wool paid them best. All their profits were taken away by bad laws, and they almost gave up their business in despair. In the North it paid to grow flax and to make linen, because very little linen was made in England, and so there was not much jealousy about it; but even the linen trade did not escape the effect of hard laws. In those days it was thought that a country grew rich by making other countries poorer. It is now known that every country which grows rich makes others rich also. Pitt was the first great English statesman who knew this. In 1785 he tried to do what he could to revive Irish trade; but he was opposed both by the manufacturers in England and by the patriots in the Irish Parliament who were led by Grattan. He found that there was no chance of getting Ireland fairly treated except by a Union. So much for trade.

When the English and Protestant party in Ireland found, after 1690, that it had quite gained the battle, it began to look about for means to keep the country for ever. The excuse for these Protestants is that the Roman Catholics had gained power in 1641 and in 1689, and that they had used that power to plunder and oppress. And so, instead of trying to make friends of the Roman Catholics by treating them kindly, they try to keep them down by hard laws. Everything was done to prevent them from having or keeping land, and it thus has come to pass that the owners of land are mostly Protestants, while most of the farmers are Roman Catholics. They were allowed no votes or seats in Parliament It was made very hard for them to put their children to school. They could not serve in the army or navy. The very practice of their religion was at most winked at. Of course, great numbers

went away, many of these became soldiers in the French service, and did England a great deal of harm. The battle of Fontenoy was won for the French in 1745, chiefly by these Irish exiles, and George II. exclaimed, "Cursed be the laws that deprive me of such soldiers!"

In the Irish Parliament the House of Commons contained 300 members, of these 116 were named by 25 owners of boroughs. One Lord named 16, another 14, and so on. By means of bribes, places, or peerages, the Government could always command a majority. Little more than 50 members could be considered really independent. The Lord Lieutenant was named in England, and he and his Secretary had all the real power. Until 1782 no law could be passed without having been fully approved in England. The bad laws made must not, therefore, be laid on the Irish Protestants only: England must bear her share of the blame.

In 1782, by the repeal of "Poynings' Act," the Irish Parliament was made free by law. But it was not really free. "Grattan's Parliament" was formed of Protestants only, and was quite an aristocratic one. The Lord Lieutenant was still able by bribes to manage the House of Commons. Sometimes for a moment it got beyond him, and then it was proved that an English and an Irish Parliament could never get on together. In 1788 George III. went mad. Pitt and the English Parliament were ready to make the Prince of Wales Regent, but only on certain conditions: the Irish Parliament wished to make him Regent without any conditions at all. The King's sudden recovery alone prevented a breach between the two countries. The eighteen years during which "Grattan's Parliament" lasted are often said to have been happy ones. It is hard to see how this can have been, for there were two French invasions and one bloody rebellion in that short time. If the people were happy, why did they rebel, and why did they invite the French over?

After the rebellion of 1798 Pitt saw there must be a Union. It is said that it was carried by force and fraud, and there is some truth in this. But the Irish Parliament was managed by threats and bribes, and it was put an end to in the same way. Indeed, bribes were given on both sides, for the owners of boroughs did not like to lose their ill-gotten property. The great mistake was that the Roman Catholics were not fully freed at the same time. Many, perhaps most of them, were for the Union, because they thought it would give them seats in Parliament, admission to the army and navy, and every other right. Pitt wished to give them all, but George III. would not allow him. The King was honest, but narrow, and he thought it would be a breach of his oath. The very

idea drove him mad again. Then followed the fearful war with France, and the Irish Catholics were forgotten for years. Daniel O'Connell gained their rights for them in 1829. It is the unhappy fact that force and noise have often gained rights for Ireland which were denied to reason.

The famine of 1847 was caused by the failure of the potato crop. The population had grown to nearly nine millions. The land was divided into very little holdings, and when the potatoes failed the people starved, at least 250,000 perished of hunger. or of fever caused by want of food; after that, great numbers went to America and Australia. The population is now under five millions, but the people are much better off than they ever were. By Acts passed in 1860, 1870, and 1881, a great deal has been done for the tenant-farmer. In 1885 and 1888 it was made very easy for them to buy their farms. The landlords pay all the tithes. The law is now much less in favour of landlords in Ireland than in England. Labourers earn twice the wages that they earned forty years ago. Then they went with bare feet, now they are well clothed. Their houses are much better than they used to be.

The history of Ireland clearly proves that the people cannot be trusted to do real justice to each other. Differences of religion and old memories are too strong. The State Church was abolished in 1869, so that there is now no excuse for talking about "Protestant Ascendancy." England is greatly to blame for the past, and it is her duty now to keep the peace between the different parties in Ireland. What that country really wants is even-handed justice, firmness, and patience.

"*The Baptist*"

ON THE DUTY OF

ENGLISH NONCONFORMISTS.

UNDER the head "Surrender and Despair," the following article appears in *The Baptist*, of April 8th, 1892, the organ of the Baptist Denomination :—

Home Rule for Ireland must needs be a prominent feature at the impending General Election, but it is becoming increasingly doubtful whether it will form the one plank upon which Mr. Gladstone and his followers stake their political fortunes. The humour of the electors, gauged by the experienced judgment of old Parliamentary hands, is the factor that will doubtless determine that point. Meanwhile, one thing is certain : the Irish Question grows in gravity in proportion as, aside from the attitude of mere partisanship, we come to examine and reflect upon its moral and religious issues. The cheap and delusive banter about stirring sectarian animosities dare not deter

CHRISTIAN VOTERS

from the duty of looking facts in the face, and particularly of weighing probabilities and possibilities concerning the effect of proposed legislative measures upon the work and prospects of any section of the Church of Christ.

Mr. Gladstone's name is recognised by cute politicians as one to conjure with in dealing especially with English Nonconformists. We are even being twitted about the elasticity of the "Nonconformist Conscience," which could, in recent years, wink at "wholesale lying, flagrant dishonesty, and murder," carried on under the auspices of Irish political associations, although we have raised a righteous storm against the personal immorality of certain individual leaders. Whatever semblance of truth may underlie these charges at least forms a reflection upon our traditional jealousy for right and truth, and therefore forcibly appeals to our spiritual instinct when determining

OUR DUTY AT THE NEXT POLLING BOOTHS.

Not only the immediate interests of Ireland, but our national

honour and destiny are dependent upon the decision to be then made. That we write, therefore, under a sense of grave responsibility, unaffected by mere party claims, goes, we trust, without saying.

In suggesting serious doubt about the wisdom of conceding the plain and recently-reiterated demand of the Irish Parliamentary party, as Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt leave us to infer they are prepared to do, it is, perhaps, sufficient answer to any reflection upon our motives to remind our critics that our doubt has been all along shared by such distinguished Liberals as John Bright, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, Dr. McLaren, Dr. Donald Fraser, Dr. Dale, Dr. Allon, Revs. W. McArthur, W. M'Cullogh, Edward White, Arthur Mursell, and many others. These honoured brethren, more jealous for the triumph of principle than of party, have, with unvarying consistency, continued, from the moment when Mr. Gladstone's remarkable

HOME RULE PROPOSAL OF 1886

saw the light, and was so quickly demolished, to protest against the grievous wrong and obvious ill-consequences of any such measure. Mr. Spurgeon did not hesitate to say in writing that he considered the whole scheme "as full of dangers and absurdities as if it came from a madman." He declared the plan to be clearly unworkable. "We cannot," he added in a later deliverance, "look forward with any complacency to Ulster loyalists abandoned, and an established Irish Catholic Church, and yet they are by no means the greatest evils which we foresee in the near future should the suggested policy ever become fact." New and significant emphasis is given to the honest and unbiassed opinions of such men as

MR. SPURGEON and MR. BRIGHT,

who, instead of recanting their belief, seem to have tenaciously held it until death sealed their testimony—by the events of the last few days.

English, Scotch, and Welsh Nonconformists would be false to their fraternal professions if they refused calmly to ponder the solemnly urgent manifesto and appeal now addressed on behalf of almost every one of the 990 non-Episcopal ministers in Ireland to their brotherhood within the United Kingdom. They state that the events which have occurred in Ireland since 1886 have strengthened them and their churches in their resolute opposition to a Dublin Parliament, where it is plain, from recent internecine struggles between

THE PARNELLITES and ANTI-PARNELLITES,

that the tremendous influence of the priesthood would be

paramount. "The effects of such clerical interference in the sphere of politics in other countries confirm us in the judgment that under a Home Rule Government the interests and liberties of the Irish people, and especially of Irish Protestants, would be insecure. The struggle between Catholics and Protestants would be intensified, and the eventual result would be the all but certainty of civil war of a most sanguinary character." The memorialists—for such in the most real sense they are—declare Mr. Gladstone's scheme to be degrading to them as citizens, as well as dangerous to

THE INTERESTS OF THE EMPIRE,

and they conclude in the following importunate terms:—"We claim the aid of our brethren in England and Wales in our resistance of Mr. Gladstone's policy—a policy which we hold to be one of surrender and despair; and we appeal with the utmost confidence to the descendants of the Nonconformists of 1662 to put an end at the coming General Election, for at least a generation, to attempts such as Mr. Gladstone has made to disintegrate and destroy the unity and glory of the Empire and our Queen." This remarkable address is signed by N. M. Brown, D.D., R. J. Lynd, D.D., John James M'Clure, Presbyterians; George Cron, Independent; William Usher, M.D., Baptist; and Wesley Guard, Methodist.

We learn by way of explanation of these names that Dr. N. M. Brown is the Moderator (or chairman) for the present year of the General Assembly—the Supreme Court—of the Irish Presbyterian Church, which numbers almost half a million of the people of Ireland. He is a Radical, and is and was a tenant-righter long before the majority of Nationalists had dreamed of such a thing as tenant-right. Dr. Lynd is an ex-Moderator of the General Assembly, and probably the most eloquent non-Episcopal minister in Ireland. He has been a Liberal all his days. Mr. Wesley Guard is an eloquent Wesleyan Methodist, and is representative of the Methodist community. **Dr. Usher is the well-known Baptist pastor of Belfast, and is certainly entitled to speak for our Baptist community.** Mr. Cron is an Independent minister of repute in Belfast, and Mr. M'Clure is Secretary of the Presbyterian Representation Association, and famous for his thorough knowledge of Irish affairs.

To whatever shade of party politics our readers may belong we can do no other than urge upon them

THE IMPERATIVE CHRISTIAN DUTY

of pausing to weigh arguments from brethren with whose supreme

objects the glory of God and the highest welfare of their country and their fellow-men they are necessarily in accord. Political prejudices and passions must be ruled out of court. These Irish representatives of our own religious kin are one with us also in Liberal sympathies. They have proved this by a valorous struggle throughout the century, side by side even with their Catholic countrymen, for equal civil and religious rights; but they foresee that, unless their British Nonconformist brethren intervene, they are doomed by way of melancholy reward to spend the twentieth century **in a hopeless struggle against a new ascendency—an ascendency stained with robbery, violence, cruelty, and blood.**

To the *Contemporary Review* for April Mr. R. T. Reid, Q.C., M.P., contributes an article on

"FORMS OF HOME RULE."

He traverses, from Mr. Gladstone's point of view, well-worn ground, and at last makes the naïve general confession that "If Home Rule is to be given at all, it must be in such a form that the British Parliament, while retaining its inalienable supremacy, should leave Ireland really to manage her own concerns." But he omits to state that the venerable ex-Premier has himself failed to produce even the darkest outline of any reasonable and workable plan on these lines, and has, in fact, acknowledged that any such plan "it passes the wit of man to conceive." **Either we must close our eyes to history, as well as to the condition of all Rome-ridden countries to-day, or we must acknowledge that dominant priestism is everywhere the curse of the age—a vast system for crushing religious liberty, and an engine for destroying every man's inalienable right of individual conscience. So that the conclusion of our Irish Nonconformist brethren is incontestably established; it is not the wild imagination of fevered alarmists, but the timely warning of faithful warriors in the battle of the Lord, when they describe the political horizon as betokening nothing less than "surrender and despair."**

AN APPEAL TO

ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANS.

The English Presbyterian Synod met at the Central Hall, Birmingham, on April 27th, 1892, Rev. Dr. JOHNSTONE, Moderator, in the chair :—

Rev. Dr. WYLIE, having been welcomed as a deputy from the Church in Ireland, said it would be curious if he did not say something on that occasion about Home Rule in Ireland—(no, no)—which was a subject so deeply affecting the welfare of those whom he had left. (Cries of "No, no," and "Order, order.") That was not what he had expected from the English Presbyterian Synod. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) Surely no one was afraid to hear the testimony of an Irishman on such a subject? ("No, no," and "No politics.") It was not politics. (Oh, oh.) He knew it was a question about which good people differed widely and warmly, and which one felt a certain diffidence in speaking freely upon, even in a free assembly. (Hear, hear.) But he thought that in the Synod, which was accustomed to fair and free discussion, they would bear with a brief statement on the subject. ("No, no," and cries of "Order.")

The MODERATOR appealed for order, as considerable confusion prevailed, with the remark that it was very unbecoming to treat the deputy from Ireland in that way—it was not like Englishmen to do so, and certainly not like Presbyterians. ("Hear, hear," and loud applause.)

An ELDER rose to make a protest, but was met with cries of disapproval, and for a few minutes there was a considerable amount of disorder.

Dr. MCCAW said he could testify that if any of those present were addressing the Irish Synod they would be treated with courtesy, whether their opinions were agreed to or not. (Loud applause.) He was sure Dr. Wylie would not do anything to give offence to any reasonable man.

Dr. DYKES said that Dr. Wylie came as a representative of a sister Church, and it was always the practice to hear with courtesy what the deputy had to say. (Hear, hear.) No doubt he would confine himself to the religious, rather than the political, aspect of the case. It would be unbecoming on the part of the Synod to refuse to hear him, and it would be no less unbecoming if expressions of dissent or assent were indulged in on political questions. (Loud applause.)

Dr. WYLIE said he would promise any member of the Synod a fair and full hearing in a gathering of the Irish Church. Besides, those present did not know

which side he was going to take. (Laughter, and cries of "No side.") From the point of view of the General Assembly he represented there was only one side to the question for which anything could be said ; indeed, there was practically only one opinion among

ALL THE PROTESTANTS OF IRELAND,

and that was that evil, and only evil, would come of Home Rule in any form. (Loud cries of dissent.) Let them not suppose it is only the Orange party who felt thus, or the old ascendancy party, or a party who wanted any exceptional privileges for themselves. No ; those for whom he spoke were almost, without exception, genuine Liberals They were largely the men who joined hands with the Roman Catholics in seeking the redress of their wrongs in the past, in demanding the removal of all civil disabilities, and in bringing about religious equality in our land. They were the men who followed heartily and loyally Mr. Gladstone for years, who still feel and acknowledge that they owe him an undying debt of gratitude—("hear, hear," and applause)—for what he has done for Ireland, who feel that by the Ballot Act, the Irish Church Act, and the Land Acts he practically emancipated Ireland, and converted a nation of serfs into one of freemen. But all that action on the lines of justice and freedom in the past made them wonder all the more that the same man would now turn round and propose the establishment of another, a greater, a more intolerable tyranny than any that he had removed—("Question, question")—that he would now not ask but require them to bend their necks to a still more galling yoke, and to give over their lives and liberties to the rule of a power, which, wherever supreme, had been the foe of enlightenment, of individual rights and liberties, the enemy, always and everywhere, of "civil and religious liberty." (Interruption and calls for order.) He need not say he was not there to speak for the "stand-still" or "do-nothing" party, nor for the representatives of the old privileged party. They wanted no rights that they were not prepared to extend to all. They asked for no ascendancy over any class, but strongly objected to be made subject to or placed at the mercy of any. They were ready to support any reform which would still further promote justice to all, and confer real benefit upon all. They were ready for action in the direction of local government and a further extension of land purchase, and for the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy ; and that old-school Castle government, through which it was impossible to get all-round justice, and which was an unnecessary offence to many. But they held firmly that it would not be safe in their divided country, with its history and bitter memories, to give legislative and executive powers to a government in which one party and Church was bound to rule over the others. It was not in human nature, still less in the spirit and methods of Rome, not to take advantage of such a position, to use without abusing such power. It would not be wise or safe to trust any Church in such a case. They held that

THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT,

which has done much in recent years to remedy the wrongs of the past, could give all they needed in the way of reforms, and could see to it that the privileges bestowed were fairly distributed and equally enjoyed. Under all these circumstances it was surely natural that they should object to be robbed, perforce, of the rights and privileges of citizenship in this great empire—of the protection, the justice, and the fostering care which the Imperial Parliament alone could secure to them—and handed over to a Government which was sure to be dominated by one party, to be used as the instrument of one party ; and that one, as the world knew, the persistent hater and detractor of England, the practised suppressor of intellectual, social, and religious freedom. (Hear, hear.) Were this only a question of party politics, or were this an ordinary occasion, he should not speak thus. **But representing a great Church, whose interests were so virtually con-**

cerned, and addressing a sister Church with less opportunity of knowing the facts, yet soon to be called upon to take a responsible part in deciding the issue, he felt bound to present plainly the mind of the assembly on the subject, to ask his hearers calmly to consider their opinions, and, in due time, should they see it right, to give practical effect to them. (Loud applause.)

The MODERATOR said he was sorry that there had been any interruption. He was sure Dr. Wylie would see at once that the subject he touched upon was one that touched many in the assembly to the very quick, and, therefore, it was not to be wondered at that there was some expression of opinion at the outset. It might have been feared that the Synod would, in the public prints, be in some measure committed by what was said, and, therefore, there was some anxiety felt as to what the speaker would say. He was sorry that there had been anything which looked like unseemly interruption to the representative of a sister Church. (Loud and general applause.)—*Birmingham Post*, April 28th, 1892.

THE IRISH PRESBYTERIAN MANIFESTO.

The following Manifesto was issued in December, 1890, by the Committee of the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church to the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, and their Nonconformist Brethren in England:—

This body of opinion deserves to be carefully weighed by our brethren in Great Britain. The section of the population from which it emanates is industrious, law-abiding, and progressive, embracing a large proportion of Liberals, and among these many who were foremost in the advocacy of Mr. Gladstone's great measures dealing with the Church and the land. Legislation, which secures the rights, and tends to promote the welfare of all the people, irrespective of religious creed or political party, has our hearty support.

THE PRESBYTERIANS OF IRELAND

have no political privileges that are not enjoyed by the rest of the Irish people. We live under precisely the same laws, and in some respects under less favourable circumstances than our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. A well-considered measure of local government would be welcomed by us, but we believe that only the Imperial Parliament is competent to give to Ireland whatever remedial legislation the interests of the whole country may require. Irish Presbyterians have from the first offered strenuous opposition to the establishment of a separate Parliament and Government for Ireland. From our intimate acquaintance with the condition of affairs in Ireland, we are fully convinced that

A HOME RULE PARLIAMENT

would injuriously affect the educational, social, and commercial progress of the whole community, whilst it would place in jeopardy the exceptional prosperity of Ulster, and the civil and religious liberties of Irish Protestants. Our conviction

of the evils that would ensue has been defined by our knowledge of the history of the Home Rule movement. The advocacy of that cause has been attended by Sabbath desecration, intimidation, lawlessness, and outrage, for which the leaders are largely responsible. Recent events have directed attention to the true character of the movement. It is highly significant that, in face of the moral indignation of all right-thinking men,

THE NATIONALIST PARTY,

both at Dublin and at Westminster, condoned the immorality of their leader, and maintained that he was not to be disqualified for the leadership on account of his private life. They rallied round him with fresh enthusiasm, and sneered at the interference of English Nonconformists as impertinence. We have noticed with regret that the venerable leader of the Liberal Party was silent until he discovered the state of feeling in England, and that in his letter to Mr. Morley he declined co-operation with Mr. Parnell—not on the ground of moral principle, but on that of political expediency. The Presbyterians of Ireland claim their right to continue under the direct protection of the Imperial Parliament, and they determinedly refuse to have their interests placed at the mercy of a party which has shown itself to be as incapable of self-restraint as it has been regardless of the precepts of the moral law. We have been grieved that so many of our Presbyterian and

NONCONFORMIST BRETHREN

have seemed not to sympathise with us in our position, but we believe that in the light of passing events we may confidently appeal to our brethren of Great Britain not to force upon us a policy which threatens ruin to our country. It must now be plain to all unprejudiced minds that the measure offered in 1886 would not have been a final settlement, and that nothing will be acceptable to the Irish Nationalists short of complete independence of the British Parliament. We have deemed it our duty to submit to our brethren in Great Britain this statement of the convictions of the Presbyterian Church, in the hope that it will receive from them the consideration which the gravity of the question demands.

Signed by Order of the Committee on the State of the Country representing the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,

WILLIAM PARK, *Moderator.*

ASSEMBLIES OFFICE, BELFAST,
December 16th, 1890.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT

ON

HOME RULE AND HOME RULERS.

WHY HOME RULE SHOULD NOT BE GRANTED.

"The experience of recent times had shown that any attempt to do equal justice to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects was never popular in Ireland, distracted as she was by distinctions of race, by differences of party and by conflicting religions. Ireland had been too long accustomed to the principles of ascendancy and predominance to have acquired a taste for equal justice. . . If they were to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas he feared they would find themselves reduced to the consequence of not governing Ireland at all. . . . For himself, not being a 'Home Ruler,' he had never adopted the idea of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas. He had always regarded Ireland as a part of Her Majesty's dominions—as an integral fraction of a united Empire—and if that be so, Ireland, like all other parts of the dominions of the Queen must be governed, not according to Irish but according to Imperial ideas. Imperial ideas were exactly opposite, so far as he could judge, to Irish ideas, for Imperial ideas prescribed the duty to administer equal justice to every class of Her Majesty's subjects. The House of Commons had not to consider whether a measure squared with Irish ideas, or satisfied the demands of any section of the Irish people, but whether it was consistent with equal justice; and having matured such a measure, it was their duty to offer it for acceptance by the Irish people, leaving to those who rejected it the responsibility of that refusal."—*Speech on the University Education (Ireland) Bill. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. ccxiv., p.* 1618.

IRELAND SHOULD HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL LAWS WITH ENGLAND.

"If anything has been done to redress the just grievances and conciliate the loyalty of the Irish people, that work has been the work of the Liberal party. The attempt to fix on

us a complicity with the schemes for the dissolution of the Union has recoiled on their authors. It has been proved to demonstration that the project of Home Rule had its origin in the Tory party; and in my opinion the real promoters of the disturbance between the two countries are that same Tory party who now, as in the past, persist in refusing to meet in a fair spirit the just claims of the Irish people to equal rights and equal laws with the rest of the United Kingdom."—*Address to the Electors of the City of Oxford, March*, 1880.

PARNELLISM AND FENIANISM IDENTICAL.

"We have heard the doctrine of the Land League expounded by the man (Mr. Dillon) who is an authority to explain it, and to-morrow every subject of the Queen will know that the doctrine so expounded is the doctrine of treason and assassination. . . . To-morrow the civilized world will pronounce its judgment on this vile conspiracy. . . . The Land League is an association which depends upon the support of the Fenian conspiracy. . . . Who were the chief agents by whom it was started and conducted? Why they were notorious Fenians, many of whom had been convicted, while others were perfectly well known to be connected with the Fenian conspiracy."—*Hansard, cclix, p.* 160 *et seq.*

"Mr. Parnell said that for himself he had the greatest respect for many Fenians who believed in the separation of Ireland from England by physical force. . . . Am I right or wrong in saying that this Land League organization is really Fenian and Fenian in its character? . . . Mr. Dillon said the Land League had three objects in view—first to paralyze the Government; secondly to obstruct Parliament; and thirdly to supersede the action of the law. But if they had accomplished these objects they would have done all that the Fenian organization contemplated—they would have overthrown the Constitution as much as if they had attacked it successfully by open force. . . . Mr. Parnell has never denied that there are a great number of Fenians connected with the Land League in America. He cannot deny it . . . When we see men seeking the support of arms to assist their purposes, and find members of the Land League in communication with Communism in Paris and Fenianism in America, then I say the maxim applies—'*Noscitur ex Sociis*'" *Ibid, p.* 842.

THE LIBERAL PARTY WILL RESIST MR. PARNELL'S POLICY TO THE LAST EXTREMITY.

"It is true there is a strong party of irreconcilable politicians who do not represent Ireland, ... men whose object I am sorry to say, I believe is not so much to benefit Ireland as to injure England. Theirs has not been a policy of conciliation and reform, but of hatred and disunion. No doubt we are at issue with them to the last extremity, to the extremity which was unhappily reached in the United States of America, where men were satisfied to pour out their blood like water to maintain the integrity of their Country and their Empire. . . . . The Land agitation in their hands, was an agitation whose object was to destroy the Union of the Empire, and to overthrow the Established Government of the United Kingdom. Mr. Parnell admits now that what he wants is not fair rent; he wants no rent at all. He wants to get rid of the landlords, in order that he may get rid of the English Government—and for this object every kind of intimidation has been employed to deter honest men from doing their duty and fulfilling their obligations. . . . . The Liberal Party never will have anything to do with attacks upon property any more than upon the person of our fellow citizens. The Landowner has just as good a right to a fair rent as you or I have to the coat upon our back. Whenever the Liberal Party has allied itself with anti-social ideas, whenever it follows some of these misty philosophers in courses which have destroyed the safety of society it has come to grief, as it deserved to come to grief." —*Speech at Glasgow, Oct. 25th*, 1881.

THE LIBERAL PARTY REPUDIATE MR. PARNELL'S POLICY

"I read only the other day a speech by an Irish Member in which he said that he deprecated outrages. I am very glad that Mr. Parnell and others have for the first time deprecated outrages. . . But there has been a still more serious question than boycotting raised in Ireland, because since the declaration of Mr. Parnell there can be no doubt what is the policy that he and his party have adopted—it is a policy of absolute separation of the two countries. How has that declaration been met? Two speakers eminently entitled to represent the Liberal party, Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, have spoken on this matter, and they have spoken in a manner worthy of their position, and worthy of the party they represent."—*Speech at Plymouth, Sept. 17th*, 1885.

THE LIBERAL PARTY PLEDGED TO FACE THE PARNELLITES.

"The Tory Government were tenants-at-will of Mr. Parnell. He is a hard taskmaster. . . . . One of the leading Irish members, Mr. Healy, said that he thought that both English parties were dishonest, and that the Irish party should consider which of the rogues it would be their interest to deal with. I am happy to say he has come to the conclusion that it is not the Liberal party. . . . I will give you one more specimen, and then I think I have done. Mr. O'Brien, the editor of *United Ireland*, made a speech in which he said this—'Mr. Parnell's eighty Members of Parliament would fasten in the flank of the English Parliament, and rankle in them like a spear head. If the English people did not want peace, Mr. Parnell would give them war, such war as eighty Irish guerillas could carry on with the weapon of the franchise, with the weapon of the boycotting pike as it was called, and with any other weapon that time and opportunity might offer them.' That is what we have to meet, and if the English Parliament is not to become a helpless tool in the hands of this party you must give an overwhelming majority to the only party which has the courage and the honesty to face them."—*Speech at Blandford, September 28th*, 1885.

A PARNELLITE ALLIANCE NOT TO BE TOLERATED BY THE COUNTRY.

"The Tories proposed to govern the country by an intimate alliance with men who openly avowed their object was the dismemberment of Ireland from England. Was it possible the country was going to tolerate such a transaction? Liberals must not be in a hurry to turn the Tories out. He would let them for a few months stew in their own Parnellite juice, and when they stank in the nostrils of the country, as they would stink, then the country would fling them, discredited and disgraced to the constituencies, and the nation would pronounce its final judgment upon them. They would hear no more of Tory reaction for many generations."—*Speech at Lowestoft, December 14th*, 1885.

AN IRISH WIDOW'S STORY.

THE *Scotsman* (in its issue of the 18th October, 1887) prints a long letter from a lady in Kerry, in which the following passage occurs with reference to the poor widow whose husband was shot by moonlighters under circumstances which were recently recorded :—

We found her binding her "little oats" in a field—a tall, handsome, sad-eyed woman. On the way to her house she took us up a bit of rising ground to show us a view. "Ah," she said, "it's seldom I come up here now; it was here I used to walk up every evening to meet himself coming from the mountain. He was a good man. Never a bad word had he given me all the years we were married; and now to be left alone! I don't seem to care for anything—not for a thing at all. But I wouldn't curse them that murdered him; I'm trying not even to wish them ill in my heart. Shure he forgave them before he died, and why shouldn't I?" We then went into her house, which was one of two rooms, a good living-room, with a small sleeping-room off it. "It was here by the fireside we were sitting, just the same as we were used to sit every evening, himself on a chair at this side, and I just a bit behind him, and Tim and the three little ones on a stool in front of the fire, and Alice at her dad's feet between him and the door of the other room. I was a bit vexed with Alice who had just come in, and I was a bit vexed with her for being out so late; and she was telling us how she heard them say that the Moonlighters were going round the farms asking for arms, and I said to himself, 'They'll be coming after the revolver, and you'll be giving it them, Dan.' 'I will not,' says he; and says I, 'You will, for the sake of the childher. What'll be the use of angering them?' I knew he'd not go agin me; but it never came across me that they meant to harm him that was nobody's enemy and everybody's friend. We all sat quiet-like till we heard footsteps, and saw faces peering in at the window. We spoke no word till there came a big knock at the door, and a voice that said, 'Does Dan —— live here?' and himself answered them. 'He does,' says he. Then they came in six or eight on them, blazing with the drink, and most of them with disguises on their faces. One of them asked for a gun, and himself got up—for he

saw there wasn't any other way—and went up to the shelf where was the revolver; and while he was there two of them came up to where he was sitting at the fire, and dared Tim and the childher to be looking at them, with a revolver in his hand; and they all held their heads bent down. But they never sighted Alice, who was behind, and she was looking at them all the time. One man came and spoke quite friendly to me; he had his eyes leaping out of his head, burning like fire, and that was all I could see of his face. When himself had given them the revolver and showed them how to fire it—for there was something uncommon-like about it—he came back and set himself down by the fire, and we thought surely they were for going away. Just as they got nigh the door a voice called out, 'No. 1, do your duty.' It was No. 1 or No. 3, I don't rightly know which; and one stepped forward and fired, and then they all went out. We sat just as we was, without a word spoken till the smoke scattered; and I looked at Dan and saw that he was pale like, and then he said, 'Tim, pull off my boot,' and then when he rose his trowser I saw that his foot was well-nigh shot off and the blood streaming on the floor, and the little fellow ran up and tried to be putting the blood back in his dad's body with his little hands; and when he saw that that was no use, he got his arms round his neck till it was hard to part them. Then Tim said, 'I'll go for the priest.' I had never thought of the priest—God forgive me—I had only thought for him; and then I told Tim to get the priest and the doctor, and not to spare the mare; and I put my arms round him where he sat in his chair, and said to him, "Dan, you'll forgive them,' for I was that afeared he might die before he had forgiven them. He said, 'God forgive them,' and I knew he had forgiven them, for he was able for to pray for them that had murdered him. Then I put down my lips to his, and his were growing cold as the clay."

Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Welshmen, will you let your fellow-subjects in Ireland be governed by the authors of horrors like these? Do not be guilty of such cruelty! Do not vote for Home Rule!

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN

TO THE

IRISH MINORITY.

A MOST POTENT ARGUMENT AGAINST HOME RULE.

The Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in a leading article dealing with the Election of the Aldermen on the London Council, says :—

"But what is far more serious is the effect, the very serious effect, which the gerrymandering of the Council will have upon the cause of Home Rule. Let us give credit where credit is due, and recognize frankly and without demur the fact that the Council has been gerrymandered chiefly, if not entirely, owing to the earnestness and ability with which the *Star* has advocated the course which Mr. Firth carried to victory yesterday. Now, it is no breach of the anonymities of journalism to say that the *Star* is Mr. T. P. O'Connor—one of the ablest and most industrious of the lieutenants of Mr. Parnell—whose journalistic talents we insisted upon repeatedly long before his present paper came into existence. Now what is it that Mr. T. P. O'Connor has done? He has taught all men that when Parliament creates a subordinate assembly to carry on the work of local self-government, it is in accordance with Irish ideas of fair play to

deny to the minority the right to be represented in accordance with its numbers—a right which is recognized as a matter of course in every Committee of the Imperial Parliament. The London County Council is nearer to a Home Rule Parliament than any other body that exists in this country. It has to govern a population as large as that of Ireland, and infinitely more wealthy. Its functions are strictly limited by Act of Parliament, and it has an immensity of heavy practical work to perform. But from the very first moment of its existence the one pre-occupation of the inspiring genius of the *Star* has been to gerrymander the Council, to evade an appeal to the constituencies, and to control everything, not from the point of view of the actual administrative work that is to be done, but in order to use the privileges already conceded to extort more. If this can be done in London, where the people are undisciplined by wirepullers, and distrustful of electioneerers, **what security will the Irish minority have of fair play in a Dublin Parliament,** managed as it would be by a caucus that is **as homogeneous as a patent screw,** and **which keeps step like a Macedonian phalanx?** The refusal of the majority to treat the minority with some regard to the elementary principles of justice and fair play is **the most potent argument against Home Rule for Ireland** that has reinforced the failing ranks of the Unionists for many a long day."—*Pall Mall Gazette,* February 6th, 1889.

MR. GLADSTONE

(IN 1871)

ON

HOME RULE.

Addressing an Aberdeen audience on 26th September, 1871, on the question of Home Rule for Ireland, Mr. Gladstone said:

"My Lord Provost, when you spoke of public affairs, and those subjects which attract the public attention, the very remarkable exhibition of Home Rule, which I have spoken of in the County of Aberdeen, reminds me of another cry for Home Rule which is now raised across the Channel in Ireland, and which, I own, I find it is not so easy to deal in a satisfactory manner. I am not quite certain what is meant in Ireland by the cry of Home Rule. I am glad to know from the mouths of those who raised that cry what it does not mean; they have told us emphatically by their principal organs that it does not mean the breaking up into fragments this United Kingdom. (Applause).

A UNITED KINGDOM IN HEART AND LAW.

"Well, that, after all, is a most important matter. **This United Kingdom, which we have endeavoured to make a United Kingdom in heart as well as in law**—(applause)—**we trust will remain a United Kingdom**—(loud applause); and although, as human beings, the issues of great events are not in our hands, but are directed by a higher power, yet we intend, and mean every one of us, both high and low, not those merely who meet within this Hall, but those who crowd the streets of your city and every city from the North to the

South of this island—we intend that it shall remain a United Kingdom."

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT HAS REFUSED NOTHING.

"We are told that it is necessary for Ireland to close her relations with the Parliament of this country, and to have a Parliament of her own, although always speaking under the conviction—let me do the promoters of this movement the fullest justice—always speaking under the conviction, as they most emphatically declare, and as I fully believe them, that the union of the Kingdoms under Her Majesty is to be maintained, but that Parliament is to be broken up. Well, now, we shall say to this learned gentleman (Mr. Butt), Why is Parliament to be broken up? **Has Ireland great grievances? What is it that Ireland has demanded from the Imperial Parliament and that the Imperial Parliament has refused?** (Cheers).

NO CASE FOR HOME RULE.

"It will not do to deal with this matter in vague and shadowy assertions. I have looked in vain for the setting forth of any practical scheme of policy **which the Imperial Parliament is not equal to deal with, or which it refuses to deal with, and which is to be brought about by Home Rule.** So far as my research has gone—and I confess it is not extensive—we have not had the advantage of hearing all that is to be said. I have seen nothing, except that it is stated there is a vast quantity of fish in the seas that surround Ireland, and that if they had Home Rule they would catch a great deal of these fish. (Much laughter and cheers). But there are fish in the sea which surrounds England and Scotland. England has no Home Rule, and Scotland has no Home Rule, but we manage to catch the fish. (Cheers and laughter).

VICTIMS OF POLITICAL DELUSION.

"Unhappily, my Lord Provost, it has been one consequence of the

policy towards Ireland in former times, that those principles of self-reliance, those powers of local action, that energy and public spirit which are the inherited possessions of this country, have been steadily enfeebled and crippled in the sister island, and therefore it is that these things which, in this country, every day and every month that we live, the various classes and the various communities are doing for themselves, the Irish people have not learnt in the same way to do. But I am bound to say that they have not had the same opportunity of learning in the same degree to do for themselves, and hence they are liable to become more or less the victims, from time to time, of this or that political delusion. (Applause).

"THERE IS NO SUCH GRIEVANCE."

"You would expect when it is said that the Imperial Parliament is to be broken up—you would expect that at the very least a case should be made out, showing there were great subjects of policy and great demands necessary for the welfare of Ireland, which the representatives of Ireland had united to ask, and which the representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales had united to refuse. (Applause). There is no such grievance. **There is nothing that Ireland has asked that this country and that this Parliament has refused. This Parliament has done for Ireland what it would have scrupled to do for England and for Scotland.** (Cheers).

"A VERY FEEBLE CASE."

"What are the inequalities of England and Ireland? **I declare that I know none,** except that there are certain taxes still remaining which are levied over Englishmen and Scotchmen, and which are not levied over Irishmen; and likewise that **there are certain purposes for which public money is freely and largely given in Ireland, and for which it is not given in England or Scotland.** (Cheers). That seems to me to be a very feeble case indeed for the argument which has been made, by means of which, as we are told,

the fabric of the United Parliament of this country is to be broken. . . .

"MAKING OURSELVES RIDICULOUS."

"But if the doctrines of Home Rule are to be established in Ireland, I protest on your behalf that you will be just as well entitled to it in Scotland. (Hear, hear). And, moreover, I protest on behalf of Wales, in which I have lived a good deal, and where there are eight hundred thousand people, who, to this day—such is their sentiment of nationality—speak hardly anything but their own Celtic tongue—a larger number that speak the Celtic tongue, I apprehend, in Scotland, and a larger number than speak it, I apprehend, in Ireland—I protest on behalf of Wales that they are entitled to Home Rule there. (Applause). Can any sensible man, can any rational man, suppose that at this time of day—in this condition of the world—we are going to disintegrate the great capital institutions of this country for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind, and crippling any power we possess for bestowing benefits, through legislation, on the country to which we belong?"—(Cheers.)—The *Times*, 27th Sept., 1871.

[The speech is a valuable proof of the conviction which Mr. Gladstone entertained of the impossibility of disintegrating the Empire at a time when he saw no advantage to himself from so doing].

WHAT HOME RULE MEANS.

TO ENGLISHMEN.

It means the erection of a hostile State on the western seaboard of Great Britain.

It means a separate Parliament in Ireland, restrained only by a paper Constitution overawed by the faction of violent men, and dominated by the fear of dynamite and the dagger.

It means a perpetual source of alarm and unrest in case of Continental complications — an enemy in the rear of Great Britain, always ready to assist England's foreign and domestic foes.

It means never-ceasing disputes in matters of trade and commerce, and a hostile tariff to British Industry.

It means perpetual friction between the executive powers of England and Ireland.

It means the confusion of Imperial finance.

It means the weakening of the defensive force of Great Britain, and the breaking up of the compact organization of her home power.

It means a far heavier outlay of Imperial money, *and far higher taxes for England* than she now contributes for the government of Ireland, as she must keep a fleet in the Channel and garrisons in all her western ports.

It means, in the end, a new conquest of Ireland.

TO IRISHMEN.

It means legalizing the seditions and insurrections of the past 86 years.

It means abject capitulation to force, violence, intimidation and disaffection.

It means, therefore, the surrender to the tyranny and plunder of the Nationalist, of the Loyalist population, whether Protestant or Catholic, which includes nine-tenths of the owners of property, landed and mercantile.

It means a domestic legislature under the control of the Roman Catholic priesthood.

It means Ulster defiant and in revolt.

It means Parliamentary chaos for a time, with the ultimate triumph of a brute majority filled with hate and revenge.

It means attempted confiscation and certain resistance.

It means the ruin of tens of thousands of families, the destruction of all prospects of commercial and national prosperity.

It means the spoliation of the "Haves" for the benefit of the "Have nots."

It means the withdrawal from Ireland of all English capital.

It means the impossibility of borrowing money for public work and the development of the country, except at a very high rate of interest.

It means the ruin of banks and railways, and all commercial undertakings.

It means an enormous addition to local rates.

THE IRISH FOR MURDER.

The following is an extract from a speech delivered by Mr. TIMOTHY M. HEALY, M.P., Barrister-at-Law, at a meeting of Mr. WM. O'BRIEN'S constituents, at Michelstown, on Monday, April 2nd:—

> "Now there were going to be lively times in that district before the summer was out. He thought they were used to lively times (hear, hear). Of all the impudent things that he ever heard it was the proposal to put a thousand pounds on the head of this policeman (cheers). Why, his mother would sell a dozen sons like him for half the money (laughter and cheers). He joined the police for eighteenpence per day, and what was it would give him his value now? The crack of a blackthorn (laughter). While he was in good health he was worth 22s. 6d. to her gracious Majesty, but, suddenly, when his spine became damaged, he stood the ratepayers of that district at the rate of a thousand pounds. But who was it fixed that extraordinary price on the thing that was covered with this young man's helmet? (laughter). The Grand Jury of the County of Cork (oh, and groans). **The curious thing was, that if Mr. Leahy had been killed outright it would have cost the ratepayers nothing at all. Sturdy British Laws were queer. 'Thig guin tu me,' if they killed a policeman it would cost them nothing, they would charge them nothing for it, but pare the nail of his little finger and it was a thousand pounds to them."** [*Cork Examiner* Report, April 3rd, 1888.]

☞ Strange language this! **Thig guin tu me** is the Irish for "Do you understand me"? Mr. HEALY'S argument therefore was this—**If you had killed Leahy you would not have had to pay a penny. Do you understand?** We suspect his hearers **did** understand the pretty plain incitement! When such strong hints are given "lively times" are certain to follow "in that district."

CARLYLE
ON
HOME RULE.

"LET Irish patriots seek some other remedy than repealing the Union; let all men cease to talk or speculate on that, since **once for all it cannot be done.** In no conceivable circumstances could or durst a British Minister propose to concede such a thing: the British Minister that proposed it would deserve to be impeached as a traitor to his high post, and to lose his worthless head. Nay, if in the present cowardly humour of most Ministers and governing persons, and loud, insane babble of anarchic men, a traitorous Minister did consent to help himself over the evil hour by yielding to it and conceding its mad demand, even he, whether he saved his traitorous head or lost it, would have done nothing towards the Repeal of the Union. A law higher than that of Parliament, as we have said—an Eternal Law—proclaims the Union unrepealable in these countries. . . The case stands thus. Ireland at this moment, and for a good while back, has been admitted and is practically invited to become British, to right its wrongs along with ours, to fight its battles by our side, and take share in that huge destiny along with us, if it will and can. Will it; can it? One does not know. The Cherokees, Sioux, and Chactaws had a like invitation given them in the new Continent two centuries ago. Can you, will you, O noble Chactaws, looking through superficial entanglements, estrangements, irritating temptations into the heart of the matter, join with us in this heavy job of work we Yankee Englanders have got to do here? **Will you**

learn to plough the ground, to do carpentry, and live peaceably, supporting yourselves in obedience to those above you? If so, you shall be of us, we say, and the gods say, If not—! Alas! the answer was in the negative; the Chactaws would not, could not, and accordingly the Chactaws, 'in spite of two hundred Acts of legislation in their favour at divers times,' are extinct—cut off by the inexorable gods. It is a lesson taught everywhere; everywhere in these days of Aborigines Protection Societies and Exeter Hall babble, deserving to be well learned. **Noisy, turbulent, irreclaimable savagery cannot be 'protected.' It is doomed to become irreclaimable or to disappear.** The Celts of Connemara and other repealing finest peasantry are white and not black; but it is not the colour of the skin that determines the savagery of a man. **He is a savage who, in his sullen stupidity, in his chronic rage and misery, cannot know the acts of this world when he sees them; whom suffering does not teach but only madden: who blames all men and all things except the one only that can be blamed with advantage—namely, himself;** who believes on the Hill of Tara or elsewhere, what is palpably untrue, being himself, unluckily, a liar, and the truth, or any sense of the truth, not in him; who curses instead of thinks and considers—brandishes his tomahawk against the laws of nature, and prevails therein as we may fancy and can see! Fruitless futile insurrections, continual sanguinary broils and riots, that make his dwelling-place a horror to mankind, mark his progress generation after generation, and if no beneficent hand will chain him into wholesome slavery and with whip on back, or otherwise, try to tame him and get some work out of him, nature herself, intent to have her world tilled, has no resource but to exterminate him, as she has done the wolves and various other obstinately free creatures before now!"—LIFE BY SHEPHERD. VOL. II. PAGES 381 TO 384.

LORD ROSEBERY ON A PARNELLITE ALLIANCE.

Speaking at Paisley on the 15th of October, 1885, Lord Rosebery said in connection with the alleged alliance between the Tories and Parnellites.

THE engagement has been only sealed so far; it has not been ratified. We shall have to pay for the ratification. The followers of Mr. Parnell do not give votes for nothing. I fear the result will be disastrous. I don't profess to be a very imaginative person, but I confess that my imagination fails to leads me to what the practical result of that alliance may be. Well, try and imagine to yourselves the future of this country governed by Mr. Parnell and Lord Randolph Churchill—(ironical laughter)—on the principle which Prince Bismarck calls *do ut des*—"give that you may give"—on the principle of "scratch me and I will scratch you." (Laughter.) We know the freedom from prejudice, to call it by no stronger expression, of the Tory party. We know the friendly feeling of Mr. Parnell towards this country, and we may be certain that it is not England, or Scotland, or Wales that will benefit by this new and interesting alliance. (Cheers.) Now, that is a grave prospect that the electors should weigh. I have no right to say anything about elections, but if I were an elector my whole object would be to sink all minor differences, and to take care that that alliance should be fruitless. (Cheers.) Now, if the Tory Government remains, and it can remain if you give it enough of votes, with the eighty or ninety followers of Mr. Parnell, to hold its own—if that Government remains, the future of the next House of Commons will rest, not with Lord Salisbury or with Lord Randolph Churchill, but with Mr. Parnell. He, and not Lord Salisbury, will be the master of the situation. He, and not Sir Michael Hicks Beach, will be the leader of the House of Commons. He will sit enthroned, with Lord Randolph Churchill on his right, and Sir Michael Hicks Beach on his left—(laughter)—like chiefs in Israel—(renewed laughter)—with eighty Parnellite members behind them who have signed the blind pledge of his followers, and the Tory members will mix with these eighty Parnellites, who have had to swallow a pledge, much as in the old days of Ireland, when the process-server came to serve the writ, the bailiff was made to swallow it. (Laughter.) Though it has its comic side, I think this prospect is a tragic one, because it may lead to a gloomy and terrible reaction, and what we always have to fear in politics is reaction. But I go further, and I say that this alliance of the Tory and the Irish vote is a new and very dangerous feature in our politics. You may say it is a stale charge to bring. Well, I would reiterate it till it is staler still, because it is an alliance which has not merely struck a mortal stab at political principles, but it involves a danger to the Empire itself. I have said that there are two features in this new alliance. I have stated one—that is the alliance of the Conservative and the Parnellite Party. I will now state the other new feature, and it is this—Mr. Parnell has formulated his demands and has stated what

he wants. I think no one who has studied politics can fail to appreciate the great merits of Mr. Parnell's political character. He has great force of character; he has an enormous power of condensed and significant speech; and, above all, he knows what he wants. We know from his last speeches something of what he wants; not all because I think if we granted all that he asks now we should find that there was a postscript. (Laughter and cheers.) *What he wants now is an Irish Parliament with power to impose Protective duties.* Now, I am not the least afraid of the Protective duties, and I will let you know why—because Protective duties could only end in a measure of retaliation which would shut the Irish out from their only markets, and which would make them remove their own Protective duties. (Cheers.) I am not the least apprehensive about the Protective duties, but *what is proposed is this, as I understand it—that Ireland should be treated as a colony, and that the Crown should be the only link between Ireland and the mother country.* Well, it is so with the colonies, and Mr. Parnell wishes Ireland to be treated as a colony. But there is one great and essential difference between Ireland and our colonies, and it is this—that *the colonies are loyal, and Ireland, I greatly fear, is not.* (Cheers.) I wish I could believe it, but I cannot.

. . . . . .

Now, Mr. Chairman, I think that in speaking of Ireland and Irish affairs we are apt to touch too much on the Irish vote. I think the Irish vote should no longer be a factor in the British Parliament, and for this reason, that there is no reliance to be placed upon it. *The Irish vote is not guided by consideration of what is best for Great Britain and for the Empire.* (Cheers.)

. . . . . .

It seems to me that in considering this question, we have gained something if we have made up our minds that we are no longer to regard the Irish Parliamentary vote—(cheers)—and it seems to me if we come to that conclusion we have gained something more, because we have gained a perception of the only right policy to be pursued towards Ireland. *I am afraid there is only one policy to be pursued towards Ireland, and it is this—to treat Ireland exactly, so far as may be, as you would treat any other part of the United Kingdom,* whenever you can do it, without regard to the language of menace or insult, or language of opprobrium from those you are trying to benefit. *Whenever you can do it, try and treat Ireland exactly as you would treat Scotland or Wales.* (Cheers.) *If you pass a measure of local government for Great Britain, pass as near as may be exactly the same measure of local government for Ireland.* (Cheers.) She will not thank you; she will receive your measure rather with a curse than with a blessing; but what I want to point out is, that it is unworthy of British statesmen, who know so much of Irish affairs, to heed any longer the reception which may be given by the leaders of public opinion in Ireland. (Cheers.)—*Scotsman,* 16th October, 1885.

"IT WOULD NOT BE SAFE."

Mr. Gladstone's Prophesy.

ON the 9th November, 1885, speaking at Edinburgh, Mr. Gladstone said :—"Let me now suppose—for argument's sake I may suppose it possible—that the Liberal party might be returned to the coming Parliament—that is rather a staggering supposition (laughter), but I beg you to indulge me for an instant (laughter)—might be returned to the coming Parliament in a minority, but in a minority which might become a majority by the aid of the Irish vote; and I will suppose that owing to some cause the present Government has disappeared, and a Liberal party was caused to deal with this great constitutional question of the Government of Ireland in a position where it was a minority dependent on the Irish vote for converting it into a majority. Now, gentlemen, I tell you seriously and solemnly, that though I believe the Liberal party to be honourable, patriotic, and trustworthy, in such a position as that **it would not be safe** for it to enter on the consideration of a measure in respect to which, at the first step of its progress, **it would be in the power of a party coming from Ireland** to say, '**Unless you do this, and unless you do that, we will turn you out to-morrow.**'" (Cheers.) *Times'* Report, 10th November, 1885.

In these prophetic words Mr. Gladstone describes, with marvellous accuracy, the position of the Liberal party, as the following references to the threats issued by the Nationalist party on the threshold of the General Election of 1892 will show.

The Fulfilment of Mr. Gladstone's Prophesy.

THE following recent utterances of Members of both sections of the Irish Home Rulers go to prove the truth of Mr. Gladstone's prediction of November, 1885.

McCARTHYITES.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Ballaghadereen, 6th December, 1891 :—

"If the Home Rule Bill does not satisfy the national aspirations of Ireland, you will find in me a man as ready to fight the Liberal Ministers as ever I was to fight the Tories."—*Freeman* Report.

Mr. THOS. T. HEALY, M.P., at Enniscorthy, 9th March, 1892 :—

"If the Liberal Party gives us a good measure, we will take it. If, however, we find them in any way going back of their promises, we will fight them as bitterly and as venomously as ever we fought them before."—*Wexford People*, 12th March, 1892.

Mr. W. MURPHY, M.P., at Dublin, 11th March, 1892 :—

"The only assurance the Irish people could have was a powerful united Party in Parliament, who, when the Home Rule Bill was brought in, would be able to make their influence felt, and who would force the Liberal Party, if necessary, to concede a proper measure."—*National Press*, 12th March, 1892.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., at Liverpool, 5th April, 1892 :—

"I accept that demand (of Mr. Redmond's as to the power and authority of an Irish Parliament) to the fullest. I will go further and say that any English Liberal who is not ready to say 'amen' to the demand of Mr. Redmond and his colleagues, does not know the realities and the consequences of his own policy."—*Freeman* Report.

PARNELLITES

Mr. PIERCE MAHONY, M.P., at Galway, 9th March, 1892 :—

"They wanted to be told clearly that the Irish Parliament was to have control of the police force, and that the power to raise a police force in Ireland by the Lord Lieutenant was to be repealed. They wanted to know that the Irish Parliament was to have power to settle the Land Question, and that as regards Irish affairs the Irish Parliament was to be supreme. . . . No matter what might happen, these pledges must be pressed, for without pledges of that kind Ireland could not be certain that the advent of the Liberal Party to power would do her any good."—*Independent*, 10th March, 1892.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Cork, 22nd April, 1892 :—

"The Seceders knew very well that the Parnellites were ready to take from Mr. Gladstone all that was good for Ireland, and to reject all that was bad. If Mr. Gladstone did what Mr. Parnell compelled him to do, well and good; but if not, they would hit Mr. Gladstone as hard as Mr. Parnell hit him before." (Loud cheers)—*Independent* Report.

[SEE OTHER SIDE.]

An Irish Baptist on Home Rule

By Rev. JOHN DOUGLAS, B.A.

(President of the Irish Baptist Association.)

TO govern Ireland according to Irish ideas seems to be the great desideratum of our present rulers, but when a definition of "Irish ideas" is required it resolves itself into the demands of the Nationalist faction, the opposing claims of all the other inhabitants being treated as unimportant and unreasonable. Being convinced that the claims of the numerical minority are the only ones founded in justice and righteousness, I crave space, as a Liberal and a Baptist, to lay before our denomination in Great Britain a few facts that force themselves home on the minds of all who have resided any considerable time in this country.

The Protestants of Ireland are not the "insignificant minority" that is popularly imagined. The Episcopalians number 600,000, nearly double the number of Congregationalists in England and Wales. They are not all Orangemen or Tories, but they are nearly all staunch Protestants, and I am of opinion that there is as much Evangelical religion and vital godliness amongst them as amongst the Nonconformist Churches of England. The Presbyterians number 485,000—more than all the Baptists in the United Kingdom; and the majority of these hold Liberal sentiments. The Methodists and Unitarians are 110,000; the Congregationalists, Baptists, and other minor sects make up about 60,000 more. These almost to a man have declared strongly against Home Rule, or any measure that would weaken the legislative union of the two countries. They form the vast majority of the wealthy, the cultured, and the law-abiding of the community. They pay over 60 per cent. of the total taxes, and sustain 80 per cent. of the manufacturing and mercantile industries. It is a further fact that in their opposition to Home Rule they have the sympathy of nearly all the better classes among Roman Catholics, though some of these have not recently dared to express it. When, therefore, Mr. Parnell claims to speak in the name of Ireland, let it be remembered that it is only in the name of that remnant that is left when all the elements that give stability and greatness to a people are taken away.—*The Baptist*, May 28, 1886.

ENGLISHMEN!

THERE ARE IN IRELAND—

Over 600,000 Protestant Episcopalians,
,, 446,000 Presbyterians,
,, 55,000 Methodists,
,, 6,200 Independents,
,, 4,800 Baptists,
,, 3,600 Quakers.

These men, with **hundreds of thousands of loyal Catholics,** are devotedly attached to the maintenance of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. They have strenuously protested against Mr. Gladstone's proposals to set up a Parliament in Dublin, and for doing so they have been denounced by the Fenian newspapers as "Aliens and Foreigners."

ENGLISHMEN!

Will you suffer these, your loyal Irish friends, to be deserted, and the disloyal set over them?

The above are not to be found in the Province of Ulster only, but are spread over the whole of Ireland. The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, in addressing the local synod in Dublin said:—

"Remember that there are 100,000 members of the Church within these three dioceses, who are to be regarded as forming a part of the Irish people; **that they are Irishmen by lineage and Irishmen by heart**—(applause)—that they are as enthusiastic in their love for their country as any of those who monopolise the sentiment, but that, just because **they love their country,** they have no sympathy whatever with any of these schemes or theories **which tend to weaken their connection with the British Empire—to undermine that Imperial nationality,** upon the maintenance of which, as they believe, mainly depends the welfare of their native land." (Hear, hear.)—*Dublin Mail*, November 2nd. 1888.

READ THE OTHER SIDE.

CANDID OPINIONS

OF

EARL SPENCER,

BY

MR. T. M. HEALY & "UNITED IRELAND."

T. M. Healy, M.P.'s Opinion.

We understand being kept down by force, by the iron rule of some man like Cromwell, but we do not understand being ruled by men of the mould of Earl Spencer and some of his colleagues. Dean Swift once said it was "no shame to be conquered by a lion, but no man would be controlled by a rat."—The Dublin "Freeman's Journal," Sept. 1885.

20th September, 1884.

Earl Spencer is a fourth rate Englishman, a dullard in Parliament, a sour failure in society, who, coming over here when the country was sinking to rest after its high fever has been engaged ever since in gratifying his own vindictive temper, and maddening Irish feeling by turning the law into an instrument of murder and outrage, and bidding nameless infamy flourish behind its shield.

"DUKE OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH."

MR. HEALY'S SUGGESTED TITLE FOR EARL SPENCER.

LORD SPENCER had come to govern Ireland with impartial justice, but, in his opinion, no more unfortunate and one-sided Lord Lieutenant had ever afflicted the country. His conduct had embittered the people more and more against the Castle system of government. He had shielded criminals, rewarded scoundrels, and hung innocent men. (Hear, hear, and groans.) He had served the English so well in Ireland that he suggested he should be raised a further step in the peerage with the appropriate title of the Duke of Sodom and Gomorrah! (Great laughter.) Well, of course, when the Crimes' Act came to be renewed next year they would have something to say on his criminality, at which Lord Spencer had connived, and he would suggest to the Liberal party that the Irish party were not at all so defenceless as they might imagine.—Speech by Mr. T. M. HEALY, M.P., *United Ireland*, August 30th, 1884.

SOME HISTORICAL FALLACIES ABOUT IRELAND.

[By Miss Isabella M. Tod.]

In the admirable address delivered by the Duke of Argyle at the meeting of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association, on July 5th, 1888, he advised the members to make themselves acquainted with early Irish history, and to impart that knowledge to others, being assured that it would cut away the roots of many mistaken ideas about Home Rule. In a question like this, where kindly sentimentality is made to do duty for hard facts, and is considered to be quite as firm a foundation for action, it is needful for those to whom the real welfare of Ireland is dear, to clear away such errors, even at the risk of being misunderstood. The task is a serious one ; especially as it requires care to discern the essential current running through a number of books, many of which are partisan, many credulous, prejudiced, and wanting in the sense of proportion. Throughout the whole story—sad, intricate, and often dull and monotonous—we have to remember the incessant application of the story to themselves by a considerable part of the poorer people of Ireland. It is often mistaken, and generally misleading ; one set of facts being rarely supplemented by other sets of facts, which should modify the inferences to be drawn. But, however mistaken this application may be, the feelings which it evokes are real and strong ; and the consciousness that those feelings are only partly shared by their educated neighbours, either in Ireland or Great Britain, is a source of additional pain. Whilst, therefore, it is the only real kindness to search the records for the truth of the leading facts of Irish history, so that we can raise a true ideal on the ruins of the false, care should be taken not to misunderstand or misstate even their wildest imaginings, whether of the past or the future. Perhaps the very sorest pang which Irish Liberals have had to endure since the sudden conversion of Mr. Gladstone and his followers to Home Rule, arises from the necessity they are under of refusing either credence or help to the wild hopes of the very people whom they have protected and worked for so long. For all this pain and disappointment the Home Rule scheme of Mr. Gladstone is responsible, as well as for the dangerous alienation of races which is its inevitable consequence.

Amongst the prevailing errors on the subject, each of which requires some careful study of history to refute, but which cannot outlive that study, are the following :—

1st. That there was once a Celtic State in Ireland, which was overthrown by violence, and ought to be artificially set up again. No such State ever existed—no organised means of government within the island as a whole—no official means of communication with other States—no history in which all were interested—no centre of national life. Indeed at no time did the Celts fill up the country into which they had come ; nor did they cultivate more than about one-half of the territory.

2nd. That all comers after the Celts were intruders into a regular State, and should have conformed to its ways. On the contrary, from the earliest times, there was full intercourse and frequent colonisation between Ireland and other countries, and no sharp line of demarcation. The history of England, and of all successful countries, shows how valuable to civilisation is the steady accretion of new powers, brought about by the frequent admixture of different races in the early life of a people. If the Celts had been stronger in numbers, in discipline, and in organising capacity they might have assimilated these colonising bodies. But though the most numerous, they had the least organising power ; and the more developed organisation naturally made itself felt. The towns of Dublin, Drogheda, Wexford, and Waterford were of Danish origin ; Cork and Limerick were Norman ; Galway, chiefly Spanish ; Derry, founded by English, but soon filled with Scotch ; Belfast and its belt of manufacturing towns are predominantly Scotch. There is but one town of purely Celtic origin which still keeps a position of any importance—namely, Armagh. A complete amalgamation of these elements being now impossible, they must live in freedom and independence under an impartial Government ; for what the Celts could not do a thousand years ago, they cannot do now.

3rd. That because military governors and officials have frequently, in the interest of English authority or policy, acted oppressively towards various classes of Irishmen, it is permissible to hold all non-Celtic persons responsible for that oppression—and, in fact, to take revenge upon them if they will not accept Nationalist views. Terrible, indeed, are the authentic records of suffering so inflicted ; but just as terrible and authentic are the records both of provocation and reprisal. But just as similar records between English parties have been set aside as having no bearing upon the politics of to-day, so must it be in Ireland if it is ever to have peace. Still more important, morally, is it to remember that no more than a fraction of " Saxons " were ever at any time responsible for oppression, or have ever obtained any benefit at the expense of the Celtic population ; and that it would be the very insanity of wickedness to attempt to exact anything from persons or classes now as compensation for what neither they nor their fathers were guilty of.

4th. That the old Parliament was a national one, proving the capacity of the (nominally) Celtic majority to develop an independent life. It was only in England that representative government was early applied to the whole business of ruling a State ; and it has only reached its culminating power, and the full admission of justice as its guide, since it became Imperial in character. The " mother of free Parliaments " has set a good example to the world ; but the subsidiary Irish Parliament was founded before it had risen to the height of its mission. Its vassal

was allowed but a delegated power ; and that so hampered with restrictions as to do more harm than good. So little did it represent the Celts that we find in pre-Reformation days the chiefs frequently petitioning for incorporation with England as a guarantee of their rights. After the great religious upheaval, the struggle between clerical pretensions and the new spirit of freedom, which ended in the triumph of the latter in England and Scotland, was accentuated by the fact that the Irish majority took the other side. By far the strongest factor in the passion and wrath which led both to the earlier and the later penal laws, was the English dread that toleration in Ireland might lead to the upsetting of their own newly reformed institutions. The short period of "Grattan's Parliament" was the only one distinguished by legislation in the interests of the whole people. But that right spirit was formed under the pressure of the volunteers—the most singular self-elected body that ever dictated to, and was obeyed by, a ruling assembly—and lasted no longer than their power lasted. That power, moreover, was chiefly created by persons—Northern Presbyterians- who had no larger place in this so-called Parliament than the Catholics had. The want of permanent rights was fatal, and with their disbanding came that era of corruption in the Senate which proved unfit to cope with the revolutionary spirit, and led it directly and justly to extinction. Nationality, as distinguished from mere tribal jealousy begins with the Legislative Union.

5th. That Orangeism is characteristic of Irish Protestants generally, and that it is Orange feeling that prompts the perception of the peculiar civil effects of Roman Catholic clerical influence. The proportion of Orangemen to other Protestants is extremely small ; they are chiefly working-men, members of the dis-Established Church ; but as they certainly are loudly demonstrative, they have come to be taken in England as typical of the whole. It is unfortunate that the distaste of Irish Liberals for the loud ways of Orangeism has led them to too great a reticence and taciturnity in ordinary. They have fought against the Orange spirit for generations, but they are none the less aware of the injurious results upon industrial life of some forms of Roman Catholic teaching—of which, also, educated Catholics are often conscious. They will often admit that the distrust of intellectual energy, which extends to industrial and other spheres, will always put them at a disadvantage with Protestants in active life. These are things which no legislation can alter, but frank acceptance of facts might lead to amendment.

6th. That the majority of landlords are rack-renters, and that to attack the whole body is not appreciably unjust. In reality, the great majority are fair and honourable members of the community, and it is quite as evil and mischief-breeding to punish them for the sins of their neighbours as it would be in any other business or profession. Landlords are not one class, but a hundred classes—large and small, rich and poor, Protestant and Catholic, Celt and Saxon, men, women, and children, trustees of marriage settlements, trustees in bankruptcy, trustees of large corporations, and of small schools and charities—with every possible variation both of character and circumstance. If the Parnellites succeeded in either banishing or ruining them all, they would simply have dragged down in their fall a large portion of the existing social fabric ; and they are showing how unable they are to build up anything in its place by their inability to perceive the destruction they are causing.

7th. That the manufacturers and merchants of the North have not tried to extend their operations to the South, and their prosperity with them. They *have* tried, often with great persistency; but have generally been driven back by the unwillingness of the people to conform to the inexorable conditions of the case. It is true that some have succeeded, by dint of much patience. By dint of much patience, also, both landlords and others have succeeded in teaching improved agriculture, and that in a larger number of instances—the conditions being less rigid than those of trade. Notice that the same efforts by Saxons on behalf of Celts, met by the same obstacles, are recorded during the existence of an Irish Parliament, as well as since the Union. In fact, every one of the economic difficulties, which are the true difficulties of Ireland, reached a far more alarming height under a separate Legislature than they have ever done since.

8th. That the principles of civil and religious liberty, established by the long struggle which lasted from the time of Charles I. to William III., are now so secure that the severance of Legislative Union would not shake them in either island. We deny that. Irish reformers bore more than their share of the fighting and loss, the privations, the destruction of the elements of prosperity, the disturbance of intellectual life, which that struggle involved. Indeed, real security is for them a plant of recent growth. They live still in the very presence of the same dangers against which our English and Irish forefathers fought. The only difference is that the electorate now wields the power which the Crown then wielded; consequently, it is possible for freedom to be safe in one district and utterly unsafe in another, if portions of the electorate of the kingdom are allowed to seize portions of power independent of the rest. Free-born citizens in Ireland resent and resist the deprivation of their inalienable rights by men in England, who intend to keep for themselves all the spiritual and political freedom which the ancestors of both earned, as they believed, for all their descendants alike.

Many fallacies besides those named will be exploded by a careful study of history; but the bringing together of a few of the most serious may be in some degree a guide to those who are entering upon it.—*The Liberal Unionist*, August, 188[illegible]

THE IRISH PRESBYTERIAN CASE.

WE beg to state, for the information of Professor Thorold Rogers and the other English Home Rulers who have been stumping Ireland, that the position and policy of the Irish Presbyterians has always been a truly patriotic one.

We have been strenuously for tenant-right, even in early days when that principle was viewed askance, and was by no means so fashionable as it has since become.

We are now as earnest for a single ownership in the land, believing that a dual ownership in anything is certain to cause friction and mischief. But we want that cultivating ownership brought about justly, with as little hardship as possible to anyone, and unfairness to no one; and we believe if the landowner would set to work and cultivate his own estate that would be a single ownership as good as any other.

We have always been for fair play all round. Our policy is and has ever been "live and let live." We concede to the Roman Catholics what we demand for ourselves—liberty, freedom of conscience, and no interference or intolerance, no persecution of one by another.

In school matters we do not wish to proselytise, but let all Irish boys and girls learn useful subjects together, and respect each other's religious differences. * * * * * * *

We consist of English Puritans and Scotch Presbyterians; we came over here at the instance of just authority; we have turned the wilderness into a fruitful field; we have established the only useful industry in Ulster, and we are noted in all the provinces of Ireland for steady, practical habits and loyal, law-abiding citizenship. If all the people were of our ways a handful of policemen and no military would keep the public peace in Ireland.

If these things are so (and we challenge contradiction of them), surely it is worth the while of Professor Rogers and the rest to ask why it is that with our policy of toleration and fairness to Irish Catholics and all sorts of Irishmen we do not agree to Mr. Gladstone's scheme of Home Rule, and object very decidedly to the "Plan of Campaign," to Parnell and Parnellism, and to the policy of dagger and dynamite and moonlight outrage by which Parnellism is kept up. But if the English Home Rulers reply, "We object to crime also, but a great social revolution creates crime, and you ought to and must have a Parliament of your own in Dublin to manage Irish affairs, and we shall keep ding-dong at this till it is effected" —then our answer is, "We wish to remain an integral part of the British Empire; we object to 'Secesh' in every shape and form. We do not think Ireland is a colony; we do not see how federation of separate governments can apply to the case of Ireland, and we prefer to have some representatives in the Imperial Parliament and take our share in Imperial Government."

Then do we object to all self-government for Ireland? By no means. We have stated over and over again that there are many fiscal, economical, social matters of Irish concern that might be and should be managed in Ireland. We have seen the harm which centralisation does in France; we have seen with some alarm the tendency to centralisation in this country—London absorbing quite too much of the vital juices of the Empire. It is not that we approve of more centralisation, but for far deeper and broader reasons, that we prefer to be governed by Great Britain.

Thus say some of our friends on the other side:—Home Rule is certain to come, and you by your action are alienating the sympathies of the Irish nationality, and in the hour of their triumph they will remember this against you. To all which we have two answers ready. One is that Home Rule, to which we object, is not so likely to come. If it come at all, it will be in a form not so unjust and hurtful; it will be mitigated and modified by the action of ourselves and other Unionists. Our second answer is, we believe in men putting their views frankly and honestly, facing their opponents openly, and making the best fight they can in an honourable way for the policy they prefer. Let the worst come to the worst, we do not fear any vengeance would be meanly taken by the party then victorious. We have more faith in Irishmen after all than that would argue. But in any case we cannot act against our own convictions of duty. We only wish to hold our own, to deprive no fellow-countryman or fellow-citizen of anything which is his of right, nor would we withhold from our countrymen any just right for which they are honestly and honourably contending.

We think we see in Professor Rogers and Mr. John Morley and other English Home Rulers an ignorance of the real position of affairs in Ireland, however great may be their general literary abilities. The ridiculous statement that every Protestant Unionist in Ireland is an Orangeman is itself evidence of absurd ignorance. If pretended ignorance, there is no help for such a moral blemish. If real ignorance, we must try if we can to enlighten them.—*The Witness* (Belfast) 23rd Oct., 1887.

THE TESTIMONY

OF A

PRESBYTERIAN DIVINE.

THE following letter has been sent to us for publication by Miss Tod. It may interest our readers to know that the writer, the Rev. John Hall, who originally was a minister in Ireland, has been for the last twenty years in the United States, and is now in charge of one of the most influential Presbyterian Churches in America. It is said that the Rev. John Hall's congregation raises annually for philanthropic purposes nearly £30,000—the largest church-offering in the world :—

LISADIAN HOUSE, COUNTY ARMAGH.

MY DEAR MISS TOD,—You ask for my views of the question now agitating the minds of the people, and in regard to which you are trying to interest women.

England, in common with other countries, after the manner of the time, made mistakes in the management of Ireland, and is now suffering the penalties of such errors; but the wholesale denunciations of her policy are extravagant.

There are matters in which the right of local administration might be extended with advantage, as in cities, counties, and perhaps provinces; but I should regard the dissolution of the Union, and the transfer of Parliamentary power to Dublin, as a calamity to the whole island, and emphatically to the province that is most prosperous and most capable of self-government.

Abstract views of rights and privileges are easily stated, but in their application to a given region, account must be taken of the conditions of the people. A homogeneous population is one thing; a people divided by race, by religion, and, alas! by many infelicitous histories and agitations, is quite another. I am acquainted, in a measure, with England and Scotland, and with most of Ireland, and I am unable to see any such difference in the Imperial treatment of the respective populations as justifies the statements made and the tone adopted regarding Ireland.

As to the plea that legislation for local objects would be more economically carried on in Dublin than in distant London, I am bound to say, from my observation of "Irish" politicians, that this is unlikely. "Lobbying" and bribery cannot be carried on with less cost than the travelling expenses to London, to say nothing of moral considerations. These things are practically ruled out in London. It is not at all certain that they could be in Dublin.

As to the strong expressions of opinion that come from the United States, it is fair to remember that they are, often, from gentlemen who contemplate the vote of Irish Roman Catholics, who, though relatively not strong (the whole Roman Catholic population is little more than one-tenth of the nation), yet, as a unit, have an accidental disproportionate power, from the balancing of the two great parties. The Democratic party has generally had, and the Republican always desires, that vote. Hence some of the strong utterances. In other cases, American citizens naturally wish to see approximation in other lands to the ways of their own; and they do not always know enough of the circumstances to discriminate.

I have, naturally, strong affection for my native land, and a high appreciation of the many good qualities of its native races, as distinguished from the Scotch-Irish. If they were free and unfettered as men, and had only their best interests as citizens to think of, I should have little distrust of them. But, as all observant men know, the case is complicated by their relations to another Power, and by the memories and traditions of the past. Hence the great need on the part of the Protestant population of Ireland, of wisdom, gentleness, and the combination of magnanimity with their contention for rights which Great Britain tacitly pledged to them in their settlement in the country. I pray God to give the needed wisdom, and to give peace, sense of security, and mutual goodwill in the land.—Believe me, with much respect, yours most truly,

JOHN HALL

September 7th, 1888.—*Liberal Unionist*, October, 1888.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN

ON

IRELAND.

"If you want to get at the truth, you must never forget that there are two Irelands—the Ireland of men of all parties, and creeds, and ranks, and callings, who, whatever else they differ upon, unite in wishing to preserve law and order and the right of every citizen to go about his business in peace and safety; and there is the other Ireland—the smaller Ireland, as I firmly believe—of the men who foment and condone and sympathize with crime. It is the gravest mistake to underrate the numbers and the claim to respect of the party of order in Ireland. It is not a political party. (Hear, hear.) It includes the great Liberal party of the north which, in all its essential features, resembles the Liberal party in Scotland."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN at Hawick, *February 10th*, 1883.

"I never came across men more ready, at a crisis, cheerfully and unostentatiously to place patriotism before party than the Conservatives of the sister island."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"The party of order includes every farmer who does not want to rob the landlord of his due and who does not want to be forced to pay black mail to agitation—every poor fellow who desires to be at liberty to earn a day's wages, by whoever they are offered him, without being shunned, insulted, beaten, and, too probably, murdered."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"During the last few years there has sprung up in many parts of Ireland a class of men who gain their livelihood by criminal agitation."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"Now there is one point which in the coming controversy men ought to fix quite clearly in their minds, and that is, that as far as law and order, and the peace of the country are concerned, there is no half-way house between entire separation and Imperial control."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, at Snitterford, Warwickshire, *December 30th*, 1885.

"Unless we are prepared to give the control of the police to the central authority in all its departments we had better go in at once for the Repeal of the Union."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"To keep up the name and outward semblance of a Union, and at the same time to put into the hands of the enemies of that Union full licence to keep Ireland in disorder, is a policy which I do not think will commend itself to those who know the country."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"It is proposed to give Ireland a Parliament of its own for Irish legislation, but to admit Irish representatives to the Imperial Parliament to discuss and vote upon Imperial matters * * However anxious we may be to divide the domestic functions of Parliament from its Imperial functions, I will venture to say that Irish members will not only be absolute masters of their own Parliament in Dublin, but they would be our masters at Westminster as well."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"A confession that the Liberal Party was a Home Rule Party—that confession—I speak with all respect for those who feel otherwise—is one which, until every faculty I have is strained to the uttermost, and every constitutional method inside and outside the House has been exhausted, I for one, will never consent to."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN. Speech on first reading of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, *April 8th*, 1886.

"I have the greatest possible respect for existing Irish judges. They have done their duty under circumstances of the very greatest difficulty. Such was the tremendous moral pressure upon them, such, in some cases was the physical danger—such was the terrible vituperation and calumny to which they were subjected, that we used to consider it was only a very brave judge who would do his duty under the most trying circumstances."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"That any responsible body of Ministers, whatever else they did, should put the keeping of the police, the enforcement of civil obligations, and the safety and property of our fellow citizens throughout Ireland in the hands of an elective Irish Parliament I could not believe."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"Why did Lord Spencer leave such a very hateful memory? I should imagine the reason was that he vindicated law and order."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"It is not only landlords and red hot Orangemen who feel apprehensive, it is every one who has asserted his legal right to work for whom he likes; everyone who takes any part in bringing to justice those whom the organs of the new administration and party regard as victims and martyrs, every quiet citizen and every member of that minority, which would not be a minority if both parties would join in determining that law and order should no longer be trifled with any more than it is trifled with in Yorkshire or Somersetshire."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"I deny that it is vindictive to say that the National party in Ireland—I do not refer to any particular man—by the laxity of its

attitude towards crime has not established such a title as would justify us in handing over to it the lives, the property, and the freedom of Ireland, which have already suffered enough."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"I cannot consent to the wholesale surrender of our hold upon law and order, which we should never be able to get again. That is the first point upon which I left the Cabinet."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"It is said that an Irish Parliament will be unable to hamper the English Parliament because it will be strictly limited in the subjects it can discuss. Sir, how can you limit any Parliament, let alone a Parliament in a country which has produced such men as Wolftone, O'Connell, Sheil, and John Mitchell? Separation is preferable to such a course. Then we should know where we are at once, whereas we shall come to it through a vista of bad blood and quarrels between the two nations which will greatly embitter us, and if we embark on this course we may just as well come to a separation once for all."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"The main details of any alteration scheme should be, in my opinion, to maintain law and order in Ireland in the hands of the central government, in the hands of Ministers responsible to the Parliament here."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"The Inquisition into the conduct of Jurymen at an Irish trial has always been most searching, One very well-known gentleman in the south of Ireland sat on a Jury on an Agrarian crime. He was among those who were for a conviction. The Jury disagreed; the prisoner was not punished; but this gentleman was none the less a marked man, and he was murdered."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Speech at Hawick, *May 5th*, 1886.

"The poor, the helpless, the uninfluential, the farmers and labourers throughout the south and west of Ireland, who, at a terrible risk to life and limb, insisted on fulfilling their legal obligations; the smaller and humbler officers of the law, who did their duty through the bad times, will now be left to the mercy of those who have not concealed their intention of paying them out whenever they can get a chance."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"You returned me to Parliament as an outspoken opponent of two things—the separation of the British and the Irish legislature and Executive, and the opponent of an alliance between the Liberal party and the Parnellite party as long as the Parnellite party continued in the mind they then were in."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN. Speech at Selkirk, *June 30th*, 1886.

"The real meaning of what has occurred is, that the Government have obtained the Parnellite vote by losing the support of a good many more of their most faithful and tried supporters in the House of Commons."- -GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"It has been represented that the question is one between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone. But that is not the case."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"I will not be a party to giving them [the Irish] the uncontrolled care of law and order."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"Nothing but the fact that the police and resident magistrates were in the hands of a strong central government preserved certain districts in the south and west of Ireland from wholesale massacre." —GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"What is called coercion was merely the putting in force the steps which are required to ensure conviction and to carry out the ordinary law."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"This Parliament will be independent of this Country, but it will be dependent on the votes of the small farmers who have been taught that rent is robbery."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"They set up a separate Executive, and they know that this Executive will be composed of members of the Land League who have been teaching that rent is robbery."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"For my own part the idea of making the ex-members of the Land League the land agents in Ireland of the British Treasury is the wildest that ever entered the brain of man."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"Within the last few days Mr. Gladstone has said that the civilised world cries out with one voice that Ireland is our Poland. Well, gentlemen, if the civilised world does say that, the civilised world knows very little about the matter. Ireland is no more the Poland of England than Scotland is the Poland of England."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"Scotland is much less well off than Ireland, which is a sort of spoiled child."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

"If I had supported that scheme after what I said to you in November last, all I can say is that, though you might have been willing to elect me, I never should have ventured to look you in the face again."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN. Speech at Hawick, *July 2nd*, 1886.

"I could quote by the hundred passages of extraordinary violence and impropriety which were spoken by leading members of the Land League during the recent troubles—passages which would prove, as I think, that they are unfit now to be entrusted with law and order."—GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *ib.*

NOTABLE SAYINGS

BY

LIBERAL LEADERS.

MR. GLADSTONE, M.P.

"My firm belief is that the influence of Great Britain in every Irish difficulty is not a domineering and tyranizing but a softening and mitigating influence, and that were Ireland detached from her political connection with this country and left to her own unaided agencies it might be that the strife of parties would then burst forth in a form calculated to strike horror through the land."

(*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol.* clxxxi., *p.* 721.)

"You would expect when it is said that the Imperial Parliament is to be broken up—you would expect that at the very least a case should be made out, showing there were great subjects of policy and great demands necessary for the welfare of Ireland, which the representatives of Ireland had united to ask, and which the representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales had united to refuse. (Applause). There is no such grievance. There is nothing that Ireland has asked that this country and that this Parliament has refused. This Parliament has done for Ireland what it would have scrupled to do for England and for Scotland."—At Aberdeen, September 26th, 1871.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, M.P.

"The Liberal Party never will have anything to do with attacks upon property any more than upon the person of our fellow citizens. The Landowner has just as good a right to a fair rent as you or I have to the coat upon our back. Whenever the Liberal Party has allied itself with anti-social ideas, whenever it follows some of these misty philosophers in courses which have destroyed the safety of society it has come to grief, as it deserved to come to grief."—Speech at Glasgow, October 25th, 1881.

"Liberals must not be in a hurry to turn the Tories out. He would let them for a few months stew in their own Parnellite juice, and when they stank in the nostrils of the country, as they would stink, then the country would fling them, discredited and disgraced to the constituencies, and the nation would pronounce its final judgment upon them. They would hear no more of Tory reaction for many generations."—Speech at Lowestoft, December 14th, 1885.

MR. JOHN MORLEY, M.P.

"He could not vote for a separate Parliament for Ireland, and he would vote for no measure, proposition, or resolution, or inquiry which let it be supposed that that was an open question in his mind. No one could suppose that he sympathised with the land agitation to break the law of honesty between debtor and creditor."—Speech as Liberal Candidate for Westminster in 1880.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN, M.P.

"Did anyone who had known the House of Commons during the last few years imagine that the Irish Members were so dull or so wanting in ingenuity that they were unable to use Imperial questions for the purpose of serving their own natural ends? However anxious we might be to divide the domestic functions of Parliament from its Imperial functions he (Sir George) would venture to say that the Irish Members would not only be absolute masters of their own Parliament in Dublin, but they would be masters at Westminster as well."—Speech at Stratford-on-Avon. —*Manchester Guardian*, December 19th, 1885.

"What is called coercion was merely the putting in force the steps which are required to ensure conviction and to carry out the ordinary law."—Speech at Selkirk, June 30th, 1886.

EARL SPENCER.

"We feel like the Americans when the integrity of their country was threatened, and, if necessary, we must shed blood to maintain the strength and salvation of this country."—Speech at Bristol, November 14th, 1881.

How Nationalists Legislate.

I.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN KERRY.

On December 6th, 1880, Mr. Parnell, speaking at Waterford, advised his followers to contest all elective boards in Ireland whenever they had a chance of success. Shortly after this, three of the six Kerry Unions, Tralee, Listowel, and Killarney, fell into the hands of his party. From the results, we can very easily estimate the capacity which the Nationalists possess for local administration in Ireland.

In Killarney Union there were, in 1880, 2,107 persons receiving relief at a cost of £1,752, making an average of 16s. 7½d. per head a week; in 1884, after the Parnellites had been in the ascendant for some years, 2,867 persons were in receipt of relief at a cost of £3,617, or 25s. 2d. per head a week.

In the year ending the 29th September, 1880, the out-door relief in Listowel Union was administered to 258 persons, at a cost of £65, or an average of 5s. a head per week. This was under Unionist Guardians. In the year ending September 29th, 1884, the Parnellites being in power, 2,187 persons were relieved, at a cost of £1,638, being almost 15s. each, or three times as much per head as the relief had cost four years previously.

In 1879, which was there and everywhere else, a particularly hard and bad year, Tralee Union shewed 87 persons in receipt of out-door relief at a cost of £30 17s. 11d., or an average of 7s. 1d. per head per week; but, in the year 1884, under Parnellite management, 3,434 received like relief at a cost of £2,534 13s. 10d., or 14s. 9d. on the average per head per week.

Let us now turn to those Boards of Guardians, viz., Dingle, Cahirciveen, and Kenmare, which were, in 1880, under the control of the Unionist party and continued under their management up to 1884.

In Dingle Union, two parties received out-door relief at a cost of £9 2s. during the year 1880. They were hopeless idiots, who could not be well looked after in the workhouse, as it would give rise to a great deal of trouble, and the sum given to them would only amount to 1/6 a week. In 1884, to draw the same contrast as has been done with the other Unions, the number of persons relieved was three, likewise hopeless idiots, and the cost was £13 10s. 4d., showing an addition to the rates of only £4 8s. 4d. during the interval.

To turn to the second Loyalist Union, whilst during the year 1880 there were 561 persons relieved at a cost of £717 in Cahirciveen, in 1883, the number was 1,070, and the cost £903, showing additional rating to the small extent of £186.

In Kenmare 519 persons received out-door relief at a cost of £890. In 1884, the number was reduced to 513 persons and the cost to £870.

Not only is it in the management of funds that the league Guardians distinguish themselves; officials are appointed in many cases to positions of trust on purely personal or on political considerations. In Listowel Union two members of the same family were elected, one after the other, Masters of the Workhouse, which was in the most disgraceful condition. Then a third member of the same family was elected, who proved to be thoroughly unfitted for the post. Colonel Spaight, Local Government Board Inspector, was obliged to report so strongly, that the newly-appointed Master and the Matron were called upon to leave. After they had been discharged, the Master was re-elected by the Guardians, who chose at the same time the wife of a ruined publican in Listowel as Matron. The new Matron was visited by Colonel Spaight, to whom she acknowleged she had absolutely no experience in the work for which she had been chosen. She, as well as the Master, was related to some of the Guardians.

There are only three classes to whom out-door relief can legally be given:—

I.—Persons permanently disabled from labour by reason of old age, infirmity, or bodily or mental defect.

II.—Persons disabled from labour by reason of severe sickness or serious accident.

III.—Widows having two or more legitimate children depending upon them.

But innumerable cases are quoted of out-door relief being applied for or administered to personal friends of the guardians and evicted tenants.

There have even been instances of guardians endeavouring to procure out-door relief for themselves at the expense of the ratepayers. Evicted tenants generally receive from 20/- to 25/- a week out-door relief. It enables them to continue resistance to their landlords, and also relieves the National League of the duty of supporting them as long as their homeless condition lasts.

Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Poor Law Guardians Bill (Ireland) questions 684 to 770.

HOW NATIONALISTS LEGISLATE.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE WEST.

Up to 1879 the gross rate of the Roscommon Union **never exceeded £5,000** a year; it **rose,** however, to £7,500 in 1884, **owing to the presence of a Parnellite majority** on the Board of Guardians. The **out-door relief** likewise **rose** during the same period **from £500 to over £1,000.** Parnellite liberality to **their** political supporters, whether as suspects or as evicted tenants, fully accounts for this increase.

Although the normal out-door relief varied from 1/6 to 3/- a week, the families of those who had been arrested on suspicion of crime, by Mr. Gladstone's Government, obtained £1 a week, notwithstanding the fact that **they were in possession of numbers of sheep, horses, and cattle, as well as of land which was of value under the Land Act.**

The central organisation of the Land League had previously been granting £1 a week, from their headquarters in Dublin, to the families of those who had been so arrested. **Thus were the Land League funds saved at the expense of the local ratepayers.**

This illegal relief was continued until a sealed order was despatched by the Local Government Board prohibiting monetary relief, but empowering the Guardians to give relief to the families of suspects—in food and in fuel—to such an extent as they might deem necessary. **The consequence** was that the **articles authorised to be given** were **purchased at the shop of one of the Guardians who had voted the relief.**

In the same union there were many instances of the grant of out-door relief to evicted tenants **at a far higher rate than in cases of ordinary distress.** The landlord is liable for all the rates on Tenancies under £4 annual value, and for half the rates in cases where the yearly rent exceeds £4. Thus in many instances the landlord had to bear the whole burden of the rates, while in the remainder, however, the poorer class of ratepayer is liable. (Report from Select Committee on the Poor Law Guardians Bill, 1885, quests. 1258-61, 1266, 1271-79, 1284-5, 1290).

In 1886 Mr. John Morley induced Parliament to advance a sum of £20,000 for the relief of six unions in the extreme West of Ireland, viz.: Belmullet, Clifden, Galway, Oughterard, Swinford, and Westport. **At the time the money was so advanced, there were not 1,000 people in receipt of out-door relief. Within six weeks,** the out-door paupers **numbered more than 100,000.** The whole system of relief was scandalous. It is only necessary to cite a few salient instances. In Belmullet Union relief was given to Martin Conway, whose holding was **valued** at **£10,** and who **owned** 13 head of cattle, and to two men named Howard having a **lot of sheep,** and who **expressed themselves** as "**proud to get relief.**"

In Clifden Union a **man who had sold** 13 bullocks at a fair, **a workhouse contractor,** as well as Owen O'Donnell, **holding 1,075 acres of land,** and having **recently paid £6 county** cess, received relief. In Oughterard, Owen King, of Roy, **with 8 head of cattle and 70 sheep;** Denis Keane with **9 head of cattle and 50 sheep;** Martin Keane, with **13 head of cattle and 40 sheep;** Tom Cane with **14 head of cattle, 50 sheep and a horse,** and Michael Coyne, **the owner of 12 head of cattle, 50 sheep and a horse,** were all classed as **paupers** in **receipt** of out-door relief.

In Westport Union relief was given to Pat Joyce, a "Gombeen man" or money lender, trading at a usurious rate of interest. Besides these already quoted, there are many others which it would be tedious to specify: such as publicans, and even pensioners in receipt of £60 a year, who were all granted relief. In several electoral districts there **were more people relieved than there were inhabitants in the districts**; whilst in Slievemore 1,824 persons were **relieved out** of a population of 1,947. Mr. Hugh Lavelle admitted he gave relief to **anyone who asked him** for it.

£36,000 was spent on the security of the £20,000 advanced by the Government before the Banks called the Guardians up. The present position of the six scheduled Unions is as follows:—**Galway** is in **debt** to the extent of **£1,172**; **Belmullet owes** £2,722; **Oughterard** £3,474; **Westport** £5,163; **Clifden** £5,396; whilst the liabilities of **Swinford**, hitherto unprovided for, amount to £16,286. (Report on the Poor Relief (Ireland) Inquiry Commission, pp. viii.—xi.)

Swinford seems, however, to be an old offender. Its Guardians obtained advances of over £28,000 for seed under the Seeds Supply Act, though it is one of the poorest Unions in Ireland. Men who had been **10 or 12 years absent in America**, others **many years in their graves**, as well as **women who did not own** nor had **ever owned land** were put down as recipients of seed. (Evidence before Select Committee on the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill, 1886.)

MAD TIPPERARY

(ILLUSTRATED).

THE conspiracy on the Tipperary Estate of Mr. Smith-Barry, M.P., was openly begun early in 1889, but it had been secretly worked up for several months previously. It was started by Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P., assisted by Mr. John Dillon, M.P., Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., Mr. P. O'Brien, M.P., Mr. D. Sheehy, M.P., Dr. Tanner, M.P., Mr. W. J. Lane, M.P., Mr. Flynn, M.P., Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P., Mr. Condon, M.P., Mr. T. P. Gill, M.P., Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., and Mr. Michael Davitt. Mr. O'Brien also received the help of many of the priests of the town of Tipperary, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel gave his sanction to the agitation. There was no complaint against Mr. Smith-Barry as a landlord. His estate was considered a model one. The tenants were thriving and prosperous; and Tipperary was one of the busiest towns in the south of Ireland. It was well-built, and had good butter and cattle markets. Mr. Smith-Barry, however, had been for many years a thorn in the side of the National League. He had been successful in defeating its boycotting operations and in working farms which it desired should remain tenantless. A near neighbour of his, Mr. Ponsonby, upon whose estate the system of robbery called the Plan of Campaign had been put in force, was on the point of giving in. He had received no rents for from three to eleven years. Mr. Smith-Barry went to his assistance. At once the whole force of the National League was directed against him. The Plan of Campaign, it must be remembered, has been declared by the Pope to be immoral, by Her Majesty's judges to be illegal, and has never received the public support of Mr. Parnell. Mr. O'Brien, assisted by paid agitators sent from Dublin by the League, then tried to work up Mr. Smith-Barry's tenants against him on his Cork and Tipperary estates. He was not successful in Cork, and for a speech delivered there was convicted and imprisoned. In Tipperary the tenants, after many attempts, were at last coerced into refusing to pay their rents except on terms dictated to them by Mr. O'Brien, which Mr. Smith-Barry could not accept. He was compelled to assert his rights, and the goodwill of several of his tenants was put up for sale. Although it had been agreed, previous to the sale, that they should not bid for their interests, several of them did so, and, by purchasing back their goodwill, paid the rent due. They were denounced by the National League. Their names were published in a "black list." Their premises were wrecked. Bombs were thrown into their houses. They were refused the necessaries of life. They were rigidly boycotted. No customers were allowed to enter their shops. Vigilance committees were formed, and the farmers in the neighbourhood were warned not to have any dealings with them. Their lives were made a curse to them, and they gradually gave in to the League. The

agitators then decided to build a new town. The Tenants' Defence League, with Mr. Parnell at its head, was formed, and subscriptions were collected throughout Ireland. More than £125,000 have been wrung from the Irish tenants, of which above £50,000 are

AN INCIDENT IN THE CONSPIRACY: A FARMER TRYING TO EVADE THE TOLL DUE TO MR. SMITH-BARRY, THE OWNER OF THE FAIRS AND MARKETS.

said to have been spent in building and maintaining "New Tipperary." A mart called the "Wm. O'Brien Arcade" was erected and also two streets of flimsily built houses for the tenants, many of whom were not evicted, but were intimidated into leaving their dwellings.

A great many outrages were committed to coerce the tenants into joining the conspiracy, and several farm-houses in the possession of Mr. Smith-Barry were burnt down. The difficulty of obtaining evidence to ensure convictions was very great, but a prisoner who threw a bomb at the house of a tenant received eighteen months' hard labour; and two men found posting boycotting notices were sentenced to eighteen and twelve months' hard labour, respectively. In another case a prisoner, who was found guilty at the Assizes of having an explosive in his possession, was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude. In passing sentence the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland said :—

"Tipperary is in a sad and woful condition. There prevails in that miserable town an organised system of intimidation of an appalling character, promoted by the cruelty of the boycott and by terror of explosives—of explosions deliberately planned. Several of these have been proved to have taken place."

Many of the tenants defied the League and paid their rents. Of these some afterwards gave in through terror, but the majority remained firm in spite of boycotting and outrages. Ultimately, twelve of the leaders of the agitation were prosecuted by the Government. They were charged with a criminal conspiracy to induce Mr. Smith-Barry's tenants not to pay their rents, and the case was tried before two resident magistrates. Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P., Mr. John Dillon, M.P., Mr. P. O'Brien, M.P., and Mr. John Cullinane received six months' imprisonment, and three other defendants four months each. Four were not convicted, and against another the charge was withdrawn. Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon having been admitted to bail escaped to France during the early days of the trial, and were sentenced in their absence. One of the prisoners appealed, but the conviction was unanimously confirmed by the three judges of the Irish Court of Exchequer. In delivering their judgment the Lord Chief Baron said :—

"The evidence, taken as a whole, ... is coercive to show that a conspiracy existed to induce Mr. Smith-Barry's tenants in Tipperary not to pay their rents; and that the modes of inducement contemplated included boycotting, assaults, and violence as the punishment of those who refused."

Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon had escaped to America when the split took place in the Parnellite party. They returned and finally gave themselves up, preferring to go to prison, in order to avoid the troubles in the ranks of the Nationalists. They were released from Galway Gaol on July 30th, 1891, but they have since carefully kept away from Tipperary. At the beginning of the agitation Mr. O'Brien solemnly promised that not a single tenant should lose a penny if he allowed himself to be evicted. But several of them have been plunged into the greatest poverty and have been compelled to ask for assistance from the public. Their letters appealing to Gladstonian M.P.'s, who had encouraged the conspiracy, remained unanswered. In a speech which he delivered in Edinburgh on Oct. 21st, 1890, Mr. Gladstone spoke in the highest terms of the position taken up by the tenants. He applauded the agitation which, he said, they had successfully carried out. Since this speech was delivered, overwhelming evidence has been produced to prove that the tenants only gave in to gross intimidation, backed up by extravagant promises. Mr. John O'Leary,

the Fenian leader and editor of the *Irish People*, which was suppressed by Mr. Gladstone's Irish Executive, has thus described the conspiracy :—

"I repeat now what I said six months ago—that the whole thing is a piece of cowardly cruelty on the part of Mr. Wm. O'Brien, with no intelligible reason behind it save that of lying to England."—*Freeman's Journal*, 8th Jan., 1891.

While Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon were either evading the law, or were in gaol, the agitation was carried on by the Rev. D. Humphreys, one of the curates of the Roman Catholic Church in Tipperary. He was one of the twelve defendants prosecuted by the Government, but, owing to a legal difficulty, he was discharged. In a letter of his, which appeared in the *Irish Times*, 10th May, 1890, he wrote, in answer to a statement that the Catholic clergy of Tipperary were doing all they could to stop boycotting :—

"As one of the Catholic Clergy of Tipperary, I protest against this libel on me. I am doing nothing to stop boycotting. I should be very much ashamed of myself if I were."

Father Humphreys has since been publicly charged with having refused to administer the Sacrament to a dying man, who was the father of a labourer in Mr. Smith-Barry's employment. He also refused to administer the Sacrament to the husband of the schoolmistress at the National School on Mr. Smith-Barry's estate, who was boycotted because he would not join the conspiracy. Speaking at Mallow after his release, Mr. O'Brien declared that Tipperary, in the words of the Archbishop of Cashel, had "realised the heroic," and that Father Humphreys had "held up the flag, and stood in the breach for Ireland."

On the 25th May, 1891, a deputation from his town and country tenants met Mr. Smith-Barry at Chester, and arranged with him the terms to enable them to return to their holdings. From that day the conspiracy practically collapsed, although every effort was made, by further outrages, to keep it going.

Out of some 200 town tenants who held direct from Mr. Smith-Barry, there are not 20 who have not returned to their houses. The "Wm. O'Brien Arcade," which was opened on April 12th, 1890, in the presence of Mr. Wm. O'Brien, Mr. John Dillon, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. C. E. Schwann, Mr. J. T. Brunner, Mr. Halley Stewart, Mr. Robt. Leake, and Mr. J. A. Picton—Gladstonian M.P.'s—has been closed by order of the Vice-Chancellor of the High Court of Justice. The new town is practically deserted. The tenants who have not yet returned to their holdings are keeping back in the hope that there may soon be a Liberal Government to reinstate them, although Mr. John Morley, M.P., is said to have declared that he did not see that anything could be done in their case. It would be impossible to find in the history of the Home Rule agitation a more disastrous defeat than the Nationalists have sustained at Tipperary.

SPECIAL COMMISSION STUDIES, No. 8.

The Clan-na-Gael

AND THE

IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY.

THE Clan-na-Gael organization of America is known as the V. C., or United Brotherhood. The object of the brotherhood is (1) to aid the Irish people in the attainment of the complete and absolute independence of Ireland by the overthrow of British domination; a total separation from that country, and the complete severance of all political connection with it; the establishment of an independent republic on Irish soil, chosen by the free votes of the whole Irish people, without distinction of creed or class; and the restoration of all Irishmen, of every creed and class, of their natural privileges of citizenship and equal rights. (2) It shall prepare unceasingly for an armed insurrection in Ireland.

[*Official Evidence, Parnell Commission,* Vol. IV., p. 493.]

This is the constitution of the American Allies of the Parnellite Party.

The Judges in their report point out:—

We are of opinion that the evidence proves that the Irish National League of America has been since the Philadelphia Convention, 25th April, 1883, **directed by the Clan-na-Gael, a body actively engaged in promoting the use of dynamite for the destruction of life and property in England.** It has been further proved that while the Clan-na-Gael controlled and directed the Irish National League of America, the two organizations concurrently collected sums amounting to more than £60,000 for a fund, called the Parliamentary Fund, out of which payments have been made to Irish Members of Parliament, amounting in the year 1886 to £7,556, and in 1887 to £10,500.

It has not, however, been proved that Mr. Parnell or any of the respondents knew that the Clan-na-Gael had obtained the control over the Irish National League of America, or was collecting money for the Parliamentary Fund, and the circulars of that body as well as the evidence of Le Caron show that their operations were secret. But though it has not been proved that Mr. Parnell and the other respondents knew that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the League, or that the Clan-na-Gael was collecting money for the Parliamentary Fund, **it has been proved that they invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the Physical Force Party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael,** and in order to obtain that assistance abstained from repudiating or condemning the action of that party. It has also been proved that the respondents invited the assistance and co-operation and accepted subscriptions from Patrick Ford, a known advocate of crime and use of dynamite. [REPORT, pp. 118 and 119].

THE Clan-na-Gael AND Home Rule.

THE following Clan-na-Gael circular was put in evidence and proved before the Special Commission. The circular in question was addressed to the various camps of the organization throughout America:—

"To the Officers and Members,

"Brothers, "18th December, 1885.

"The coming Convention of the Irish National League to be held at Chicago "in January will be the most important, and, it is to be hoped, the most "representative assembly of Irishmen ever gathered together in this country. "It is hoped that the Convention will be able to make the demand of Mr. Parnell "for an Irish Parliament irresistible. Your long, persistent, and intelligent "co-operation has culminated in making this demand opportune and its granting "inevitable. England will, however, attempt to put limitations and restrictions "on the grant. The character and measure of the grant is to be determined by "the force and power of your demand. With an intelligent, persistent, and "unyielding body, embracing a united race at his back, the demands of "Mr. Parnell will be at least substantially complied with. With a feeble and "divided body of supporters the enemy will avail themselves of his weakness, "and grant accordingly. The language of the Convention must be forcible and "emphatic. **While our objects lie far beyond what may be "obtained by agitation, a National Parliament is an "object which we are bound to attain by any means "offered.**

"The achievement of a National Parliament gives "us a footing upon Irish soil; it gives us the agencies "and instrumentalities of a government *de facto* at the "very commencement of the Irish struggle. It places "the government of the land in the hands of our "friends and brothers. It removes the Castle's rings, "and gives us what we may well express as the plant "of an armed revolution.

"From that standpoint the restoration of Parliament is part of our programme. "When this is attained, if agitation will not go further, we will still go on "with our forces unimpaired and strengthened. We therefore deem it advisable "that you secure the election of as many delegates as is practicable or possible to "the Convention of the Irish National League to be held in Chicago."

[*Official Evidence*, Vol. V., p. 37.]

Mr. Parnell was represented at the Convention by Messrs. J. Redmond, J. Deasy, and Wm. O'Brien, M.P.'s, and Mr. Davitt was also present. Patrick Egan, late Treasurer of the Land League presided, and over a thousand delegates attended.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.

Addressing an English audience at Denbigh, on 26th October, 1888, MR. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P., Ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin, Patriot and Parnellite Poet, delivered himself as follows :—

"I tell you that strong as the name of England stands, and proud as the people of this island may be of their great and their successful history, they will be prouder men, and the fame and glory of England will stand before the world when the settlement of which I speak will be achieved, more high, more grand, more glorious than ever it has been before." (Prolonged applause.)—*Denbighshire Free Press*, 27th October, 1888.

Lest the people of England should be misled by this humbug, we quote a poem from the pen of Mr. Sullivan, which shows what he thinks of "the fame and glory of England," and the way in which he reads the "great and successful history" of the British Empire. We wonder how the English people, to whom the ex-Lord Mayor is so very kind, will feel when they read his expressions about their country, in the following poem :—

ENVIOUS, SPITEFUL, SELFISH, HEARTLESS, SMOKY, SOOTY, STUPID, AND PALTRY LITTLE ENGLAND.

"'Neath Russia's glorious banner
We hasten to the war;
To lead our conquering legions
We've Russia's mighty Czar.
We'll face all toil and danger,
And count our pains no loss,
Till floats above, the Crescent,
The Standard of the Cross.

Envious little England
Thinks to say us nay;
But *spiteful little England*
Shall never stop our way.

"Across the Russian Danube
We heard our brothers' cries,
We saw above their dwellings
The lurid flames arise.
Shall we not stay this ravage
By brutal Moslem hordes?
Make answer Russia's cannon!
Flash out bright Russian swords!

Selfish little England
Thinks to say us nay;
But *heartless little England*
Shall never stop our way.

"Look up, ye trembling peoples!
Your years of woe are o'er;
You'll bear with Turkish buffets
And Turkish lusts no more.
Behold the light of freedom
Shines from our Northern Star,
The sword and shield of justice,
Our Heaven appointed Czar!

Smoky little England
Thinks to say us nay,
But *sooty little England*
Shall never stop our way.

"England fears for India,
For there her cruel work
Was just as foul and hateful
As any of the Turk.
But when God sends us thither
Her rule to overthrow,
With fearless hearts rejoicing
To work His will we'll go.

Stupid little England
Thinks to say us nay;
But *paltry little England*
Shall never stop our way.

This reference to Ex-Mayor Sullivan would not be by any means complete if we did not mention that *it was after* the appearance of "Paltry Little England" that Mr. Sullivan *lunched at Hawarden and dined at Dollis Hill with Mr. Gladstone;* and was the favoured recipient of *Mr. Gladstone's congratulations* on the advancement of his "principles" at a meeting at the Chester Railway Station.

HOW HE REFERS TO LORD SPENCER.

Mr. Sullivan when speaking in England is careful to explain that his feelings and sentiments have all undergone a wonderful change, and that now he is full of admiration for everything and everybody whom he formerly abused and hated, and who have since come to think as he does. However, Lord Spencer seems to be an exception from the Parnellite Poet's good will. Mr. Sullivan's latest edition of poems contains the following verses, entitled "Foxy Jack." Foxy Jack, it should be explained, is the gentlemanly way in which the poet refers to John Poyntz, Earl Spencer. The verses were written in September, 1881, in reply to the noble Earl's speech at Gowran, county Kilkenny, in which he said the Irish People "should not be deluded into believing that they were to get any more concessions. They must be content with the enormous concessions that have been made." Mr. Sullivan answers "Foxy Jack" in the following doggerel:—

Ye agitators
And Land League traitors,
Your rebel colours you must haul down;
Since the Lord-Leftinnant
Set up his pinnant
At young Lord Clifden's near Gowran town:
He said the Land Act
Was such a grand Act
That you'd get no more on your present tack;
But I'd like to know, boys,
Who cares a sloe, boys,
For the silly sayin's of Foxy Jack.

No, boys; while Erin
Is sadly bearin'
A single link of oppression's chain,
Our proud endeavour
Will be for ever
To end her grief and to ease her pain.
We'll give our nation
Its rightful station,
Despite each tyrant and slavish hack,
Each vain romancer
And Castle dancer—
And there's our answer to Foxy Jack.

HE TELLS TRUTH BY STEALTH.

"Let not the English Liberals, however, deceive themselves. If they have a notion that by making *partial concession* to Irish claims, and especially to the Irish National Claim for self-government, they can once more attach to themselves the great body of Irish Parliamentary Representatives, let them at once dismiss it from their minds as a gross delusion. . . . . We shall not respect partial concessions, and *most assuredly we will not be induced, by the grant of some of our rights, to cease working for the remainder.*"—*Nation*, 25th October, 1879.

HIS TRUE SENTIMENTS REGARDING "THINGS ENGLISH."

The following references (extracted from Mr. Sullivan's paper the *Nation*) deal, of course, with the different reverses which attended the British troops in Afghanistan and Zululand ten years ago.

"It was a *most brilliant affair*, cleverly planned, and thoroughly executed. *It is only English armies that are so squelched.* The soldiers of other nations, by a combination of bravery and skill, are able to bring themselves honourably out of almost any predicament.—*Nation*, 15th February, 1879.

"*We are glad* whenever we see the fulfilment of the Scripture promise that those who unjustly draw the sword shall perish by the sword. *The punishment of robbers and murderers should always give satisfaction to honest men*, and for that reason the recent events in Afghanistan have had in this country quite a reassuring effect. —*Nation*, 20th Dec., 1879.

"*And now the news reaches us, gladdening every honest heart, that one of the most signal defeats ever inflicted on British arms* in any part of the world has just been inflicted on them by Ayoub Khan —*Nation*, 7th August, 1880.

"The heir of the Napoleons has perished in Zululand. As far as can yet be seen, the event reflects the deepest discredit upon the British . . . . *It is certain that none other than British soldiers could have been guilty of such a disgraceful flight.*—*Nation*, 28th June, 1879.

"The British, in fact, seem to be in mortal terror of Zulus, the mere shadows of whom are often enough to drive the gallant fellows away *frightened almost out of their lives.*—*Nation*, July 5th, 1879.

"*The Robber Army* will continue in Zululand, and Irishmen have the gratification of knowing that the Parliament of the English is becoming as useless to themselves as it is to us, and that *our arm is long enough to work hurt and harm on the enemy in at least some parts of the world.*—*Nation*, June 7th, 1879.

"The operations of the invaders, the English forces, are those of *ruthless plunderers and cut-throats.*—*Nation*, 3rd January, 1880.

"The world would continue to believe that he (General Roberts) has been in command simply of a *corps of hangmen.*—*Nation*, 21st February, 1880.

"*Brag, bluster, and bloodshed*, were always dear to the English mind."—*Nation*, 13th March, 1880.

PREACHING THE CREED OF BOYCOTTING.

The following speech of Mr. Sullivan's was quoted at the State Trials in Dublin, in 1881 :—

"If you stand to each other like brothers, follow the advice that has been given you here to-day, leave those farms to grow thistles and rushes, and if anyone is base enough to go in on them, shun him. (A voice, 'Shoot him.') Let him be as an outcast amongst you, and his life will be a life of shame, and a life of misery; and the shame will attach not only to himself, but to his children and his children's children."—Speech at Ennis, 19*th September*, 1880.—Official Report, *Queen* v. *Parnell*, p. 143.—(*See* Report of Trial.)

HE WANTS REPEAL AND NOTHING BUT REPEAL.

Speaking at Mullingar, on 1st June, 1884, Mr. Sullivan is reported to have said :—

"They would never lay down their arms till the full measure of their rights was conceded. . . . Again, it was said that as soon as the National Party got 80 or 90 Parnellites into Parliament, the next thing would be the *repeal of the Union*. ('Hear, hear.') To those who made that objection, he would reply, '*Right you are old boy.*' (Cheers and laughter.) And the National Party would never rest content till they achieved for Ireland its full measure of National rights, and got back once more for their country a native Parliament in the Irish capital, to take charge of the interests and watch over the destinies of the Irish people." (Loud Applause.)

HE GLORIES IN ANNOYING ENGLAND.

At the Central Branch of the National League in Dublin, on 18th January, 1887, Mr. Sullivan, M.P., who was warmly cheered, said he would trespass on their attention for only a short time. The chief thing that induced him to intrude himself upon their

notice was that he wished to hand in a couple of sovereigns which he had received from a gentleman in America for a special purpose. The money came from Mr. John A. O'Reilly, of Syracuse, New York, and the letter is dated the 23rd December. He says—**"Appropriate it to anything or whatsoever will give the British Government two pounds worth of annoyance and punishment."** (Loud laughter.) He (the Lord Mayor) did not exactly know what the subscriber meant by satisfaction of his money. He thought that it ought to be something connected with the Plan of Campaign. (Hear, hear.) *He would make the National League the custodians of it for the present*, and they *would see afterwards the best means of applying it.*—*Freeman's Journal*, 19th January, 1887.

RECENT SPEECHES ON SEPARATISM.

Were the people likely to surrender the cause for which Grattan strove and for which **Tone died?** (At Waterford, 9th Sept., 1888.)—The *Nation*, 15th September, 1888.

The Irish people were never before so united as they were at the present moment. They had an educated people at home who had drunk in the teaching of Thomas Davis, of John Martin, and of John Mitchell, and on their cause would go. They had educated the English people, **and he thought that they had established a right to a larger and a wider scheme of Home Rule for Ireland than was originally proposed by Mr. Gladstone.** (At Phœnix Park, Dublin, 16th September, 1888.)—*United Ireland*, 22nd September, 1888.

A NOBLE (?) BOAST.

"We have revolutionised the relations between these two classes in Ireland—the Landlord and the Tenant." (At Drogheda Convention, 7th November, see *Dundalk Democrat*, 9th November, 1889.)

"GOD SAVE IRELAND."

The late Mr. John Bright, M.P., replying to a correspondent in April, 1888, said :—

"It is a song (God save Ireland) written obviously to glorify the men guilty of the Fenian outrage and murder committed in Manchester, on the 18th of September, 1867. I am not sure that the author of the song was not present; at least three Members of Parliament are reported to have been present, one of whom, the member for Huddersfield, was, or is, or is expected to be, or aspires to be, one of the whips of the present Opposition, and of the new Government which the disappointed and the hungry are so anxiously looking for.

"I will not reason with the three members or the expectant whip. I know their case, and they know it. But I may reason, not with your frantic public meeting, but with the thoughtful and moral men who were in former days many, and who, I hope, are now not a few among the electors of your once honoured constituency. Are they prepared to glorify the actors in the Fenian outrage of 1867? Will they join in singing the praises of the men of whom even your editor says, 'They rightly paid the penalty of the homicide of which they were guilty.'?"—The *Times*, April 11th, 1888.

The following are two of the verses of Mr. Sullivan's Song which Mr. Bright referred to :—

High upon the gallows tree
Swung the noble-hearted Three,
By the vengeful tyrant stricken in their bloom;
But they met him face to face,
With the courage of their race,
And they went with souls undaunted to their doom.
"God save Ireland!" said the heroes:
"God save Ireland!" said they all:
"Whether on the scaffold high
"Or the battle-field we die,
'Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

Never till the latest day
Shall the memory pass away
Of the gallant lives thus given for our land:
But on the cause must go,
Amidst joy, or weal, or woe,
Till we've made our isle a nation free and grand.
"God save Ireland!" say we proudly;
"God save Ireland!" say we all;
"Whether on the scaffold high
"Or the battle-field we die,
"Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

December 7th, 1867. "National Songs," by T. D. Sullivan, M.P.

This Song has now become the Irish Home Rule "National Anthem," and is sung at all public assembles in place of God Save the Queen.

MR. SULLIVAN
ON THE
REMOVAL OF LOYAL EMBLEMS
FROM
THE MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN.

Commenting on the incidents of a banquet given by the Lord Mayor, Mr. John O'Connor, of Dublin, to Mr. C. S. Parnell and other members of his Parliamentary party in September, 1885, the *Nation* newspaper, of which

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.,

was the *Editor*, *Proprietor*, and *Publisher*, says (5th September, 1885) alluding to the omission of the toast of the Queen and the removal of V.R. from the canopy over the seat of the Lord Mayor:—

"The banquet in the Mansion House on Tuesday is likely to become historic. . . . The banquet was also notable as marking the first complete break with the past traditions of the official residence of the Chief Magistrate of Dublin, and the inauguration within its walls, as it were, of the National *regime* of to-day.

"A very significant change, for instance, was made in the Mansion House toast list, **from which all royal and 'loyal' toasts were, for the first time, completely absent,** and on which the sentiment placed first was one that had never before been honoured at a public entertainment in the same place, viz., 'Ireland a Nation.' Another circumstance of similar significance was the substitution in the gas device over the canopy in the Round Room of a harp and shamrock for the well-known letters V.R. **The Lord Mayor, in fact, did not leave a trace of British rule in the hall, even the familiar 'Union Jack' having had to give way to the Irish, American, and French Flags. . . . . The inference inevitably suggested to us is, that if all traces of British rule were swept out of the country as well as out of the Mansion House, similar peace would prevail everywhere else in the island."**

Mr. T. D. Sullivan was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin the following year.

Perhaps Mr. Sullivan will state whether during that year the toast of "the Queen" was proposed at the Mansion House, or any of the Loyal Emblems restored.

HOW
SCOTCH PRESBYTERIANS
ARE DEALT WITH
IN THE
SOUTH OF IRELAND.

The following correspondence has taken place between the Rev. FATHER DOYLE, P.P., of Athy, and Mr. J. TOWNSEND TRENCH, J.P., the Agent of LORD LANSDOWNE :—

'ATHY, *December 28th*, 1888.

'SIR,

'I wish to bring under your notice a difficulty which has recently arisen at Barrowhouse, and which you alone can remedy. A caretaker living in Mr. Dan Whelan's house has two boys whom he sends to the school there at the Chapel. **Their presence dispersed the other children**, who will not **associate** with the **strangers**. The result is that the school is broken up. If I may suggest a **remedy** for this **disorder** it is to ask you to **order** those children to come into the Model School at Athy, where they will meet their own co-religionists, **the Scotch**. It is not too far—**three miles**. Otherwise **the school must be abolished** altogether and the **disorder** spread and perpetuated. This is more simple and reasonable than to ask you to withdraw **those Scotch boys**. In the interests of peace and harmony I ask you to interfere in this urgent case, and am,

'Very respectfully yours,

'JAMES DOYLE, P.P

'J. TOWNSEND TRENCH, ESQ.'

'KENMARE, *January 4th*, 1889.

'REV. AND DEAR SIR,

'I have received your letter of the 28th ult., in which you inform me that the children who attend Barrowhouse National School, near Athy, will not **associate** with the children of a caretaker who lives close by upon a farm **from which a tenant was evicted**, said tenant being one who had joined **the Plan of Campaign**, and who had held the land for **three years without having paid any rent—good, bad, or indifferent**—for its use during that period, and you inform me that in consequence the school is deserted. You ask me, therefore to **withdraw** the children of the caretaker so as to "remedy the disorder." Such a request coming from the Parish Priest of one of the most important districts in Ireland, has caused me no little surprise, and that for reasons to which I will venture respectfully to draw your attention.

'1. The principles of the National system of Education in Ireland **throw the schools** under that system **equally open to all**. And you propose to teach the children (you make no reference to their parents), for whom you are **responsible**—(1) to set **at defiance** the rules of the National Education Board; and (2) to allow **the children to assume successfully the government of the school** where they ought to **learn to obey**. In fact you propose to allow the children to decide **who shall and who shall not** attend the school, and you ask for my co-operation in **abandoning** to a number of children **your authority as a man and Priest**! Have you seriously considered what would be the consequences if such principles were generally acted upon in Ireland?

'2. The decree of the **Holy Office**, which has been solemnly approved of by **His Holiness the Pope** (you will remember) runs as follows:—"It is not lawful in the disputes between landlords and tenants of farms and estates in Ireland to make

use of the means commonly called the Plan of Campaign and Boycotting." And yet, Rev. Sir, you ask for my co-operation in giving a marked **sanction** and **victory** to **boycotting** by an **unconditional surrender** to its demands. Have you considered the very serious nature of such a request—serious as a declaration of **contempt for the authority of the Pope**—serious as **an immorality** to which you wish me to become **an accomplice ?**

'3. Your letter throws out the suggestion that objection has been taken to these two children by the others because they are **Presbyterians,** because they are **Strangers**, and because they are of **Scotch Parentage**. Have you considered how such a disclosure of what **Presbyterians, Strangers,** and **Scotchmen** have to expect at the hands of **those** who are under your **teaching**, if **ever** the day should come that they should be at **their mercy**, is calculated to alarm and surprise a large number of the inhabitants of **Scotland** and **Ireland ?** If ever this country should come seriously to discuss the desirability of placing Ireland with its **Ulster** population, which is largely of **Scotch** origin, under " Home Rule," will your action be calculated to inspire that **Loyal section** of Her Majesty's subjects with feelings of **Peace, Harmony,** and **Security ?** and if I were to comply with your request should I be contributing to the **permanent remedy of Ireland's disorder ?**

'I had hoped, and I do hope, that we are advancing towards the day when dark **religious jealousies** among the people of Ireland will fade away before the light of the Cross, and when Irishmen can worship the Almighty (even though they bow at different altars) without hating one another for the love of God.

'Meanwhile I respectfully venture to hope that you will agree with me it would be hardly decent from your point of view that the authority of the Pope, or decent from mine

that the orders of the National Education Board, and the interests of morality, and the liberties of an important section of Her Majesty's subjects, should all be sacrificed in order to please the whim of a few children, or their parents, who have enlisted your aid to boycott the children of a respectable Scotchman for faithfully and fearlessly doing his duty.

'I remain, Rev. Sir,

'Your faithful servant,

'J. TOWNSEND TRENCH.

'Rev. JAMES DOYLE, P.P., ATHY.'

IRISH SEPARATISTS IN ENGLAND.

At a meeting of the Irish National League in Dublin on 21st April, 1891, Mr. T. M. Harrington, M.P., Secretary of the organisation, referred to the money which was collected by the McCarthy wing of the National party, and said:—

"He begged their friends through the country to see that their money did not go to support political blackguardism (loud applause)—to support men to attend meetings in England for Whig candidates (applause)":—*Freeman's Journal* report.

On the 27th January, 1891, Mr. John Deasy, M.P., spoke at Cork, and alluded to several of his fellow Home Rule Parliamentary advocates in these terms:—

"Those were the men who have been going round Great Britain for years, preaching doctrines that he (Mr. Deasy) and those who were with him would not preach. He (Mr. Deasy) had never said on an English platform what he would not say there that night He had not been saying that they all wanted to be part and parcel of the British Empire, with the lie upon the top of his tongue. He was not going to disgrace his constituents and make himself a public liar by going over to England and uttering falsehoods there and coming back and saying he was deceiving the people of England at the time."—*Cork Herald*, 28th January, 1891.

Here, then, is a Parnellite and an anti-Parnellite statement. The Members of Parliament who now support Gladstonian candidates on English platforms are, according to Mr. Harrington, "Political Blackguards." On the other hand, the members who support Mr. Harrington's chief—Mr. Parnell—are men who have been making "public liars" of themselves during the past five years, by uttering falsehoods on English platforms, and deceiving the people of England. The following are a few passages from the speeches of those who thus describe one another on English platforms during the "Union of Hearts" period:—

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR, M.P.

Mr. John O'Connor, speaking at Hastings on 16th January, 1888, said:—

"He had lived all his life, or almost all the best part of his life, to bring about the separation of the countries, and to effect his purpose he had lived in the shadow of death and the gloom of the gallows, but he was now only one of tens of thousands of men who had laid down their arms captivated by the policy of a grand old statesman."—*Hastings and St. Leonards Times*, January 21st, 1888

At Rochester election, April, 1889.

"*Charles Stewart Parnell, speaking on behalf of four and three-quarter millions of people at home* and 17 millions of the Irish race scattered in other lands, told them that he would accept Mr. Gladstone's Bill as a settlement of the question." What more assurance did they want?—*Rochester Times*, 11th April, 1889.

MR. PIERCE MAHONY, M.P.

Mr. Pierce Mahony, at Truro, Cornwall, on the 15th April, 1887, in the presence of Earl Spencer and Sir Walter Foster:—

"There is nothing noble or glorious in thirty-two millions seeking to hold down five millions by force (cheers). There is something noble, something worth striving for in the endeavour to attach and to bind to you even five millions by the cords of love (cheers). This is the policy of your great leader (cheers). Has he led you wrong in the past? (No.) Do you trust him? (Yes.) Then, in God's name, follow him (prolonged cheering, followed by three cheers for Gladstone and three cheers for the Irishmen). Your cause is just, and victory is certain."

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P.

Mr. William O'Brien, at Plymouth, 1st August, 1888:—

"How long were the Irish people to be repulsed with blows, *when they came to tell the English people that their desire was to shake hands with them*—(cheers)—*as comrades and friends*, and to be true till death to that new and blessed Act of Union which had been proclaimed by William Ewart Gladstone."—(*Freeman's Journal* report.)

MR. JOHN DEASY, M.P.

Mr. John Deasy, at Kingsclere, Berks, 24th January, 1888:—

"He disclaimed this idea of separation as useless for him and his constituents. They wanted the English Parliament to remain supreme, and they did not object to take part in the Imperial representation at Westminster."—*Newbury News*, 26th Jan., 1888.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.

Mr. T. D. Sullivan, speaking at Denbigh, 26th October, 1888, referred to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule proposals, and said:—

"I tell you that strong as the name of England stands, and proud as the people of this island may be of their great and their successful history, they will be prouder men, and the fame and glory of England will stand before the world when the settlement of which I speak will be achieved, more high, more grand, more glorious than ever it has been before. (Prolonged applause.)—*Denbighshire Free Press*, 27th October, 1888.

The English people are asked to bear these facts in mind whenever an Irish Separatist Member of Parliament, whether he be Parnellite or anti-Parnellite, appears amongst them.

Irish Protestants on Home Rule.

The following extracts are taken from the Official Addresses presented to Mr. Gladstone's Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Aberdeen, in March, 1886.

THE CHURCH OF IRELAND—600,000.

'That we, the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church of Ireland, assembled in this General Synod from all parts of Ireland, and representing more than six hundred thousand of the Irish people, consider it a duty at the present crisis to affirm our constant allegiance to the Throne, and our unswerving attachment to the Legislative Union now subsisting between Great Britain and Ireland. And we make this declaration, not as adherents of a party, or on behalf of a class, but as a body of Irishmen holding various political opinions, following different callings, representing many separate interests, and sharing, at the same time, a common desire for the honour and welfare of our native land.'

'That we contemplate with dismay the social disorder, intimidation, and violence which prevail in many parts of Ireland, due to an agitation, the promoters of which would, it is evident, have paramount influence in a separate Irish Parliament. We, therefore, protest—in common with large numbers of our fellow-countrymen who do not belong to our Church—against the establishment of such a Parliament in this land. We are convinced that so revolutionary a change would only aggravate the peril to civil and religious liberty and the insecurity of property and life which now exist. Nor could any guarantees against such dangers be

by the Imperial Government in opposition to the will of an Irish Parliament without a recourse to arms.'

'That we hereby record our devotion to the interests of the great Empire of which this United Kingdom is the centre—a devotion intensified by our attachment to the country of our birth. We recognize the advantage and honour we derive from our present Imperial position, and the conspicuous place which Irishmen have long held among those to whom the Empire owes its prosperity and its fame. We therefore protest, in the interests both of our country and of the Empire, against any measure that could endanger the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, believing that such a step would lead to the complete separation of these countries and to the consequent dismemberment and humiliation of the Empire as a whole.'

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND.

500,000

'That we would deprecate in the strongest manner, as disastrous to the best interests of the country, a separate Parliament for Ireland, or an elective National Council, or any legislation tending to imperil the Legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, or to interfere with the unity and supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Legislation in any of these directions would, in our judgment, lead to the ascendency of one class and creed in matters pertaining to religious education and civil administration. We do not believe that any guarantees, moral or material, could be devised which would safeguard the rights and privileges of minorities scattered throughout Ireland against the encroachment of a majority vested with legislative functions. As law-abiding and industrious subjects of Her Gracious Majesty, who have in some degree contributed to the peace and prosperity of the country, we claim that our present re-

lation to the Imperial Parliament shall be maintained, believing that in this way alone can the liberty of the subject in the discharge of civil and social duties be properly secured. We are further of opinion that under a separate Parliament the present system of unsectarian national education, which secures equal rights and privileges to all, irrespective of creed, which provides adequate safeguards against proselytism,and which has conferred similar benefits on the country, would, in all probability, be supplanted by a denominational system, under which the young of any denomination, residing in districts where they form a small minority of the population, would be deprived of all education,except on terms opposite to their conscientious conviction, while a system of concurrent endowment, in a most objectionable form, would thus be introduced, in contravention of the policy that in recent times received the sanction of the Legislature. Whilst acknowledging that large sections of the Irish people have in the past suffered many and grievous wrongs, we believe there are no grievances removable by legislation which cannot be removed by the Imperial Parliament, while the establishment of a separate Parliament in Ireland would most seriously aggravate many existing evils, and would produce other evils greater than any that at present exist.'

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN IRELAND.

51,000

'As a Church, we have always inculcated and exemplified the duty of obedience to the laws of our country, and respect for the Constitution, which it is our glory to live under. We would deplore any steps which might be taken, either by the Government or the Legislature,which would weaken the bonds which unite this country with Great Britain, and which would tend to the legislative independence of Ireland

—a measure which, in our judgment, would be fraught with evil to the best interests of the United Kingdom.'

THE NON-SUBSCRIBING PRESBYTERIANS.

60,000

'We should be untrue to the convictions, not hastily formed, which we entertain respecting the Union of the Three Kingdoms, if we did not venture, at this unprecedented crisis, firmly to assure your Excellency that we look to the maintenance of the existing Constitution, with its Imperial Parliament representing the United Kingdom, as the indispensable safeguard of the liberties of the whole people of this island.

'We believe that the cry for legislative independence covers a desire for separation, and that any measure tending to weaken the existing tie of the Union would be but a prelude to results utterly disastrous to the economic and general interests of the country, as well as to the public peace.'

THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

'The peace and prosperity of all classes are, in our judgment, indissolubly connected with the legislative union between England and Ireland. We, therefore, conclude with the earnest hope that this and every other tie which makes Ireland an integral part of the United Kingdom may be fully maintained.'—*Address of Welcome presented to His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen by the Board and Senate of the University of Dublin, March 12th,* 1886.

THE NONCONFORMIST VOICE.

THE following is the text of the address which the ministers of the Nonconformist Churches of Ireland presented to Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington at the Hôtel Métropole, London, on the 14th November, 1888:—

"To the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury and to the Right Honourable the Marquis of Hartington.

"We, the undersigned ministers of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist Churches in Ireland, have seen with great regret the presentation of an address to Mr. Gladstone, signed by a considerable number of Nonconformist ministers in England and Wales in favour of a scheme of Home Rule for Ireland. We hold that the opinion of their brethren living in Ireland is entitled to far more weight than an expression of opinion from men who, however good their intentions, have little or no personal knowledge of the state of things in Ireland.

"We deprecate in the strongest manner, as disastrous to the best interests of the country, a separate Parliament for Ireland, or any legislation tending to imperil the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, or to interfere with the unity and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. We do not believe that any guarantees, moral or material, could be devised which would safeguard the rights of minorities scattered throughout Ireland against the encroachments of a majority vested with legislative and executive functions.

"While acknowledging that in the past large sections of the Irish people have suffered many wrongs, we believe there are no grievances removable by legislation which cannot be removed by the Imperial Parliament; while the establishment of a separate Parliament for Ireland would most seriously aggravate many existing evils, and would produce other evils greater than any that at present exist.

"We especially claim the aid of our co-religionists in Great Britain in resisting strenuously any such policy, believing that it would deprive us of our rights of citizenship in this great Empire."

Out of a total of **990** Nonconformist ministers of all denominations in Ireland, **864** signed the address. Only **eight** declared themselves Home Rulers, and the remainder mostly declined on the ground that, being ministers of religion, they wished to have nothing to do with politics.

THE PRESBYTERIANS.

The Rev. R. J. Lynd, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church, after presenting the Address, said:—

"The significance of their address was emphasized by the fact that until Mr. Gladstone abandoned the Liberalism of the greater part of his political life, at least 95 per cent. of the ministers of his Church were the right hon. gentleman's most ardent and devoted adherents, and he believed the same was true of other churches represented there. **Indeed out of the 600 Presbyterian ministers he questioned** whether they could have found more than a dozen who were not supporters of Mr. Gladstone's policy. At the present moment their attachment to Liberal principles was as strong as ever. **They had not surrendered their Liberalism,** but Mr. Gladstone had marched with colours flying into the Parnellite camp and put himself at the head of the Parnellite forces, and they declined to follow him. (Cheers)."

HALF A MILLION OF PEOPLE.

At two successive assemblies, one of them called for the special consideration of this question, a series of resolutions opposing Mr. Gladstone's policy was adopted unanimously. (Cheers). **The practical unanimity of their 600 ministers was fairly representative of that of their laity.** (Cheers). Their Church numbered within a fraction, half-a-million. In a district, for instance, containing 500

or 600 people they would find one or two farmers who said that they were Home Rulers, but Home Rule with them simply meant cheap land. They had an idea that the Parnellites would give them that, and they would be prepared to accept that under any rule, though it was that of the Czar of all the Russias. ("Hear, hear," and laughter). But the numbers of such were very few indeed. Their Presbyterian Church as a whole were through and through sound on this question. (Cheers.)

PUTTING BACK THE HANDS OF THE CLOCK.

It was from no lack of patriotism that they were opposed to the Nationalist policy. They loved their native land—(cheers)—and felt a profound interest in all that concerned her well-being. Could they be convinced that the Gladstonian policy would regenerate and elevate Ireland they would adopt and support it enthusiastically; but it was just because they were persuaded in their inmost hearts that it would throw back their country 100 years in civilization, and be destructive of her best interests all round, that, with much reluctance, they had made their present stand. (Cheers.)

THE REPRESENTATIVE PARTY.

Mr. Gladstone tried to discount any influence their statements might have by saying that the opinion of 85 representatives was of more weight than theirs could be. Theirs was disinterested at any rate. **They gained nothing by the course they had adopted.** Could the same be said for Mr. Gladstone's Parnellite following? How many of them dare call their minds their own? (Cheers.) Then he had no hesitation in asserting that they possessed much more reliable knowledge of Ireland and Irish affairs than Mr. Gladstone and his whole Parnellite following, and certainly they had both a deeper interest and **a fuller acquaintance with Irish affairs than their English Nonconformist brethren who had assumed an attitude of hostility to the cause of Unionism.** (Cheers.)

AN APPEAL TO ENGLISH BRETHREN.

He wished he could appeal to their Nonconformist brethren who would force Home Rule upon them. They did want Home Rule of a sort—that was, they wanted local government safely guarded, as the people of England and Scotland would have it. They wanted every privilege they could get for themselves; but they still proclaimed their resolve to adhere to the Union. (Cheers.) **If Home Rule came, then they must bid farewell** to the system of united secular and separate religious instruction to which they had been always true. They would then have the Romish Church endowed, not directly, but indirectly, through its educational institutions, which would be virtually teachers of the Romish religion. **They would have the prosperity of the North taxed to support the poverty of the South.** Trade and commerce and capital would be driven from the island, and, worse than all, the alienation and strife of centuries would be re-awakened, with what results God alone could tell. (Cheers.)—*Times*, 15th November, 1888.

THE METHODISTS.

The Rev. Henry Evans, D.D. (Chairman of Waterford District), said:—

My Lords,—Strictly speaking, there is neither Conformity nor Nonconformity now in Ireland. **All Churches there are equal in the eye of the law,** and all stand on like voluntary relations to the people of the country. But whilst this is so, the Churches, whose ministers to-night address your Lordships, correspond to Churches in England that are Nonconformist—**the Irish and the English Churches being one in doctrine** and in polity, and one in the unity of an actually subsisting fellowship.

Addressing your Lordships in the name of the Irish Nonconformist ministers, I feel it due to my brethren to remember their sacred office, and in anything I may say about portions of our countrymen, to express it under the influence of charity, and

in such a spirit as befits the pastoral office. (Hear, hear.) We owe one another many things; we owe our brethren in England as well as those from whom we totally differ in Ireland, kindness, charity, forbearance, and courtesy; but, above everything else, we owe one another truth.

THE HOME RULE IMPOSTURE.

There is nothing, seemingly, so hard to get, and there is nothing pertaining to the Irish question so important. The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, would shatter to atoms the fabrications, the party inventions, the selfish strategy, the plausible sophistry, the inexhaustible impudence, by which the Home Rule imposture is promoted. It is solely in the interests of truth, and not the interests of party, that the Irish ministers present this address. In so doing, it is not a compliment to parties, but a tribute to patriotism, that we pay. **Face to face, and day by day, we see all that is dear to us as citizens dangerously imperilled;** we see falsehood sapping the foundations of truth; we see the sorceries of selfishness prevailing over honour; we see an organization, begotten in sedition and nursed in blood, extending its baleful influence to your country, and there, as well as in Ireland, fast tending to efface the eternal distinctions between right and wrong. My Lords, in view of such evils we cannot remain silent. It is to witness against them, it is to uphold your patriotic hands in the righteous effort you are making to throttle the impious immorality that menaces at once the civil and religious well-being of England and Ireland, that Christian ministers in Ireland have presented this address. (Cheers.)

OVERWHELMING OPINION.

That the public may appreciate its weight, I may mention on behalf of the Methodist Church, to which I have the honour to belong, that it is signed by the overwhelming majority of the **Methodist Conference.** It is signed by our Vice-President, who is our **highest officer in Ireland,** the

President being an Englishman and resident in England; it is signed by the Secretary of our Conference, and by all the Chair men of Districts.

For our ecclesiastical purposes Ireland is divided into districts, such as the Dublin District, the Waterford District, the Cork District, the Limerick District and so on. The Chairmen of these Districts have very responsible duties entrusted to them, and every one of these Chairmen has signed this address. We have two colleges in Ireland doing a great educational work in the country —one in Dublin and one in Belfast. The Presidents of these two Colleges have signed the address. Besides, I should mention that of the body known as the Legal Hundred, in whose hands the legal keeping of our interests is placed—of that Legal Hundred a fixed proportion belongs to Ireland, and every member of the Legal Hundred resident in Ireland has signed the address. Vice-president, chairmen of districts, presidents of our colleges, members of the Legal Hundred, and the overwhelming majority of our ministers—signed by these, the address represents the closely knit unity of our body, and the increasingly strong and conscientious conviction with which we abjure 'Home Rule.'

The few ministers who have not signed, for the most part, fully agree with their brethren, hold opinions just as strongly opposed to Home Rule as they, and the proofs of this are in my possession under their own hands, but for reasons partly prudential and partly arising out of the devotion they owe to their sacred office, they prefer to remain in private. Nor is this the first time the Methodist Church in Ireland has spoken out against the baleful attempts of the agitators and leaguers to usurp the government of Ireland. (Cheers.)

PREVIOUS PROTESTS.

In January of 1886, the Committee of Privileges which represents the Conference on all public questions affecting the interests of the Body said this:

"That in our deliberate and solemn conviction there is nothing

in the history or necessities of this country which requires the establishment of a separate Legislature; that any measure which would even tend towards a dissolution of the Legislative Union of Great Britain would be highly prejudicial both to the moral and material interests of Ireland; and that its immediate effect would be to increase rather than to diminish the animosities that unhappily distract the country. That, in common with all lovers of social order, we deplore and deprecate the spirit of lawlessness which has been fostered by unscrupulous agitation, leading to intimidation and violence, detrimental both to the secular weal and demoralising to the national character, and most of all, injurious to the maintenance and spread of the great work of the Churches of Christ in the land."

REPLYING TO MR. GLADSTONE'S MEASURE.

Again, in a petition to Parliament against the Bill of Mr. Gladstone, the Committee said:

"These provisions are also, in the judgment of petitioners, utterly unjust to the loyal minority, who are thereby, without any cause shown, forcibly thrust out from relations to Great Britain, which they valued, and placed under the control of the disloyal majority, without any adequate security for property, liberty, or life. And inasmuch as this Bill will be regarded as an encouragement to the coercion which enforces lawlessness, and a discouragement to the coercion which enforces Constitutional Law, your petitioners are persuaded that it must prove misleading and delusive to those who expect from it a settlement of the Irish Question; that it must fail

to satisfy the disaffected; tend to increase instead of to heal the unhappy animosities which distract this country; and must imperil the future strength and integrity of the Empire."

RECENT ADDRESSES TO LORD LIEUTENANTS.

When Lord Carnarvon became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland the Methodist Church addressed his Excellency, and among other things spoke of "the disregard for law and order which so largely prevailed in this unhappy country for years past, paralysing industry and rendering exceptional legislation necessary for the protection of life and property." They also begged "to assure your Excellency that, to the utmost of its power you may calculate on the sympathy and support of this Church in promoting the welfare of the country which you have been appointed to govern, and carrying out the wishes of one of the best of Sovereigns." (Cheers.)

Then again, when Lord Aberdeen was appointed Viceroy, the Methodist Church, in an address to him as the representative of the Queen, used these words:

"As a Church we have always inculcated and exemplified the duty of obedience to the laws of our country, and respect for the Constitution under which it is our glory to live. We would deplore any steps which might be taken, either by the Government or the Legislature, which would weaken the bonds that unite this country with Great Britain, and which would tend to the legislative independence of Ireland—a measure which, in our judgment, would be fraught with evil to the best interests of the United Kingdom."

RECENT APPEAL TO ENGLAND.

And my Lords, still further: A year ago the Irish Methodist Conference in its annual address to the English Conference, said:

"In the present crisis through which our country and yours is passing, affecting, as it must of necessity, our religious as well as temporal wellbeing, **we claim your sympathy and prayers.** Public feeling is, with us, in a state of extreme tension and suspense. If we could do so with a good conscience, we would fain leave all such affairs of State to work out their own issues. But in a cause in which morality, liberty, and the social as well as religious welfare of the people are so deeply and hazardously involved, it was not possible for us to stand by as idle spectators and be blameless. In similar times our fathers did not do so. In common with all the Evangelical Churches of this land, and in pursuance of similar official and public declarations made again and again by our Conference, our Committee of Privileges has, during the past year, in addresses to the Executive and in petitions to Parliament, stated that in their judgment nothing should be done to weaken or invalidate the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. **In 1802 your fathers challenged our loyalty** to a united Methodism by referring to **'the new and glorious compact'** by which the British Isles had just been united. We hold you to that challenge. And we submit that, in the light of the past history of our work in Ireland, our claim both to know truly, and to love well our country, should not go for nought.

EIGHTY YEARS OF TRUE FIDELITY.

What the English Conference of 1802 asked us to do, we have faithfully done. (Cheers.) **They called upon us in Ireland to be faithful to the Union, and faithful we have been;** and now in our turn, after 80 years of spotless unflinching fidelity, we appeal to our brethren in England to be faithful, and call upon them in the name of all that binds us together to be true to their oft-asserted principles; **to be true to the history of our Church;** to be true to its loyal

genius and law-abiding traditions; to be true to the words of their own annual addresses to the Irish Conference for 80 years; to be true to the Empire of England; and, above all, and as embracing all, to be true to the trust they have received at the hands of our blessed Lord, and stand up in support of the Irish Connexion, which now in common with all the Christianity of Ireland conjures England to set its heart as adamant against the attempt to put us and the other loyal inhabitants of the country—amounting to two millions—under a legislature which would simply be the National League in quintessence. (Loud cheers.)

THE BLIND LEADING THE BLIND.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—Mr. Gladstone, at Bingley Hall, discourteously sneered at the signatories of this address, calling them "a handful of men in the North." He did not sneer at the address of English Nonconformists to himself. That was sweet to him as angel's music; and but for the blind partisan character of that address I do not think the Irish ministers would have so strongly felt the need of their present action. They saw Mr. Gladstone and their English brethren as "the blind leading the blind," with the inevitable result, if they succeeded, that they should "fall into the ditch," dragging us with them, and that "ditch" in Ireland would be the dirtiest into which religion and loyalty were ever dragged. Mr. Gladstone calls us "a handful of men in the North"—such is his knowledge of Ireland! The signatories to this address live all over Ireland, and I am here to testify that the feeling of opposition to his insane policy of putting Ireland under a cabinet of rebels, is much deeper, much stronger, is resented with a far keener intuition of realities, and far more sensitive apprehension of consequences than I ever found to obtain in Ulster. (Cheers.) No! Our opposition to the proposed factory of thraldom is not what those who do not know better nickname "Orange bigotry." It is the resistance of Christian men to the proposed imposition of a yoke, such as neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear; and that resistance, if more silent, is, I repeat, deeper, and inwardly burns with a more ardent indignation, in the other

Provinces than it does in Ulster. We, "a handful of men in the North," what right have we to speak?

A BODY THAT CANNOT BE OVERLOOKED.

As regards my own Church, my lords, its right is that of a Body across whose shield the bar sinister has never been drawn—a Body on whose escutcheon there is not a blot—a Body whose Christian services and honourable citizenship history dares not challenge. Our right to be heard on behalf of our country is that of a Church among whose members there is the smallest percentage of illiteracy—is that of a Church of whose members, I believe, there is not one in jail in all Ireland—is that of a Church whose people are not in the "Workhouse" or a burden to the rates. (Cheers). **We neither manufacture criminals, nor paupers, nor have we ever obliged the State to expend a sixpence to make us loyal.** Our "local knowledge" tells us that Mr. Gladstone cannot say the same of his Fenian *proteges*, and Parnellite allies, out of whose "circles" and "branches" his proposed government of Ireland would be framed.

WHY THEY SUPPORT THE UNION.

Nor is our support of the Union due to any financial interest which we draw from it. **We have no endowments and never had.** There is nothing in the way of office to purchase our allegiance. Christianity and patriotism alone inspire and dictate our loyalty to the Union, for under imperial administration alone can the equilibrium and tranquil equipoise of rival interests be secured to Ireland. (Hear, hear). My Lords, I have been asked to indicate the hurt which a Parnellite Government would do to Ireland. It would inevitably put education under the priesthood; and I ask English Nonconformists how they would like that for themselves in England? **English Nonconformists are making an outcry at this moment against proposed denominational education.** How consistent they are! Would it be believed that Nonconformists in England bless Mr. Gladstone with aid to inflict a curse

on Ireland which they declare against being put upon themselves in England? Surely those who can act thus "put themselves out of court" on the question of Irish Government.

IN THE EVENT OF SEPARATION.

No wonder the Parnellite Press in Ireland makes much of the English Nonconformists. The subjection of Ireland to a government such as is proposed **would banish capital and warn off capital from the country.** The harm in this respect would simply be incalculable. It would also drive away the Protestant people from a vast number of places, and would be the speedy extinction of our existence over vast areas. **Merchants, traders, shopkeepers, and farmers have told me they could not live, and must inevitably leave the country in the event of separation.** We cannot consent to a measure which would thus depopulate Ireland of its best citizens, and leave our churches vacant, monuments of the past, by bereaving us of our people and banishing them to other countries. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Balfour has done more for true freedom in Ireland than any of his predecessors. The wrong doers bespatter him as wrong doers are wont; but **thousands and tens of thousands of crushed and terrified children of Ireland bless him in the inmost sanctuary of their heart.** Let the same policy of fairness and firmness go on unchecked; let such measures as may yet remain to be provided for Ireland's weal be diligently taken in hand, and the day is happily near when Ireland will be as loyal as Scotland, and the merits of her people be among the brightest jewels in the diadem of our United Empire. (Cheers).

Rev. H. E. Bennett, of the Congregationalists, and Rev. A. McCaig, of the Baptists, also supported the address.

AN IRISH TENANT'S PRIVILEGES.

THE privileges of Irish Tenant Farmers are of gradual growth, and date from various Acts of Parliament. They have, however, in recent years, been largely extended by six great measures:—(I.) the Land Act of 1870; (II.) the Land Law Act, 1881; (III.) the Land Purchase Act, 1885; (IV.) the Land Law Act, 1887; (V.) the Land Purchase Act, 1891; and (VI.) the Redemption of Rent Act, 1891. It will, then, be convenient to consider these various privileges in chronological order.

27/6/'93.

I.—PRIVILEGES ACQUIRED PRIOR TO 1870.

No Tenant can be evicted for non-payment of rent UNLESS ONE YEAR'S RENT IS IN ARREAR. (Landlord and Tenant Act, 1860, sect. 52.)

Even when evicted for non-payment of rent—

A Tenant can RECOVER POSSESSION within six months by payment of the amount due, and in that case

The Landlord MUST PAY to the Tenant the amount of any profit he could have made out of the lands while the tenant was out of possession. [11 Anne, c. 2, sect. 2; 8 Geo. I., c. 2, sect. 4; Act of 1860 (23 & 24 Vict. c. 154), sect. 70.]

The Landlord must pay HALF the Poors-Rate—

If the Government Valuation of a holding is £4 or upwards. (Poor Relief Act, 1843, sect. 1.)

The Landlord must pay the ENTIRE Poors-Rate—

If the Government Valuation is under £4. (Poor Relief Acts, 1838, sect. 74; 1849, sect. 11.)

II.—PRIVILEGES UNDER THE ACT OF 1870.

A Yearly Tenant who is disturbed in his holding by the act of the Landlord, for causes other than non-payment of rent, and the Government Valuation of whose holding does not exceed £100 per annum, must be paid by his Landlord not only—

(*a*) Full compensation for all improvements made by himself or his predecessors, such as unexhausted manures, permanent buildings, and reclamation of waste lands; *but also* as—

(*b*) Compensation for disturbance, a sum of money which may amount to seven years' rent (Land Act, 1870, sects. 1, 2, and 3.)

NOTE.—Under the Act of 1881, the Landlord's power of disturbance is practically abolished.

A Yearly Tenant, even when evicted for non-payment of rent, must be paid by his Landlord—

(*a*) Compensation for all improvements, such as unexhausted manures, permanent buildings, and reclamation of waste land. (Sect. 4.)

And when his rent does not exceed £15 he must be paid in addition—

(*b*) A sum of money which may amount to seven years' rent, if the Court decides that the rent is exorbitant. (Sects. 3 and 9.)

NOTE.—Until the contrary is proved, the improvements are presumed to have been made by the tenants. (Sect. 5.)

The tenant can make his claim for compensation immediately on notice to quit being served, and cannot be evicted until the compensation is paid. (Sects. 16 and 21.)

A Yearly Tenant, even when VOLUNTARILY SURRENDERING his farm, must either be paid by Landlord—

(*a*) Compensation for all his improvements; or be
(*b*) Permitted to sell his improvements to an incoming tenant. (Sect. 4.)

IN ALL NEW TENANCIES—

The Landlord must pay HALF the County or Grand Jury Cess,

If the valuation is £4 or upwards,

The Landlord must pay the ENTIRE County or Grand Jury Cess,

If the value does not exceed £4. (Land Act, 1870, sects. 65 and 66.)

III.—PRIVILEGES UNDER THE ACT OF 1881.

The Act of 1870 mainly conferred two advantages on evicted Tenants—

(*a*) Full payment for all improvements;
(*b*) Compensation for disturbance.

The Act of 1881 gives three additional privileges to those who avail themselves of them—

1. FIXITY OF TENURE—

By which the tenant remains in possession of his land FOR EVER, subject to periodical revision of his rent. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 8.)

NOTE.—If a Tenant has not had a fair rent fixed, and his Landlord proceeds to evict him for non-payment of rent, he can apply to the Court to fix the fair rent; and meantime the eviction proceedings will be restrained by the Court. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 13.)

2. FAIR RENT—

By which any yearly tenant may apply to the Land Commission Court (the Judges of which were appointed under Mr. Gladstone's administration) to fix the fair rent of his holding The application is referred to three persons, one of whom is a lawyer, and the other two inspect and value the farm. THIS RENT CAN NEVER AGAIN BE RAISED BY THE LANDLORD. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 8.)

NOTE.—Even these judicial rents have, in years of comparative depression, been VARIED IN THE INTEREST OF THE TENANT. (Land Act of 1887, sec. 29.)

3. FREE SALE—

By which every yearly tenant may, whether he has had a fair rent fixed or not, SELL HIS TENANCY TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER whenever he desires to leave. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 1.)

NOTE.—There is no practical limit to the price he may sell for, and 20 times the amount of the annual rent has frequently been obtained in every province of Ireland.

Even if a Tenant be evicted, he has the right either to redeem at any time within six months, OR TO SELL HIS TENANCY WITHIN THE SAME PERIOD TO A PURCHASER WHO CAN LIKEWISE REDEEM, and thus acquire all the privileges of the Tenant. (Land Act, 1881, sect. 13.)

IV.—PRIVILEGE UNDER THE LAND PURCHASE ACT OF 1885.

If a tenant wishes to buy his holding, and arranges with his landlord as to terms, he can change his position from that of a perpetual rent-payer into that of the payer of an annuity terminable at the end of 49 years, the Government supplying him with the entire purchase-money, to be repaid during those 49 years at 4 per cent. This annual payment of £4 for every £100 borrowed covers both principal and interest. Thus if a tenant already paying a statutory rent of £50 agrees to buy from his landlord at 20 years' purchase (or £1000), the Government will lend him the money, his rent will at once cease, and he will pay, not £50, but £40 yearly, for 49 years, and then become the owner of his holding, free of rent. It is hardly necessary to point out that, as these 49 years of payment roll by, the interest of the tenant in his holding increases rapidly in value. (Land Purchase Act, 1885, sects. 2, 3, and 4.)

V.—PRIVILEGES UNDER THE LAND ACT OF 1887.

This Act gives Tenants the following privileges:—

1. IT ALLOWS LEASES TO BE BROKEN.

All leaseholders whose leases would expire within 99 years after the passing of the Act have the option of going into Court and getting their con-

tracts broken, and a judicial rent fixed. No equivalent power is given to the landlords. (Land Act of 1887, sects. 1 and 2.)

NOTE.—This will affect nearly 150,000 leaseholders in Ireland.

2. IT STAYS EVICTIONS, AND ALLOWS RENT TO BE PAID BY INSTALMENTS.

In the case of tenants whose valuation does not exceed £50, the Court before which proceedings are being taken for the recovery of *any* debt due by the tenant is empowered to stay his eviction, and may give him liberty to pay his creditors by instalments, and can extend the time for such payment as it thinks

PRIVILEGES UNDER THE LAND PURCHASE ACT OF 1891.

Under this Act (which also provided a further sum of £33,000,000 to assist tenants in purchasing their holdings)

Evicted Tenants were empowered to arrange with their landlords for the purchase of the holdings from which they had been evicted, the State providing the purchase money, repayable as in the Act of 1885. (Land Purchase Act, 1891, sect. 13.)

PRIVILEGES UNDER THE REDEMPTION OF RENT ACT, 1891.

Under this Act—

Tenants holding under long leases not within the Act of 1887 can require their landlord *to sell* them their holdings *at a price to be fixed by the Land Commission*, who provide the purchase-money, as in the last cited Act; and if the landlord refuses to sell, the Land Commission must fix a *fair rent* on the holding, as in the Act of 1881. (Redemption of Rent Act, 1891, sect. 1.)

It must also be remembered that the privileges cited in this leaflet, though the most important, are by no means the entire of the legal privileges of the Irish tenant.

Thus it will be seen (to use the words of Mr. Chamberlain), that

"The Irish tenant is in a position which is more favourable than that of any agricultural tenant throughout the whole of Europe. I will say in any civilized country on the face of the globe. . . . There are thousands and tens of thousands of tenants throughout Scotland and England who would receive as an inestimable boon those opportunities which the Irish tenant so scornfully rejects."—SPEECH AT HAWICK, *Scotsman*. January 24th, 1887.

In considering these privileges, it must be borne in mind that those conferred by the Acts of 1881 and 1887 COULD NOT HAVE BEEN GIVEN UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Who are the "IRISH PEOPLE?"

A PIECE OF EMPTY BOUNCE.

WHO are the "Irish People?" In England one is accustomed to hear that the Irish people are incurably dissatisfied with the rule which the Imperial Parliament maintains, or at least affects to maintain throughout Her Majesty's dominions. How many have stopped to inquire whether the Nationalist has any more right to call their supporters "the Irish people" than Mr. Gladstone has to say that "the whole civilised world" is on his side. We all regard the late Prime Minister's statement as a piece of empty bounce, to be laughed at and dismissed, but somehow we have slipped into the way of thinking that there is at least a semblance of reality in the Nationalist assertion that the inhabitants of Ireland are all "Irish people." Some have even gone further and assumed that the number of Irishmen who have stedfastly, strenuously and persistently resisted any attempt to dissolve the legislative union between this country and Ireland are a feeble minority whose wishes and whose feelings, however we may respect them, must not in these democratic days weigh against the expressed desire of a majority. Nationalists, we see, can command their legions while the loyalists can only command their hundreds.

As eighteen is to eighty-five so, we are apt to believe, is the strength of the opposition to Home Rule to the demand for it. But can we dismiss the question in this perfunctory manner? Are we entitled to assume that the proportion sum which the Parliamentary representation of Ireland presents to our view, is an accurate picture of the mind of the people of Ireland? Mr. Gladstone is very eloquent about the necessity of listening to the opinion of Ireland as expressed through her constitutional representatives, but he is just as eloquent about right of Ireland to analyse the verdict of the United Kingdom recorded against her demand at the last election.

AN EXAMINATION *à la* GLADSTONE.

If it is equitable to examine, as Mr. Gladstone never tires of doing, into the constituent elements of the Unionist party in Great Britain, it is surely fair and reasonable to investigate the component parts of the Disruptionist Party in Ireland. If it is allowable, as Mr. Gladstone seems to think it is, to try and show that Home Rule is opposed in Great Britain only by those whose opinions are warped and prejudiced by class instincts, while Home Rule is approved by the enlightenment of Wales, Scotland and the civilised world, is it not allowable to ask by

whom Home Rule is opposed in Ireland, where, after all, its effect for good or ill must be a matter of greater concern even than with us? According to the census of 1881 (the figures for 1891 are not yet published) the people of Ireland were distributed as follows:—

Professional	198,684
Domestic	426,161
Commercial	72,245
Agricultural	997,956
Industrial	691,509
Indefinite and non-productive	2,788,281

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LANDLORD BOGEY.

Now the statement most commonly made is that if it was not for landlords there would be no opposition to Home Rule. Is this true? The total strength of the Unionist minority in Ireland is estimated at about one-third of the whole population of five millions. That this estimate is not over the mark is evident when we add together the members of the various Protestant churches in Ireland. For of Protestant Home Rulers there are not a thousand, it may be doubted if there are five hundred, all told. According to the last census returns the Roman Catholics in Ireland numbered 3,549,745, and the other religious professions were distributed as follows:—

Episcopalians	600,830
Presbyterians	446,687
Methodists	55,235
Independents	*6,200
Baptists	*4,800
Quakers	*3,600
Total	1,117,352

When to this number we add all the Roman Catholic gentry (except Sir Thomas Esmonde), three-fourths at least of the Roman Catholics in Professions, all the great Roman Catholic Merchants and Traders, and a full half of the domestic class, we have more than a million and a-half who are bitterly opposed to Home Rule. Now, as the total number of owners of land in Ireland, including 36,144 who own less than one acre, was given in a late return to the House of Commons at 68,711, it would appear that there are still one million four hundred thousand persons to account for.

IRISH LOYALTY, MINUS LANDLORDISM.

Putting the landlords aside, then, let us first look a little more closely into the other elements that compose the minority; and

*From Census of 1881. Particulars not contained in Summary of Census of 1891.

then into the ingredients that go to make up the majority. On the one side is wealth, education, enlightenment; on the other is poverty, ignorance, and prejudice. Take the learned professions. Scarcely a man of any eminence at either branch of the legal profession has come forward to back Mr. Gladstone. The whole Bench and Bar in Ireland, with a half-dozen exceptions among the latter, are on the side of the Union. All the leading solicitors in Dublin and in the country are opposed to Home Rule. It is the same with the medical profession. Out of all the eminent medical men in the Irish capital there is only one who has ever shown the slightest leaning towards Home Rule, and even his leaning is not of a sufficiently pronounced character to admit of his appearing on a Home Rule platform. A few, a very few, practitioners in the country, under the direct control of Boards of Guardians, whose politics are ultra-Nationalist, declare themselves Home Rulers; but there are not, perhaps, a score of medical men in all Ireland, despite the power which local bodies have to make or mar their fortunes, who are not staunch Unionists.

Turn from the professions to trade and commerce—

WHERE ARE THEY?

Up to this the Nationalists have not been able to point to the name of a single successful great merchant or large trader among their supporters. The names of all the principal commercial men in Ireland are conspicuous by their absence from every list of Home Rulers that have ever seen the light. Where are the bankers, the brewers, the stockbrokers, the millers, the timber merchants, the linen merchants, the cloth merchants, the shipowners, the engineers, the wealthy builders, the monster shopkeepers, the booksellers, and the hotelkeepers? With scarcely an exception they are on the side of the Union. Then there is the Civil Service. Dare anyone say that Home Rule finds favour in their eyes? So on through every branch of industry and trade in the country. All are opposed to the bare idea of exchanging the protection of the Imperial Government for the government of the National League and the Invincibles. But now let us look at the other side of the picture. It is generally assumed that the members returned to the House of Commons are representative of those who elect them.

THE MEN OF THE IRISH PARTY.

Who are the Nationalist Members? There is an ex-Medical Student, a candidate for a commission in Her Majesty's Army—rejected by the examiners, two or three small grocers, a couple retired and pensioned civil servants, half-a-dozen newspaper reporters unknown to fame until they enlisted in the Land or

National Leagues, a handful of publicans, a dancing saloon keeper, an American "doctor," an ex-land commissioner, a coal dealer, a few retired commercial clerks, four or five tenant farmers [two being evicted for non-payment of rent], an ex-convict, a pawnbroker, a butter dealer, an ex-traveller for sale of Porter, a watchmaker in a little provincial town, a cattle dealer and butcher, a nurseryman, a photographic apparatus maker, a pupil teacher in an English town, a "half-educated English collegian," to quote the *York Herald*, and a tailor.

NATIONALISM PLUS IGNORANCE.

A fifth of the electorate which returns these men to the House of Commons, it will hardly surprise anyone to hear, are illiterates. At the last election in Ireland there was nearly as many illiterate voters among the 194,994 who recorded their votes in that part of the United Kingdom as there were among the 2,416,272 voters in the whole of England and Wales. The exact number were: England and Wales, 38,587 illiterates; Ireland, 36,722. An examination of the statistics returned to Parliament shows conclusively that the Nationalists sit by the grace of the illiterate portion of the Irish people. Where the illiterates abound, there much more do the Nationalists abound. In South Donegal, for example, which is represented by an anti-Parnellite, of 6,304 voters no less a number than 3,214 could neither read or write. "While all the counties of Scotland show but 3,303 illiterates, this one division of Donegal has 3,214."

LOYALTY PLUS EDUCATION.

Compare constituencies returning loyalists. "Antrim has four Conservative members—votes 11,903, illiterates 987; Fermanagh has two Nationalist members—votes 11,863, illiterates 2,968. County Down has three Conservative members and one Nationalist. The Conservatives represent 23,365 voters, of whom 1,512 are illiterate; while the Nationalist, who represents only 8,602 voters, has 1,852 illiterates in his band. In Belfast, again, while the three Conservative members have 514 illiterates among their 16,747 voters, the one Nationalist Member, Mr. Sexton, has 892 among his 7,561 voters. Unless, then, we are prepared to prove that education is no addition to a politician's stock-in-trade, we must admit that the "Irish People" in the Nationalist sense of the term, are scarcely the most likely people to know what is good for their country or good for themselves.

HOME RULE AND IRISH SECURITIES.

[From *THE ECONOMIST*, 18th May, 1889.]

THE past half-year has witnessed a further enhancement of the market value of bank shares. . . . The paid-up capital of the joint-stock banks of the United Kingdom, valued at market prices, is now worth fully 4¾ millions more than in October last, and nearly 7¾ millions more than it was twelve months ago.

With but trifling increase in the amount of paid-up capital of the English banks its aggregate value has increased since May, 1885, by nearly £17,500,000. In the same interval the Scotch banks, with more than a sixth of the capital of English institutions, have realized a gain of only £170,000, while in the case of the Irish banks, an amount of paid-up capital only about £200,000 less than that invested four years ago is now valued at £2,300,000 less than it then was. For the fall in the value of the Irish bank shares the Gladstonian Home Rule agitation is in the main responsible. The introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill was followed by a heavy fall in all Irish securities. In October, 1885, the market value of the £6,719,000 which constituted the paid-up capital of the Irish banks was £18,207,000, and in May, after Mr. Gladstone's scheme had been submitted to Parliament, the market value of the same amount of paid-up capital had fallen to £14,934,000—a drop of nearly 3½ millions. Since the advent of the Unionist Government, however, there has been a gradual recovery, and a considerable portion of what was lost has been regained. The shares of the Scotch banks have been free from the ups and downs to which those of the Irish institutions have been subjected. They have, in fact, remained practically stationary. . . . We estimate that the total deposits of the English banks amounted, on the 31st of December last, to £363,000,000, as compared with £359,000,000 on the 30th June previous. The deposits of the metropolitan banks show very little, if any, increase. The Scotch and Irish banks also show increased deposits. Scotland £85,000,000 as against £83,000,000, and Ireland £36,500,000 as against £34,500,000.—*Economist*, 18th May, 1889.

A CASE IN POINT.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON, M.P., contributes the following letter to the *Times* :—

It is difficult to follow the line of reasoning adopted by Mr. Morley in his speech at the Liberal Club yesterday (4th May).

Mr. Morley tried to convict Lord Londonderry of talking nonsense when he said in his speech the other day in Dublin that an Irish Government would have to pay 30 or 40 per cent. if they wished to borrow money. This, Mr. Morley says, is an absurd statement, and points triumphantly by way of proof to the fact that the Dublin Corporation succeeded recently in borrowing 1¼ million at 3¾ per cent. This fact, according to Mr. Morley, utterly pulverizes poor Lord Londonderry.

What on earth, I should like to know, has the undoubtedly satisfactory condition of Irish securities of a public character got to do with the condition of Irish securities if a Home Rule Government should be established in Ireland? I utterly fail to understand. The easy terms on which the Corporation of Dublin secured their money is a proof that under the Unionist Government public security has been restored in Ireland.

Mr. Morley ought not to forget the commercial earthquake that took place, when the Home Rule Bill was brought in, in securities of all kinds, and the immediate recovery in the value of all kinds of shares and stocks which occurred when the Home Rule Bill was defeated in 1886.

A circumstance happened which ought to have brought these facts before Mr. Morley's mind, of which I should wish to remind him.

The Cavan and Leitrim Steam Tramway had succeeded in passing through all the parliamentary stages, and all that remained to be done was to raise the necessary capital. No difficulty was anticipated in the operation, as the security of the county rates was looked on as first-rate security.

The money was promised by London banks, and the solicitor of the company, with two other gentlemen connected with the undertaking, went over to London to complete the final arrangements. *To their dismay the bankers told them that the Home Rule Bill had entirely changed the aspect of affairs, and that no money would be advanced under these changed conditions on Irish securities on any terms.*

It occurred to these gentlemen, under these changed and unfortunate circumstances, that the best thing they could do would be to pay a visit to Mr. Morley, then Chief Secretary for Ireland.

These gentlemen gave me an account of the interview, and authorised me to make use of their names and information as I might see fit.

They informed Mr. Morley of the plight in which they found themselves, and of the blighting effect the Home Rule Bill had exerted on the financial operation in which they were engaged, and also pointed out to him what a strong argument against Home Rule would be supplied to his Unionist opponents should they learn of their failure and its cause.

Something apparently operated on Mr. Morley's mind, for soon after the interview Mr. Morley brought an amending Bill into the House of Commons and passed it without debate through all its stages, which enabled the Treasury to lend money on the security of tramway shares. So the Cavan line got the money, and has, I am glad to say, succeeded. These things must have faded from Mr. Morley's memory, or he would not have ventured to ridicule Lord Londonderry.—*Times*, 7th May, 1892.

REVISED EDITION.]

Mr. MICHAEL DAVITT,

The Founder of the Land League, and Separatist Lecturer in England and Scotland.

It may be well to recall the leading incidents in the trial which ended in the conviction and sentence of Michael Davitt.

On the 15th July, 1870, John Wilson and Michael Davitt were indicted at the Old Bailey for "Treason-Felony." No objections were made to the jury panel on behalf of the prisoners. The Judge at the trial was the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Alexander Cockburn. In the course of the trial the following facts appeared:—

The prisoners, according to the prosecution, had been concerned in forwarding to various large towns in the United Kingdom packages containing arms, chiefly revolvers. These arms were for the most part consigned to fictitious addresses, and the jury were asked to believe that they were intended to be made use of in carrying on the Fenian movement. Evidence was given to show that Davitt had been privy to the projected attack upon Chester Castle, an attack which was happily frustrated by the vigilance of the police.

THE PEN LETTER.

In the course of the trial a letter was put in by the prosecution. This letter was sworn to be in Davitt's handwriting. It was in the following terms:—

"Glasgow, Wednesday. Dear Friend.—I have just returned from Dundee, which place I have left all right. Your letter of Monday I have just read. I have no doubt but what the account is correct. In reference to the other affair, I hope you won't take any part in it whatever—I mean in the carrying of it out. If it is decided upon and you receive *Jem's* and, through him, *Fitz's* consent, let it be done by all means; but one thing you must remember, and that is that you are of too much importance to our family to be spared, even at the risk of allowing a rotten sheep to exist among the flock. You must know that if anything happened to you the toil and trouble of the last six months will have been almost in vain. Whoever is employed, don't let him use the pen we are and have been selling; get another for the purpose—a common one. I hope and trust that when I return to *Man* I may not hear that every man, woman and child know all about it ere it occurred."

WHAT THE JUDGE SAID.

This is how the question presented itself to the Lord Chief Justice in summing up the case to the jury :—

"If that letter was to be taken as genuine, did it convince them that it had reference to a Fenian scheme, or to some other measure of the deepest atrocity? It seemed impossible to resist the conclusion, but they must judge for themselves upon that point as men of the world, as men of reason and sense."

The jury did not resist the conclusion. **They found Davitt guilty,** and with their verdict the Lord Chief Justice found no difficulty in agreeing.

In sentencing the prisoners he expressed his opinion that **"Davitt had been convicted on evidence that could not leave the slightest shadow of doubt on the mind of any reasonable man who dispassionately considered it.** . . . . There was one thing he could not help regarding with a feeling of the utmost condemnation and horror, and that was, **that assassination was not considered as a means too desperate or bad to be resorted to when it was found convenient to have recourse to it.** That letter of Davitt's, about which the witness Forrester had told a story that no sensible man could believe, showed that there was some dark and villainous design against the life of some man. The letter spoke for itself."

HIS SENTENCE.

The prisoners were sentenced to fifteen and five years' penal servitude respectively. **Davitt received the longer term,** and the difference in guilt, implied in the judge's apportionment of the punishment, is significant.

In his cross-examination before the Parnell Commission, 2nd July, 1889, Mr. Davitt admitted by "our family" in the letter, he meant the "Fenian Brotherhood." "Jem" and "Fitz" were both members of the supreme council of the organisation, whose names he declined to give. "The pen we have been using" referred to revolvers The letter was written to a youth named Forrester, with the object of preventing him carrying out a contemplated assassination. The statement "even at the risk of allowing a rotten sheep to exist among the flock" alluded to the traitor Forrester charged. When Forrester was arrested in a small hotel in Liverpool, he attempted to tear the letter up. It was pieced together and produced against him (Davitt) at the trial. Forrester was a Fenian, and arrested in Dublin in 1867 for Fenianism. In his address to the Commissioners (24th October, 1890) Mr. Davitt said, "I asked from that witness box the man who was alone responsible for the plot, which that letter was intended to and did frustrate—to release him

from the usual obligation of silence, and he has not had the courage to confess that 19 years ago I saved him from staining his hands in the innocent blood of a guiltless comrade."

Mr. Davitt's statement is, that he took part in the plot with a view to prevent murder. The reader can believe or otherwise.

HIS OPINION OF FORD, THE DYNAMITE APOSTLE.

The judges of the Special Commission record :—

Mr. Davitt told us that whenever he went to America after 1878, Patrick Ford's was the first house to which he bent his footsteps upon arriving in New York, and that Ford was a man altogether misrepresented in England, that he (Davitt) knew a large number of people in America and Europe, and that he had yet to meet a better man morally, both **as a Christian and as a philanthropist,** than Patrick Ford. [REPORT, p. 65.]

THREATENING PUBLIC SERVANTS.

Speaking with reference to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill at Ballymacoda, Co. Cork, on Sunday, the 3rd April, 1887, he said :—

"When this Act adorns the Statute Book of England's Parliament, every man who has helped to pass it into law, **every official who is employed to carry its provisions into operation against the constitutional rights of the Irish people,** becomes an avowed enemy to human liberty—(cheers)—and the man, woman, or child in Ireland that holds converse or intercourse with any such **becomes the aiders and abettors of the assassins of freedom and justice.** (Cheers.)—*Freeman's Journal*, 4th April 1887.

THE LAND AND NATIONAL LEAGUES ONE.

Prior to his departure for America he addressed a meeting at Queenstown, in September, 1887, and said :—"What is known in Ireland to-day as the National League, is to all intents and purposes precisely the same organisation as the Land League, which in 1881 was proclaimed as being a dangerous association. The name of the Land League it is true, consequent upon the action of the Government of the day, disappeared, but its organisation remained."—*Times*, 23rd September, 1887.

HE VOWS ETERNAL HATRED TO ENGLAND.

In June, 1887, DAVITT spoke at Bodyke in the following terms :—

"I trust that every young man here to-day will have registered in his heart **a vow which I made thirty years ago, to bear towards England** and England's Government in Ireland, all the **concentrated hatred** of my Irish nature .

. . I . . . and others . . have been preaching to our people for the last six or eight years, 'Do not commit any outrage, do not be guilty of any violence, do not break the law.' I say it here to-day, and I do not care who takes down my words, **I am heartily ashamed of ever having given such advice to the Irish people. . . . Would to God we had the means—the weapons by which freemen in America and elsewhere have struck down tyranny.** . . . We will make our children . . swear, as many of us have sworn, to carry on this fight **at any cost . . .** until **Landlord tyranny and English Government** are destroyed in Ireland."—*Freeman*, June 3, 1887.

PARNELLITE OPINION OF Mr. DAVITT.

SPEAKING at Waterford on 15th December, Mr. John Redmond said :—

"Mr. Davitt was a man who for the past ten years had lived upon a fictitious reputation, and who for the last ten years was a very thorn in the Irish Parliamentary Party, and a source of trouble, embarrassment and danger to their leader. He was the first man in England to raise his voice against Parnell in his hour of trial—aye, before the Nonconformist conscience was stirred. Then as to this labour cry, he asked the labourers of Waterford what did Mr. Davitt ever do for them or the labourers of England. **Mr. Davitt had never done anything for the labourers, except to start in Dublin and elsewhere strikes amongst the labourers which led to miserable failures.** He called Mr. Davitt a discredited labour candidate, and said that a number of the names on the requisition presented to Mr. Davitt had been forged."—*Freeman's Journal*, 16th December, 1891.

The Daily Independent, leading Parnellite Organ declares :—

"Of Mr. Davitt we will only say that he is a man who is never for long in the same frame of mind; **who is as fickle as the wind, and as silly in his self-esteem as a pretty school-girl, a splenetic man, of ill-balanced mind, and a politician who with good intentions would do more harm than a dozen knaves. That is Mr. Davitt as we understand him.**"—*Independent*, 25th April, 1892.

THE REV. ARTHUR MURSELL
ON
THE PARNELLITE SPLIT.

THE *Clapham Observer* gives the following account of a sermon, dealing with the events of the past year, recently preached at Stockwell Baptist Church by the Rev. Arthur Mursell. Taking for his text Psalm cii. 27, and for his key-note the well-known lines:—

> "Love for a year, a week, a day;
> But O for the love that loves alway!"

the preacher thus alluded to the great political crisis of the day:—

"Charity is ingenious; and it certainly needs to be if it is to devise an outlet for the dignified retreat of a misplaced confidence. It is sufficiently galling to be befooled and gulled, without those who have warned us of the trap assuming a superior air, and pelting us with the cry 'I told you so.' I once went through a hardware manufactory where the workmen were casting little metal figures which were to be exported for idols. It is no part of trade to ask the purpose or the application of its wares. All it has to do is to execute the order at 'per gross' and get the 'parcel' ready according to contract. So the Christian firm in Birmingham was busy with commendable assiduity at its consignment of goods for the Mumbo Jumbo market; and the crate was packed and shipped on Saturday, to give emphasis to the merchant's Sunday 'Amen' to the prayer that the idols may be utterly abolished. There is a grotesqueness mingled with the anomaly which abates its melancholy. And it certainly does not stand alone amongst contemporary inconsistencies. We have had a good deal of making and unmaking of idols lately; and now we have the spectacle of honest men waiting for the order from the professional keepers of their brains and consciences before they can make up their minds whether to enlist the King's horses and men in reinstating their fallen Dagons or in kicking the *debris* out of the way. The technical failure of a piece of evidence upon one count in a grave and criminal indictment raised from a vast section of the 'dumb driven cattle' of opportunism a roar of

sympathy with the accused, and no martyr for a saintly truth was ever more effusively canonized than the ignoble hero of the drama. It was not enough that the guilt of a criminal conspiracy to defeat law and to despoil proprietors was brought home. It was not enough that incitement to riot, robbery, rapine, cruelty, and violence of nameless kinds, in which neither dumb animals nor sex nor age in human rank were spared, was proved ; or that almost all the arts and expedients of treason, except the bravery to take its penalty without complaint, were judicially demonstrated : a flaw in the evidence concerning certain letters was enough, and rabid sentiment fell prone before the shrine of outraged virtue. The preposterous and demoralizing revelations which have for the moment changed this cry, and quenched this false oblation, are too patent to need exposure, and too revolting to admit it here. The saddest feature in regard to them is the reticence which forbore to frown till holy horror of a personal delinquency was demanded as a poor political expedient. It needed a protest from the Nonconformist ranks to stir the priestly hierarchy to condemnation, and to move a once great English statesman to repudiate an alliance so notoriously tainted. As soon as this latter word was sanctimoniously given, the crowd of his *claqueurs* knew what to say, and cried 'Shame!' because they were told to do so. And yet this man was never half so fit to be the leader of the cause of treason, truculence, and dynamite as when he stood unmasked before the world as the assassin of the moral law. It were a forbidding task indeed to trace the doublings of intrigue in an unworthy strategy against Queen and country which have been the main features of the political drama of the year, though the persistent courage, humanity. and dignity with which they have been foiled is a refreshing side-light on the darkened picture. It is in the steady prosecution of this firmness and remedial enterprise that the true hopes of a struggling people must be found."—*The Times*, Monday, 12th January, 1891.

MR. GLADSTONE'S

SUDDEN REVERSAL OF POLARITY.

By PROFESSOR TYNDALL.

THE following is a copy of a correspondence which has recently taken place between Professor Tyndall and Mr. Gladstone.

SIR,—You have done me the honour of addressing to me the following letter:—

"10 St. James's Square, Jan. 29, 1890.

"MY DEAR SIR,—If you are correctly reported to have said at an Ulster meeting where Lord Londonderry appears to have been the chief speaker, that I have called Mr. Pitt a blackguard, I have to request that you will at your early convenience supply me with your authority for that statement.—I remain, faithfully yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

"Professor Tyndall," &c., &c.

I am sure you will agree with me when I say that neither you nor I should, on the present occasion, deviate by a hair's breadth from perfect exactitude. I did not say that you had "called Mr. Pitt a blackguard." My exact words, as reported in every newspaper to which I have had access, were these: "He waited until he was seventy-six years old to discover that Pitt was a blackguard and the Union a crime." These are the words which it is my duty to defend.

For your opinion of Pitt and his work, expressed when your intellectual power was at its maximum, I quote a statement made by you in September, 1856:—"It is hard to say what might not have been anticipated from his (Mr. Pitt's) vigour and wisdom, combined with a continuance of peace. But the hurricane of the French Revolution swept over the face of Europe, and drew him into a war which again postponed for a quarter of a century all attempts at legislative progress, *with the splendid, but isolated exceptions of the Union with Ireland* and the abolition of the Slave Trade." Consider, I pray you, the words I have italicised. In the heyday of your manhood—

when your vision was clearer and your temptations fewer than they are now—you bore emphatic witness to Pitt's vigour and wisdom, and pointed out the splendour of his achievement in passing the Act of Union.

You were no rash or immature youth when you delivered this opinion of Mr. Pitt's work. You entered Parliament in 1832; the foregoing words were therefore uttered after you had had four-and-twenty years' experience of public life. Changing your lines in other matters, you held on to this view of Pitt for twenty-nine years longer—fifty-three years in all. These years embrace the entire period of the Repeal agitation, during which you never gave the slightest intimation of any change of opinion regarding the Union. This brings us to the close of 1885. Refused by the country in the general election of that year the majority you demanded to render you independent of Mr. Parnell, you underwent what a person accustomed to the freaks of magnetism might describe as a sudden reversal of polarity—positive became negative; north became south; white became black. The country was startled by an absolutely "new birth"—a totally transformed Mr. Gladstone. Describing the Act of Union, at Liverpool, on the 28th of June, 1886, you abandoned yourself to the following language:—"*I know of no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the Union.*" The words, as I write them down, breathe exaggeration. Admitting the massacre of St. Bartholomew to have been more "cruel," you denied that it was more "base" and "vile" than the means by which the Union was effected. Prior to 1886 you had never used language of this kind. Indeed, up to the end of 1885 your political teaching had always been diametrically opposed to this. At that time the lightning stroke of defeat, or what you regarded and resented as defeat, deranged your steering compass, and forthwith the ship of State was directed on to the reefs of Parnellism. They know little of human nature who cannot see the part played by wounded pride in this monstrous pirouette. But leaving motives aside, I submit that we have it here reduced to what Kant calls apodictic certainty—certainty admitting of no contradiction—that you, being born in 1809, waited until you were slightly over seventy-six years old to discover "that the Union was a crime." One clause of my statement is thus disposed of.

But you may say, "Not so fast, Mr. Tyndall, you know nothing of the state of my mind regarding the Union antecedent to 1886." This statement would be true. In physical science, however, we infer the nature of a force from its effects; and in human intercourse

we can only know the character and convictions of a man by what he says and does. I have heard a rumour, late in the day, that Home Rule had found a friendly lodgment in your brain long prior to 1886. This indeed has been adduced as a proof of your prescience. But supposing you had, in extenuation of your sudden change of front, urged such a plea in the presence of, say, Lord Melbourne or the Duke of Wellington, would he not have bluntly told you that it was a piece of "damned hypocrisy" on your part to privately foster this notion, while pretending to your colleagues, and to all the world besides, that you repudiated it?

I now turn from the "crime" of the Union to the "blackguardism" of Pitt, which could of course only be manifested by Pitt's action. The tree is known by its fruit; and if, morally speaking, the fruit be "blackguardism" the man who produces it is a *blackguard*. You may not call him such in so many words; but if you find and publish that his acts were blackguardly and base; if, moreover, you are the first man of your party who has found this out and proclaimed it; then you are clearly entitled to rank as the discoverer "that Pitt was a blackguard." That your claim to this honour is indisputable may be proved in a moment. A letter of yours published in the *Times* of July 17, 1886, and addressed to Mr. George Leveson Gower, the Liberal Whip, runs thus:—"My Dear George, I am sadly and sorely grieved at your defeat, which you suffer in a noble cause. It will be some consolation to you to observe how, even at the moment, the whole civilised world is with us. You have, I hope, very long years before you; and I do not think many of them, though probably some, will have passed before you receive your vindication. I advise you to take resolutely to the study of Irish history. I have done in that way the little that I could, and I am amazed at the deadness of vulgar opinion to the *blackguardism* and *baseness*—no words are strong enough—which *befoul* the whole history of the Union." The discovery ascribed to you in that "Ulster meeting" is here enunciated by yourself. You were Prime Minister of the United Kingdom when you wrote that letter, and I ask you, in passing, whether this tirade of *blackguardism*, *baseness*, and *befouling* applied to work which in cooler moments you had characterised as "*splendid*," is the pattern of dignity and sobriety of language which you wished to offer to the incipient statesmanship of your country. Mr. Leveson Gower has, no doubt, asked himself why you, his chief and mentor, did not in earlier years pursue the course which you here so freely recommend? A portion of the time and

genius devoted to the "Gods of Greece" or to periodical literature might, one would think, have been spared for the wrongs of Ireland. But up to 1886 you remained a sharer of the "vulgar opinion"—an abettor of the "blackguardism" which you here so passionately denounced. An honest change of *conviction* is of course to be respected; but this bears all the marks and tokens of a dishonest change of *conduct*. Through slow and painful searchings in matters deeper and more precious than politics, many of us have been compelled to change; but these changes have not been the veerings of a weathercock blown a hundred and eighty degrees round by the gust of a general election. Excuse a man unversed in politics, but it seems to me that this running after the opinion of the "civilized world" is not the noblest line for a statesman to pursue. The opinion of civilised England, of cultured England, of Patriotic England, is more likely to be correct as regards the conduct and the needs of England than this ill-formed, and frequently envious, "civilised world," which subserviency to outward influence has made a dominant factor of your political life.

Were this letter to your more youthful friend a single outburst of sympathetic anger, I should never have taunted you with writing it. But the offence against consistency and good taste has been repeated. It is no part of my present duty to whiten Mr. Pitt, but in view of the opinion quoted at the outset, it is hardly becoming in you to malign and blacken him. Writing to another disciple on June 29, 1886, you express yourself thus:—"Against the sense of Ireland and her Parliament [a loyalist Protestant Parliament, by the way: utterly different from that proposed by you] every engine of *force, fraud, bribery and intimidation* within doors, arbitrary government and reckless promises in the country at large, were profusely employed *and by these shameful means, and no others*, Ireland was partly entrapped and partly coerced into the Union. . . . Can you wonder that a cry, long and loud, was heard from Ireland against the Union so foully brought about?" I again press upon you the question why, if the cry of Ireland was "long and loud," did you not give heed to it? Why did you wait until you had felt the sting of defeat on this very question before publishing facts which the thunder tongue of a nation had for more than half a century been dinning into your ears?

Do you need further "authority" regarding your altered attitude towards Mr. Pitt and his work? You have it in the denunciatory Liverpool speech already quoted, which was one of the earliest

poured forth after your transfiguration. You will also find it in the following excerpts from a speech of yours at Birmingham reported in the *Times* of November 8, 1888 :—"The Union was resolutely carried by means which I will not now stop to describe; but which I think were the *foulest and wickedest* that ever were put in action as far as I know. Certainly they were *unsurpassed in foulness and wickedness in all the records of the crimes of governments.*" With this malediction of the work of Pitt before your eyes it is odd that you should demand an authority for my gentle words at Belfast. You continue the soft impeachment thus :—"Are all the generations of mankind to be the servants and the slaves of that particular generation which, under the guidance of Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh, partly cheated and partly tyrannised the Irish nation into the Union." Comparing this language at the age of 79 with your eulogy of Mr. Pitt at the age of 47, is it not fair to say that a statesman who can thus, without contrition and without shame, label his previous life a delusion, has lost all claim to the confidence of his country.

At Plymouth, the other day, you are reported to have expressed yourself thus :—"Gentlemen, I am most thankful for it, because, although I have always said I was not personally prepared to advocate or to undertake the repeal of the Act of Union, yet I am bound to say this, that the Act of Union was a pretended compact, to which the Irish nation never gave its assent. I wont enter now into all the proceedings in connection with the passing of that Act—*into all the fraud, all the bribery, all the corruption, all the violence, all the torture, all the slaughter, all the scandalous and incredible acts which at the time stained the character both of the British Government and of those who represented it in Ireland.*" It is difficult for a Unionist to copy out these epithets without seeking to repel them by others equally unchaste. May not this fiery vituperation, which savours far more of the demagogue than of the statesman, be fairly confronted by the statement that nothing more "scandalous and incredible" is to be found in political history than the fact of your having for more than half a century lived side by side with this monstrous violation of right and justice—accepting it, abetting it, praising it—without once lifting up your voice in protest against it. You work for the hour, and may gain the victory of the hour, but history will pass judgment on your conduct, and on your motives, when you and I have passed away. The fact remains that your defeat in 1885 first loosed your tongue, and gave birth to those frenzied harangues which you throw like fire among the inflammable Irish, and address not to the sober sense, but to the passions of your own countrymen.

These points were earnestly dwelt upon in my Belfast speech, but you have ignored them and raised instead of them a point of infinitesimal importance. I asked my audience to consider your career. Throughout your long life, I argued, you have been continually immersed in politics. You had witnessed the overthrow of Ministries upon Irish questions; you had heard the voice of Daniel O'Connell demanding Repeal in the presence of a hundred thousand Irishmen on Tara Hill; you were appealed to, I would add, by the splendid eloquence of the Young Irelanders—a body of high-minded men, very different from the rabble that now support you; you listened to the words of your great leader, Sir Robert Peel, affirming that Ireland was the chief difficulty of the English statesman; and yet, shutting your eyes to this problem of problems, which ought to have been the forefront of your political education, you waited until you were seventy-six years old to enter upon the study of this Irish question! Suddenly ignited by your newly-acquired knowledge you blaze forth as a ubiquitous blast-furnace of sedition. Is such a chief, I asked, to be trusted with the power which he wishes us, blindly and without a word of explanation as to how he intends to employ it, to palce in his hands? The great meeting which I had the honour of addressing answered with one voice, "No!"

I here submit to you the deliberate views of a man who has left his youth far behind him, who knows the Irish people well, and who would probably be more ready than you to make sacrifices for the sake of Ireland. They are the views of a man who is absolutely without a personal aim or obligation, who has never been indebted for the smallest favour to any political party. I feel, I confess, a certain pride in the reflection that the independence I enjoy, and which enables me to address you as a free man, has been won, not by political interest, but through the sweat of my own brow and brain. This, moreover, is my warrant and justification in telling working men what I think of the leader whom so many of them unthinkingly follow.

One citation more, and I have done—

In the *Nineteenth Century* for August, 1889, Lord Brabourne, a peer created, I believe, by yourself, speaks thus of you:—"Mr. Gladstone is not satisfied with the general condemnation of all the proceedings of the British Government; he describes England as having habitually played the parts of the pander, the jobber, and the swindler towards Ireland, of having infused a mass of corruption into her political life, and of having established against her an anti-human system. He has, moreover, actually declared it proved that Ireland

was simply forced into disloyalty *by the deliberate agency and fixed policy of the Government*, and that there was a *plot of the Government* against Ireland, to make her position intolerable, *as the only possible means of contriving the surrender of her nationality.*" I will take leave of you by saying, that in sterner and more patriotic times, the statesman found guilty of this unmeasured impeachment of his country, this wholesale delivery of her interests and character into the hands of her enemies, would assuredly have received the reward considered righteous by Carlyle, and lost his "traitorous head."

Excuse the tardiness of my reply. Situated as I am, in the country, at a distance from files of newspapers and other authorities and references, the delay was unavoidable.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN TYNDALL.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone,
&c. &c.

P.S.—Inasmuch as the foregoing letter deals with matters of public concern, assuming that you would see nothing objectionable in my doing so, I propose sending it to the Press.

To the above Mr. Gladstone sent the following reply :—

March 8th, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you for recalling to my memory the exact words which were used by you at Belfast respecting Mr. Pitt, and which implied that I had connected the word "blackguard" with his name, but I regret that after the labours of six weeks have allowed you to satisfy yourself that I had not so employed it, you have not been able to prevail upon yourself to confess your error. In lieu of this you have spent your time in the study of some, among my many political delinquencies, and have proved that 33 years ago, when my contact with Irish questions was limited to those of religion and finance, I shared the general ignorance, and gave utterance to the then classical opinon of Englishmen about the Union.

I sincerely thank you for setting out at such length the language in which, ever since making the Union a subject of special study, I have endeavoured to set forth its true character.

And I contentedly leave you to revel in the wealth of that vocabulary, which you have almost exhausted in your effort to anticipate the condemnation that history is to pronounce upon me and my doings. It seems to give you pleasure, and it causes me no pain. My only desire is to meet you on the terms on which long ago we stood, when under my roof you gallantly offered to take me up the Matterhorn, and guaranteed my safe return.

I remain, my dear sir, faithfully yours,

(Signed) W. E. GLADSTONE.

To Professor Tyndall.

"IRELAND A NATION."

"What are they driving at?"

The following leader under the head of "**What are they driving at?**" appeared in London edition of the *New York Herald*:—

It is sometimes difficult to make out what the Irish leaders are driving at. When they are with each other, or talking to an exclusively Irish audience, they never cease to boast that they mean to make "**Ireland a nation.**" Will improved local government do that? Is this what the people of Ireland understand by Ireland being free? We really must take leave to doubt it, in spite of all that we see and hear. An examination of the various accounts kept by the Hibernian Bank for the Parnellite associations shows that the amount subscribed, from first to last, has been £451,660 16s. 7d., truly an enormous sum. There may have been smaller amounts which did not pass through the Hibernian Bank. We should not be far wrong if we reckoned that **half a million of money has been subscribed to the Parnellite agitation.**

Where has the money all gone? And what was it subscribed for? These are very interesting questions. We commend them to the notice of Mr. Morley. Can it be possible that people have given this half-million solely in order that Ireland may possess reformed local government. That might have been got at a somewhat cheaper rate. The difficulty is, not only in reconciling what the leaders of the agitation say now with what they said not long ago, but in seeing how their professions can be brought into harmony with what many of their followers continue to say.

England is great by her unity, and by her imperial centralization of executive power. Take these things from her, and she would become what Germany was before Bismarck interposed, with a giant's strength, to draw order out of chaos. She would again be what she was before William the Conqueror came to these shores—a headless mass governed by irresponsible tyrants or petty kings—all thinking of their own interests, none of them caring a straw for the general good. We should soon be under the thrall of demagogues and charlatans, who, to satisfy their own vanity and greed for power, would be quite ready to sell their country to any faction, and almost at any price. **Let England be warned in time.** The names of the "wire-pullers" who made it possible for Cæsar and William the Conqueror to invade this island are buried in the dead past. The names of those who may make a future invasion of England possible stand out in letters of fire just now before the eyes of every loyal and honest Englishman.

New York Herald, 15*th March*, 1889.

With a view of assisting the ordinary voter to thoroughly appreciate the foregoing, and to understand what were the sentiments which the subscribers of the half-million spoken of, endorsed with their money, we give some extracts from the speeches of the Parnellites and Gladstonians in past days:—

MR. PARNELL.

"Justice and the many, against injustice and the few, must win. (Applause.) With your help in keeping our people alive this winter I feel confident we shall kill the Irish landlord system. (Applause.) And when we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, **we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation.** (Loud applause.) The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner-stone of English misrule. Pull out that corner-stone break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovern-

ment. (Applause.) . . . . And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. **None of us—whether we are in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England.**" (Applause.)—At CINCINNATTI, U.S.A., 23rd February, 1880.

"I wish to see the tenant-farmers prosperous; but, large and important as is the class of tenant-farmers, constituting, as they do, with their wives and families, the majority of the people of this country, **I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence.**" (Cheers.)—Speech at GALWAY, 1st October, 1880.

"Speaking for myself, and I believe for the Irish people, and for all my colleagues, I have to declare that we will never accept, either expressly or implied, anything but **the full and complete right to arrange our own affairs, and to make our land a nation; to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own cause among the peoples of the world.**"—Speech at CASTLEBAR, 3rd November, 1885. *United Ireland* Report.

"They could not ask for less than the restitution of Grattan's Parliament. They could scarcely, under the Constitution, ask for more. **But no man had the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation;** and while they struggled to-day for that which it may seem possible for them to obtain, they might struggle for it with the proud consciousness that they were doing nothing to hinder or prevent better men who may come forward in the future from gaining better things than those for which they were now struggling."—Speech at CORK, 21st January, 1885.

MR. W. REDMOND, M.P.

"They did not desire to have anything more to do with kings and queens, for the only style of government to which Irishmen could look for freedom and prosperity was one which would be democratic and republican."—*Irish Times*, 24th August, 1885.

"I accept the Bill as far as it goes; but you need not think that it will have the effect of staying **the agitation of a separatist character which exists in Ireland,** for if you give us this Bill, or twenty more Bills of the same description, we will never cease from that agitation until we fully obtain our object."—Speech in HOUSE OF COMMONS, on Franchise Bill.

MICHAEL DAVITT.

"Whenever Irish Nationalists are gathered together round a social board there is one toast honoured above and before all others, and it is this which I will ask you to drink to now, 'Ireland a Nation.'

"Mr. O'Leary (chief of the Fenian movement in Ireland) thanked Mr. Davitt for the kindly terms with which he had associated his name with the toast. He must say that **Ireland must be a Nation and not a Province.**

"Mr. Mayne, M.P., also responded. The Irish people had struggled for 700 years, and now were in sight of victory."—At Social Gathering in Dublin, 20th September, 1888.—*Freeman's Journal*, 21st September, 1888.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.

"The Irish people were never before so united as they were at the present moment. They had an educated people at home who had drunk in the teaching of Thomas Davis, of John Martin, and of John Mitchell, and on their cause would go. They had educated the English people, **and he thought that they had established a right to a larger and wider scheme of Home Rule for Ireland than was originally proposed by Mr. Gladstone.**—At PHŒNIX PARK, DUBLIN, 16th September, 1888.—*United Ireland*, 22nd September, 1888.

MR. JOHN DILLON, M.P.

We are fighting for the freedom of Ireland, to secure the possession of this country in the hands of the Irish Nationalists, and for that reason I know it is the Nationalists of the towns of Ireland will support us in this great struggle in the belief which is our firm faith, that when this struggle against landlordism in Ireland is carried to a successful termination—that the same hour in which the power of landlordism is crushed the power of the Castle will disappear also, **and this old nation of ours will become a free and independent Ireland.** (Loud and prolonged cheering.)—Speech at Limerick, 1st November, 1887.—*Cork Daily Herald*, Report.

"The fight we are fighting to-day **is the same fight for the possession of our own country** which was handed down to us by our fathers, and which I hope and trust will be in our power to end before we die."—[Speech at Kellystown, County Meath, 22nd April, 1888. Freeman's Report.]

"I do earnestly call upon the men of Tipperary to let themselves be heard of this coming winter, and **to strike one more blow for the old cause. It is precisely the same cause for which you have struggled in the past.**"—Letter to Father Power, 7th October, 1888.—*Cork Herald*, Report.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P.

"Remember this, and it is a tremendous fact to be remembered, that **the Irish people can never again be dislodged from one single foot of the ground that they have gained.**"—At MALLOW, 16th December, 1888.—*Freeman's Journal*, 17th December, 1888.

MR. JOHN DEASY, M.P

"They were no more bound to the Liberal chariot now than they had been to the Tory chariot three years ago."—At CASTLETOWBERE, 14th October, 1888.—*Cork Herald*, 16th October, 1888.

Two Ex-Liberal Statesmen on the Parnellites.

MR. GLADSTONE ON MR. PARNELL AND HIS POLICY.

"We have got before us a state of crime widely extended. Gentlemen would have us to suppose that this crime is owing to distress in Ireland, that it is owing to evictions in Ireland. It is evident, by the testimony afforded by facts, that it is owing neither to the one nor to the other. . . . *With fatal and painful precision the steps of crime dogged the steps of the Land League.*"—Speech in HOUSE OF COMMONS, January 28th, 1881.

"For nearly the first time in the history of Christendom, *a body—a small body—of men have arisen who are not ashamed to preach in Ireland the doctrines of public plunder.* . . . I take as a representative of the opinions I denounce the name of a gentleman of considerable ability—Mr. Parnell, the member for Cork—a gentleman, I will admit, of considerable ability, but whose doctrines are not such as really need any considerable ability to recommend them. *If you go forth upon a mission to demoralise a people by teaching them to make the property of their neighbours the objects of their covetous desire, it does not require superhuman gifts to find a certain number of followers and adherents for a doctrine such as that.*"—Speech at LEEDS, October 7th, 1881.

"Mr. Parnell is very copious in his references to America. He has said America is the only friend of Ireland; but, in all his references to America, he has never found time to utter one word of disapproval of, or misgiving about, what is known as the assassination literature of that country."—Speech at LEEDS, October 8th, 1881.

"The man, Mr. Parnell, who has unhappily made himself *beyond all others prominent in the attempt to destroy the authority of the law, to substitute what would end in being nothing more or less than anarchical oppression* exercised upon the people of Ireland."—Speech at the GUILDHALL, London, October 14th, 1881.

"It is a great issue; it is a conflict for the very first and elementary principles upon which civil society is constituted. It is idle to talk of either law or order, or liberty or religion, or civilisation, if these gentlemen are to carry through the reckless and chaotic schemes that they have devised. Rapine is the first object; but rapine is not the only object. It is perfectly true that these gentlemen wish to march through rapine to the disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire, and, I am sorry to say, even to the placing of different parts of the Empire in direct hostility one with the other. That is the issue in which we are engaged. Our opponents are not the people of Ireland. We are endeavouring to relieve the people of Ireland from the weight of a tyrannical yoke." Speech at KNOWSLEY, October 27th, 1881.

"They (hon. gentlemen) must explain, by some statement of fact, if they could give a different colour to the relations of the Land League to the crimes committed in Ireland, and they must explain the reason of the breaking down of the administration of justice. What did the breaking down mean? *It meant the destruction of the peace of life; it meant the placing in abeyance of the most sacred duties and the most cherished duties; it meant the servitude of good men, the impunity and supremacy of bad men.*"—Speech in HOUSE OF COMMONS, January 11th, 1882.

"In my opinion that item which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Gorst) has omitted from his speech, is by far the most formidable feature in it—namely, the really strong presumption that behind the commission of these outrages *there are influences at work higher than any that belong to those who commit them.*"—Speech in HOUSE OF COMMONS, April 4th, 1882.

SIR WM. HARCOURT ON THE PARNELLITE PROGRAMME.

"We have heard the doctrine of the Land League expounded by the man (Mr. Dillon) who is an authority to explain it, and to-morrow every subject of the Queen will know that the doctrine so

expounded is the doctrine of treason and assassination. . . . To-morrow the civilised world will pronounce its judgment on this vile conspiracy. . . . The Land League is an association which depends upon the support of the Fenian conspiracy.

. . . Who were the chief agents by whom it was started and conducted? Why, they were notorious Fenians, many of whom had been convicted, while others were perfectly well known to be connected with the Fenian conspiracy.—Speech in HOUSE OF COMMONS.—(*Hans.*, *vol.* 229, *p.* 160, *et seq.*)

"Mr. Parnell said that for himself he had the greatest respect for many Fenians who believed in the separation of Ireland from England by physical force. . . . Am I right or wrong in saying that this Land League organisation is really Fenian, and Fenian in its character? . . . Mr. Dillon said that the Land League had three objects in view—first, to paralyse the Government; secondly, to obstruct Parliament; and, thirdly, to supersede the action of the law. But if they had accomplished these objects they would have done all that the Fenian organisation contemplated—they would have overthrown the Constitution as much as if they had attacked it successfully by open force. . . . Mr. Parnell has never denied that there are a great number of Fenians connected with the Land League in America. He cannot deny it. . . . When we see men seeking the support of arms to assist their purposes, and find members of the Land League in communication with Communism in Paris and Fenianism in America, then I say the maxim applies, '*Noscitur ex sociis.*'"—Speech in HOUSE OF COMMONS.—(*Hans.*, *vol.* 250, *p.* 842.)

"UNITED IRELAND"

ON

LORD SPENCER & SIR GEO. TREVELYAN

"A HUMILIATED MINISTER."—Never, perhaps, was any Minister placed in so shameful a position as was Mr. Trevelyan on Monday night. To have to claim his salary by means of a vindication of his conduct towards Mr. James Ellis French was a pleasant plight for so fine a gentleman. . . Looking at the matter in the mildest way the grossest and **most culpable** conduct had been proved against him. But whatever may become of the accused in Kilmainham Messrs. Spencer and Trevelyan **can never scrape themselves clean of the ordure with which this case has for ever daubed their reputations.** No answer can be given by them, and none can be attempted to the **charges of having screened and protected French for the purpose of ruining this journal** and its editor.—[Leading Article, November 26th, 1884.]

"What will Earl Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan do? If Mr. Forster resigned because Mr. Parnell was let out of prison against his advice, how should it be with men who, to the last minute of the last hour, **sheltered, championed,** and **concealed** the abominations which makes Castle rule sicken the very air it contaminates? . . . Will they cling to the offices they have **degraded** in the country which they have **shocked?**"—[July 26th, 1884.]

"Mr. Trevelyan stood convicted of as **shameful** and **perfidious** a plot as ever English Governor framed against an Irish enemy."—[Parliamentary Correspondent, July 26th, 1884.]

"SO MUCH FOR BUCKINGHAM."—"With all the stubborn force of a cruel, narrow, dogged nature, he (*Lord Spencer*) struck murderous blow after blow at the people under his rod. **He stopped at nothing; not at sheltering black official villainy with a coat of darkness;** not at wholesale battues of hangings and transportations **by hook or crook;** not at burying the proofs of his victims' innocence in their graves."—[Leading Article, June 13th, 1885.]

"OFFICIAL COMPOUNDERS OF FELONY."—"Mr. Trevelyan has now confessed that Colonel Bruce and himself, and, doubtless, Earl Spencer, inquired as to French's abominations, and had ample *prima facie* evidence that the charges against him were true, but determined to observe a benevolent neutrality towards the gentleman, because (at their instigation) he had brought an action for

libel against this journal. Was there ever an admission that so completely identified the Irish Government as accessories after the fact to nameless crime?"—[Leading Article, May 24th, 1884.]

"AT BAY."—"By shifts, and schemes, and stratagems of this description the nephew of Macaulay, aided by officials of the House of Commons, avoids the shame of the exposure which must attach to himself and Earl Spencer permitting felons like Cornwall, French, and Bolton, to do the work of Government in Ireland, **conniving at their crimes,** and attempting by means of such instruments to crush a journal that they have good reason to fear and hate. As for Cornwall, the sham plaintiff, we regard him as mere carrion."—[Leading Article, May 24th, 1884.]

"PLEASANT PARTICULARS."—"We have just had the satisfaction of furnishing Lord Spencer's esteemed detective director JAMES ELLIS FRENCH with the 'particulars' demanded by that official as ordered by his allies of the Court of Queen's Bench. . . . **Why, if he be not in league with French,** does his Excellency not compel the wretch to press forward his prosecution against us? Whose fault is this? . . . Well may the blackguard sicken. . . . **We now challenge him with all and sundry others of French's bottleholders** to pick up their man and send him to us if they dare."—[Leading Article, March 1st, 1884.]

"A CASTLE MARTYR."—"Pity the sorrows of the firm and gentle Spencer. There lies upon his hands

a meritorious official assailed and stricken by a savage National paper, and he knows not what to do with him. For, what would Lord Spencer's English friends say of him if, even for the sake of crushing one of these Irish malignants, it became known **that he had screened and taken the side of a modern Corry Connellan ?**"—Leading article, March 8th, 1884]

KNOWING FRENCH'S CHARACTER.—It is not easy to understand why the newspapers should be so mealy-mouthed in suppressing Mr. Biggar's charge, at one of his meetings on Sunday, **against Earl Spencer**, that he had **shielded the felonious practices** of Messrs. French, Cornwall, **and Co.** That is a **charge which will have to be publicly made and answered** (if answer there be) one of these days, and Earl Spencer has nobody but himself to blame if it has to be faced. **Knowing French's infamous character even** before we had exposed it, he deliberately refrained from prosecuting him, and retained him in the public service.—[Sub-Leader, under Title of " The Week's Work," June 7th, 1884.]

"A LONG DAY."—The gentle Earl **did his best** to **smuggle his inconvenient underling into** a lunatic asylum. . . . What is to be theught of the honour or decency of men like Earl Spencer or Mr. Trevelyan, who, **knowing the atrocious crimes of which French has been guilty**, not only keep him on in their service and allow him to draw his salary, but connive at his shamming to escape from justice.—[Leading Article. May 3rd, 1884.]

"TO A GENEROUS NATION."— . . . It is **the besotted malice of Earl Spencer** and his evil Ministers which has undone them. Had they honestly cast out the lepers, the world might still have believed that the criminality of the Frenches and Cornwalls was that of individuals and not of a polluted system. **They chose the lepers for their champions. They ostentatiously afforded them certificates of character.** They obstructed the proofs of their guilt by every species of secret machination. **When that guilt was proved in their teeth,** they set themselves to weaken its impression in the public mind by taking the prosecutions into their own hands and doctoring the evidence, and organizing packed juries to unsay what a jury freely chosen had said. Even at this moment Earl Spencer is using his power of life-and-death over the Ministry to defy public opinion and safe-guard the secrets of his administration **by restoring to honour and emolument the wretches whom he has rescued from the criminal dock.**—[Leading Article, November 8th. 1884.]

"THE GOVERNMENT PLOT AND ITS ISSUE."— If there is any one thing which the unparalleled series of litigations we have been passing through establishes it is that there has been one of the most unscrupulous plots ever concocted to slay this Journal. French, Cornwall, Bolton, the Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench were so many algebraical expressions to represent the **quenchless hate** with which Earl Spencer's Government is pleased to pursue us. Having **assisted** loathsome criminals to pursue us almost to the point of a destruction worse than death, the Executive are meanly turning their **accomplices** over to justice while

they themselves impudently cling to their high seats and trust to Belfast Juries and bloated bills of cost to complete our financial ruin.—[Leading Article, 9th August, 1884.]

"THE RED EARL'S REVENGE."—We publish to-day a narrative which puts the finishing-touch to Earl Spencer's disgraceful record in Ireland. . . . We already knew that before we denounced French's crimes, Colonel Bruce had been forced to inquire into them, and had burked the inquiry. **We now learn that before French's name ever defiled our pages, his infamies were so notorious that a number of Constabulary officers clubbed together to apprise Earl Spencer and Colonel Brackenbury, by a formal "Round Robin," of the abominations with which their chief detective** was credited in every orderly-room in the island, and gave "the names of six or seven Constabulary officers who could give evidence on the subject." Therefore, it is no longer possible for Earl Spencer or his underlings to wriggle out of the fact that before ever a libellous line about French appeared in this journal **they knew as well as they know now that the man who wielded the whole tremendous secret machinery of the police in Ireland was a fiend in human shape.**

. . . . .

Earl Spencer and Colonel Bruce, with a **full knowledge** of his glaring guilt, treated him as an injured innocent who, if he could succeed in getting a verdict against us to our ruin, would be raised to the highest pinnacle of honour and emolument.—[Leading Article, January 17th, 1885.]

. . . . . .

We have proved their Detective-Director to be a foul and horrid profligate. On Tuesday next the House of Commons

will be afforded the opportunity of discussing this case, and bad as are the annals of England, we believe that it will be the first time that **English officials will be proved to have promoted, availed of, and screened** a wretch of the type of James Ellis French. The distinction will be the crowning glory of the Liberal *regime* in Ireland.—[Leading article, 14th June, 1884.]

"UNITED IRELAND"

ON

ENGLAND'S DIFFICULTIES.

"SPEED THE MAHDI."—"All hail again to this most excellent Moslem. The more we hear of him the better we like him. That the patriotic chief may drive every whey-faced invader that assails him into the Red Sea is the desire of every lover of freedom. **We trust that our next news may be that Gordon, who is advancing loaded with specie towards Khartoum has met the same fate as Baker, and nothing would give us greater satisfaction than to chronicle the complete triumph of the Mahdi in the Soudan and his victorious arrival before the walls of Cairo.** The English probably will now have to send out fresh troops, who will have their work cut out for them, to hold their own in Egypt proper. **That the hand of Providence should fall heavily on the British for their unrighteous war and occupation, must make every honest heart in Europe rejoice."**—[Leading Article, February 9th, 1884.]

"THE MAHDI."—"This Mahdi is doing excellent service. We, therefore, wish this excellent Mahdi every success. For us he is no False Prophet but a Hot Gospeller from heaven, that, we trust, may be vouchsafed to every suffering people. . . . His dying moments must have been consoled by the thought of the ruin which the disaster wrought on English projects in Egypt. Khartoum

has not fallen yet, but the days of its garrison are numbered, and with the slaughter of its garrison, no man can tell what complication the future has in store for the Gladstone Government. The victorious advance of the Prophet may mean the downfall of the most powerful minister that ever ruled in England, and the indefinite shelving of important projects of home legislation.—[Leading Article, January 26th, 1884.]

MR. O'BRIEN'S REGRETS ABOUT GENERAL GORDON.—" England's Lord Wolseley and his army are gathering for a march to the rescue of Gordon in Khartoum through a thousand miles or so of burning desert, and now that they are ready to start there comes the ugly intelligence that Gordon and Khartoum have fallen long ago into the lap of the Mahdi. The intelligence, **we regret to say,** awaits confirmation.—[Sub-Leader under title " Week's Work," 13th September, 1884.]

" CAN WE HURT ENGLAND."—" In the sense of smashing her army and navy, indubitably no. Under present conditions the day on which England can get us to draw out our forces in battle array and pull a trigger, is our last ; it is because she knows how impregnably she stands entrenched behind her fortresses, ironclads and hundred ton guns that she is so eager for us to come on with our tin pikeheads and blackthorn sticks, and it is because we nourish no illusions upon the subject, but know pertectly well that numbers—discipline and bullets are overwhelmingly against us that we decline to end the controversy on the fifteen acres, and let Irish disaffection sink helplessly into a bloody grave. **We know a trick worth ten of that. We cannot fight England in the open. We can keep her in hot water,** we cannot evict our English rulers neck and crop, **we can make their rule more insupportable for them even than for us.** It may be a more inglorious form of warfare

than that which is celebrated to the stirring music of the trumpet and the cannon; but it is no fault of ours, if we cannot organise Waterloos to decide our quarrels. We were nine millions, and England has bled us down to four. Taking up arms is one thing; having no arms to take up is quite another, and is our case. . . . **The Invincibles were a band of just twenty-seven; yet** who cannot recall with a shudder that **they** murdered two of the principal governors of the country opposite the Lord Lieutenant's windows, attacked Jurors and Judges in crowded streets, **held a great city for months in a state of chattering terror, and were only finally smashed because they failed to remember that refusing to open their lips in the Castle Star Chamber only involved a week's imprisonment.** We mention these matters not as threats, or as a policy, but as matter-of-fact eventualities that everybody who thinks that the Irish four millions can but grind their teeth, however the four-and-thirty millions may choose to hector them, would do well not to overlook."—[Leading Article, September 19th, 1885.]

"**THE BRITISH BACK-DOWN.**"—The retreat of Lord Wolseley's pic-nic party on the Nile before the Mahdi's sharpshooters has been outrivalled by England's ignominous double-shuffle in presence of the Russian vedettes in Central Asia. **All the Cabinets of Europe are sniggering over the figure pursy John Bull cuts in the transaction.**—[Leading Article, March 21st, 1885.]

"**ENGLAND'S DIFFICULTIES.**"—"At the first blush it may not appear to concern England much that the French Ministry is overthrown, and that the French nation, maddened by the rebuffs their diminutive army in Tonquin have received at the hands of overwhelming hosts of Chinese, are fitting out a great

army to march to Pekin. Yet it is possible that the war fever which is seizing upon France, may have a more decisive influence upon the quarrel between Russia and England than the diplomatic soft sawder with which the Czar is amusing John Bull, while his railway from the Caspian is stretching its long arms nearer and nearer to Herat. . . . . .

Such a concatenation of disastrous omens never affrighted the heart of England, **or gladdened her foes, before.** The full horrors of the situation will probably take some time to develop ; for the Russians are comfortably in possession and can afford to make the most re-assuring protestations, while gathering their forces for a fresh spring; but a Franco-Russian alliance against England is perfectly on the cards before the world is much older—and after that the deluge!—[Leading Article, April 4th, 1885.]

"A TERRIBLE CALAMITY."—"All Ireland is in mourning, public manifestations of sorrow are universal, and gloom sits on every face and crape on every arm, for Khartoum has fallen, and General Gordon has been slain. **We cannot express the poignant emotion which the receipt of the news of the English disaster caused in this country.**"—[Leading Article, February 14th, 1885.]

THE LATE MR. JOHN BRIGHT ON IRELAND AND HOME RULE.

My symyathy with Ireland, north and south, compels me to condemn the proposed legislation [Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1886.] I believe the united Parliament can be and will be more just to all classes in Ireland than any Parliament that can meet in Dublin under the provisions of Mr. Gladstone's bill. If Mr. Gladstone's great authority were withdrawn from these bills, I doubt if twenty members outside the Irish party in the House of Commons would support them. The more I consider them the more I lament that they have been offered to the Parliament of the country.—[Letter to the Council of Central Division of Birmingham, 31st May, 1886.]

Thirty years ago the bulk of the Liberal party—pledged to peace, retrenchment, and reform—followed Lord Palmerston into the war with Russia. Now the party will condemn their course of thirty years ago. At this moment they are talking for, and voting for, measures which few of them understand, accepting them as good from the hands of a popular Minister.

I have been associated very intimately with this popular Minister for twenty years. I have spoken for Ireland for thirty years, and have implored successive Prime Ministers to do what legislation can do for that country. My sympathy for the Irish people is as warm and as real as ever it was, and it is with this sympathy unbroken and unimpaired that I dare not hand over their interests to the conspiracy which is bent on destroying the owners of the land as one step—as they hope a successful step—towards the severance of Ireland from the United Kingdom.

I think a majority of instructed and thoughtful men in Ireland will prefer the protection and the justice of the Parliament of the Three Kingdoms at Westminster to the rule of the conspiracy to whom so much of the present suffering and demoralisation of their unhappy country is due.—[Letter to a Liberal Unionist of Birmingham, February 7th, 1887.]

I am as true a friend to Ireland now as I have ever been, and it is for this reason that I object to sever the United Kingdom, and to surrender 5,000,000 of our population to the rule of a conspiracy which is represented in the House of Commons by forty or fifty members who sit there by virtue of contributions from America, from men whose avowed object is to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and permanently to break up the Union of the Three Kingdoms. I have made no change in my opinions of the Irish question. Others have changed, and to them my consistency is offensive. They follow their leader and strive to look happy in the pit of difficulty and party ruin into which his mistakes have led them. I cannot join them or help them. I can only deplore the wreck of the Liberal party which I see around me.—[Letter to correspondent, June 30th, 1887.]

I have had during all my political life a great sympathy for your country and your people. This I have shown in many speeches

made on their behalf, when those who pretend now to talk loudly in their favour were silent or were opposed to me. I cannot consent to subject your population, Protestant or Catholic, to the acting members and chiefs of the conspiracy which has done so much to demoralise your country.—[Letter to Belfast Liberal, July 1st, 1887.]

In 1800 the Catholics sought relief from the intolerance of the Protestant party. In our day the Irish Protestants protest against being subjected to the Catholic Parliament and party which Mr. Gladstone's policy would place in supreme power in Dublin. I believe the most intelligent of your Catholic countrymen, and the possessors of property among them, would prefer to entrust their future and their fortunes to an Imperial Parliament in Westminster rather than to an assembly in Dublin, directed by the leaders of the revolutionary scheme now pressed forward, in alliance with the bitter hostility of the Irish and anti-English party in the United States.—[Letter to a County Mayo gentleman, August 8th, 1887.]

I never was more the friend of Ireland than I am now, when objecting to handing the unfortunate country over to the rule of the revolutionary and rebel conspiracy with which the Government is now contending. Justice to Ireland requires not only that the laws should be just, but that they should be obeyed. It is my sympathy with the Irish people which forces me into strong opposition to the political views of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell. The latter, so far as I know, has not changed. The former five years ago condemned and denounced him; now he comes forward as his apologist and defender. —[Letter to a Glasgow correspondent, October 1st, 1887.]

You speak of the drastic policy of the Government. It is much less drastic than the policy of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1881 and 1882, and if anyone denies this he is either ignorant of the Acts of these years or is guilty of falsehood. In 1881 many hundreds of men were put in prison for months without trial, without evidence against them, without defence of counsel, and without any proof of having broken the law. Now no man is punished or imprisoned except after trial by two magistrates, in an open Court, when witnesses may be heard in his behalf, and when counsel may be heard in his defence. —[Letter to an Irish voter, in his constituency, December 9th, 1887.]

It is to the 86 Irish members, of whom it is said that at least 40 of them sit in Parliament by right of dollars contributed in America by the avowed enemies of England and of the Queen's right of Government, that **the great English Liberal Party is called on to abandon its past policy and to prostrate itself before an odious, illegal, and immoral conspiracy**; and to this conspiracy, made a Parliament in Dublin, we are to transfer the government of **two millions of the Irish people who are as loyal as are the inhabitants of the County of Warwick.** And all this we are asked and advised to do by a statesman who has been for ten years the chief adviser of the Crown. **There are some men in the House of Commons now following Mr. Gladstone and his Irish colleagues, who do so with great doubt; some, I am persuaded, with a feeling not far removed from loathing. Their**

countenances express dissatisfaction and regret, and something akin to shame. How long they will march in line with the Irish 86, how long they will come up day by day to the whip of the front Opposition bench, the progress of the Session will show. We, who remain true to the principles and policy of the Liberals, who have gained so many victories of recent years, must grieve over the temporary ruin of the party. But we may console ourselves with the knowledge that our course has been direct, and that we stand before the country guiltless of the mischief and without shame.—[Letter to Mr. Chamberlain, from Rochdale, 30th May, 1887.]

ULSTER.

The following letter was received on June 8th, 1887, from Mr. Bright by Mr. Thomas Sinclair, of Hopefield, Belfast, in reply to one enclosing copies of resolutions passed at a recent Liberal Unionist meeting in that town :

"ONE ASH, ROCHDALE, *June* 6, 1887.

"DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your friendly letter and for the copy of the resolutions passed at your recent great meeting on the question of the Union.

"I have just been reading Mr. Gladstone's speeches in South Wales. He speaks as if there were no province of Ulster and no Protestant or loyal Catholic population in Ireland.

"**He seems ignorant or unconscious of the fact that the whole of Wales had a population in 1881 of only 1,360,000, which is I think less than that of Ulster by something more than 300,000.** Ulster may be a nationality differing from the rest of Ireland at least as much as Wales differs from England, but Wales is treated to a flattery which, if not insincere, seems to me childish, and **Ulster is forgotten in the discussion of the Irish question.**

"Is it not wonderful how one-sided Mr. Gladstone can be, and how his great intellect can be subjected to one idea, and how he can banish from his mind everything, however important, which **does not suit the purpose or object he has before him.** He speaks, too, as if it were a good thing to make Wales almost as un-English as he assumes all Ireland to be. He conceals the fact that there **are more loyal men and women in Ireland than the whole population of men and women in Wales.** It is sad that a great Minister should descend to artifices so transparent, and that crowds of his countrymen should be thus imposed upon.

"Yours very sincerely,

"JOHN BRIGHT."

On the publication of this letter Mr. Gladstone addressed the following to Mr. Bright :—

"DOLLIS HILL, *June* 11, 1887.

"MY DEAR BRIGHT,—Having my attention called by many correspondents to your letters of the 6th inst., and always regarding you as a good and kind friend, I write to apprise you that you have inadvertently fallen into an error of fact when, as you say, I spoke as if there was no province of Ulster. In that same speech, referring to the essentials of the Irish Government Bill, I spoke expressly of Ulster, as you will find by reference to any report of tolerable accuracy.

"Yours sincerely,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

In response to which Mr. Bright addressed the following letter to Mr. Gladstone:—

"My Dear Mr. Gladstone,—My remarks as to your speech was not strictly accurate. I wrote from memory, and the sentence about Ulster was not sufficiently definite to have fixed itself in my memory. I regret the apparent want of accuracy; **but on reading over the report of your speech I may observe that you deal with the Ulster question in a way not calculated to give any comfort or any hope to the loyal population of that province.**

"You say 'If there be a desire, a well-considered desire, on the part of the Protestant population in the portion of Ulster capable of being dealt with separately, we were perfectly agreed to consider any plan for the purpose.' But can anything be more unsatisfactory than this sentence? You ask for a 'well-considered desire' on the part of the 'Protestant population.' Has it not been known to all men that the desire has been 'well-considered,' and that it has been expressed in the loudest tones by those who are entitled to speak for the Protestant inhabitants of the province?

"You speak of the Protestants 'in the portion of Ulster capable of being dealt with separately,' and for these you are prepared 'to consider any plan for the purpose;' but you must know that any plan for dealing only with the Protestants of Ulster by themselves, and not associated with the rest of the population of the province, is an impossible plan, and not worth one moment's consideration.

"In dealing with this question, even in a speech to Welshmen, I think Ulster has a claim upon you for a definite expression of opinion as to your plan for the future government of the province. **Your plan a year ago was to place Ulster under the rule of a Parliament in Dublin, and the people know and dread that their future fortunes would be subject to the control of a body of men about whose character and aims you and I differ very seriously. You deem them patriots, I hold them to be not patriots, but conspirators against the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom. It is not long since we agreed, or I thought we agreed, on this point. You have changed your opinion. I can only regret that I have not been able to change mine.**

"The recent astounding revelations in *The Times* newspaper must have confirmed the fears and anxieties of the people of Ulster, and have increased their dread of being subjected to the rule of Mr. Parnell and of his agents and followers in Ireland and in the House of Commons.

"I grieve that I cannot act with you as in years past, but **my judgment and my conscience forbid it.** If I have said a word that seems harsh or unfriendly, I will ask you to forgive it.

"Always sincerely yours,

"John Bright.

"The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P."

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THE PARNELLITES

ON

ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH.

These are Extracts from what the Parnellites said in former days. They have never withdrawn, or retracted, these statements. Did they mean what they said, or did they not? If they did not mean it, let them say so. But if they did not mean what they said then, how can we be asked to believe what they say now?

Mr. WM. REDMOND, M.P.

[At Nurney, Co. Kildare.]

"Mr. PARNELL exhibited no intolerance of men who might be anxious ultimately to liberate Ireland by the sword. . . . At a number of meetings which had lately been held throughout the country, cheers had been given for the Mahdi (another cheer for the Mahdi); and he believed that nothing which had occurred for years so much **brought home to the English people the bitter fact, and the great truth, that Ireland regarded England as her enemy, and rejoiced at her misfortunes.**"—*United Ireland, February 21st*, 1885.

[At Dundalk.]

"The old saying was as true now as in the days when Wolf Tone died, that '**England's difficulty, under the providence of God, was Ireland's opportunity.**'"—*United Ireland, April 18th*, 1885.

[At Newcastle-on-Tyne.]

"Why have the Irish people voluntarily and heartily cheered the Mahdi? **Chiefly because the Mahdi is the enemy of England, and his men are killing Englishmen.** This is a hard and bitter, but most true, fact (hear, hear). **The Irish cheer the Mahdi because he is the enemy of the English!**"—*United Ireland, May 23rd*, 1885.

Mr. T. M. HEALY, M.P.

[At Boston, U.S.A.]

"We believe that landlordism is the prop of English rule, and we are working to take that prop away. **To drive out British rule from Ireland** we must strike at the foundation, and that foundation is landlordism."—*Irishman, December 24th*, 1881.

[At Mullingar,]

June 1st, 1884.

"They could not, of course, **unfortunately, send the British Government out of this country** by a *coup de main*. But while the mere effervescing characteristics of that time might have passed away, there still remained behind a solid determination to work at that movement in which they and their friends had struggled." (Applause).

[At Kilkenny.]

"Let the people cast aside all personal dissensions, **and let them have one enemy only, and that enemy the British Government.**" (Cheers).—*United Ireland, November 7th*, 1885.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P.

[At Letterkenny, Co. Donegal.]

" If England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity, as it is (cheers), **England's difficulties are at this moment crowding pretty thick upon her.** (Cheers) (A voice, 'The Mahdi is the boy for her.') Her **trade is bad at home,** and, as a voice behind me reminds me, **her armies are not doing a bit too satisfactorily** out in the country of that black gentleman, the Mahdi. (A voice, 'Three cheers for the Mahdi.')"—*United Ireland, February 21st,* 1885.

[At Letterkenny.]

" The time has come when the Irish people may occupy the same position **between England and her foes** as the Irish party occupy every night between the rival English parties in the House of Commons."—*United Ireland, March 7th,* 1885.

Under the head of " Speed the Mahdi," Mr. O'Brien published a leading article in *United Ireland,* to the following effect :—

" We trust that our next news may be that Gordon, who is advancing loaded with specie towards Khartoum, has met the same fate as Baker, and nothing would give us greater satisfaction than to chronicle the complete triumph of the Mahdi in the Soudan and his victorious arrival before the walls of Cairo. The English probably will now have to send out fresh troops, who will have their work cut out for them, to hold their own in Egypt proper. **That the hand of Providence should fall heavily on the British for their unrighteous war and occupation, must make every honest heart in Europe rejoice."** — [Leading Article, *February 9th,* 1884.]

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.

The following references from the *Nation* newspaper, owned and edited by Mr. Sullivan, M.P., deal with the difficult reverses which attended the British troops in Afghanistan and Zululand:—

"*The Robber Army* will continue in Zululand, and **Irishmen have the gratification of knowing that the Parliament of the English** is becoming as useless to themselves as it is to us, and that **our arm is long enough to work hurt and harm on the enemy in at least some parts of the world.**"—*Nation*, June 7th, 1879.

"The operations of the invaders, the English forces, are those of **ruthless plunderers and cut-throats.**"—*Nation*, 3rd January, 1880.

"The world would continue to believe that he (General Roberts) has been in command simply of **a corps of hangmen.**"—*Nation*, 21st February, 1880.

"**Brag, bluster, and bloodshed** were always dear to the English mind."—*Nation*, 13th March, 1880.

"**And now the news reaches us, gladdening every honest heart, that one of the most signal defeats ever inflicted on British arms** in any part of the world has just been inflicted on them by Ayoub Khan."—*Nation*, 7th August, 1880.

GLADSTONIAN HOME RULE: WHAT IS IT?

In the absence of any authoritative explanation from Mr. Gladstone respecting his future Home Rule scheme, statements of his lieutenants are the only guide the British elector has to depend upon. Here are a few contradictory utterances by persons of the first importance.

WHAT MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY WANTS.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M.P., speaking at Derry, on the 19th of April, 1892, said :—

"Now we ask nothing more for ourselves than is given to the great colonies of Canada, Australia, and South Africa. We only ask the right to manage our own affairs ourselves. . . . There is our demand explicitly made."—*Freeman*, 28th April, 1892.

MR. R. T. REID WON'T GIVE HIM.

Mr. R. T. REID, Q.C., Gladstonian M.P. for Dumfries District, writing in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1892, says :—

"At one time, when ideas upon these subjects were more crude, proposals were advanced for placing Ireland in the position of a self-governing colony. And before any other point be decided as to Home Rule, we must first settle that question. Is Ireland to become a colony, or to remain a part of the United Kingdom?

The reasons against the former alternative are overwhelming.

"Owing to her proximity, Ireland has always been as much associated with our common fortunes as Scotland, and has furnished, for the common good, quite her share of soldiers and sailors, and certainly a full share of statesmen, lawyers, doctors, divines, and other lettered classes. A large Irish working population is spread over Great Britain. Ireland has had a common purse with us now for ninety years, and, unhappily, also a common debt. Even before 1800 she accepted the duty of contributing to war expenditure. She is within sight of our shores. Hostile invasion of Great Britain would bring imminent danger to Ireland; and invasion of Ireland would bring imminent danger to Great Britain. Such an event as the conquest of either island would paralyze, if not destroy, independence in the other. Now none of these things can be said of any single colony. No colony has been associated with our domestic, though all partake of our Imperial fortunes. No colony except New South Wales, and that on a solitary occasion, has furnished any substantial number of soldiers or sailors. Colonial statesmen and other men of learning are reared for home consumption. The number of colonists resident among us is insignificant. We have never had a common purse with any colony, or a common debt, or received from them, except in a most limited and trifling degree, any contribution to outlay incurred for the common benefit. All of them are at an immense distance, and although some smaller dependencies might fall into the hands of a victorious enemy, the remainder could protect themselves, even if Great Britain were subdued while the conquest of any among their number, dishonouring as it would be, could not produce actual danger to Great Britain. To these must be added other equally important considerations. Colonies have a modern, Ireland a most ancient, hold upon our interests. Colonies have their own laws and customs, their own problems and difficulties, a different climate, strange neighbours, and sometimes an almost cosmopolitan population; Ireland resembles us in laws, and largely in manners, has kindred problems, a similar climate, the same neighbours, and a population wholly European, of which every racial blend has its counterpart within England and Scotland. Alike from historical, geographical and racial causes, our relations to Ireland must be different from our relations to any colony. This conviction is universal."

Messrs. Stansfeld & Fowler *v.* Mr. Asquith, M.P.

At Rossendale, on 20th January, 1892, Mr. H. H. Fowler, M.P., answered Mr. Finlay's questions as to Home Rule "what is it?" in this manner. He said he could not do better than adopt Mr. Stansfeld's definition:—

"The principles of our measure are indubitably a **statutory Parliament in Dublin, defined and limited** by Act of Parliament, passed by the Imperial Parliament, a Government arising out of that (Irish) Parliament, and depending on it, both Government and Parliament existing only for civil purposes; not touching the army, the navy, and questions of foreign policy; **a civil government on an enlarged scale, but only for purposes enacted, described and settled in the great Imperial Act constituting that subordinate legislature.**"—*Times*, 21st January, 1892.

Mr. Asquith at Cupar, 19th May, 1892.

"What I did say then [at Cambridge, May, 1890] and what I say now is this, that in the first instance, in my judgment—because you can only carry on this process by steps—you must allow the Irish members, after the concession of an Irish Legislature in Ireland, to vote upon all matters at Westminster, because **it is impossible to distinguish satisfactorily between Imperial and local business** . . . . I have said, and I repeat, that in my opinion **the Imperial Parliament ought to retain**—(laughter, and cries of "How?")—**complete authority to legislate for Ireland**; but I don't think it would be consistent with the granting of Home Rule to Ireland, or in any sense with the Parliamentary functions, and with a fair and equitable state of relations between the two countries, that Bills submitted to the Irish Parliament shall then be sent for review before the Imperial Parliament at Westminster."

WHAT SIR CHAS. RUSSELL MEANS.

Sir Charles Russell, M.P., speaking at Hackney, London, 22nd January, 1892, said:—

"Home Rule means concession to the Irish people of the natural right of dealing in their own country, **in councils or legislative assemblies**, of their own countrymen, with questions which concerned them—(cheers)—and the concession of the right now proposed to be given to them by an Imperial Parliament, a Parliament whose dignity, whose jurisdiction, and whose representative character it was not sought to touch, to impair, or affect in any way. Should there be a necessity at any time, Parliament would have the power **to modify or withdraw the concession.**"—*Daily Chronicle*, 23rd January, 1892.

"UNITED IRELAND" DOES NOT MEAN:—

"Sir Charles Russell may make up his mind that if he has nothing better to offer us than **councils or legislative assemblies**, he needn't bother attempting a solution of the Irish question, for we will kick his **councils or legislative assemblies** into Dublin Bay as soon as they land on these shores; heartily, too, and without a qualm of conscience."—*United Ireland*, 20th January, 1892.

MR. MORLEY'S "SHARP WORDS."

Speaking at Huddersfield on 21st May, 1892, Mr. John Morley, M.P. said—"As for these *sharp words* [mutual recriminations of the Irish separatists] I will undertake to produce, if I had time, out of the *Times* newspaper, language used about Mr. Gladstone quite as bad as any language that has been used in any moment of exasperation by any Irishman about any other Irishman."—*Times*, 23rd May, 1892.

The following few examples of the "Sharp Words" used by Mr. Morley's Irish friends are on record: their parallels from the *Times* or any other journal respecting Mr. Gladstone would be interesting:—

Mr. Healy was an "ill-tempered and hysterical man."
[Mr. John Redmond, Committee Room 15.]

Mr. Chance "was a dishonest member."
[Mr. Campbell, Committee Room 15.]

Mr. Parnell "a dirty trickster."
[Mr. Barry, Committee Room 15.]

Mr. Healy "a cowardly little scoundrel."
[Mr. Parnell, Committee Room 15.]

Mr. Healy "a gutter sparrow."
[Mr. Parnell, Committee Room 15.]

Mr. Gladstone, "the champion liar."
[Mr. Parnell, at Westminster Palace Hotel, Dec., 1890.]

Mr. Mahony, M.P., "the sycophant of the Irish party."
[Mr. John Deasy, M.P., Cork, 27th Jan., 1891.]

Mr. Michael Davitt, "a jackdaw."
[Mr. Parnell, at Kilkenny, 16th Dec., 1890.]

Dr. Tanner, M.P., "a cock-sparrow."
[Mr. Parnell, at Kilkenny, 16th Dec., 1890.]

Mr. Parnell, "like Arbaces, the Egyptian, he spent his time coming out occasionally into public life, and going back again into his infamy."
[Mr. J. C. Flynn, M.P., at Mallow, 14th Dec., 1890.]

Professor Stuart, M.P., "a sort of needy man from the north, who was a fortune-hunter."
[Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., Dublin, 16th Dec., 1890.]

The "Healys and Tanners—away with such filth."
[Mr. Parnell, at Kilkenny, 16th Dec., 1890.]

Mr. Parnell, "the descendant of a common Cromwellian soldier."
[Mr. Davitt, at Ballinakill, 16th Dec., 1890.]

Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., "a nice old gentleman for a quiet tea-party."
[Mr. Parnell, at Kilkenny, 20th Dec., 1890.]

Mr. Gladstone, the "grand old spider."
[Mr. Parnell, Navan, 1st March, 1891.]

Mr. T. Healy, M.P., "the foul-mouthed."
[Mr. Parnell, Sligo, 28th March, 1891.]

Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., "represents the ignorance and incapacity" of the party.
[Mr. Parnell, Clonmel, 26th April, 1891.]

Mr. Thomas Sexton, M.P., "represents the cowardice" of the party.
[Mr. Parnell, Clonmel, 26th April, 1891.]

Mr. Parnell "has killed Home Rule, and buried it with his reputation in the London Divorce Court."

[Archbishop Croke, 2nd June, 1891.]

Mr. Parnell, "the hero of the Registry Office."

[Mr. T. Healy, M.P., Tullow, 28th June, 1891.]

Mr. T. Healy, M.P., "a Newcastle-on-Tyne Fenian."

[Mr. Parnell, Glynn, 30th June, 1891.]

Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P., "Extreme courses always commence and end either with his extremities or at the extremities of some other person."

[Mr. Parnell, Creggs, 27th Sept., 1891.]

Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., "the converted Fenian of English platforms."

[*Cork Herald*, 31st Oct., 1891.]

Dr. Tanner, M.P., "one of the holy men who had been teaching morality to Ireland."

[Mr. Pat. O'Brien, M.P., Cork, 27th Oct., 1891.]

Mr. T. Condon, M.P., "a Tipperary Bosthoon."

[Mr. P. O'Brien, M.P., 26th Oct., 1891.]

Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., "a man capable of heaping any infamy upon an opponent."

[*Independent*, 31st Dec., 1891.]

Mr. Michael Davitt, "a political Chameleon."

[Mr. J. J. O'Kelly, M.P., in *Independent*, 30th Dec., 1891.]

Mr. Thomas Condon, M.P., "a ranting, roaring influenzaite—this concentrated essence of a blimated bosthoon * *—this super-magnificent fraud."

[*Tipperary News*, 23rd Jan., 1892.]

Mr. Thomas Sexton, M.P., "huge vanity" and "absolute duplicity."

[Dr. Kenny, M.P., 9th Feb., 1892.]

Mr. T. Healy's statement was "a deliberate lie and invention."

[Dr. Kenny, M.P., 4th March, 1892.]

Mr. M. J. Kenny, M.P., "a person admitted into the Irish party out of a butter shop."

[*Independent*, 31st March, 1892.]

Mr. Michael Davitt, "as fickle as the wind, and as silly in his self-esteem as a pretty school girl."

[*Independent*, 25th April, 1892.]

Mr. John Dillon's "indiscretions in Parliament and out of them now became proverbial."

[Mr. Byrne, at *Freeman* Meeting, 16th May, 1892.]

The Healyites: "The shareholders of the *National Press* should put you all in jail."

[Mr. Byrne, at *Freeman* Meeting, 16th May, 1892.]

Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., "a curse to any party he belonged to."

[Statement quoted by Mr. John Dillon, *Freeman* Meeting, 16th May, 1892.]

Mr. Ed. Dwyer Gray, "Don't be making an ass of yourself."

[Mr. T. Healy, M.P., *Freeman* Meeting, 18th May, 1892.]

THE

WARP AND WOOF

OF

IRISH AGITATION:

The Land League and the Clan-na-Gael

THE following is the text of the Report of the Special Commissioners upon the Ninth Charge made by the *Times*, viz., that the persons charged invited the assistance and co-operation, and accepted subscriptions from, known advocates of crime and dynamite :—

We have given the history of the formation of the Land League of America by Mr. Parnell and Mr. Davitt in 1880.

It now remains to trace the course of the Land League movement in America, and its connexion with the Clan-na-Gael.

This comes under the ninth charge, namely, that the respondents invited the assistance and co-operation, and accepted subscriptions from, known advocates of crime and dynamite. This is based on the following passages from the *Times* articles of 10th and 14th and 18th March, 1887.

10th March, 1887 :—

"We shall show that that conspiracy (the Clan-na-Gael) has always been "controlled, and is now controlled, by notorious dynamiters and assassins ; that "its relations to Mr. Parnell's agitation have been continuous, and that at this "moment they are as intimate and as vital to the prosperity of 'the cause' "as when the parliamentary leader in person sought and gained the patronage "of Patrick Ford, and the good graces of the American Fenians."

14th March, 1887 :—

"The body thus created (the American National League) held its first "session at Philadelphia on 25th April, 1883. All Mr. Parnell's chief officers "attended. There were treasurer Egan and secretary Brennan, chief organiser "Sheridan, and chief organiser Boyton. The last reached America on the "second day of the proceedings, and immediately hastened to share the delibera-"tions of his friends. There, too, were Frank Byrne, P. J. Sheridan's 'fellow

"'celebrity,' and ex-secretary to the National League of Great Britain; John "Walsh, most successful of organisers, against whom a true bill for murder had "just been found; O'Donovan Rossa, the author of the Local Government "Board explosion of the previous month; D. C. Feehy and John Devoy, both "leaders of the Clan-na-Gael; John H. Parnell and Mrs. Parnell. Mr. Parnell "himself directly acknowledged this body as 'the most representative Conven- "tion of Irish-American opinion ever assembled,' in a telegram to Mooney its "president, excused his own enforced absence, and urged caution on his "associates. Egan and Sullivan 'ran the machine' in the interests of the "'constitutional movement,' and from this concourse of Fenians, murderers, "and dynamiters, the 'Irish National League of America' arose. Alexander "Sullivan was elected first president, and was only induced to take office by "the special request of treasurer Egan and secretary Brennan.

"Mr. Sullivan's scruples were perhaps due to the fact that he holds a high "position in the ranks of another patriotic association, which not even the most "delirious partizanship can represent as 'public, legal, or parliamentary.' Mr. "Sullivan is well known to Scotland Yard as one of the three heads of the Irish- "American murder club called the Clan-na-Gael. His colleagues are Colonel "Michael Boland (who signed the resolutions of July, 1882), and Mr. "D C. Feehy (or, according to other authorities, General Michael Kerwin.) ". . . . . In the opinion of experts the Clan-na-Gael planned and "executed all the most diabolic of the dynamite outrages perpetrated in this "country since the spring of 1883. To that society we owe the 'explosions "'in our crowded streets, the attempted destruction of our public buildings,' "and the designs to murder Ministers in their places, upon which Mr. Parnell "lately dwelt with so much unction. And from the directorate of that society "Mr. Parnell's colleagues chose the first President of the Auxiliary League, "on which Mr. Parnell's 'constitutional movement' now lives."

18th March, 1887 :—

"Are Mr. Gladstone and his associates prepared to continue to work for "common objects with politicians confederated with and subsidised by the "authors of dynamite conspiracies and murderous outrages? Are they pre- "pared to join hands with the men who have been the guests and intimates of "Ford and Egan, and who are at this hour receiving the subscriptions collected "by the *Irish World*, in resisting measures for restoring law and order in "Ireland." [REPORT, pp. 101, 102.]

The Clan-na-Gael takes action.

The constitution and objects of the Clan-na-Gael have been already described.*

On the 19th April, 1880, the executive body of the Clan-na-Gael issued a circular to the officers and members. It was therein stated:—

"When land leagues are formed or any other public movements are organised "in which members of the V.C. (Clan-na-Gael) can conscientiously participate, "no pains should be spared to secure the control of these movements or "organisations by members of the V.C. A few of our good men working in "concert can always manage to secure this control. Lest these organisations "may at any time prove dangerous rather than assistants to our work, we "should so secure the control of their management as to be able to disband "them if they should ever become necessary.

* The object of this organisation, as stated in its constitution, was to aid the Irish people in the attainment of the complete and absolute independence of Ireland by the overthrow of English domination, a total separation from that country, the complete severance of all political connexion with it, and the establishment of an independent republic. It was to prepare unceasingly for an armed insurrection in Ireland, to have no interference directly or indirectly in politics, to act in concert with the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Ireland and Great Britain, and to assist it with money, war material, and men.

The Clan-na-Gael in America and the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Ireland were parts of one and the same conspiracy, its members being interchangeable by a system of transfers. [SPECIAL COMMISSION REPORT, pp. 5 and 6.]

"The power and usefulness of organisation were never better exhibited than "in the magnificent successes which have attended Mr. Parnell in America. . . "In all the large cities the members of the Clan-na-Gael were among the "foremost in preparing the ground, in attending to the details, and in seconding "the co-operation of our fellow-citizens. . . . . The old is pass- "ing away, and the new life is at hand, and whether the change is being made "through the terrible agencies of the dynamite of the nihilists of Russia, or the "pistol shot of the socialist of Germany, or the march of the republic in France, "or the demand for the land in England, Scotland, and Ireland, it is as certain "as the sun in the heavens that a great revolution is being wrought, and that "aristocracy and feudalism must give way to democracy and the distribution of "the soil among the people. . . . . God speed the work. It was "said of Joseph that he was a growing son. May it be said of this movement "that it is a growing movement, and that the tree which was planted by "Davitt in the soil of Mayo in April last may spread its branches wherever "an Jsjtinbo (Irishman) breathes, or the heart of a humanitarian beats "responsive to the cries of the people for a larger and better life."

The Buffalo Convention.

A Convention of the Irish National Land League of America was summoned at Buffalo on the 12th January, 1881, by the Rev. Laurence Walsh, the treasurer. James Redpath, one of the Irish Land League organisers, attended it, and the Rev. Laurence Walsh announced the receipt of 4,087 dollars, adding, however, that a good deal of money has been forwarded directly to Egan in Europe. He announced that many branches of the League had not joined in the Convention. The action of this Convention does not seem to have satisfied the Clan-na-Gael, for on the 1st March following, in a circular sent by it to its members, complaint was made that a party in the

"late Land League Convention" was "actively at work inside that organisa- "tion with the object of gradually sapping the foundations of our organi- "sation, and building up a power capable of crushing out the revolutionary "spirit, while ostensibly working for Ireland. . . . Every effort should be "made to retain the money in the local branches until the executive body can "meet, and, after considering all the facts, decide upon what course should be "adopted towards the League in future."

Major Le Caron's Interview with Mr. Parnell.

The next incident we have to refer to is the interview between the witness, Major Le Caron, and Mr. Parnell at the House of Commons.

In the month of March, 1881, Major Le Caron contemplated paying a visit to Europe, and early in that month met John Devoy by appointment at Chicago, who gave him two sealed packets, one addressed to Patrick Egan and another to John O'Leary in Paris, who was the accredited resident agent there in charge of the distribution of funds, and transacting the business of the revolutionary organisation on this side of the water. Le Caron arrived in Paris about the 14th April, 1881, and entered into communication with Egan and O'Leary, and afterwards came to London. He was then introduced by Egan to Mr. Parnell as "one of our friends from

America," the interview only lasting a minute or two. Le Caron and Egan returned to Paris, and whilst there Egan told Le Caron that Mr. Parnell desired to see him before he left for America. Le Caron returned to London, and, as he states, had an interview with Mr. J. J. O'Kelly and Mr. Parnell in a corridor in the House of Commons.

Le Caron asserts that Mr. O'Kelly on that occasion suggested to him that on his return he should use his influence with his friends on the other side to bring the organisation into line on that side of the water. That they were all working for one common object, and therefore there should and need be no misunderstanding.

Le Caron states that after Mr. O'Kelly left, Mr. Parnell, who was present, continued the same line of conversation that Mr. O'Kelly had introduced, and said, "you furnish the sinews of war, you have them "in your power, if they do not do as you tell them, stop the supplies; "the whole matter rests in your hands," that he (Mr. Parnell) wished him as soon as he returned to New York to see John Devoy, to say to him from Mr. Parnell that he believed John Devoy could do more than any other one man in the organisation to bring about an understanding such as was desired, and he wished to secure his presence as soon as possible on this side of the water, and would meet him in Paris on his arriving there, and that so far as his (Devoy's) expenses were concerned, he (Mr. Parnell) would guarantee that he would defray them.

Le Caron states that Mr. Parnell requested him also to see Alexander Sullivan, and that he (Mr. Parnell) mentioned also the names of Dr. William Carroll of Philadelphia, and of William J. Hynes, whom he was to see, and to lay before them the situation, and to show the necessity for bring about a thorough understanding, and that if Devoy would not or could not come, to get one of the others, Hynes or Sullivan, not Dr. Carroll, for he was opposing and not a friend of the open movement, and that "**there need be no misunderstanding, we are working for a common purpose for the independence of Ireland just the same as you are working for.**"

Mr. Parnell on Physical Force.

Le Caron also stated that **Mr. Parnell said that he had long since ceased to believe that anything but the force of arms would bring about the redemption of Ireland.** Mr. Parnell does not say that he did not have a conversation with Le Caron, he says that he may have had an interview with him, but he has no recollection of it, and thinks it most improbable.

Mr. Parnell states that he never sent any message either to the Clan-na-Gael or to any of the persons mentioned by Le Caron, and that he neither directly nor indirectly communicated with any of these persons for the purpose that is suggested by Le Caron. Mr. Parnell denies that he stated he had ceased to believe that anything but the force of arms would bring about the redemption of Ireland, because he says he never thought so. Mr. J. J. O'Kelly could not say whether the conversation between him and Le Caron did or did not take place, but stated that he had not the slightest remembrance of it.

[REPORT, pp. 103, 104.]

John Devoy's Letter Corroborates.

When Le Caron gave his evidence in chief his private papers were not in this country, but they arrived during the inquiry.

From these he produced the following letter received by him from John Devoy :—

Brass,
Composition,
Bell Metal,
Bronze, white,
and other
soft metal
Castings
made to order.

"Office of
"James Reynolds,
"Brass Founder,
"41 & 43 Orange Street,
"New Haven, C., June 24th, 1881.

"Dear Friend,

"I am sorry I was obliged to leave here for New York last Saturday, and "consequently did not get your letters till my return last night. They would "have been sent on to me, but that I was expected to return. I am much "obliged for the information you give me, and the interest you have taken in "a matter that affects us all so closely. I have not heard from H. yet. Yes- "terday I received a short note from E., urging me strongly to go over, but I "did not understand for what purpose till I got your explanation. I would "like to go very much if I could spare the time, and if I thought my visit would "produce the effect anticipated, but I am afraid it would not. I have no "authority to speak for anybody, and no man could undertake to speak for "the V.C. without its consent—which it would take time to get. And none "of us here could, even with the sanction of the V.C., guarantee anything for "the individuals on the other side who are hostile, but who, I feel certain, "do not represent the opinion of the home organisation. There can be no "change there till there is a change of persons, and that is sure to come in "time. All I could do would be to tell E. and P., on my own responsibility, "what I believed would satisfy our friends here, and make propositions that I "might feel morally certain would be approved of. But I would not on any "consideration have them pay my expenses. That would place me in a false "position at once. I have asked advice, and if certain friends of ours here think "it the right thing to do, will start next Wednesday, but at present I don't "think I shall be so advised. They seem to misunderstand our dissatisfaction "here. It is not with their action in *Ireland*, but the action they allow their "friends to take *in their name* here. There is little difference of opinion about "essential points, but we cannot tolerate the kind of thing begun in Buffalo. "Please drop me a line to P.O. box 4,479, New York City, and even if I should "go it will reach me. I will write again.—Yours in haste, J. Devoy."
[REPORT, p. 104.]

Major Le Caron *v.* Mr. Parnell.

This being the evidence on the one side and the other as to this interview between Major Le Caron and Mr. Parnell, we have first to consider the probabilities of the case. **It appears to us to be highly probable that Mr. Parnell would say to anyone whom he regarded as a member of the physical force party in America, that he thought it desirable that an understanding should be brought about between that party and Mr. Parnell and the supporters of the Land League movement. It was probable also that Mr. Devoy should be mentioned by Mr. Parnell as the person best able to bring about the understanding which he desired, for Devoy had undoubtedly been one of the principal agents by whom the support of a section of the Fenians had been obtained. The purpose for which such an alliance was to be formed, and the terms on which it was based, may be disputed, but the desire on the part of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt and other Land League leaders that the two parties of physical force and open political movement should act in harmony and not in opposition to one another has been proved.**

We have next to consider whether there is any corroboration of Le Caron's evidence, and we find it in the letter from Devoy.

It is clear from that letter that Le Caron had informed him that it was desired that he should come to Europe to see "E. and P." We draw the inference that Egan and Parnell are meant by these initials, and it is also clear from the contents of the letter that Devoy had been told that his assistance was wanted to remove some dissatisfaction which had arisen in the revolutionary party in America as to Irish affairs. The letter also shows that Le Caron had informed Devoy that his expenses would be paid. [REPORT, pp. 104, 105.]

Le Caron's the Correct Version.

WE THINK THAT THESE PASSAGES TEND STRONGLY TO CONFIRM LE CARON'S TESTIMONY, AND WE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT LE CARON HAS GIVEN A CORRECT ACCOUNT OF THE MESSAGE HE WAS REQUESTED BY MR. PARNELL TO CONVEY TO DEVOY.

Mr. Parnell denies that he ever said that he had long since ceased to believe that anything but force of arms would bring about the redemption of Ireland; but he bases his denial on the fact that he never thought so. **It is, however, not impossible, in conversation with a supposed revolutionist, Mr. Parnell may have expressed himself so as to leave the impression that he agreed with his interlocutor.**

Le Caron had returned to America on the 12th June, 1881.

[REPORT, p. 105.]

The Gaels Capture the League.

The 10th Annual Convention of the Clan-na-Gael took place on August 3rd, 1881. Alexander Sullivan was elected president, with greater power than had been possessed by previous presidents. James Reynolds was the chairman of the Executive Committee. The circulars and proceedings of this convention show that the dynamite policy had then been adopted by the Clan-na-Gael. Le Caron states a dynamite campaign was decided upon by the delegates to this convention. Its committee on "Foreign Relations" reported as follows:—

"The envoy of the T. D. (Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brother-"hood), having reported to us that our brothers have established a special "department for instruction in engineering, chemicals, draughting, and mining, "and other branches of the higher and technical departments of warfare "suitable to the advancement and inventions of the age, we earnestly recom-"mend the like course in the V.C."

The accounts of the Skirmishing Fund were submitted to the Convention, though the control of that fund was still left in the hands of its trustees. [REPORT, p. 105.]

Mr. Parnell Telegraphs Patrick Ford.

A telegram was sent by Mr. Parnell to Patrick Ford, which was published in the *Irish World*, 1st October, 1881:—

"I heartily thank the land leaguers throughout the United States for their "glorious work.

"I thank you for the invitation to visit America, but the movement will "probably claim my constant attention and presence in Ireland this winter, "rendering a visit to the States improbable.

"Mr. T. P. O'Connor will start for America early in October, and will re-"present my views and those of the Irish organisation.

"CHARLES STEWART PARNELL."

Mr. T. P. O'Connor arrived in America on the 29th October, 1881. He appears to have seen Patrick Ford, and Mr. Finnerty. On November 10th the call to the Convention to be held on November 30th 1881, at Chicago, was issued. [REPORT, p. 105.]

A Whip to the Clan-na-Gael.

On November 21st, a circular was sent by the Clan-na-Gael to its camps:—

"Dear Sir and Brothers,

"It is the desire of the F.C. (executive body) that as many members of "the V.C. (Clan-na-Gael) as can possibly attend the Irish National Convention "at Chicago, 30th November, 1881, will do so without entailing any expense "on the organisation.

"You will therefore make every effort to get the members of the V.C. elected "as delegates from any Irish society that may have an existence in your neigh-"bourhood, whether it be as representatives of the Land League Club, the "A.O.H. (Ancient Order of Hibernians), or any other organisation. The F.C. "particularly desires your presence as a delegate, if it is possible for you to "attend as such."

On 26th November, 1881, Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., and the Rev. Eugene Sheehy, arrived. A meeting was held at the offices of Patrick Ford's paper, the *Irish World*, at which Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., Mr. Healy, M.P., and the Rev. Eugene Sheehy were present, together with Finnerty, a member of the Clan-na-Gael.

On the 29th November, 1881, a secret meeting of the Clan-na-Gael took place, at which it was arranged that the Hon. W. J. Hynes (also a member of the Clan-na-Gael), should be in the chair, and that Finnerty should make the first speech at the Land League Convention next day. [REPORT, p. 106.]

A Clan-na-Gael Chairman.

The Land League Convention, at Chicago, was opened on 30th November, 1881. Hynes was in the chair. Finnerty first spoke, and said:—

"This Convention meets to give a definite expression and proclaim a definite "policy for the Irish-American people; to tell the English Government exactly "what we mean to do—(cheers)—to tell the Irish people no more than what "we mean to do—(applause and cries of 'That's right,')—to align ourselves "with the people of Ireland—(applause)—to go with them as far as they go— "(cheers)—and as much farther as they are prepared to go." (Tremendous cheers.)

Committees on rules and organisation were then appointed, and the nominations placed in the hands of Hynes, the Clan-na-Gael chairman. [REPORT, p. 106.]

The Irish Delegates.

On the same evening, a reception to Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., T. M. Healy, M.P., and the Rev. Eugene Sheehy, was given at McCormack Hall.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., said:—

"The landlord has not got any rent from the ten thousand who are ejected "from the farms, and he is not going to get any rent. (Applause.) What be- "comes of the ten thousand farmers meantime? We will put the tenants as "near these farms as we possibly can. They like to have a glimpse of their "old home, and if I was an agent of an insurance society I would not like to "have my whole organisation and corporation dependent on the ten thousand "farmers who will go into the farms that the other ten thousand have been "evicted from."

This speech shows that the dangerous consequences resulting from the action of the Land League were known to the speaker, and Mr. O'Connor admitted that "**the shooting of land-grabbers "was one of the incidents of the civil war.**"

The REV. EUGENE SHEEHY said:—

"I want to tell you here to-night, assembled delegates of the Irish-American "race in America, that we face landlordism and aim at its utter detruction, but "only as a stepping stone and as a means to a greater and a higher end. Will

you be content to go on paying what is called a fair rent, an abomination, "a crime, not alone against modern civilization in Ireland, but against com- "mon sense and a blasphemy against God? I stand here to-night a teacher "of morals. I weigh the words I utter. I face the responsibility of every "word. In France, landlordism was swept down and crushed utterly into "powder by the armed hand of revolution. If any gentleman will undertake "the commission he will have my benediction. **I look also into their "hearts, and I see a burning love of Ireland and a burning hatred "of England. I do not measure my words where there is a question "of England. I say that there is only one enemy on this earth of "Ireland, and that enemy is England."**

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., said :—

"For what is the business for which this Convention has assembled, it is the "purpose of revenge, as I take it; revenge upon the enemy which drove you "and your fathers from your own land. . . . . Why was it "that we did not believe in the No-Rent manifesto? I am in favour of no "rent, not merely as a temporary policy, but for all time. But the consider- "ation of our men was this—is it expedient? And we considered that it was "not expedient, because we did not believe that our people at that time were "worked up to it, and we would adopt no policy which would lead to disaster "or defeat. But I, for my part, believed with John Mitchell that the land "system of Ireland is the nerve centre, is the ganglion, is the heart of British "rule; **and I believe that if you want to break the British rule, you "must strike it through the land system and landlordism . ."**

[Report, pp. 106, 107].

A Clan-na-Gael President.

The committee on permanent organisation proposed the Rev. George Betts as President, and, supported by the Rev. Eugene Sheehy, he was elected. The Rev. George Betts was a member of the Clan-na-Gael, and it was resolved that **"all committees "were to be appointed by the chairman, unless "otherwise ordered."**

Resolutions were prepared by the committee on resolutions. Messrs. T. P. O'Connor, T. M. Healy, and the Rev. Eugene Sheehy attended on behalf of the Land League of Ireland, and took part in the preparation of the resolutions to be submitted to the Convention. These resolutions declared English rule in Ireland to be without either legal or moral sanction, and endorsed the policy of the Irish leaders at home, and the No-Rent manifesto.

In the afternoon, on the motion of Judge Birdsall, it was proposed that an

"Executive committee of seven members be appointed by the chairman, "whose duty shall be to call any future Conventions, and also to confer and "act with the leaders of the different organisations here represented, or any "others that may be hereafter organised to further the interests of Irish "rights in promoting the objects and redeeming the pledges contained in the "address and resolutions adopted by this Convention" [Report, p. 107].

The Executive Committee.

After some discussion, this was carried, whereupon the members of the Convention "sprang to their feet, and burst into a tremendous cheer." The Chairman, the Rev. George Betts, then appointed the following executive committee of seven :—

Judge Birdsall, of Connecticut, Michael Boland, Keatucky (Clan-na-Gael), Patrick Ford (of the "Irish World"), P. A. Collins, Massachusetts, W. B. Boland, New York, Alex. Sullivan, Illinois (President of the Clan-na-Gael), Andrew Brown, Missouri (Clan-na Gael).

The Rev. Eugene Sheehy, at this meeting, said :—

"I recognise, as Ireland's home representatives, her indebtedness to the "extreme Nationalists for their attitude here in this Convention. (Cheers.) . . . "Mr. Ford has my thanks—(cheers)—from the fact that for the last few days "he prepared to forget himself in the interests of harmony, and because of "what his paper has done in the past. (Cheers.) Ireland at home thanks "Patrick Ford. (Cheers.) I say deliberately that the Land League owes "much to Patrick Ford, and Ireland embodies his ideas in the Land League "movement. (Cheers.) It has an immense amount of gratitude to the 'Irish 'World.'" [Report, p. 107.]

The Gaels boast of the Capture.

The proceedings at this Convention show that the Clan-na-Gael obtained power through the chairman, a member of their body, to appoint on the executive committee a majority of persons supporting the Clan-na-Gael policy. This view is confirmed by the circular of the Clan-na-Gael which was sent to its members in January, 1882, and it anticipates the course of subsequent events.

The material parts of this circular are as follows :—

"Owing to the failure of many delegates who were V.C. men to report and "register at the place designated, only 320 names were obtained. It is "generally believed that there were at least 80 more in attendance at that "body. It will thus be seen that the V.C. was able to send on very short "notice a much larger representation to the Convention than did any other "organisation, and it will also be seen that by the secret concerted action of "its members it was able to send this representation chiefly from other "organisations.

"The presence of a large body of men in accord, and with unmistakable "views, was soon recognised by all the elements in the Convention. . . . .

"The committee on permanent organisation reported at the head of their "list the name of a distinguished brother of the V.C., a clergyman of the "Episcopal Church. . . . . , ...

"The Convention finally decided to create a national committee of seven, to "be appointed by the chair.

* * * * * * *

"This committee has power to call future Conventions, to address all "societies now in existence, or hereafter to be created, whenever in its judg- "ment the interests of the cause required such addresses, and to take steps to "bring about the desired federation of all the organisations in this country "upon a national basis. The committee was appointed by a V.C. chairman. "Doubtless it can find means to teach our views, and to pave the way for a "period when such a public organisation can be formed by common consent, "and without the creation of ill-will towards the V.C., or the multiplication "of factions in the eyes of the world. The committee above referred to have "met, have organised by the selection of V.C. men as officers, have issued an "address, and already have taken steps looking to union of all the elements "composing our race. Part of their duty is to appeal to all presidents of "existing societies to send their views concerning the union. It is the duty of "each member of the V.C., who know the president of any Jsjti (Irish) society, "to use his influence to get that president forthwith to write to the Secretary "of the National Committee, Andrew F. Brown, 11th and Walnut Street, St. "Louis, Mo., that he favours the proposed union, and that he desires the "committee to proceed to bring about a union, and authorised them to act for "him in so doing. These gentlemen, the presidents, may be urged to write "that they have confidence in the committee chosen by so large and able a "Convention. By securing this course on the part of all society presidents, "the power of action will be placed in the committee, which, as already "stated, was appointed by a V.C. chairman in the Convention, and is now "directed and officered by V.C. men." [REPORT, p. 108.]

The Washington Convention, 1882.

The next Land League Convention assembled at Washington on the 12th April, 1882, and was called to order by Patrick A. Collins.

Mr. Collins said :—

"Let us stand together on the platform Michael Davitt built; a platform "broad enough for all the friends of Ireland to stand upon; and with all hearts, "and wills, and energies, unite behind 'United Ireland.'" [REPORT, p. 108.]

Egan on National Independence.

A letter from Egan was read containing the following passage :—

"The Land League movement was originated, built up, and sustained by "the Nationalists of Ireland, men who, eschewing sentiment and sunburstism, "determined to set practically to work to effect the regeneration of their "country. **On my own behalf and behalf of my friends of the League, "both in prison and outside, I can say that we regard the land "question only in the light of a step towards National independ- "ence, which is and shall continue to be the goal of all our efforts.**"

The following resolution, amongst others, was proposed and carried :—

That this Convention instructs its officers to confer at their earliest oppor- "tunity with the council of seven chosen at the Chicago Convention as to the "feasibility of uniting under one head all the Land League branches now "organised in the United States." [REPORT, p. 109.]

Mr. Davitt's Third Visit to America.

Immediately after the Phœnix Park murders, Mr. Davitt went to Paris to see Egan, and then sailed to America with Mr. William Redmond, M.P., and Mr. Dillon, M.P. This was Mr. Davitt's third visit to America.

On 15th July, 1882, he met at Aster House, in New York, the committee of seven appointed by the chairman of the Chicago Convention of 1881, and also the central council of the Land League, viz., Rev. Laurence Walsh, James Mooney, and Hynes.

It was resolved that :—

"As Ireland is now passing through a crisis which strains the moral and "financial resources of the people under the merciless reign of coercion and "eviction, we earnestly appeal to the whole Irish race to steadily continue "their efforts in their several organisations, and to forward ample contribu- "tions to enable the Irish people to fight to the end their great battle."

After this Davitt returned to see Egan in Paris, whence he proceeded to Ireland. His desire was to found a Land Nationalisation scheme for England and Ireland, but Mr. Parnell would not consent. Thereupon he devised the National League, and persuaded Mr. Parnell to join it on a platform of peasant proprietary. This was accordingly carried out at a Convention in Ireland on 17th October, 1882.

In October a circular was issued by the Clan-na-Gael, of which Alexander Sullivan was president. **This circular clearly pointed to the use of dynamite.** It contains the following passage :—

"There are those of us who carry their lives in their hands, and whose "labours, if at any moment discovered, would lead to their destruction."

[REPORT, p. 109.]

Egan and Dynamite in America.

On 3rd March, 1883, Patrick Egan arrived in America from Ireland, and went at once to the house of Alexander Sullivan. On 30th March the Clan-na-Gael issued a circular, in which is the following passage :—

"It shall be the duty of the S. G.'s (senior guardians) to diligently inquire, "without informing the parties or any one else, the names and addresses of "the men best fitted for private work of a confidential and dangerous "character, and report the same in a list made out or furnished for that "purpose to 'Y,' and this list shall be made out at such stated periods as they "may be demanded. . . . . When possible and practical, and the same "can be done without interfering with the work of the organisation, it is "urged that the open organisation be aided as far as possible."

About this time instructions were issued by the Clan-na-Gael to its members to attend the coming Convention of the Land League at Philadelphia, which had been called by a notice signed by Patrick Egan, of the National League of Ireland, James Mooney, President Irish American Land League, and Michael Boland, Chairman of the committee of seven. [REPORT, pp. 109, 110.]

The Philadelphia Convention, 1883.

Three distinct Conventions were summoned at Philadelphia for the same date, viz., the Clan-na-Gael, which met in secret, the Irish Land League Convention, which met on 25th April, and the Irish American National Convention, which was to meet on the following day.

That the important questions about to be discussed at these Conventions were known in Ireland is shown by an extract from the "Nation" of the 21st April, 1883. [REPORT, p. 110.]

"Our London Letter."

"The question of the advisability of Mr. Parnell's attending the forthcoming "Irish Convention at Chicago (*sic.* Philadelphia?) was, as the newspapers state, "considered and resolved upon by a meeting of his colleagues a few days ago. "The view of the majority was strongly opposed to his so doing. Weighty "reasons were adduced by them in support of their views; but reasons were also "given on the other side. We must all hope that the best and wisest thing "has been done, but if a newspaper correspondent may express an opinion on "so important and complicated a question, I would say that I had much rather "the decision had gone on the other way. The proceedings of the Convention "are being looked forward to with great interest by every one here. It is said "that the plain issue to be determined there is, whether or not the use of "physical force of all kind—dynamite included—may not properly be em-"ployed by the Irish people in their struggle for the liberation of their country "from British rule. To take the affirmation side of the discussion would—"putting all other considerations aside—hardly be a safe thing for anyone who "would contemplate returning to, and living in any part of the so-called "United Kingdom; least of all would it be safe for a member of the British "Parliament. On the other hand, it would be no easy task to argue before "an Irish-American audience, that the use of force by Ireland, or by any other "oppressed nation, for the recovery of its liberties, would be immoral." [REPORT, p. 110.]

The Chairman selected secretly.

Secret meetings of the Clan-na-Gael were held on each day preceding the open meetings of the Convention. At the first of these secret meetings Collins and Dorney were put forward as candidates for the office of temporary presiding officer at the Convention. **Collins was rejected on the ground of its not being reported that he had offered a reward for the arrest of the Phœnix Park murderers.** Dorney was subsequently elected by the open Convention.

On 25th April, 1883, the Irish National Land League Convention was opened at Philadelphia by James Mooney, its president, at which over 1,100 delegates were present. According to *United Ireland*, of 5th May, 1883 "the Fenian Brotherhood was strongly represented." **Major Le Caron attended in two capacities**, viz., for the Braidwood Land League Branch and also for the Emmet Club of Braidwood, a branch of the Clan-na-Gael. **Patrick Egan, Brennan, Frank Byrne and his wife, and M. Boyton, were present at the open Convention, and Brennan attended the secret meetings of the Clan-na-Gael.** It was resolved that a committee should be formed to take steps to merge the old Land League in the new National League, and a committee was accordingly appointed to devise means for carrying this out. The committee reported a recommendation that the delegates

of the Irish National Land League should attend the meeting of the Irish-American National Convention. On the motion of Mr. Andrew Brown (Clan-na-Gael), it was resolved :—

"That when this Convention adjourns, it be to meet with the Convention "to-morrow, and that the chairman appoint a committee of seven, with power "to declare the Land League adjourned *sine die*, provided the Convention to-"morrow complies with the reports submitted and adopted here this evening "by the committee appointed to submit a plan of reorganisation." [REPORT, pp. 110, 111.)

A Majority of Clan-na-Gael Men.

The president accordingly nominated the committee, on plan of organisation, viz. :—

Andrew Brown (Clan-na-Gael); P. A. Collins; Rev. P. Cronin; M. V. Gannon (Clan-na-Gael); Rev. Ch. O'Reilly; J. F. Armstrong (Clan-na-Gael); Rev. M. J. Dorney (Clan-na-Gael.)

On the next day, 26th April, the "Irish National Convention" met. It was called to order by Alexander Sullivan, and the Rev. George Betts read the call. Maurice Dorney was then elected chairman, on James Mooney's nomination. These four persons were all members of the Clan-na-Gael. [REPORT, p. 111.]

Mr. Parnell cables his views.

The following cablegram from Mr. Parnell, M.P., to James Mooney, was read to the Convention :—

"My presence at the opening of the most representative Convention of Irish-"American opinion ever assembled being impossible owing to the necessity of "my remaining here to oppose the Criminal Code Bill, which re-enacts per-"manently the worst provisions of coercion, and which, if passed, will leave "constitutional movements at the mercy of the Government, I would ask you "to lay my views before the Convention. I would respectfully advise that "your platform be so framed as to enable us to continue to accept help from "America, and at the same time avoid offering a pretext to the British Govern-"ment for entirely suppressing the national movement in Ireland. In this "way only can unity of movement be preserved both in Ireland and "America. I have perfect confidence that by prudence, moderation, and "firmness, the cause of Ireland will continue to advance, and though persecu-"tion rests heavily upon us at present, before many years have passed we shall "have achieved those great objects for which through many centuries our "race has struggled." [REPORT, p. 111.]

No Debate was Allowed.

The next step was to restrict discussion to such propositions as should be brought forward by the committee on resolutions, and no debate was to take place except on subjects included in the call to the Convention. This placed the whole proceedings in the power of the committee on resolutions and the persons drafting the call.

A report was then presented from the committee on plan of organisation above referred to, which recommended that the Irish citizens of America and Canada should sink all private prejudices and creed distinctions, and band themselves together with the name and title of the Irish National League of America, to be governed by a president, vice-president, and a national council consisting of a member from each state or territory, and which national council should appoint out of its number an executive committee of seven, of which committee the president should be ex-officio chairman. [REPORT, p. 111].

Mr. Alexander Sullivan (Clan-na-Gael).

John Byrne, and John J. Hynes were elected respectively president, vice-president, and secretary of the Irish National League of America.

The executive committee of seven elected were :—Rev. P. A. M'Kenna of Massachusetts ; D. W. B. Wallace of New York ; James Reynolds of Connecticut (Clan-na-Gael) ; M. V. Gannon of Iowa (Clan-na-Gael) ; Hon. J. G. Donnelly of Wisconsin (Clan-na-Gael) ; John F. Armstrong of Georgia (Clan-na-Gael) ; and Senator James G. Fair of Nevada.

With power to the council of seven to fill up vacancies in the board of officers.

The Irish National Land League was adjourned *sine die*, and ceased to exist as a separate organisation. The Irish National Convention then adjourned. [REPORT, p. 111.]

The Clan-na-Gael Obtained Control.

Thus it will be seen that at the Philadelphia Convention of April, 1883, the Land League of America ceased to exist. The Irish National League then took the place of the Irish National Land League of America, and **by means of the Committee of seven the Clan-na-Gael, as had been advised in the circular of 19th April, 1883, obtained the control over the entire Land League movement in America, and thenceforward retained it.**

This was the subject of a circular of congratulation issued to the Clan-na-Gael by the president, Alexander Sullivan, in which he recommended the members "by renewed zeal in behalf of the ruling "and directing organisation which does its work patiently, silently, "unostentatiously, by determining to redouble your efforts for its "careful and safe extension, to let the future make even brighter "record than the past." [REPORT, p. 112.]

Instructions from Headquarters.

On the 5th of May, 1883, the Executive Body of the Clan-na-Gael issued a circular to its members prescribing rules for the "perfect security of the interests of the organisation," as follows :—

"Headquarters F.C., V.C.,
"5th May, 1883.

"For the more perfect security of the interests of the organisation the "following rules are published, and it is made the duty of S.G.'s (senior "guardians), officers, and members of D.'s (camps) to see that they are rigidly "enforced :—

"1. Hereafter no member shall by interview or in any manner appear in "the public press, or speak or write to anyone not a member, of any "matter, person, or event engaged in or arrested for Jsji (Irish) "revolutionary operations.

"2. S.G.'s shall, in their sound discretion, or by direction of F.C., have "power to publish information calculated to deceive the enemy.

"3. D.'s may, when it is deemed prudent, change their present names and "locations for others less suspicious, without attracting public "attention to the change.

"4. No person who is not a member for at least three years, and whose "antecedents, prudence, and courage is not fully known, shall be "accepted or sent forward for any work of a revolutionary character.

"5. In localities favourable to the work, D.'s shall institute schools for "the manufacture of explosives and other warfare.

"6. D.'s shall procure, as far as possible, the names, photographs, and "residence of detectives, and keep a list of the same.

"7. All books and papers, when the same cannot be satisfactorily secured, "must be destroyed or cancelled.

"8. It is made the duty of every D. to utilise every available method of "raising funds for the Special Fund, by pic-nics, balls, parties, and "fairs, and contributions from outside confidential sources.

"Fraternally,
"The F.C. (Executive Body)."

[REPORT, p. 112.]

The "Nation" on the Convention.

The "Nation" newspaper of Ireland, of 21st April, 1883, cited above, had pointed out the questions about to be discussed at the Philadelphia Convention.

The "Irishman," on 12th May, 1883, gave its view of the effect of that Convention :—

"Look at the Convention held in Philadelphia. What manifold mischief "the 'Parliament of the Irish Race in Exile' will work here at home. Our "countrymen in America are accumulating vast wealth and consolidating "immense force, and for what object? We can hardly venture to name it.

"The outcome of the Convention no man can accurately forecast. It "threatens to compass an end of thrilling interest to England. From the "union and resolve and determination of the Gael in the American Continent "there is no prophesying what may issue. In the hearts of those 15 or 20 "millions of men of Irish blood rankles a wound which refuses to be healed. "There is no cure for it, they say, with dogged obstinacy, but topsy-turvy "here, and then the retreat of the English garrison with bag and baggage— "if, mayhap, the latter can be saved in the pell-mell confusion of a horrible "upheaval and universal crash." [REPORT, pp. 112, 113].

Patrick Egan joins the Organisation.

On 14th May the executive committee or council of the Irish National League of America met. The persons present were:—Alexander Sullivan, president; Rev. Dr. C. O'Reilly, J. J. Hynes, and Major W. B. Wallace, Father M'Kenna, M. V. Gannon, Jas. Reynolds, J. G. Donnelly, and Patrick Egan. It has been proved that Alexander Sullivan, M. V. Gannon, James Reynolds, and J. G. Donnelly, were members of the Clan-na-Gael. **It has also been proved that Patrick Egan became a member of the Clan-na-Gael at some date prior to 1st June, 1883.** An address was issued which was designed to unite the various bodies in America who were in sympathy with the common cause. It contained the following passage:—

"In compliance with the duties imposed upon us, we request all Irish "American benevolent, temperance, military, literary, social, patriotic, and "musical societies represented in the convention, or desirous of affiliating with "the Irish National League of America, immediately to send to the secretary, "Room 5, No. 8 Clark Street, Chicago, Ills., their full name, with time and "place of meeting, the name and correct post office address of their respective "presidents and secretaries, that they may be supplied with the platform rules "of organisation, and literature to be issued in the future, by means of which "the closest union between this country and Ireland will be constantly main-"tained. Each society will continue its special work under its own name, but "as members of the Irish National League of America each will be designated "'Branch No. ———' in the order in which they comply with Section XI. of "the Plan of Organisation." [REPORT, p. 113.]

The Dynamite Outrages in London.

In April, 1883, explosions took place in London, in one of which (at London Bridge) Lomasney is supposed to have perished. His family was afterwards supported by the Clan-na-Gael.

On 11th June, 1883, Thomas Gallagher and others were tried and convicted at the Old Bailey, before the Lord Chief Justice of England, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Justice Grove, for feloniously compassing and intending to depose the Queen from Her Imperial crown, for intending to levy war upon the Queen, and for intending to intimidate and overawe the Houses of Parliament, by means of the use of dynamite. [REPORT, p. 113.]

A Dynamite Circular.

On 16th September, 1883, **a circular was issued by Alexander Sullivan and the executive of the Clan-na-Gael to its members, advocating dynamite,** and advising the punishment of traitors. It also contained the following passages:—

"Though the efforts of your executive have not been fully realised, or rather, "indeed, were marred by the informer's treason, yet those brothers (with one

"solitary exception) entrusted with the work did nobly, and were at the very "threshold of deeds that would have startled the world, and put the fear of "the organisation in the hearts of the enemy. These brothers, with heroic "faith, have carried your secrets to the dungeon, under a fate and torture "worse than death. They did nobly; it was by no fault of theirs they failed, "and they must and will be enrolled among the gallant band of martyr patriots, "who have perpetuated the glorious struggle for Jsjti (*Irish*) independence. "They paralysed the haughty power of Fohmboe (*England*), they placed "Fohmboe (*England*) under the bayonet of martial law, they brought war "from the starving and crushed people of Jsfmboe (*Ireland*) to the imperial "gates of Fohmboe (*England*); they have settled the legal *status* of a new "mode of warfare. By a solemn decision of the highest authority in Fohmboe "(*England*), presided over by her Chief Justice, we have compelled her to "recognise a new epoch in the art of war. Had these men invaded Fohmboe "(*England*) with a musket they would have suffered no less."

(This alludes to the trial of Gallagher above mentioned.)

"We cannot see our way for an armed insurrection in Jsfmboe (*Ireland*) "this side of some great foreign war with Fohmboe (*England*), but in the "meantime we shall carry on an incessant and persistent warfare with the "powers of Fohmboe (*England*) in public and in secret. . . . . "You will note with pleasure that the informer is fore-doomed, and that no "man can betray and live. No hole too dark, no corner of the earth too "obscure or too far to hide the spy and the informer from the avenging arm "of Jsjti (*Irish*) nationality."

(James Carey, who turned informer at the Phœnix Park murder trials, had just previously been shot by O'Donnell.)

At the end of 1883, the Clan-na-Gael became divided into two branches, the one retaining the old name of the V.C. or United Brotherhood, the other and the larger body, under the presidency of Alexander Sullivan, adopting the initials U.S., and the government of this branch was reduced to three, known as the "Triangle."

[REPORT, pp. 113, 114.]

The Gaels Subsidise the M.P.'s.

A Convention of the Irish National League of America was held at Boston on the 7th of August, 1884. It was preceded by a circular issued by a meeting of the Clan-na-Gael, arranging for the election of as many brothers as possible as delegates to the Convention, and for the prevention of any resolutions denouncing "certain kinds of warfare." The Rev. George Betts was the presiding officer at this meeting. [REPORT, p. 114.]

The Talk at the Boston Convention.

Mr. Sexton, M.P., and Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., were the delegates from Ireland to the Convention. Mr. Sexton says that **"a great "many people at this Convention were connected "with the extreme section."**

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James Mooney (Clan-na-Gael) was the temporary presiding officer, and M. V. Gannon, Clan-na-Gael, the permanent presiding officer of the Convention, and Patrick Egan, Clan-na-Gael, was elected president of the Irish National League of America after Mr. A. Sullivan had declined the appointment, and Roger Walsh was appointed secretary. The Convention was called to order by Alexander Sullivan, president of the Clan-na-Gael.

At this Convention Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., made a speech saying :—

"We will work as long as we have life for the consummation of that object "for which our fathers worked far more bitterly than we may be called upon "to work, until we have made Ireland a nation, and given her a harp "without a crown."

Mr. Gannon made a speech, saying that he would

"Not go round with lying lips apologising for any patriot Irishman's crime. "When they give back Francis Hynes and place him in the flesh ; when they "restore to life the murdered Irishmen of this past decade, then, perhaps, we "may pass by on the other side and pretend there is a tear in our eye ; but, "until then, it is not our time for crying." [REPORT, p. 114].

The Parnell Testimonial.

The accounts were read, and among them appears the sum of 4,767 dols. for the Parliamentary Fund started at the meeting of the executive council on 15th April, 1884. There is also a sum of 17,517 dols. for the Parnell Testimonial.

An executive committee of seven was then appointed as follows :— M. V. Gannon, of Iowa, (Clan-na-Gael) ; Michael Boland, of Colorada (Clan na-Gael) ; Timothy Moroney, of Louisiana (Clan-na-Gael) ; Thomas Flatley, of Massachusetts ; M. B. Holmes, of New Jersey (Clan-na-Gael) ; Hon. J. G. Donnelly, of Wisconsin (Clan-na-Gael) ; Hugh J. Carroll, of Rhode Island (Clan-na-Gael).

For two years no further open Convention was held, during which time Alexander Sullivan remained at the head of the Clan-na-Gael, and Patrick Egan, who was a member of the Clan-na-Gael, was president of the Irish National League.

In the summer of 1885 it was proposed to increase the Parliamentary Fund, and the Irish National League of America issued a circular of the 17th June, 1885, appealing for funds to support Mr. Parnell's movement. **The Circular was signed by Patrick Egan**, president, Charles O'Reilly, treasurer, and Roger Walsh, secretary. [REPORT, p. 115].

The Clan-na-Gael Collection for the Parliamentary Party.

On the 25th July, 1885, the Clan-na-Gael also issued a circular to its members for the like purpose.

"To the U.S.,

"We are aware that the public events of the past few months must have "attracted your attention, and we are compelled to say we feel much surprised

"at the failure throughout the country to do more noticeable work in public "affairs in response to the news received. Of course, we refer to the work of "Parnell. His great work of driving a strong Ministry out of power is of "service in an immeasurable degree in strengthening nationality, and in "securing the first part of national rights.

"His action without one word from us should have received more prompt "recognition, in a manner which would have shown to the world that the race "is united. There should be an immediate move to cause funds to be sent to "the treasurer of the League in this country. There is not a camp in the "U.S., in our judgment, whose members cannot cause at least $100 to be con- "tributed within *ten days* after the receipt of this circular. We do not mean "that our members should bear this burden, or that they shall contribute this "money. What we mean is that they shall put the work in motion, and get "men who can afford it, and who do not belong to the U.S., to contribute to "this purpose.

"**Each camp will appoint a committee, immediately upon the "reading of this circular, to collect money for the Parliamentary "Fund**, to be sent at once to Rev. Dr. Charles O'Reilly, Detroit, Michigan. "This committee must not, and indeed should not, be composed solely of our "members. Suppose the town is of such size that five would be an ample "committee, then two or three members could add two or three outsiders to "their number and start a collection. Any camp that has a contingent fund "can vote ten or fifteen dollars out of that fund to enable a few members to "subscribe in their individual names, where that is necessary to start it. In "most cases it will be better to flatter some wealthy leading business man or "clergyman by getting him to head the list. . . . . .

"God save Ireland,

"The Triangle."

[REPORT, p. 115]

The Leader of the Public Movement.

This was followed by a circular of 10th November, 1885 :—

"To the Officers and Members of the U.S.

"Brothers,—We beg to congratulate you on the vigour and earnestness with "which you put into operation, north, south, east, and west, in city and in "village, the movement on behalf of the Parliamentary Fund. Even those "whose correspondence at first indicated to us that they doubted the policy of "the order, manfully obeyed it, and many of them have since written to us "frankly saying that they have seen its wisdom. . . . . .

"We earnestly urge you to see to it at once, that all funds subscribed are "collected and forwarded to the Rev. Chas. O'Reilly, D.D., St. Patrick's "Church, Detroit, Mich., so that the reverend treasurer of the League in "America can remit home at the time they stand most in need of it. It is "directed that in all cases the money may be sent through Dr. O'Reilly. The "next public duty devolving upon us will be the reorganisation of branches of "the League, and the election of delegates to its National Convention, to be "held in Chicago on the 20th January next, at which Mr. Parnell will be "present. The Convention, therefore, must be made a great success. **It "would be perilous to the cause to have any failure in connection "with the visit of the leader of the public movement.**

"There should be no question about the organisation sending to Chicago "men enough to control the Convention, so that its utterances shall not be "compromising or uncertain.

"While we aid, and, for that matter, keep alive, the public movement, we "must see that it is not allowed to degenerate into a half-hearted, compromis- "ing, or denationalised movement. It must be held up to the highest notch "to which it is prudent for all concerned to hold up a public movement.

"At the same time we can and should aid in electing a reasonable percentage "of the delegates from men of our race of large means and great public "influence, men whose presence will aid the cause, so that the whole burden "of both public and private movements shall not all fall upon the shoulders of "the same body of men. Work should be begun at once to reorganise the "branches of the League, and to cause them to remit to Dr. O'Reilly the dues "necessary to put them in good standing, entitled to representation in the "Chicago Convention. Each camp is directed to begin this work at once, and "to prosecute it vigorously.

"It may be proper here to intimate to you that if our firm has not done "advertising of late, it is because of a fixed and understood policy, and "is not mere accident. We have deemed it wise, in view of the present "attitude of public affairs, to keep quiet and make as little noise as possible. "Our rivals have not been hurting our business much of late. Whenever they "change their policy and hurt our trade they will hear from us. 'A word to "'the wise.'"

"Yours fraternally,
"THE TRIANGLE."

[REPORT, pp. 115, 116.]

Anticipating Home Rule.

Another Clan-na-Gael circular to its camps is as follows :—

"Brothers, "18th December, 1885.

"The coming Convention of the Irish National League to be held at Chicago "in January will be the most important, and, it is to be hoped, the most "representative assembly of Irishmen ever gathered together in this country. "It is hoped that the Convention will be able to make the demand of Mr. "Parnell for an Irish Parliament irresistible. Your long, persistent, and "intelligent co-operation has culminated in making this demand opportune, "and its granting inevitable. England will, however, attempt to put limita- "tions and restrictions on the grant. The character and measure of the grant "is to be determined by the force and power of your demand. With an "intelligent, persistent, and unyielding body, embracing a united race at his "back, the demands of Mr. Parnell will be at least substantially complied "with. With a feeble and divided body of supporters the enemy will avail "themselves of his weakness, and grant accordingly. The language of the "Convention must be forcible and emphatic. **While our objects lie far "beyond what may be obtained by agitation, a National Parliament "is an object which we are bound to attain by any means offered.**

"The achievement of a National Parliament gives us a footing upon Irish "soil; it gives us the agencies and instrumentalities of a government *de facto* "at the very commencement of the Irish struggle. **It places the govern- "ment of the land in the hands of our friends and brothers. It "removes the Castle's rings, and gives us what we may well express "as the plant of an armed revolution.**

"From that standpoint the restoration of Parliament is part of our pro- "gramme. When this is attained, if agitation will not go further, we will "still go on with our forces unimpaired and strengthened. We therefore "deem it advisable that you secure the election of as many delegates as is "practicable or possible to the Convention of the Irish National League to be "held in Chicago." [REPORT, pp. 116, 117.]

Dynamite Operations in Abeyance.

Another circular of the 23rd December, 1885, contains this passage :—

"The operations so far conducted have compelled the enemy to recognise "the constitutional party, and we are now in a fair way to reap the benefits

"and results of the heroic work of the members of the U.S. The work of "organisation is being pushed in every possible direction, but we call the "attention of the U.S. to the importance of organising new camps in every "town and city in their vicinity. The creation of new camps is even of "greater importance than the bringing into the organisation of a like "number of members to fill the old camps. A new camp forms the nucleus "for the organisation of resources in each neighbourhood, give us reliable and "active agencies at new points, and extends the U.S. in new localities. **We "expect to resume active operations after the present exigencies of "the constitutional party are passed.** We have purposely and advisedly "abstained from doing anything likely to embarrass them during the crisis of "the elections. It is to be hoped that during these operations members will "abstain from making inquiries or discussing the subject in any manner, for "we cannot say when we undertake to answer members, but that at the same "time we are answering the inquiries of our enemy, furnishing important in- "formation, and giving important clues to detect and suppress our work. The "mystery of an unknown power striking in the dark, always able to evade "detection, is far more terrible than the damage inflicted. We caution you, "therefore, above all things to be silent, but if compelled to speak, disavow all "knowledge, or, better still, mislead all inquirers. In the meantime we wish "to impress on you the necessity of mutual forbearance and faith.

"Fraternally,

[REPORT, p. 117.] "The Triangle."

The Chicago Convention of 1886.

On 16th August, 1886, a Convention of the National League of America was held at Chicago.

On July 24th the Clan-na-Gael had sent the following circular to its camps:— "Private. "24th July, 1886.

"The senior guardian of each camp is most urgently requested to secure "proxies for all branches of the National League in his vicinity that cannot "send a delegate to the coming Convention of the League at Chicago, and "**immediately forward said proxy or proxies to Patrick Egan, Esq., "Lincoln, Nebraska.** "Fraternally,

"The Triangle,"

"By the Secretary."

Thus it will be seen that Mr. Patrick Egan, at that time a member of the Clan-na-Gael, as well as president of the National League of America, was entrusted with the proxies obtained through the instrumentality of the Clan-na-Gael.

Shortly before the Convention, a meeting of the Clan-na-Gael took place at Pittsburg. It was resolved that "we maintain the same "relations in the future to open societies working for the same "purposes as ourselves, that we have in the past." "That the name "Clan-na Gael be no longer used."

Before the Chicago Convention, meetings of the Clan-na-Gael were held as before, and the nominees for office there chosen were elected in the National League Convention. The meeting of this Convention was preceded by one at Ogden Grove, at which Finnerty made a violent speech. Mr. Davitt, who was present, said he believed that "we in Ireland can work out the destiny of our country, vindicate "Irish National sentiment, realise Irish patriotic aspirations, without "the aid of dynamite or any policy of that kind."

The Parnellite delegates to the Convention were Messrs. W. O'Brien, M.P., J. Redmond, M.P., and Deasy, M.P.

The night before the Convention there was a meeting between Messrs. Davitt, O'Brien, Redmond, Egan, Sullivan, and Ford.

The National League Convention was called to order by P. Egan (president). Over a thousand delegates attended. At this meeting a resolution was passed giving the president of the National League the power of selecting the seven members of the executive committee. [REPORT, pp. 117, 118.]

The 1886 Balance Sheet.

The committee on finance submitted a report showing the following balance sheet for two years :—

Parliamentary Fund.

Cash on hand reported to Boston Convention - -	$4,739
Cash received at Boston Convention - - -	1,111
Interest on deposit - - - -	175
Receipts from all other sources - - - -	314,257
Total - - - -	$320,282
Transmitted to C. S. Parnell and trustees of the Parliamentary Fund - - - - -	314,452
Balance on hand - -	$5,830

League Fund.

Total - - - -	$37,138

Expenditure.

Total - - - -	21,082

It has been proved that out of the $314,452 transmitted to Mr. Parnell and the trustees of the Parliamentary Fund the Irish Members of Parliament received in the year 1886, **£7,556**, and in 1887, **£10,500**. [REPORT, p. 118.]

The Amount paid in Parliamentary Salaries.

WE ARE OF OPINION THAT THE EVIDENCE PROVES THAT THE IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA HAS BEEN, SINCE THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION, 25TH APRIL, 1883, DIRECTED BY THE CLAN-NA-GAEL, A BODY ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN PROMOTING THE USE OF DYNAMITE FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY IN ENGLAND. IT HAS BEEN FURTHER PROVED THAT WHILE THE CLAN-NA-GAEL CONTROLLED AND DIRECTED THE IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA, THE TWO ORGANISATIONS CONCURRENTLY COLLECTED SUMS AMOUNTING TO MORE THAN £60,000 FOR A FUND CALLED THE PARLIAMENTARY FUND, OUT OF WHICH PAYMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO IRISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, AMOUNTING IN THE YEAR 1886 TO £7,556, AND IN 1887 TO £10,500.

[REPORT, p. 118.]

Invited and Obtained Assistance.

IT HAS NOT, HOWEVER, BEEN PROVED THAT MR. PARNELL OR ANY OF THE RESPONDENTS KNEW THAT THE CLAN-NA-GAEL HAD OBTAINED THE CONTROL OVER THE IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA, OR WAS COLLECTING MONEY FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY FUND, AND THE CIRCULARS OF THAT BODY, AS WELL AS THE EVIDENCE OF LE CARON, SHOW THAT THEIR OPERATIONS WERE SECRET. BUT THOUGH IT HAS NOT BEEN PROVED THAT MR. PARNELL AND THE OTHER RESPONDENTS KNEW THAT THE CLAN-NA-GAEL CONTROLLED THE LEAGUE, OR THAT THE CLAN-NA-GAEL WAS COLLECTING MONEY FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY FUND, IT HAS BEEN PROVED THAT THEY INVITED AND OBTAINED THE ASSISTANCE AND CO-OPERATION OF THE PHYSICAL FORCE PARTY IN AMERICA, INCLUDING THE CLAN-NA-GAEL, AND IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THAT ASSISTANCE ABSTAINED FROM REPUDIATING OR CONDEMNING THE ACTION OF THAT PARTY. IT HAS ALSO BEEN PROVED THAT THE RESPONDENTS INVITED THE ASSISTANCE AND CO-OPERATION, AND ACCEPTED SUBSCRIPTIONS FROM PATRICK FORD, A KNOWN ADVOCATE OF CRIME AND THE USE OF DYNAMITE.

Who are the Respondents.

The Respondents referred to in the finding given above are—

C. S. Parnell.
John Dillon.
Joseph G. Biggar.
Thomas Sexton.
T. P. O'Connor.
M. Harris.
W. O'Brien.
T. D. Sullivan.
T. M. Healy.
Tim Harrington.
Ed. Harrington.
A. O'Connor.
Jos. E. Kenny.
W. Redmond.
J. E. Redmond.
Justin McCarthy.
J. O'Connor.
Th. Jos. Condon.
J. J. O'Kelly.
Andrew Cummins.
Jos. R. Cox.
Patrick O'Hea.
Jeremiah D. Sheehan.
James Leahy.
Edward Leamy.
John Barry.
Dr. Tanner.
Maurice Healy.
Thomas Quinn.
Danl. Crilly.
Henry Campbell.
Patrick J. Foley.
J. J. Clancy.
J. F. O'Brien.
R. Lawlor.
Thos. Mayne.
Jno. Deasy.
J. C. Flynn.
Jeremiah Jordan.
W. J. Lane.
D. Sheehy.
Donal Sullivan.
Garrett M. Byrne.
Michael Davitt.

[REPORT, p. 54.]

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HOME RULE

AND

IRISH STOCKS.

MR. WILFRED BECKER, of Manchester, writing to the *Times* on the 28th May, 1892, says :—

In a letter which appeared in your columns on the 7th inst., Colonel Saunderson referred to the commercial earthquake that took place when the Home Rule Bill was brought in, and to the subsequent recovery in the value of securities of all kinds.

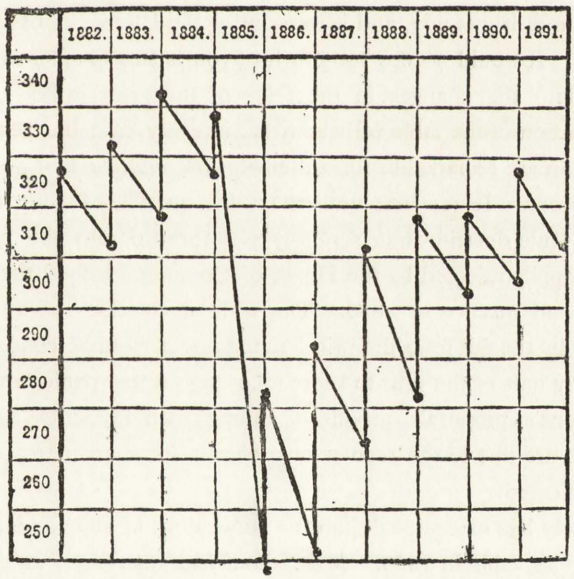
Will you allow me, in corroboration of this remark, to place before your readers the following table, which deals with the Stocks of the Bank of Ireland and of the three great Irish Railways; the table gives the highest and lowest prices touched by these Stocks in the ten years ending December 31st last, and shows the extent of the fluctuations in each year.

Table showing the Fluctuations in the Price of Bank of Ireland Stock and of the Ordinary Stocks of the Three Principal Irish Railways from 1882 to 1891.

Name.	1882.		1883.		1884.		1885.		1886.		1887.		1888.		1889.		1890.		1891.	
	H.	L.	H.	L.	H.	L.	H	L.	H.	L.	H.	L.	H.	L.	H.	L.	H.	L.	H.	L.
Bank of Ireland	327	311	331	316	340½	325½	338	249	264	250	291	273	310	280	317	302	319	304½	327	311
Extent of fluctuations	16		15		15		89		34		18		30		15		14½		16	
Gt. Southern & Western Railway	117	106¾	124	116¼	121	113⅜	117¼	97¾	103	90	106½	98	113	100½	126¾	112¾	120⅞	110	121	114½
Extent of fluctuations	10¼		7¾		7⅝		19½		13		8½		12½		14		10⅞		6½	
Great Northern Railway (Ireland)	120½	116½	123	116	117¼	113	117	101	104¾	94½	109	101¾	123¾	106¼	130⅜	120½	127¼	118⅜	132½	125¼
Extent of fluctuations	4		7		4¼		16		10¼		7¼		19½		10¼		8⅝		7¼	
Midland Great Western Railway	90	79¼	92	82⅜	85⅞	78	78¾	63	82	60½	83½	74	97¾	74½	110	95¾	109¼	99½	109½	103⅜
Extent of fluctuations	10¾		9⅝		7⅞		15¾		21½		9½		23¼		14¼		9¾		6⅛	

In order to make more apparent the nature of the movements which took place, a chart is appended of the highest and lowest prices of Bank of Ireland stock in each year of the period under consideration. The chart simply shows the *maxima* and *minima* without indicating the order in which they occurred, the *maximum* for every year being given first.

FLUCTUATIONS IN THE PRICE OF BANK OF IRELAND STOCK.



Dealing with the diagram, it is obvious that the exceptional causes at work in the years 1885 and 1886 were of a most powerful and depressing nature. When we come to examine the course of prices during these years, the close connection between the fall in values and the growth of the Home Rule Scheme becomes apparent. During the early part of 1885 there was nothing unusual in the fluctuations. It is true that the Bank of Munster stopped payment on July 14, but the price of the stock was then 331. The following are the quotations as the year went on :—September 1, 329 ; October 1, 317 ; November 3, 310 ; December 1, 305 ; December 17, 300 ; December 19, 275, 273, 274 ex div. ; December 28, 249. It was on December 18 that the National Press Agency stated that "Mr. Gladstone has definitely adopted the policy of Home Rule for

Ireland," and your own leading article on that day speaks of the profound impression which had thus been produced.

It will be seen that immediately after this announcement the price of Bank of Ireland Stock fell to a point very much below the *minimum* of previous years, though the absolutely lowest figure was not touched till a few days later. It may be of interest to state that Mr. Gladstone's Bill was introduced on April 8th, 1886, the price of Bank stock on the 9th was 258; on June 9, when the Bill had just been thrown out, it was 263, and it rose during the latter part of the year to 284. It would occupy too much of your space to enter with equal detail into the changes in the price of the great railways, but an examination of the table will show that in every case the years 1885 and 1886 are remarkable for extremely low *minima* and very great fluctuations. It was not until the third quarter of 1885 that the Home Rule doctrine was seriously put forward, and the proposals were happily rejected by the House of Commons before the end of the second quarter in 1886. The wide fluctuations of 1885 were caused by the fall from the prices ruling under normal conditions in the early part of the year to those following on the panic which Mr. Gladstone's proposals produced among Irish investors, and those of 1886 are due to the recovery which set in when these proposals were rejected.

Hardly less exceptional than the fluctuations of 1885 and 1886 are those observable in 1888. Mr. Balfour had then been at the helm for some considerable time, during which firm and steady government (or brutal coercion, as our Gladstonian friends prefer to call it) had produced its natural results. Confidence had returned, dividends were increasing, prices advanced by "leaps and bounds." During the last three years of the decade this process went on more gradually, so that in 1891 we see a still higher range of values established for all the three great Irish railways; while, curiously enough, for Bank of Ireland stock the *maxima* and *minima* are exactly the same in 1891 as in 1882, though the dividend was 11½ per cent. against 12 per cent.

RECENT

Anti-British Statements

By IRISH NATIONALISTS.

Gladstonian Liberals, when questioned as to the dis-loyal and anti-British utterances of their allies, the Irish Nationalists, invariably reply that they are all ancient history. And that since Mr. Gladstone adopted the Home Rule policy, in 1886, Irish Home Rulers have ceased all such remarks. The following statements by prominent Nationalists since the alleged "Union of Hearts" period are consequently interesting:—

Mr. WM. O'BRIEN, M.P., anti-Parnellite, speaking at Dublin after his return from America in 1886, said:—

"They (the English) would send their Sir Edward Bullers—(groans)—**they would flood the country with their valiant runaways from the Soudan**—(cheers)—and if they had their way they would leave us an island of corpses and desolation. Thank God the day for that kind of thing is gone. They are dealing now not with this small land but with the gigantic Ireland across the Atlantic, an Ireland where the British Coercion Acts never ran—(cheers)—and where a British red-coat never set his foot except to run (laughter and cheers.) I will say no more to you now, because I know you are exhausted. (Cries of 'No.') Well, any way, I am exhausted if you are not. I want to say before I retire that these Irish-Americans are very extreme men. So are we all, I hope, extreme men. (Cheers.) We are all, I hope, as extreme as they in resenting and in resisting English rule in Ireland. (Cheers.) . . . This is the message that that great nation of ours across the water bade us bring to you—'Go on as you have been doing. Give a good account of the Churchills—(hisses)—and

the Beaches—(hisses)—and the Castlereaghs—(prolonged hisses)—and the Bullers—(hisses)—and all the rest of the Bull family—(laughter)—who came over here to govern us against our will. Go on as you have been going, and I promise you for all these millions in America that they never will spare their Treasury, aye, and if the chance offers, they never will spare their blood. (Loud Cheers.) On and on until this great fight is ended in the happiness and the independence of the bright green land that bore us."' (Cheers.) *Irish Times,* September 4th, 1886.

On Sunday, 5th December, 1886, at Inchiquin, Mr. WM. O'BRIEN, M.P., addressed a meeting as follows:—

"They had not entered into the fight without determination to work to the end—aye, and to the death; and they would never suffer so long as there was a pound in the exchequer of the National League, or a dollar among Father Hayes's friends in Irish Americai."—*Irish Times,* 6th December, 1886.

The reference to Father Hayes's friends is deserving of note. The reverend gentleman, an Irish-American priest, speaking at Youghal on 14th November, 1886, said:—

"We would, if we could, pelt them (the English) not only with dynamite, but with the lightnings of Heaven and the fires of hell, till every British bulldog, whelp and cur, would be pulverised and made top-dressing for the sail."—*Daily Express,* 15th November, 1886.

And it was in the company of this gentleman that Mr. O'Brien appeared on the same platform, first Sunday in December, 1886.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, M.P., anti-Parnellite, at New Jersey, 16th October, 1887.

"I know that there are within the United States emissaries of the British Government anxious to earn, or prepared to earn, the pay which is drawn from the Secret Service Fund of the Government. If such a man is here I invite him to report that here in public, I state what I know to be a fact, that in whatever war Great Britain may be involved, that whatever power she may have to struggle with, that power can count upon one hundred thousand Irish arms to fight under her flag against Great Britain. (Great cheering.) Does not the Government of the United States know perfectly well that at three days' notice it could have a force, of which one hundred thousand would only be a

fraction, who would be willing to serve against Great Britain for the love of the thing, without any pay."—*Irish World,* 22nd October, 1887.

On 17th August, 1887, the Piscatorial School at Baltimore, co. Cork, was opened. This flourishing fishing centre practically owes its existence to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

"Amongst the guests who attended the ceremony were the Archbishop of Cashel and Mr. Michael Davitt. The latter, on learning that the toast of the Queen occupied its proper place on the toast list, became highly indignant, and refused to identify himself in any way with the proceedings." —*Dublin Mail,* 18th August, 1887.

The Sarsfield (Limerick) branch of the National League held a meeting in the Town Hall on Sunday, the 2nd October, 1887. Mr. Michael Donnelly, T.C., presided, and introduced the Rev. Father O'Leary, from United States, America, who was received with applause.

"He (Father O'Leary) had had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Alexander Martin Sullivan—(hear, hear)—speak at St. Louis. He (Mr. Sullivan) said, you must address England after this manner—argue with her, reason with her, but at the same time have the hand ready to strike her when you can. (Applause.) They knew that moral persuasion without a little physical force at the back of it would be very little good. (Hear, hear). Now the principle he wished to lay stress upon was this—that while he was sensible of the deep laid feeling of rebellion, of revolution—what should exist in a healthy Irish people—God forbid that it should ever be lost. They would be supplied from America with the sinews of war—he did not mean war—they knew what he meant. *Thiggin thu,* as the saying was. England governed Ireland by perfidy and fraud, and she had no rightful possession of Ireland, even according to the best authority on international law." —*Cork Herald,* 4th October, 1887.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., anti-Parnellite, at Limerick, 1st November, 1887:—

"It was their firm faith that when that struggle for the land was carried to a successful termination, **at the same hour with the disappearance of the landlords, the power of foreign government would disappear also,** and then their old nation and race would become free and independent again. (Loud cheers)."—*Irish Times,* November 2nd, 1887.

Mr. W. R. REDMOND, M.P., Parnellite, at Merlin, co. Cork, 6th November, 1887.

"There is at the back of the famous and historical battlefield of the Hill of Oulart a little laneway, and the old people of the country will tell you that in the good old days when our fathers were able to meet force with force, and strike back blow for blow—in those days, they say, **down this laneway they charged a body of insurgent cavalry that sent the yeomen flying before them, and left them on the field.** (Cheers.) I think we ought to feel quite happy that we are afforded a chance of showing the people of the world that **the Irish blood runs the same to-day** as it did in days gone by, and that the Irish spirit is as defiant and brave and determined as ever it was in the long history of our country. (Cheers)."—*Cork Herald,* 8th November, 1887.

Mr. THOMAS CONDON, M.P., was one of the speakers at the M'Carthy Banquet, Cannon Street Hotel, London, on St. Patrick's Day, 1892, Mr. Justin M'Carthy presided. Mr. Condon said :—

"If ever there was evidence of loyalty, devotion and love of the scattered sons and daughters of their grand old land to their mother country, it was evidenced their to-night by the magnificent gathering in **the heart of the enemy's country.** (Cheers). . . . He made bold to tell his friends there and across the Atlantic and beneath the Southern Cross that they were not going to give the reply then given, that Ireland was a most distressful country. On the contrary, she stood bold, firm, and erect. (Cheers.) She had broken down all opposition against which she had to contend, she had smashed the greatest powers of the greatest Government that the country had ever seen, and she stood triumphant to-day **with her feet on the necks of her enemies.** (Cheers)."—*National Press,* 18th March, 1892.

IRISH UNITARIANS' AND NON-SUBSCRIBING PRESBYTERIANS' Manifesto to BRITISH NONCONFORMISTS.

A largely attended Meeting of Unitarians and Non-Subscribing Presbyterians of Ireland was held in Belfast, on 30th May, 1892, for the purpose of adopting a series of resolutions, addressed to their co-religionists in England and Scotland, against the establishment of a Home Rule Parliament and Executive in Ireland.

Mr. John Rogers presided, and in opening the proceedings said—The resolutions to be submitted to you will be spoken to by two gentlemen well qualified to do so, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to refer to them. They are addressed to our co-religionists in England, who are usually supporters of Mr. Gladstone's policy, and who are generally ignorant of the conditions which prevail in Ireland, but are content blindly to follow where he leads. The appeal addressed to the Nonconformists at the other side of the Channel by the Presbyterian, Methodist, and other Non-Episcopal Ministers of Ireland has, I am glad to see, produced much effect, and its statements are so unanswerable that Mr. Gladstone has declined to discuss them, an action on his part which has produced much unfavourable comment among his supporters. (Applause.) Surely it is not too much to hope that **the appeal to the Unitarians of England** will not be passed by unheeded when they know that it proceeds from those who, always excepting this question of Home Rule, are animated by the same sentiments as they are, and who, being on the spot, are better judges of the

situation than they can possibly be. It has been the custom of Gladstonian speakers and newspapers to represent any demonstration opposed to Home Rule as proceeding from assemblies of Orangemen, and as being the outcome of Orange intolerance and bigotry. It would require a very great perversion of fact to characterise the present meeting as having anything in the nature of Orangeism in its composition. **The Unitarian Body** has ever been the foremost in support of every truly Liberal reform, and its members have suffered much in the past for their advocacy of unpopular opinion. Before 1886 there were no more earnest followers of Mr. Gladstone than the vast majority of the Irish Unitarians. We heartily supported the removal of the disabilities of our Roman Catholic countrymen, which were so oppressive in the early part of this century, and are still willing that they should enjoy every right and privilege that we ourselves possess. Our endeavours have always been to advance the cause of civil and religious liberty, and we hold that no man should suffer by reason of the creed he professes. We have advocated the reform of the land laws, and all the other great Liberal measures with so many of which Mr. Gladstone's name is associated. We are to-day no less liberal than we have ever been, but we believe that a Government which would be entirely controlled by men of one faith, who more than all others are under the guidance and **control of their priests**, would establish an ascendency much worse and more intolerable than those to which we were formerly opposed, and which we assisted to destroy. (Applause.) We have been called by Mr. Gladstone degenerate sons of rebel sires. Our forefathers risked their lives and property in opposition to oppression and wrong, and under similar circumstances I am quite sure we, their descendants, would not be more backward. The conditions are, however, entirely different. Every man is now equal in the eyes of the law, and the land laws, the great source of all the trouble that has disturbed this unhappy country, are at present the most liberal in the world. The establishment of a Home Rule Government, however carefully safeguarded it might be, would be subversive of the happy state of things with which the people of this province at least are quite contented, and under which the industries of the whole country are prospering with the protection of just laws and their firm and equal administration. **We wish merely to be let alone**—(loud applause)—claiming no exceptional privileges for ourselves, and we are determined, in case of need, to join our brother Protestants in resisting by every means in our power any attempt to sever the bonds which bind us to the great Empire of which we form a part, in whose triumphs we have had a share, and of whose traditions we are justly proud. (Prolonged applause.)

Mr. James Davidson (Comber) then submitted and moved the adoption of the following resolutions :—

That this Committee, representative of the Unitarians and Non-Subscribing Presbyterians of Ireland opposed to Home Rule, desire, in this grave crisis of their country's history, to address their co-religionists throughout Great Britain and Ireland, and to bespeak their friendly consideration of the following resolutions :—

AN ALIEN ASSEMBLY.

That any scheme of so-called Home Rule would be to them and to over a million and a quarter of the people of Ireland the very reverse of self-government, inasmuch as it would be government by a Parliament in Dublin, the permanent majority of whose members would be alien to them alike in sentiment and interests, and imbued with all the narrow prejudices inseparable from Provincialism ; so that only under the ægis of that broader representation, provided through the one United Parliament, can the civil and religious liberties of every sect and section of the people of this divided country be amply secured.

BOYCOTTERS AND CAMPAIGN POLITICIANS.

That we contemplate with the gravest distrust any proposal to place our liberties, our homes and industries, the education of our children, and the best interests of our country at the mercy of politicians responsible for the terribly coercive cruelties of boycotting and the Plan of Campaign, and who themselves would inevitably be dominated by an ecclesiasticism whose baneful record may be found in the annals of every age and of every country where its political influence has been paramount.

A NEW AND WORSE ASCENDENCY.

That this is no unreasoning fanaticism, but the deliberate conviction of an admittedly fair-minded community, whose members in the days when religious disabilities did exist in Ireland stood always by the side of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, but who, now that every vestige of ascendency, either civil or religious, has been swept away by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, are as determinedly opposed to the setting up of a new and worse ascendency under a Parliament in Dublin.

That these are no idle fears, the words and actions of Archbishop Walsh, of Mr. Timothy Healy, of Mr. Dillon, and other leaders of the Nationalist parties incontestably prove.

ULSTER INDUSTRIES.

That the industries which have made Ulster especially prosperous and contented would be crippled and depressed by Home Rule, as evidenced by the fact that the mere shadow of its approach six years ago suddenly depreciated the value of shares in the local banks and railways of Belfast alone by over a million sterling, which depreciation entirely passed away as soon as confidence in the maintenance of the Union was restored ; and now these very shares command a market value much greater than before the depression.

ANARCHY.

That Home Rule, therefore, would not be a "Message of Peace," but would impede the healing influences of recent legislation, and prove a "sword" driven into the heart of our distracted land, plunging our beloved country into a state of even greater anarchy than that from which it has at length most happily emerged.

ONLY DESIRE AN EQUAL FOOTING.

That, while opposed to what is called "Home Rule," we strenuously advocate the extension to Ireland of a similar form of "Local Government" to that which has been given to England and Scotland, and when that is passed we shall enjoy

every privilege now possessed by our fellow-subjects in the sister island, while continuing to be represented on an absolutely equal footing in the one and undivided Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.

THEIR INALIENABLE BIRTHRIGHT.

That in this one Imperial Parliament the million and a quarter of the people of Ireland who are opposed to Home Rule have an inalienable birthright, of which their co-partners therein cannot justly deprive them, much less force them to accept a political servitude they would naturally repudiate.

PART AND PARCEL OF THE EMPIRE.

That we, then, as members of a Free Church, who, in common with our co-religionists in England, Wales, and Scotland, have ever stood up for the civil and religious liberty of every class and sect of the people, implore our fellow-electors in this great crisis to see that their votes are cast for the Union, thereby ensuring the maintenance of these glorious principles in Ireland, and leaving us, as we now are, part and parcel of the one United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, and equal inheritors of that magnificent Empire which Irish soldiers and Irish statesmen have contributed to build up.

Rev. William Napier moved the adoption of the resolutions. He said they would never consent to support a principle that would allow them to be trampled upon by the powers of men whose conduct or misconduct they had witnessed with shame and pain for months and for years. If they had any grievances or disabilities they would be amply dealt with by such a Local Government Bill as had been introduced by the present Government, with some necessary amendments.

The resolutions were supported by Mr. Richard Patterson, J.P.; Mr. H. D. Ward, J.P.; Rev. J. A. Crozier, Mr. George Andrews, Mr. Thomas Andrews, Comber; Mr. S. C. Davidson, and others, and unanimously adopted.

A vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the proceedings. — *Irish Times*, 31*st May*, 1892.

Mr. T. M. HEALY, M.P.

WHO IS HE?

At the present moment Mr. Timothy M. Healy, M.P., is the strongest man in the front rank of the McCarthy-Clerical Separatist Irish party, and beyond doubt would be one of Mr Gladstone's Irish Law Officers, should the Right Hon. gentleman again come into office; and in the event of Home Rule being established, will figure prominently in that assembly. Who is Mr. Healy? His own friends and speeches answer the query:—

Mr. Healy commenced life in a railway office at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where, it is said, he joined the Fenian brotherhood. (Mr. Parnell's speech at Glynn, 30th June, 1891.) In 1878 he came to London under the auspices of the Sullivan family, and contributed some articles and gossip to The *Nation* newspaper in Dublin, the property of his uncle, the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan. On Mr. Parnell going to America in 1879, he cabled for a smart young man to act as private secretary. Mr. Sullivan selected his nephew. This introduction practically made Mr. T. M. Healy. He was the man Parnell wanted. Since the great split in December, 1890, considerable light has been thrown on Mr. Healy's career, by Mr. Parnell and others. In Committee Room 15, he was described by his leader as a "dirty little scoundrel" and a "gutter sparrow." Mr. Fitzgerald speaking at Cork, 30th December, 1890, stated: "Men like the Healys' (Tim and his brother), had been fattening like ghouls upon the dead corpses of the country, and amassing wealth."—(*Cork Herald Report.*) This same subject was referred to by Mr. Parnell, at Carlow, 28th June, 1891. Mr. Parnell asked: "What has he (Mr. Healy) done with the £20,000 or £30,000 for his valuable services during past ten years? He sent £16,000 of it over to Scotland to invest in Scotch Floor-cloth manufactory, in Kirkcaldy." Further, said Mr. Parnell, in same speech: "Tim Healy has thriven, at all stages of his career, by slanders and by lies. He has left every party that he ever belonged to, and he has always bitten every hand that cherished him."—(*Freeman Report.*) Mr. Healy, said Mr. Andrew Kettle, at the Dublin National League, on 28th May, 1891, "was a poor, changeable, volatile, uncertain

minded man. . . one of those audacious shallow men, who started in public life, working on the line of bulldozing everybody with whom he came in contact." "He," Mr. Healy, "went down to the Wicklow Assizes to defend the Ponsonby tenants," declared Mr. Harrington, at National League, Dublin, 2nd June, 1891, "and for his defence, which lasted only two days, he pocketed £200," and, continued Mr. Harrington, "it was time that the world should know the history of this creature." Speaking at Hacketstown, on July 1st, 1891, Mr. Parnell said, even Mr. Morley had been shocked at Mr. Healy's bad language. Mr. Morley, in 1887, came to the dead chief and remarked: "Tim Healy is using very bad language." As a master of vulgar abuse, Mr. Healy has no equal as a politician within the British Isles. In 1884, he suggested "the Duke of Sodom and Gomorrah" as a title for Earl Spencer. Addressing his constituents at Longford, on 1st November, 1891, only a week or so after Mr. Parnell's death, he referred to the widow at Brighton as an "abandoned woman" and a proved British Prostitute;" for this language he was publicly horsewhipped by Mr. McDermott, a nephew of the late Mr. Parnell. Dr. Kenny, M.P., at the National League, 9th February, 1892, also referred to his "inexhaustible stock of Billingsgate abusiveness." Writing to the *Melbourne Advocate*, and published in that journal, 26th December, 1891, Mr. Davitt complained of the "filthy and infamous terms" of Mr. Healy's remarks concerning Mrs. Parnell. "Mr. Healy's career," said Mr. Murray at the *Freeman* shareholders' meeting, 19th May, 1892, "had been marked by slander and foul-mouthed scurrility." It is sad to relate that such language as Mr. Healy has thought fit to introduce into Irish public life, is endorsed by members of the Irish Catholic priesthood. Rev. John Behan, C.C., presiding at the Central Federation, Dublin, 2nd March, 1892, said:—

"No doubt they had had forcible language from his friend, Mr. Healy, now and then. (Prolonged applause, and a voice—'Always true.') He was bound to say that his was the kind of language that he (Father Behan) would like to use himself. Mr. Healy's language was vigorous, dignified, and forcible, and that was what his opponents called scurrility."—*National Press*, 3rd March, 1892.

The Rev. Canon Doyle, in a letter to the New Ross Federation, 2nd March, 1892, gave expression to the same sentiments.

The following extracts are from Mr. Healy's speeches:—

ON HATRED TO ENGLAND.

Speaking at Boston, America, December, 1881, he said:—"We believe that landlordism is the prop of English rule, and we are working to take that prop away. To drive out British rule from Ireland we must strike at the foundation, and that foundation is landlordism. . . . We wish to see Ireland what God intended she should be—a powerful nation. We seek no bargain with England. As the Master said unto the tempter when he offered Him the kingdoms of the earth, 'Begone, Satan!'; so we will say unto them, 'Begone, Saxon!'"—*Irishman*, December 24th, 1881.

Again, at New Orleans, January, 1882. "We wish to get rid of British rule in Ireland. Landlordism is the prop of that rule, and it must be abolished. (Cheers.) We are engaged in a great struggle—the reconquest of Ireland." (Loud applause.)—*United Ireland*, February 4th, 1882.

At the Parnell Banquet, Dublin, December, 1883. "They (the Irish people) could still fire back blow for blow and hate for hate, and so by patient enduring they could hope to establish in this country an independent Parliament."

At Kilkenny, November, 1885.—"Let the people cast aside all personal dissensions, and let them have one enemy only, and that enemy the British Government." (Cheers.)—*United Ireland*, November 7th, 1885.

SEPARATION PURE AND SIMPLE.

Mr. Healy, in New York, February, 1882, said:—"But I would remind you that Mr. Parnell, in his Galway speech two years ago, explained the basis of this movement when he told the Galway farmers that he would never have taken off his coat in this movement were it not one with Irish Nationality for its object. (Applause) . . . This organisation is not for the enfranchisement merely of the farmers, or the labourers, or the artisans, or the merchants—we are going for the freedom of the entire population of Ireland." (Cheers.)—*Irish World*, 18th February, 1882.

LANDLORDISM ONLY A CLOAK.

At Boston, U.S.A.—"We believe that landlordism is the prop of English rule, and we are working to take that prop away. To drive out British rule from Ireland we must strike at the foundation, and that foundation is landlordism."—*Irishman*, December 24th, 1881.

On the No Rent Manifesto, in Texas, January, 1882.—"Landlordism is the prop of the British Government, and it is that we want to kick away. The struggle is for Irish liberty, and landlordism stands between us and the glorious sunlight."—*United Ireland*, January 28th, 1882.

APPEAL TO MURDER.

At the National League in Dublin.—"You may argue, you may demonstrate, you may speechify, you may assemble in your thousands, you may pass resolutions, you may send representatives to Parliament, but until the rattle of the slugs is heard on the roadside, the Prime Minister of England will not even take the trouble of investigating the ordinary facts in connection with the commonest grievances of our native land."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 1st, 1884.

PREACHING CIVIL WAR.

At the National League Meeting in Dublin, on 21st December, 1886. Mr. Healy is reported:—"There are only something like 10,000 police in the whole of Ireland: there are something like 500,003 tenant farmers—(hear, hear)—there are something like 30,000 or 40,000 estates, and if the people are not mice but men—if they have any courage in them—if they think this is a struggle that is worth sacrifices—if they think that their land and their country is worth fighting for—I say they can easily resort, and they ought to resort, and I tell them if they are men they will resort—(loud cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, 22nd December, 1886.

THE POLICY OF DISHONESTY.

Mr. T. M. Healy, at National League in Dublin, 26th October, 1886.—"It is just as easy for these tenants to repudiate their purchase money by-and-bye, if too high a price is placed on them, as it is to repudiate their rackrents at the present moment."—*Freeman's Journal* report.

PREVENTING LAND PURCHASE.

At Granard, 28th April, 1889—"The farmer who bought his own land to-day would, when a Home Rule Parliament was won in three or four years' time, be very sorry that he was in such a hurry. Of course, he quite admitted that if they did not get Home Rule they would have done wisely. But he thought that they would win." (Loud cheers)—*Freeman's Journal*, 29th April, 1889.

HIS CONSISTENCY.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at Leinster Hall, Dublin, 20th November, 1890.

"I say we would be foolish and criminal if we, the seasoned politicians, who had seen, and who had been able to watch the vagaries and tempests of political passion, if we, upon an occasion of this kind, at the very first blast of opposition, surrendered the great chief who has led us so far forward."—*Freeman's Report.*

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at Committee Room No. 15, 1st December, 1890.

"We cannot found our position upon sentiment, upon the claims of friendship, upon anything except the awful necessities that surround us in the presence of a trembling Irish cause. I, then, say and declare that my vote shall be for the deposition of the chairman of this party."—*Freeman's Report.*

Mr. T. M. Healy, at Leinster Hall, November, 20th, 1890:—

"I hope my voice will be sufficiently strong to enable me to reach the limits of this vast meeting."—*Freeman's Journal*, 21st November, 1890.

Mr. T. M. Healy, at National Federation, March 10th, 1891:—

"And now I will deal with my friend of the Leinster Hall. . . It was the greatest frost of a meeting I ever addressed."—*National Press*, 11th March, 1891.

A POSTSCRIPT.

Mr. Healy, at Thurles, October 6th, 1891:—

"We were engaged in this battle before Mr. Parnell was heard of, and we will fight this battle **when there is an end put to him.**"—(*National Press Report.*)

Mr. Parnell died the following day.

WHY ARE THE

METHODISTS OF IRELAND

OPPOSED TO

HOME RULE?

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM NICHOLAS, M.A., D.D.

PUBLISHED BY
THE IRISH UNIONIST ALLIANCE.
OFFICES: 109 GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN; 26 PALACE CHAMBERS, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER.
DUBLIN: HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO., GRAFTON STREET.

1893

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I do not think that anything in the nature of an apology is necessary for my writing a pamphlet on a political subject. That there are spheres of human thought and interest with which ministers of the gospel have no right to interfere, and others, from which laymen are debarred is a doctrine to which I have never subscribed, and which is not only not taught, but not even countenanced in the New Testament. That from prudential reasons ministers may conscientiously leave many political questions alone, I unhesitatingly admit; but the present crisis is of such a nature, the issues are so far-reaching, that now to keep silence would seem to me a grave dereliction of duty.

So far as I have met them the English Methodists and Non conformists may be roughly divided into two classes.

Those who are willing to learn the true state of affairs in Ireland, and are anxious to do what is just and fair all round. From them I ask a careful consideration of the following pages.

The other class are those who know little about Ireland, and care less, but are determined to support a certain policy and party right or wrong; to them I make no appeal.

WM. NICHOLAS.

DUBLIN, *7th June*, 1892.

WHY ARE THE METHODISTS OF IRELAND OPPOSED TO HOME RULE?

THAT the Methodists of Ireland, although as a whole not eager politicians, are opposed to Home Rule is certain. District meeting after district meeting has passed resolutions deprecating it. More than once the Conference has spoken. In the address to the British Conference, passed at the Belfast Conference of 1887, it is stated: "Our country still suffers in the throes of political agitation. Men's minds are tossed between hope and fear, and often, alas, animosities have been awakened between those who should be friends and brethren. But in this one thing we find encouragement, that many minds are turned to the Lord in expectation, and the throne of grace is being approached with more earnest prayer for the interposition of God's wise providence in the government of our land, and for the salvation of our fellow-countrymen of every creed. With gratitude to God for the blessings that have marked the long and happy reign of our gracious sovereign, and in thankful recognition of the personal graces and virtues that have adorned her rule, we have celebrated the Queen's Jubilee with many an ardent aspiration for the near approach of that day when the union of Ireland with this great empire shall be as ours is with you, one of heart-felt confidence and good-will."

In the address to the British Conference, passed at the Dublin Conference in the year following (1888), it is said: "We wish also to convey to you an expression of our *united and earnest* desire that the ties which bind our country to yours may not in any wise be loosened. We would deeply deplore any measure that would tend to the disintegration of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Many other quotations might be given, but the above are surely sufficient to show that the Conference, the supreme court of Methodism in Ireland, composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen, is deliberately and distinctly opposed to Home Rule. Those who were present and heard the discussions which preceded the passing of the addresses from which the quotations are made know that the words only present in a modified form the strong feeling of antagonism to the proposed change that pervaded the Conference.

METHODISTS DO NOT DESIRE CLASS PRIVILEGES.

While the Methodists are opposed to Home Rule, it is of great importance to remember that they do not desire or ask for any peculiar privileges for themselves; they are the steady, avowed, and consistent friends of full civil and religious liberty for men of every class and of every creed. They do not entertain or uphold any antiquated ideas that would lead to injustice or oppression.

To assert, as a well known writer does, that "they have been brought up in the atmosphere of Protestant ascendency, so that they are incapable of understanding religious equality," shows either complete ignorance of the history of Methodism in its relation to public affairs, or an indifference to truth, which is discreditable in a writer who poses as a moral reformer.

Liberty is dear to them; liberty of conscience they prize above gold; and what they love for themselves they are willing, without stint or niggardliness, to give to others.

When Home Rule is demanded in the name of liberty, and when those who thus demand it extol liberty and declare their undying devotion to her, our reply is : " We are quite as devoted to liberty as you are, and in the name of liberty we repudiate Home Rule." The justice of this repudiation we shall consider farther on.

It is not uncommon for those who clamour for Home Rule to imply, or in cases where their hearers or readers are supposed to be very prejudiced or very ignorant of facts, to state that Ireland is groaning under the tyranny of the hated Saxon ; that unjust and unequal laws make it impossible to live with comfort, freedom, and self-respect ; that wealth and prosperity are driven from the land by misgovernment ; and that only those who have the spirit of slaves, or cannot afford to emigrate, or are engaged in patriotic enterprises to overturn British rule, remain in the " distressful country."

Many who have entertained some such ideas will be surprised to learn that *in several respects Ireland is the most highly favoured portion of the empire.*

OVER REPRESENTATION OF IRELAND.

In a political point of view no privilege is so important as that of having a fair representation in the legislative assembly. Ireland sends to the British House of Commons one hundred and three members, Scotland seventy-two, and England and Wales four hundred and ninety-five. If we leave out of our calculation the members returned for Universities, we shall find, speaking in round numbers, that England and Wales have one member for fifty-nine thousand people, Scotland one for fifty-seven thousand, and Ireland one for forty-six thousand. If Ireland were represented in the same proportion as Scotland, instead of one hundred and one (leaving out the two University members), it would only have eighty-one, and if represented in the same proportion as England and Wales, Ireland would only send seventy-nine representatives to the House

of Commons. In the matter of representation in the assembly that makes the laws for the United Kingdom, Ireland is treated not merely with justice, but with generosity.

IRISH LAND LAWS.

In Ireland the farmer has land laws far more in his favour than his brother agriculturist in England. Indeed, at the present time an agitation is going on to introduce some of the provisions of the Irish Land Acts into the land laws of England. The rent of the Irish farmer is fixed by an independent authority, whose bias is generally against the landlord ; so long as the tenant pays this "fair rent," as it is called, he is absolutely independent of the landlord, and cannot be dispossessed. He has fixity of tenure. If he and his landlord can come to terms, the Imperial Government will lend him money at a low rate of interest, to be repaid by easy instalments spread over a number of years ; and thus the tenant can become, as thousands are becoming, the owner of the soil he tills. Are any farmers in the world so well treated by the Government under which they live as the Irish? Can any thing be more untrue and unfair than to call the Government that thus treats its subjects a "hateful tyranny?"

Let the facts be known and the matter judged in the "dry light of truth," and not under the distorting influence of the reckless rhetoric so freely indulged in by many orators of the Irish party, and then the British Government may fairly claim the favourable verdict of the civilised world so far as its treatment of Ireland is concerned.

PRESENT PROSPERITY OF IRELAND.

The most conclusive proof that the poverty and stagnation which exist in some parts of Ireland is not the fault of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, nor of the Government, nor of existing laws is that in parts of Ireland at present there is abundant prosperity. The most markedly prosperous part of Ireland has no special

advantage of position, nor has it exceptional richness of soil; nor has it State help or favour; public works and well-paid offices, legal and administrative, have been showered on the other parts, but it has had bare justice; yet because of the industry, integrity, and enterprise of its people it has a measure of prosperity that will compare well with that of any part of England and with that of most parts of America. The advance of Belfast in the North of Ireland has been wonderful. Its population a century ago was eighteen thousand. Even then it was no mean political influence. Its population now is over a quarter of a million. The increase of its trade year by year continues to be steady; its crowds of workers are uninterruptedly employed, and are well paid. In its appliances for university and general education, in its provisions for public health in parks and baths, in its free libraries and splendid hospitals, and large and numerous churches, it stands on a level with any city in the United Kingdom. In the letters patent conferring the title of Lord Mayor upon the Chief Magistrate of Belfast the following passages occur:—The said City of Belfast is the capital of the province of Ulster, and that in commercial and manufacturing importance it is the first town in Ireland; that in the year 1837, on our accession to the Throne, the borough of Belfast contained only 69,205 inhabitants, whereas the city had at the last census a population of 255,896, the yearly increase being about 10,000; that the increase of the revenue of Belfast is still more remarkable; that in the year 1855 this revenue was £363,175, whereas in the year ended 31st December last it reached the sum of £2,247,528; that Belfast is now, therefore, as regards customs revenue, the third port in the United Kingdom, being exceeded only by London and Liverpool; that Belfast is also the centre of the great Irish linen manufacture and trade, and is the chief shipbuilding station in Ireland as well as the seat of the manufacture of numerous other articles of minor importance which are well known, and in large demand both at home and abroad.

Nor is there prosperity in Belfast alone. There are Derry, Portadown, Lurgan, and many other busy, well-kept, and rising towns. Nor is prosperity confined to the North. In other places, in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Athlone, there are many flourishing and rapidly increasing business concerns, both commercial and manufacturing. Now if there can be, as there is, prosperity under the present system of Government, it is clearly unjust and untrue for those who are not prosperous to blame the Government and to demand Home Rule as the *sine qua non* of national prosperity. The Union has been of material advantage to Ireland, and the causes which keep parts of Ireland and persons in Ireland in a state of chronic poverty and discontent would not be removed by Home Rule. Some of these causes, which are partly moral and partly economic and partly ethnic, shall be, at least, glanced at farther on.

THE MISERABLE MINORITY.

In clearing the ground for the more specific consideration of the question, "Why are the Methodists of Ireland opposed to Home Rule?" there is another common misrepresentation on the part of some and misapprehension on the part of others that must be removed. The "Unionists" are sometimes spoken of in a somewhat slighting fashion as "the few dissentients," "the minority," "the miserable minority," or "the English garrison."

It is quite true that the Unionists are in the minority in Ireland; but votes ought to be weighed as well as counted. Even in the matter of numbers the minority is respectable. Mr. Davitt, speaking recently at Bandon, estimated the Nationalists at three millions, thus leaving the Unionists at one million seven hundred thousand. But in this minority are the capitalists, the employers of labour, the merchants, the bankers, the men who have succeeded and who have helped others to succeed, the professional classes; with exceptions so few that it is not necessary to notice

them all that there is of wealth and learning and intelligence and enterprise belongs to the minority.

PROTESTANTS UNITED.

Not only are nearly all Methodists in the minority, but so are the Protestant Episcopalians and the Presbyterians and the Independents and the Baptists, and many of the more prosperous and independent Roman Catholics. Now is it not worth while to consider why such men—men of all shades of belief covered by the general term Protestant—living in Ireland, knowing it from childhood, and intending to live in it until the end of their days, having their interests bound up with the interests of Ireland, are opposed to Home Rule? Ought not their opinion to have some influence on the minds of those who, from the very nature of the case, must know less of Ireland and are less concerned for its welfare? Is it not reasonable to expect that the Methodists and Nonconformists of England should pause before they thrust upon their co-religionists, with whom they ought to have at least a little sympathy, a policy to which they are intelligently, unitedly, determinedly and conscientiously opposed?

PRESENT REGIME SUCCESSFUL.

Years ago Methodists asserted, over and over again, that if law and order were firmly maintained, if the tyranny of moonlighters and boycotters were put down, and if the industrious and law-abiding were protected in the exercise of their rights and liberties, there would be material prosperity.

Mr. Forster, some years ago Liberal Chief Secretary for Ireland, made an honest attempt to do this. In a manly and straightforward way he grappled with the forces of sedition. Mr. Gladstone threw him over. From that time till the appointment of Mr. Balfour, Ireland was at the mercy of the spoiler. Trade languished, every Irish security fell enormously in price, capital left the country, hundreds

became bankrupt. Mr. Balfour has succeeded in keeping the forces of anarchy under control by beneficent legislation; by the construction of piers, harbours, and railways, the resources of the country have been and are being developed, trade has revived, capital has flowed back, and public securities have risen in value.

A few days ago one of the leading Dublin papers in a non-political article said: "On several occasions lately we have been speaking of the steady and increasing business of our Irish banks. It is even more striking as a proof of the genuine activity which has arisen again in the country that the railway companies also are enabled to declare substantial dividends. Both north and south the railways are dealing with an enlarging traffic, and are managed with exceptional energy and ability." To the same effect is the report of the Council of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, a report which was adopted by the full chamber. Dealing with the year 1891, the report says: "The Council are glad to be able to record their opinion that the improved condition of the general trade of the country referred to in their last report still continues, due in a great measure, as stated therein, to the wise policy of the Government, and to the judicious manner in which Mr. Balfour administered the duties of the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. They trust that in the still higher position he now occupies—as First Lord of the Treasury—he may be able to help in and bring to completion the useful measures which he originated or had in contemplation while Chief Secretary."

HOME RULE UNNECESSARY.

The lesson to be learned from recent experience is two-fold, namely, that for steady improvement in administration and the execution of works of real utility Home Rule is unnecessary, as under the present system of government every wrong can be righted and every necessary work undertaken and accomplished. But we also learn that at present those who adopt the methods that insure commercial

success all the world over can and do succeed in Ireland, and, therefore, the conclusion is inevitable that it is not necessary to have Home Rule before there can be material prosperity.

WHAT IS HOME RULE?

There is another question that demands very grave consideration, and that is what is meant by Home Rule?

There is no greater source of human error or deception than supposing that the same word or phrase always represents the same group of ideas. This is eminently true in the matter we have before us. Home Rule means one thing in some places and an entirely different thing in others. Hence the great wisdom—perhaps another word would be more correct but we shall use the more courteous—of Mr. Gladstone in persistently refusing to give any information regarding his Home Rule Bill. He will not tell us to how much of the 1886 bill he adheres. He will not tell us what alterations or additions he will propose. The oracle is silent. Were he to break this ominous silence his party would be shattered to fragments. The Methodists of Ireland have been recently appealed to to state their terms and say what measure of Home Rule they will agree to. The decision does not rest with them, if it did the question would be soon settled. No candid and authoritative definition of Home Rule has yet been given. *Punch's* Cartoon (June, 1892) is admirable. The old jockey, Mr. Gladstone, says to the young jockey, Mr. Balfour, riding Local Government, I do not like the points of your horse at all, we have one in our stables could lick his head off. Mr. Balfour replies, If you have why don't you bring him out?

A STATUTORY PARLIAMENT.

The most plausible answer is that Home Rule is a statutory Parliament established in Ireland, that is, a Parliament with certain defined and limited powers.

This answer may satisfy or rather delude those who do not know anything of the Nationalist Party. It may secure votes in a contested election. But it is altogether illusory.

Recently a great deal has been made of the Rossendale election. It has been trumpeted to the ends of the earth as a Home Rule victory. The seat formerly held by the leader of the Liberal-Unionists is now held by a Home Ruler, Mr. Maden. That seems a blow to the Unionists, but is it? Let us examine the matter. Mr. Maden seems a perfectly honest Home Ruler. He did not gain his seat by false pretences. He tells us what he means by Home Rule. He would put in his bill clauses to prevent the Irish Parliament from legislation in certain ways on seven questions. Thus, he would not give the Irish Parliament power to endow the Church of Rome, nor to endow Roman Catholic educational institutions, nor to legislate on the land question. We need not mention the other questions he refers to; but suppose this Parliament that he speaks of determined to legislate on these questions, how would he prevent it? Does he imagine the Irish Parliament would be like a class of good boys in a Sunday-school who would do just what they were told? That they would do as they liked on those questions is certain, and they would be right. The idea of a Parliament that would be a sham is one that the Nationalists of Ireland repudiate. So the ablest Nationalist paper in Ireland says, with reference to Mr. Maden's proposals: "The difference is one of vital importance, and we say without any hesitation that Ireland would reject promptly and decisively any bill which in this matter departed from the lines of the bill of 1886." But suppose Mr. Maden's bill passed, and that then the Irish Parliament took its own course on the reserved questions, would Mr. Maden go to war to prevent them? It is amazing that every one does not see the folly and danger of establishing a native Parliament, and then saying to it: "Leave alone the very questions in which you and your

constituents take the deepest interest." Attempts to bind the Parliament must be vain unless England would be prepared to go to war to maintain her supremacy. The prospect of such a conflict will scarcely be held out by Home Rulers as a reason for joining their ranks. No bill that would not give complete independence to Ireland would be a conclusion of the whole matter. Of those who call themselves Home Rulers in England a very large number, possibly the majority, would refuse to pass such a bill. If what is called a moderate measure were to pass, the result would be continued agitation for complete independence. The men who would have got such a measure from the fear and timidity of England would not be the men to stop short with a vassal Parliament. The national sentiment that finds expression in the words, "Ireland a nation," would never be satisfied with a subordinate Parliament. To suppose it, shows how little even good and shrewd men in England know about the character and sentiments of the Irish.

A SUBORDINATE PARLIAMENT REJECTED.

Judge of how the proposal to establish a subordinate parliament would be received and of how any proposed safe-guards would be treated by the following statements :—

Dr. Fitzgerald, M.P., at a recent banquet, referring to the Home Rule Bill of the Liberal leader, said he warned Mr. Gladstone that if he attempted to hand them over bound hand and foot under cover of a bogus measure of Home Rule to the Bantry gang, that he and his colleagues and the people who were behind them would rather see their country to-morrow involved in civil war—that for 50 years more she would be left a prey to the legal cormorants who hover between the library of the Four Courts and the Castle Yard.

Mr. John Redmond, M.P leader of the Parnellites, said in the House of Commons :—

"The consequence was that great anxiety had been created

in Ireland, and the anxiety was increased when Sir Wm. Harcourt began to make speeches and to declare that while the English people and the Liberal party were in favour of Home Rule, they were not in favour of Mr. Parnell's Fenian Home Rule Bill. What did the right hon. member mean by that? Was not that so-called Fenian Bill of Mr. Parnell's the measure which the people of Ireland demanded? The Irish people and their representatives had always demanded that the Irish Parliament should have full power to legislate on all Irish matters, subject only to the Constitutional veto of the Crown, and that there should be an Irish Executive, with full power both over the police and the judiciary. That was the scheme of Home Rule which was supported, not only by Mr. Parnell, but by every Irish member in that House, nor would any Irish member venture to accept one jot less as a final settlement of the Home Rule question. They had heard a great deal about the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Well, the Irish people did not desire to destroy the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament in Imperial affairs, but he gathered from the application of the term 'subordinate' to the Irish Parliament, that what was intended in some quarters was that after the right to deal with Irish affairs had been given to the Irish Parliament the Imperial Parliament are to have the right to exercise a supremacy over that body—that in point of fact the Imperial Parliament was to be constituted a court of Appeal, before which every Act of the Irish Parliament might be brought, and by which it might be thwarted and destroyed (Hear, hear.) That would not satisfy the Irish people. What he wanted to know was whether this was the Home Rule which the Liberal party proposed to grant, or whether they were prepared to grant the Home Rule Bill propounded by Mr. Parnell?" It thus seems evident that no matter what bill may be prepared or what some of our Methodist friends may mean by Home Rule, ultimately it must mean a perfectly independent Parliament in Ireland.

HOME RULE INJURIOUS.

The Methodists of Ireland are opposed to Home Rule because they believe that the establishment of a Home Rule Parliament would be *injurious to the material interests of the country.*

We have already proved incontestably that under the present Government prosperity is possible in Ireland, and that, therefore, the argument that we ought to have Home Rule because without it we cannot have prosperity is fallacious. We now go a step further and shall show that Home Rule would be highly injurious, and injurious to more interests than one.

Ireland is prosperous now because those on whom her prosperity depends are convinced that a Home Rule Parliament is not within measurable distance.

The immediate prospect of it would cause enormous injury. Every one who has the slightest knowledge of public affairs in the United Kingdom is aware of the fact that no Government could carry a Home Rule measure through the Commons and the Lords except as the result of the most exciting and angry contest that this century has witnessed ; during this contest, and as the result of it, business of every kind in Ireland would be well-nigh destroyed. The very prospect of a Home Rule Bill that would probably pass would cause at once a serious withdrawal of capital, of which there is at present too little in the country.

CARLYLE ON THE NEED OF CAPITAL.

Carlyle saw this when he said : "To at least render Ireland habitable for capitalists, if not for heroes ; to invite capital and industrial governors and guidance (from Lancashire, from Scotland, from the moon, and from the Ring of Saturn) ; what other salvation can one see for Ireland." I do not wish to say anything offensive to the Nationalists, and therefore I do not say that they are

unworthy of the confidence of capitalists; I merely assert a patent fact that they have not the confidence of capitalists. When there was a slight probability of Mr. Gladstone's bill of 1886 passing, Bank of Ireland stock fell enormously. Mr. Wilfred Becker, of Manchester, writing to the *Times* says, "When we come to examine the course of prices during these years the close connection between the fall in values and the growth of the Home Rule scheme becomes apparent. The price of Bank of Ireland Stock fell on the announcement of the Home Rule Bill to a point much below the *minimum* of previous years, though the absolutely lowest figure was not touched till a few days later. Mr. Gladstone's Bill was introduced on April 8, 1886; the price of Bank Stock on the 9th was 258; on June 9, when the Bill had just been thrown out, it was 263, and it rose during the latter part of the year to 284." It is now 322, that is, £64 higher than when the country was threatened with Home Rule. Other Irish securities fell in like proportion. Men who had commenced to build factories and warerooms immediately stopped the works, advances promised by London Banks for Irish enterprises were cancelled, and the commercial interests of the country received a paralysing shock.

LOSSES CAUSED BY THE PROSPECT OF HOME RULE.

What happened before would occur again. In the six months between Mr. Gladstone's Parnellite surrender and the defeat of his Home Rule Bill, the capital value of the three railways running into Belfast, and of the three Belfast joint-stock banks, depreciated almost £1,000,000 sterling. We have now enjoyed almost six years of assured government; and what is the result? Not merely have the lost £1,000,000 been regained, but £3,000,000 besides. In other words, the capital value of six undertakings connected with Belfast is £4,000,000, or about 30 per cent. more than it was on the day when Home Rule seemed imminent.. In the same fateful six months the value of the capital stock

of the three railways running west and south from Dublin, and of the five Dublin banks, collapsed over £2,500,000. In the same six well-governed years that loss was retrieved, and 4¾ millions besides, making £7,200,000 recovery from the lowest point. Now, if the mere prospect of Home Rule wrought such ruin in the land, what havoc would its establishment work? But suppose for the sake of argument that a Home Rule Bill, after a fierce conflict, passed both Houses, and received the royal assent, what then? Judging from the fiscal policy indicated by Home Rule leaders, there would be the attempt to encourage Irish industries by protective duties. This would lead to a rise of prices of all articles required for daily consumption. In the markets of the world Ireland could not compete with nations farther advanced in manufacturing appliances, and so in Ireland small manufacturers would make an inferior article for which a high price would be paid, and the inhabitants would be worse off than ever; while in many branches of manufacture England would lose a good customer, and, notwithstanding her wealth, considering the condition of many of her operatives, and increasing international competition it does not seem as if the working classes would wish to diminish her trade, yet Home Rule would infallibly do so.

HOME RULE RUINOUS.

Put together three things, the probable policy of a Home Rule Parliament, the certain diminution of available capital, and the certain departure from the country of a large number of intelligent, thrifty, and enterprising men, and the result would be that the condition of Ireland as a whole would be reduced to the present condition of its poorest parts. Home Rule would put Ireland back at least a century. Respect for the rights of property is essential to material prosperity. "Righteousness exalteth a nation." Even Mr. Gladstone would not trust an Irish Parliament to deal with the Land Question—if he could help it.

An Irish Parliament would almost certainly deal with the Land Question in such a way as to cause insecurity distress, and civil war.

Cupidity has been made a main factor in political action, and the Parliament would act in accordance with the prevailing sentiment. At the close of the 1848 period, Fenian Lalor, "one of the least known, but certainly not one of the least important, of the seditious writers of that period," had written :—"Repeal had always to be dragged. There is a wolf dog at this moment in every cabin throughout the land, nearly fit to be untied, and he will be savager by-and-by. For repeal, indeed, he will never bite, but only bay; but there is another matter to settle with England. The absolute ownership of the land of Ireland is vested of right in the people of Ireland. All titles to land are invalid not conferred or confirmed by them." John Mitchell—the man of whom Mr. John Dillon proclaims himself a follower—wrote at the same time—"I am convinced, and have long been, that the mass of the Irish people cannot be roused in any quarrel less than social revolution, destruction of landlordism, and denial of all tenure and title derived from English Sovereigns."

Here, then, is one reason why the Methodists of Ireland are so opposed to Home Rule, because they believe that it would cause the utter ruin of the country.

HOME RULE OPPOSED TO LIBERTY.

The Methodists of Ireland are opposed to Home Rule *because they are sincere lovers of civil and religious liberty.*

In every struggle of the past they have been on the side of liberty, they are so still, and in the name of liberty they object to Home Rule. It has often been said Home Rule means Rome Rule. There are three million and a half of Roman Catholics to one million and a quarter of Protestants. It is evident that Roman Catholic influence must be predominant in an Irish Parliament. Will the Romish Church control that influence, or will any large section of

the Roman Catholic laity act independently of their clergy? That the dispute in the Nationalist ranks over Mr. Parnell has caused a certain cleavage between the priests and people must be admitted. It must at the same time be admitted that hitherto the priests have proved themselves to be masters of the situation; their power has not gone; it is not even shaken. We do not prophesy. When the power of the priesthood is broken we shall have other considerations to urge. Meanwhile, dealing with things as they are, the dominant power in the Nationalist ranks is the power of the Church of Rome. Frequently persons who claim to be superior in judgment, insight, and information tell us that Rome is not a factor to be taken into account in dealing with Irish politics, that it is antiquated to dread her power, and that in the nineteenth century men may be trusted to think and to act for themselves. These people are doctrinaires; they have a great faculty for ignoring facts. Drawing inferences from facts is quite beneath their dignity.

ROMISH CLAIMS.

Now Rome claims this control over political matters Of the multitude of proofs that might be given let us take an extract from a recent letter written by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor. In a circular letter to his priests he says: "I request you to explain at the masses on Sunday that the question wherein action is morally right or morally wrong is essentially a question of morals, and as such is necessarily subject to the judgment of ecclesiastical authority, and every such question must be dealt with by the authority which is alone competent to deal with it on moral grounds, namely, by the pastors of the Church who have received the divine commandment to teach and direct the faith and morals of the people to whom the holy Gospel was committed to their charge. . . . Dissuade them from listening to the advice of those who at present teach disobedience to the

pastors when the inspired apostles command to obey thus: 'Obey your prelates, and be subject to them, for they being to watch over you to render an account of your souls.'" But not only is this claim made, but by the overwhelming majority of Roman Catholics in Ireland it is admitted, and admitted *con amore.* An ungrudging and willing obedience is rendered by an affectionate and superstitious people.

The majority of the Nationalists are completely under the control of the Romish Church.

ROMISH INTOLERANCE.

When has Rome declared in favour of religious liberty? When has Rome given religious liberty where she had sufficient power to withhold it? We need not look at Roman Catholic States, but look at lower Canada, under the British crown. A recent traveller, whose sympathies are with Rome, tells us that the day-schools there are but extensions of the confessional, and that a man afflicted with rheumatism was recently fined eight dols. because at some Romish service he only kneeled on one knee instead of kneeling on both! Is it not highly probable that an Irish Parliament would endow the Roman Catholic Church, would endow Roman Catholic educational institutions, and would put down any effort to gain religious liberty on the part of any section of the Roman Catholic people, and interfere in every way in which an executive government could interfere with the exercise of liberty on the part of the Protestants, especially on the small Protestant populations of the south and west?

DR. DOLLINGER.

Mr. Matthews, the Home Secretary, a Roman Catholic, said a few days ago that the Protestants of Ireland "would have reason to fear for their property, their liberties, and their faith if the power of government and legislation were handed over to those who were their hereditary enemies." The eminent Old Catholic, Dr. Dollinger, one of the

greatest authorities on historical questions, "used to laugh at Cardinal Manning's heroic audacity in asserting that Roman Catholics have never persecuted Protestants in the past, and are never likely to do so in the future. One of the first things that an Irish Parliament would do would be to take possession of Trinity College and turn it into a Roman Catholic university."

OPINIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

The Presbyterians have just issued a manifesto in which they say:—"We accordingly feel that the proposal to give Ireland Home Rule most seriously threatens our religious liberties, which would in numberless ways be imperilled under an Irish National Parliament, the majority in which would be elected on the nomination of the Roman Catholic priests. Judging from the past, such a Parliament would claim and exercise the right to tax Protestants for the maintenance of educational institutions in the direct interests of Roman Catholicism, would legalise the desecration of the Lord's Day, and would ultimately establish and endow the Roman Catholic Religion in Ireland. From these and many other evils we are preserved by the Imperial Parliament."

HOME RULE AND EDUCATION.

Archbishop Walsh has condemned time after time the "mixed" school and "mixed" college, *i.e.*, the school and college in which Protestants and Roman Catholics are taught together. Every Roman Catholic bishop and priest agrees with him. By their action they have almost destroyed the model schools and have kept numbers of Roman Catholic students from Trinity College (which is free to them) and from the Royal University. They want schools and colleges in which can be exhibited the emblems of their faith, manned by Roman Catholics, and completely under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. This would seriously injure the quality of the education given in those institutions,

would intensify the religious bigotry and animosity at present existing. In all those districts, and they are numerous, in which there are not sufficient Protestant children to maintain a Protestant school they would be compelled to attend a school in which were images of the Virgin Mary and Crucifixes and Roman Catholic teaching. It is almost inconceivable that Methodists and Nonconformists would try to force such an intolerable state of things upon Methodists and Nonconformists in Ireland. Yet when they aid Home Rule politicians they are doing it. Some may be so carried away by political zeal and party spirit as to be utterly recreant to their own principles ; it is probable that some are so and that their opinions not being formed by reason, cannot be overturned by reason. But of the majority we are persuaded better things, and hope that when the case is fairly put before them they will not be led astray by the glamour of a great name but will uphold in Ireland the principles dear to every true Protestant and will give their valuable aid to strengthen the imperilled position of their brethren in a land in which they are in a minority and have a hard struggle in their conflict with a wily and unscrupulous opposition.

Because, then, of their love of civil and religious liberty, and to secure as large a measure of it as possible for Protestants and Romanists alike, the Methodists of Ireland object to Home Rule.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE.

There is another reason :—*The Methodists of Ireland are deeply interested in the unity and prosperity of the British Empire.* In a right sense they are proud of being citizens of the greatest empire on the face of the earth. They believe that Home Rule would seriously injure, perhaps destroy, the empire. Suppose the people of India saw that the fibre of the British people had so deteriorated that the sons could not hold what the fathers won, would they not try first for Home Rule in India, and then for separa-

tion and complete independence, and so on in other places until the unity and glory of the empire had departed? A weak people cannot hold together a great empire. England is on her trial, and if there is a want of nerve in the people as a whole, if men like Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain are not sustained, it will be a proof that the Anglo-Saxon race has reached its culminating point, and in the last decade of the nineteenth century is commencing to suffer from what has never been cured, senile decay.

THE UNION OF HEARTS.

Would Ireland with Home Rule be England's friend? Would there be then a "union of hearts?" On the part of the Nationalists it is doubtful. Parnellite and Anti-Parnellite are not at present particularly loving to each other—that they will unite in love to England is problematical. On the whole, there is not much sympathy between the Nationalists of Ireland and the people of England. The differences in religion and in temperament forbid it, and if Home Rule were granted to-morrow it would not produce any deep friendship between the English people and the Irish Nationalists. How about the Irish Protestants—men mostly of English and Scotch descent, who either themselves or their forefathers came to Ireland trusting in the supremacy of England to maintain their rights and liberties? They would feel that they had been basely deserted. They would sympathize with the words of the professor of law in the University of Oxford, Professor Dicey, who writes:—"Even were so great a change to take place that a majority of the people became ready, on grounds of expediency, to break up the connection between Great Britain and the neighbouring island, it would still be hard to persuade the nation that there was not vile treachery in refusing to stand by and support that part of the Irish people who wished to retain the connection with England. The treachery would

approach to infamy if it should appear that England, for the sake of her own comfort, left English subjects who had always obeyed the law and relied on the honourable protection of the United Kingdom at the mercy of conspirators whose lawlessness had taken the form of cruelty and tyranny, and whose vindictiveness was certain to punish as criminality former acts of loyalty or obedience to English sovereignty. High-toned self-sacrifice which results in breach of faith to associates is considered by the world at large as a particularly odious form of hypocrisy." The Protestants of Ireland would feel that England had deserted them, and the good feeling existing now would be chilled, perhaps entirely destroyed, a result that would not be for the advantage of the empire nor for the interests of Protestantism.

THE RIGHT POLICY.

What ought to be done? Rule Ireland with firmness, justice, and generosity. Let the people of Ireland know that the legislative union is to be maintained, and that efforts to repeal it will be put down with a strong hand, as America put down the attempt to break up the sodality of the United States. Let every injustice be by constitutional methods removed; let the utmost freedom compatible with the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament be given in matters of local government. Let every work of practical utility be encouraged and fostered; and in time, and no very long time either, Ireland would be contented, loyal, and prosperous.

GLADSTONIAN IRISH STATISTICS EXAMINED.

A few weeks ago Professor Munro, the Gladstonian candidate for North-East Manchester, delivered a speech designed to show that, instead of having gone forward during the last five years, Ireland had retrograded and gone back in almost every important particular. Professor Munro happens to be an Ulsterman, and is contesting Mr. Balfour's seat. These two facts lent some importance to the speech, and, as it has been "boomed" by Mr. Schnadhorst, scarcely a day passes without bringing inquiries as to the alleged facts of the oration. No worse specimen of the Gladstonian method of dealing with figures has come under my notice, and when your readers have tested the matter I think they will be forced to agree in this proposition. Professor Munro evidently took as the basis of his speech at Manchester a series of figures given in an address recently read before the Statistical Society of Ireland by Dr. Grimshaw, the Registrar-General. But it is quite evident that he approached the subject with no desire to look at it in its true bearings, as in nearly every instance he has distorted and suppressed evidence supported by the statistics to suit his own purposes.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.

The very first set of figures dealt with by Mr. Munro illustrates his method. He said: "The deposits in Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks increased from £3,765,000 in 1881 to

£4,710,000 in 1886;" but he went on to say: "It is a remarkable fact that during Mr. Balfour's administration, and up to 1890, they had only increased by £986,000." Mr. Munro's use of the word "only" would lead a casual reader to infer that this increase was less than that which took place in the first quinquennial period. Of course, any one who takes the trouble ever to make a calculation upon the figures provided by Mr. Munro will see that, instead of this inference being correct, the increase is absolutely greater. But the speaker evidently relied upon the fact that very few, either of his hearers or readers, would take the trouble to check a statement of this kind. As a matter of fact, the average yearly amount of deposits in Trustee and Post Office Savings Banks during what Mr. Munro would call the Gladstonian quinquennium was £4,124,000. The average during the Balfourian quinquennium was £5,231,000, or a difference in favour of the Balfourian period of £1,107,000. Mr. Munro may add "only" to this if he likes; it will not alter a single figure. "It is quite true," said Mr. Munro in an airy sort of way, "that the deposits in joint-stock banks increased in Mr. Balfour's time; but they also increased in Mr. Gladstone's time." But Mr. Munro did not say that the average yearly amount was greater in the Balfourian period by £594,000.

GOVERNMENT STOCK.

It was in Government Stock, however, that Mr. Munro found his strongest argument. "In 1886," he said, "it was £30,080,000. In 1890 it had fallen to £26,610,000, showing a decrease of £3,470,000." He did not mention in this connexion that during the Gladstonian period of the decade the same form of stock experienced a fall of nearly £2,000,000. The fact of the matter is, as every one knows, that, instead of Government stock being "a favourite form of investment," it is becoming less so every day, from causes rather financial than political. Trustees who were bound by the terms of their trust to invest the funds under

their control in Government Stock were, to a certain extent, released from that obligation by the National Debt Conversion Act of 1888, and they very naturally seek to invest the funds intrusted to them in other securities approved of by the law which yield a better interest. The balances in Joint-Stock Banks represent what Dr. Grimshaw calls "the floating capital of Irish traders, agriculturists, &c.," the deposits in savings banks being "the savings of small sums." It will be seen that in both these cases the increase has been substantial in the Balfourian period.

LAND PURCHASE.

The next thing Mr. Munro dealt with was the amount of loans to Ireland. The learned gentleman is apparently under the idea that for a country to borrow money is a very bad sign. At all events, he showed that, whereas the total amount borrowed in 1885 stood at £876,000, it had run up to £1,796,000 in 1890. Professor Munro did not tell his audience that the first Land Purchase Act was passed in 1885, and that the main cause of the increase in loans was a cause specially promoted by Parliament—viz., the grants to farmers for the purchase of the fee-simple of their holdings. The amount lent under this head alone increased from £147,000 in 1885 to £1,112,010 in 1890, whereas the loans through the Commissioners of Public Works fell from £721,000 in 1885 to £684,000 in 1890. The average yearly loans from 1881 to 1885 for land purchase was £88,000. From 1886 to 1890 these loans had increased to £1,218,000. We in Ireland, at all events, do not count this retrogression.

AGRICULTURE.

Agriculture was the next topic with which Professor Munro dealt. His method was certainly peculiar. "Whether," he said, "they took cereal crops, green crops, flax, or woods and plantations, Dr. Grimshaw's figures told the same tale—a

decrease in average acreage without any corresponding increase in the area of grass lands." As to flax, the learned Professor absolutely misquoted the figures.* The average acreage under flax from 1881 to 1885 was 110,000. From 1886 to 1890 it was 117,000, an increase of 6,000 acres. This increase Professor Munro called a decrease. Meadow and clover also represent a substantial increase of 170,000 acres; but Mr. Munro gave this fact the go-by. It did not fit in with his fine general and sweeping statement. Drowning men catch at straws, and I do not grudge the Gladstonian professor the argument that the average acreage of land under woods and plantations (though what that has to do with agriculture I scarcely know) fell from 330,000 in 1881-85 to 329,000 in 1886-90—a drop of something like a third per cent. "Land under bog, waste, mountain, &c.," he said, "rose from 4,773,000 acres in 1881-85 to 4,876,000 in 1886-90." This looks serious, but a note appended to the agricultural statistics for 1884 and 1885 explains a good deal. Much depends upon the enumerator's idea of what is waste and what is agricultural land. One enumerator may come upon a piece of mountain grazing which is all rocks at the top and marsh-land at the bottom. He probably calls this grass land. The next enumerator, with a greater capacity for detail, deducts the marsh and rock, adds them to his waste, and reduces the grass land by so much. Again, in a year in which cattle are plentiful they are turned out to graze upon mountains that are unused under other conditions, and so the question of waste land is a fluctuating quantity, about which the compiler of the agricultural statistics expressly warns us to be careful in drawing deductions. As a matter of fact, the greatest fluctuations from 1886 to 1890 appear to have taken place in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, and least in Ulster. Probably the derelict land produced by the Plan of Campaign was a disturbing influence. But it would be rather hard to charge this against the Balfourian period.

*Previously to the publication of Mr. Russell's letter, it appears that Mr. Munro had corrected his statement as to acreage of flax.

LIVE STOCK.

I have alluded to the fact that Mr. Munro omitted the figures relating to meadow and clover. Meadow, clover, and pasture constitute a portion of a distinct branch of agriculture—namely, that relating to the rearing of cattle and other live stock, as contra-distinguished from tillage. The real truth at the bottom of all these figures is that cattle-raising has of late years paid better than tillage, and, of course, agricultural conditions have changed accordingly. Taking the local grass lands, there was an increase during the Balfourian quinquennium. Let us see if there was a corresponding increase in live stock. I search Mr. Munro's speech in vain for the slightest reference to this subject. What is the cause of the omission? The reason—and the only reason—was that every figure told against him. Horses increased from 540,000 to 566,000; cattle went up from 4,077,000 to 4,155,000; sheep from 3,254,000 to 3,697,000; pigs from 1,290,000 to 1,404,000; and poultry from 13,590,000 to 14,615,000. Pigs and poultry represent, in many cases, the only live stock of the cottager, and therefore the increase in those particulars is the more gratifying. "During the first five years of the decade," says Dr. Grimshaw, "there were animals equivalent to 5,162,000 grazed on 10,195,000 acres, or at the rate of one beast for every 1·98 acre; during the last half of the decade there were 5,387,000 cattle grazed on 10,066,000 acres, or at the rate of one beast for every 1·87 acre, showing a considerable increase in the density of the stock." "Probably," Dr. Grimshaw goes on to say, "there is no better proof of the improvement in the management of live stock, and the tendency to increased investment of capital in live stock in Ireland, than this increase in the utilization of the grazing lands." Professor Munro suppresses every word in Dr. Grimshaw's pamphlet regarding this increase in live stock.

SPIRITS AND BEER.

Leaving agriculture, Mr. Munro went on to spirits and beer, deplored the increase in distillation and brewing in the Balfourian period, and declined to look upon it as a sign of national prosperity. If we were here dealing with an increased consumption of spirits and beer, I should agree with Mr. Munro. But does he think that Ireland consumes all the whisky and beer she manufactures? The fact is that an enormous quantity of both spirits and beer manufactured in Ireland comes to England or goes abroad. If Mr. Munro doubts this, let him read Mr. Gladstone's speech on the Home Rule Bill of 1886. He will there find the fact demonstrated. I repeat, therefore, that the increased manufacture of these articles in Ireland may be a sign of prosperity. Of course I do not believe that an increased consumption of these articles in a poor country would be a sign of national wisdom. What the figures really prove is an increased export trade. This is not, I repeat, a sign of retrogression.

THE LINEN INDUSTRY.

Professor Munro next tackled the linen industry, and told his audience that the number of spindles engaged in that industry had decreased largely during the Balfourian quinquennium. This is true; but he took no notice of the fact, given in the same table, that the number of power-looms had largely increased. But why look only at the linen industry? The conditions of manufactures are constantly changing, and what we have a right to look at is whether the whole of the textile industries of Ireland are increasing or decreasing. Taking this, which I hold to be the true test, I find that the number of spinning spindles in Ireland in 1885 was 963,031, and in 1890 970,019. Of doubling spindles there were 30,875 in 1885, against 46,092 in 1890, and of power-looms 25,472 in 1885, against 28,612 in 1890. The total number of persons employed in these textile industries rose from 68,158 in 1885 to 71,788 in 1890. These figures ought to be decisive as against those of Mr. Munro.

THE POOR LAW.

Finally we come to the test of the Poor Law. And here Mr. Munro hopelessly floundered. Mr. Balfour has conclusively shown that this Gladstonian professor, whose figures are being sent all over England, credited him with Mr. John Morley's outdoor relief fiasco in the West of Ireland. But, in addition to this ludicrous blunder, his figures are hopelessly wrong. He said that "the average yearly number of persons receiving indoor relief increased from 325,000 in the first to 370,000 in the last period of the decade—those receiving outdoor relief from 146,000 to 170,000." This looks specious. But it is totally misleading, and gives no proper idea of the amount of distress. Five persons, for example, might be inmates of a workhouse for the entire year, five others inmates only for a month. The amount of distress indicated by the first illustration would therefore be 12 times that indicated by the second, although the number of persons would be precisely the same. The true and only fair test is the average daily number of persons relieved. Here are the figures:—For the quinquennium 1881-85, 49,552; for the quinquennium 1886-90 44,633. The percentage to the population—even a truer test—fell from ·98 to ·93. The expenditure, of which Mr. Munro said nothing, although the figures were before him, fell from an average of £962,000 in the first period to an average of £864,000 in the second, or a reduction of £100,000 a year.

Mr. Munro gave the figures of the blind and deaf and dumb, with what object I fail to see. Does the learned gentleman think these unfortunates have anything to do with forms of government?

And having dealt, as I have indicated, with some of Dr. Grimshaw's figures, Mr. Munro coolly said "it was unnecessary to go further." This, of course, was out of sheer mercy to Mr. Balfour! But I should think that any English audience knowing the facts would know how to appraise efforts of this kind. Wherever a figure could be twisted it was twisted. When the figures would not submit to this process they were

suppressed. And this is called discussion of a public question. It is lauded by the Gladstonian Press and boomed by the party caucus. The whole speech was little else than a travesty of the facts.

RAILWAY STATISTICS.

"Probably," says Dr. Grimshaw, "there are not any better tests of the progress of a community than its railway statistics." These showed, comparing the one period with the other, an increase in the mileage from 2,501 to 2,633, in passengers from 18,884,000 to 19,709,000, in receipts from £2,747,000 to £2,877,000.

But the most important lesson to be learnt from nearly every test afforded by the figures dealt with by Professor Munro is the rapid recovery made during the last two years since Mr. Balfour succeeded in throttling the organized political crime which was blighting the country. This is the truest and most complete vindication of the policy pursued by the First Lord of the Treasury.—(Letter of Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., in the *Times*, 21st May, 1892.)

AN APPEAL TO NONCONFORMIST CLERGYMEN,

FROM THEIR IRISH BRETHREN.

The following appeal to the Nonconformists of England, Scotland and Wales, from their brethren in Ireland, was sent on 8th June, 1892, to all Nonconformist ministers in Great Britain:—

"DEAR BRETHREN,—As we have reason to think that a large number, perhaps the majority, of our brethren who are not resident in Ireland do not realise the position in which the Irish Protestants would be placed if what is called Home Rule, as proposed by Mr. Gladstone, or any modification thereof as shadowed forth by his followers, were adopted, we request you to give your earnest and prayerful attention to the following observations:—

"The whole body of Irish Protestants are practically unanimous in their desire to continue to be governed with their British brethren by the Imperial Parliament, and they dread and deprecate their being placed in any respect under the power of a separate Irish Parliament.

"Being at a distance, you possibly do not appreciate the power which the Roman Catholic bishops and priests have over the great bulk of Irish Roman Catholics, and the determination which they display to compel obedience to their directions in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. The Roman Catholic Hierarchy claim the right to direct their people in all proceedings where the interests of Catholicity are involved, and also to determine for their people what are the proceedings which affect the interests of their Church. This is, in effect, a claim on the part of the Hierarchy to govern Ireland in which the Roman Catholic population is in a majority, and under a system of Home Rule they would be enabled to do so.

"We believe that no guarantees, moral or material, can be devised which will guard the rights of the Protestant minorities which are scattered throughout Ireland against the encroachments of a Roman Catholic majority endowed with legislative and executive powers, and thus directed by their clergy. History, as well as experience, in this and other lands, assure us of this.

"We accordingly feel that the proposal to give Ireland Home Rule most seriously threatens our religious liberties, which would in numberless ways be imperilled under an Irish National Parliament, the majority in which would be elected on the nomination of the Roman Catholic priests. Judging from the past, such a Parliament would claim and exercise the right to tax Protestants for the maintenance of educational institutions in the direct interests of Roman Catholicism, would legalise the desecration of the Lord's Day, and would ultimately establish and endow

the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland. From these and many other evils we are preserved by the Imperial Parliament.

"Under the Imperial Parliament Ireland has received valuable benefits in recent years. Her land laws are more favourable to the cultivator of the soil than those of England, Scotland, or Wales, and her criminal procedure, applicable to all parts of the country alike, has occasioned inconvenience only to the instigators or perpetrators of outrage.

"Home Rule, we believe, would nullify many of the benefits of recent Imperial legislation for Ireland, and would reproduce the condition of lawlessness, outrage, terror, and distress which flourished prior to the present Government coming into power. It would accentuate the social and religious differences of its people, and, there is too much reason to fear, would involve them in serious feuds, from which Ireland would receive lasting injury, and which would prove a source of trouble and weakness to Great Britain.

"We appeal to you, brethren, as you value the possession of civil and religious liberty yourselves, to guard your co-religionists in Ireland from the oppression with which they are menaced, and earnestly to oppose any attempt to place the loyal Protestant inhabitants of Ireland under the domination of a Legislature which would mainly be composed of the two parties known as National and Parnellite Home Rulers, which are now contending for the mastery."

This appeal has already been signed by the following, many ministers having been authorised and having signed for and on behalf of their whole congregation, and more signatures are being daily added:—

The Rev. N. M. Brown, D.D., Moderator, and the Revs. C. L. Morell, D.D., William Johnston, D.D., William Magill, D.D., Robert Watts, D.D., H. B. Wilson, D.D., James M. Rodgers, D.D., Robert Ross, D.D., Robert John Lynd, D.D., and William Park, M.A., ex-Moderators, and the Rev. John H. Orr, D.D., Clerk of Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland; the Rev. John Woods Ballard, Vice President, and the Rev. James Donnelly, Secretary; the Revs. William Guard Price, Oliver M'Cutcheon, Wallace M'Mullen, D.D., Henry Evans, D.D., George Vance, D.D., Wesley Guard, William Nicholas, D.D., John E. Green, and Charles H. Crookshank, M.A., Officers of the Methodist Church in Ireland; the Rev. A M'Caig, Secretary of the Baptist Association; and the Rev. James Crogan, Secretary of the Congregational Association; and by 6,044 Ministers, Elders, Deacons, Stewards, and other officers and members of the Non-Episcopalian Churches in Ireland.

Some Irish Facts for Nonconformists.

AN "unconvinced" English Nonconformist minister, writing in the *Daily News* of June 9th, 1892, states he duly received his copy of the Irish Nonconformist Ministers' appeal to their English brethren on the Home Rule Question. "The signatories lament," says "Unconvinced," "that those not resident in Ireland do not realise their position, but they do not help us much towards doing so by giving us facts. They tell us they know—but they do not enable us to know. One would like more proof than the words themselves may carry—and there is no other given—when it is said 'being at a distance you possibly 'do not appreciate the power which the Roman Catholic Bishops 'and Priest have over the great bulk of Irish Roman Catholics, 'and the determination which they display to compel obedience 'to their directions in temporal as well as in spiritual matters.'" Here are a few sworn facts for "Unconvinced" and his English and Scotch fellow Nonconformists:—

A PRIEST AND HIS PEOPLE.

An inquiry, which was opened on 31st May, 1892, in the Grand Jury Room, Court House, Castlebar, concluded on 2nd June, before Mr. R. C. Lynch, Local Government Inspector, relative to the late election of Poor Law Guardians for the electoral division of Castlebar. There were two vacancies and three candidates—namely, Messrs. Alexander C. Larminie, J.P., agent to Lord Lucan; Mr. Michael Quinn (Parnellite), and Mr. Thomas M'Cormack (M'Carthyite). The voting was as follows:—Larminie, 304; Quinn, 194; M'Cormack, 189. Messrs. Larminie and Quinn were declared elected. Thereupon Mr. M'Cormack, the defeated candidate, questioned the election, alleging that

votes had been illegally received or rejected by Mr. Nixon, the returning officer. Mr. Quinn, on the other hand, alleged that, owing to clerical intimidation, many voters had been prevented from recording their votes in his favour, and had been compelled to vote for the M'Carthyite candidate.

Mr. M. Jordan, solicitor, appeared for Mr. M'Cormack; Mr. Manion, solicitor, for Mr. Quinn; and Mr. F. J. M'Cormack, solicitor, for the Rev. Patrick O'Flaherty, C.C., and Rev. Mr. O'Malley, C.C.

Mr. Larminie was also present, but as there were no allegations affecting him he was not professionally represented.

A considerable number of witnesses were examined on behalf of Mr. M'Cormack and Mr. Quinn.

THOMAS M'HALE deposed that he was present at a station held in the house of a voter named Flannery shortly before the elections, and heard the Rev. Father O'Flaherty address the people. **He said, "The light of Heaven might never shine on them, and they might never prosper on this earth, if they voted for Quinn."** Father Heavy and Father O'Malley were also present. There was a collection of dues at the station, and witness saw Father O'Flaherty return money to persons because they would not promise to vote for M'Cormack. A man named Kelly said he was going to vote for Quinn, and **Father O'Flaherty then took the shilling Kelly had given and threw it back to him.**

MICHAEL O'CONNOR deposed that he also heard Father O'Flaherty say, **"The sun of prosperity would never shine on anyone who voted for Quinn."** When witness went up to the table with his shilling the priest asked him who he was going to vote for. Witness said for Quinn, and then the priest said, **"Take back your money if you are going to vote for Quinn."** Witness voted for M'Cormack, but he had intended to vote for Quinn if the priest had not interfered with him; he did not like to go against the priest. Witness could write, but **he did not fill his voting paper. He sent it to the presbytery to be filled by the priest.**

PETER ACTON deposed that he saw the money returned by Father O'Flaherty. He asked every one personally as they came up with their money who they would vote for, and witness supposed it was because they would not vote for M'Cormack that their money was handed back. Witness had promised to vote for Quinn because he came first, and he was likely to keep his promise, but the priest asked him for his vote, and it was not convenient for him to refuse. **He voted for M'Cormack, and he would not have voted for him if the priest had left him alone.**

THOMAS KILCOURSE deposed that he heard **Father O'Flaherty say "The sun of prosperity might never shine on anyone who voted for Quinn."** He also deposed as to the returning of the money to those who said they would not vote for M'Cormack. A man named Burke first said he would not vote for M'Cormack, but **when his money was given back he said he would, and then his money was taken.** Two other men declined to make any promise, and took their money away with them. Witness afterwards met Father O'Flaherty in the street. The priest asked witness was his father going to vote for him. Witness said he did not know. Then the priest appeared to be getting angry, and witness walked away, being **afraid the priest was going to strike him with a stick.** Father O'Flaherty was after celebrating mass, and was **partly in his vestments when he addressed the people.**

JAMES CANNON deposed that when his money was handed back he made a promise to vote for M'Cormack, but he did not mean to keep it. He had the vote of his own free will, and he could do what he liked with it. He afterwards went to Mr. Quinn with the paper, and got him to fill it up for himself.

BOGUS ILLITERATES.

Several voters who could write admitted that they **had got the priests to fill up and mark their voting papers as if they were illiterates,** while a number of voting papers on both sides were not forthcoming

at all. It was also deposed that at the station **Father O'Flaherty called Mr. Quinn a walking devil.**

ANNE MORAN deposed that **Father O'Flaherty,** accompanied by Mr. M'Cormack, came to her house during her husband's absence and **asked to see the voting paper** which her husband had filled up for Mr. Quinn and Mr. Larminie. She showed it after considerable reluctance. **She turned her back for a moment, and the paper was never seen afterwards.**

Neither Father O'Flaherty nor his solicitor attended on the second day of the inquiry. It was stated that Father O'Flaherty was attending the funeral of another priest, and the inquiry was therefore postponed until to-day for the purpose of enabling the rev. gentleman to complete a deposition he had begun on the first day, but at the sitting of the court to-day Mr. Lynch read a letter from Father O'Flaherty.

Mr. Quinn said he was prepared to prove on oath that Father O'Flaherty was not attending any funeral on the previous day (as stated in his letter) nor did he leave town beyond a mile or two.

Mr. Lynch said it would be quite impossible and irregular to do what Father O'Flaherty suggested. He had thought it right, in consequence of the very serious charges made against the rev. gentleman, to give him an opportunity of replying to them.

Mr. Quinn said it was clear the rev. gentleman was trifling with the court.

Mr. Lynch said he would forward Father O'Flaherty's letter to the Local Government Board.

Mr. Quinn thanked Mr. Lynch for the impartial manner in which he had conducted the inquiry.

The proceedings then closed.—*Irish Times*, 3rd June, 1892.

THE IRISH CRIMES ACT.

Why it was necessary!

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., speaking at Smethwick, *9th June*, 1892, said:—

"Consider the success of the policy of the Government in Ireland. What was the condition of Ireland when they came into office? It was a state of anarchy. No man could call his life his own."

UNDER THE TYRANNY OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE

outrages were common, murders had risen to a number almost unparalleled, boycotting was applied to every man who attempted to fulfil his lawful occupation, thousands and tens of thousands of men were boycotted and prevented from earning their subsistence because they were more honest than the scoundrels who endeavoured to put pressure on them. And, at the same time, there were hundreds, I believe I should be right if I said thousands, of men who did not know from day to day that they would not be murdered on the thresholds of their own cottages, and who had to be watched day and night by the police in order that their lives might be saved. (Shame.) I wonder whether the Gladstonians have ever tried to put themselves in the place of these men. (Hear, hear.) Fancy, for a moment, that you were a poor, struggling tenant, striving industriously by the sweat of

your brow to maintain your wife and a young family, and determined to do your duty as far as you could to God and to man. You had a farm which had been in your family, it may be for generations, which was let to you by a generous landlord who had never raised the rent. Do you suppose that this is an uncommon occurrence? I could name to you landlord after landlord over a great part of Ireland who never raised the rents. I will name you one if you question my authority—

MR. SMITH-BARRY.

By the common consent of Nationalists themselves Mr. Smith-Barry is one of the most generous landlords that ever drew breath. **I do not believe there are many such landlords even in this happy country of England.** Conceive that you were a tenant of his, that you were grateful to him for his kindness and the kindness of his predecessors to you and yours, and that you gladly paid the small sum which was annually required from you in order to give you full possession of your land, and suppose the agents of the Plan of Campaign came down upon you and said that because Mr. Smith-Barry had offended them, not from any fault of his as a landlord, but because he had offended them in some other particular, you were not longer to pay your rent, although you had it in your pocket; you were to pay it to them and refuse it to the landlord, and that if you paid the landlord, even if you paid him secretly and it afterwards became known, that **they would watch for you and wait for you, and from behind a hedge they would shoot slugs into you, or on your own threshold or in the presence of your wife and children force you upon your knees and shoot you in your legs and leave you a cripple for life, or may be to die and send your wife and children into the workhouse.** (Shame.) I say what would you think if you had lived under

conditions such as those? Those were the conditions when this Government came into office. What are they now? (Loud cheers.) The boycotter finds that his work is finished.

THE MURDERER AND THE OUTRAGE-MONGER

finds that his work does not pay. He has no longer the gold, the dollars of the American Irish, to reward him for his dirty proceedings. (Hear, hear.) And, accordingly, life now is as safe in Ireland as it is in England, and in Ireland you have the very men who were appealed to as miserable and downtrodden peasantry, who were said to be groaning under the brutal coercion of bloody Balfour ("Three cheers for Balfour")—you have these men meeting in great meetings and passing votes of thanks and gratitude to Mr. Balfour for what he has done for them (cheers) and **denouncing the unpatriotic conduct of men like Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien.** —*Times*, 10*th June*, 1892.

THE TRUTH AT LAST.

Mr. Parnell, speaking at Kells, Co. Meath, on 16th *August*, 1891, stated :—

"When Mr. Dillon started this Plan of Campaign movement I was lying on a sick bed, and unable to raise my hand or head. As soon as I recovered I decided that it was my duty to put a stop to that movement. * * * * I sent for Mr. O'Brien and I told him I thought **the movement should never have been commenced,** and the sooner it was stopped the better, and he promised and he told me that there were ten estates to which it had extended, and that he would limit it to those estates. **That promise was not kept."**—*Freeman*, 17*th August*, 1891.

Mr. Andrew Kettle, one of the founders of the Land League, writing to the *Irish Times*, 3rd November, 1891, states:—

"It (the Plan of Campaign) was promoted by a desire to make good Mr. Gladstone's words that the **Tories would have to govern Ireland either by coercion or Home Rule**, and as there was little chance of the latter contingency, the Plan was simply **started to force the Tories to pass a Coercion Act.** The tenants and the land question were only means to an end."

A WIDOW'S STORY.

Step by step the people were lured on, and if any tenant stood still or turned back **he was forthwith visited with the merciless boycott.** I know of no public man in latter day Irish life who committed sadder and more irreparable harm on the heads of a peaceable and prosperous community than did Mr. O'Brien amongst the people of Tipperary. **The introduction of the Plan of Campaign into a town like Tipperary, and** in "chastisement" **of a man like Smith-Barry was the greatest piece of heartless lunacy ever attempted to be practised on a confiding and unsuspecting people**—(Letter from Widow O'Connor in *Independent*, 2nd January, 1892).

On the 1st March, 1892, not one single person was in gaol under the Crimes Act.

Mr. Gladstone's History.

IRELAND, 1782-1795.

Mr. Gladstone's address to the Electors of Midlothian on the eve of the General Election of 1892, contains this paragraph—"There never was a period in which Ireland was so loyal to the Crown, so attached to Great Britain, or so united in hearts as in the years following 1782, when she enjoyed privileges of local self-government until that concord was disturbed in and after 1795 by wicked machinations."

Now, sir, I have no hesitation in saying that there is not any foundation for this statement. Not venturing to trust my memory as against the deliberate assertion of the leader of the Opposition, I consult such histories as are at hand. I open Mr. Massey's great work and I find in Vol IV., page 325, "The measures of 1782, which appeared to establish the legislative independence of Ireland, really proved the vanity of such a pretension, and hastened the inevitable day when the Parliament of Dublin must merge in the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain." Again, on page 326, "On one occasion only, during the 18 years of Irish independence, when the British Government was for a moment in abeyance from the incapacity of the King, did the Irish Parliament act upon its own counsels, and on that occasion (in 1788) it transferred the whole power of the Crown, without restriction or condition, to the Heir Apparent, while the Parliament of England had accompanied a similar offer, with restrictions and conditions of the most binding quality. Here was a signal proof, if proof were wanting, that a free Parliament in Ireland could not work harmoniously with a free Parliament in England." Again in the Rev. Frank Bright's History, Vol. III., page 1,201, we find—"Whatever effects upon the Protestant population Home Rule may have had, it had not in the slightest degree alleviated the position of the Irish peasants. They were thus ripe for rebellion." Indeed, for some years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, in 1789, "they had been filling Ireland with outrages."

Again, in the same history, page 1,136, to legislative independence succeeded "agitation of a more revolutionary character. Flood introduced a sweeping measure of reform . . . . The mob rose in wild disorder, and acts of ferocious cruelty were perpetrated."

Thus Mr. Gladstone's position is compromised by two well-known writers, and it is rendered absolutely untenable by the facts set forth in Vol. III. of

MAY'S "CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY."

No Gladstonian will be able to controvert the following :—Page 317. "Ireland was governed by her native legislature, but was not the less under the dominion of a close oligarchy, factious, turbulent, exclusive and corrupt." Page 318 (1784)—"The armed agitation proceeded; but the volunteers continued to be divided upon the claims of the Catholics, to which their leader, Lord Charlemont, was himself opposed." Page 320 (1785)—The failure of Mr. Pitt's commercial measures "illustrated the difficulties of governing the realm through the agency of two independent Parliaments." Page 322—The wise measures of 1792 and 1793 were due "to the wise policy of Mr. Pitt and other English statesmen rather than to her native Parliament, and they were accompanied by rigorous measures of coercion." Again, same page (1793)—"To the seething elements of discord—social, religious, and political—were now added the perilous ingredients of revolutionary sentiments and sympathies." Page 323 (1792, 1794, 1975)—"The leaders of the United Irishmen were seduced into an alliance with French Jacobins. Treason took the place of patriotism. This unhappy land was also disturbed by armed and hostile associations of peasants known as **'Defenders' and Peep-o'-Day Boys. Society was convulsed with violence, agrarian outrage, and covert treason.**" Yet Mr. Gladstone speaks of Ireland never being so united in hearts as between 1782 and 1795.

With regard to order in Ireland in this period I quote the Rev. F. Bright as to the state of affairs in the years 1793 and 1794, page 1,207—"**Defenders again became active. House after house of the Protestants was robbed. Murders of all sorts were committed. In one year 180 houses were attacked in Munster alone. Fitzgibbon postponed the immediate danger by the passage of the Convention Bill, which forbade the assembly of such illegal meetings as the Cotholic Conventions.**"

Again—"**In 1794** the **United Irishmen** began to think of summoning the assistance of France; one, Jackson, was **sent as an emissary to France with undoubtedly traitorous designs.**" He was apprehended, took poison, and died in the dock.

Now, sir, as Mr. Gladstone draws the line at 1795, I quote no more, and I confess I am curious to see how the extraordinary perversion of history with which he commences his address will be explained in his electoral campaign.

[Letter by T. M. MAGUIRE, LL.D., F.R. Hist. S., in "Morning Post," *25th June*, 1892.]

Rev. WILLIAM ARTHUR,

An EX-PRESIDENT OF THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE, ON THE IRISH QUESTION.

The following is a report of the speech delivered on Thursday, 23rd June, 1892, in the Methodist Conference Belfast :—

Rev. WILLIAM ARTHUR (London) said: No man can in all cases distinguish questions that are merely political, in the sense affecting only political interests, from questions which involve morals and religion. Every moral act affects the State, for the very foundations of the State consist in the morality of its citizens, and every political question has its moral side. Every man must for himself distinguish between questions in which the interests involved are so predominantly temporal that he may hold them as purely political, and questions in which moral or religious interests are also involved. The Church of Rome in her text books, just as she treats of theology as including morals, so does she treat of morals as including politics. She is philosophically and logically perfectly right in so doing. But the effect is this, that when a Roman Catholic doctor speaks of authority in faith and morals, he means all that you or I should mean by authority

In Faith, Morals, and Politics.

The view of politics as included under morals agrees with the obvious fact that morals form the meeting ground of politics and religion. What those mean who say that politics have nothing to do with religion it is hard to conjecture, unless it be that no political Legislature has a right to tell me what I shall worship, or how I shall worship, nor yet to tell me what I shall believe or how I shall make confession of my belief; but every political Legislature has the right or the duty to tell me how I must conduct myself towards my fellow subjects, whether in matters of secular or religious action. Now, we claim a right, first, to believe in God, and, secondly, to worship and serve Him in that manner which we hold will be most acceptable to Him, seeking our light from the Bible, and not from any human authority, political or otherwise. If therefore any man,

even were he the king of all the earth, should come to us and say, "I am about to change your guarantees of religious liberty," we should not be free to keep silence. I think I heard someone say that

Roman Catholics

were more tolerant than those of another Church. Let us not confound individuals and the Church; what this person, or that doctor, or such and such a bishop or cardinal may say or write is one thing; what the mind of the Church is is quite another. And the Church clearly knows her own mind, and makes in her teaching no secret of it. She is quite clear that it is not right to persecute heretics when by so doing the harm done to the Church would be greater than the good. She is equally clear that when handing them over for condign discipline to either the temporal or ecclesiastical authority would be for the greater good of the Church, or, in other words, for the "greater glory of God," that is the thing to be done. Now, be the comparative tolerance of other Churches more or less, our question remains the same. (Turning to the President)—Mr. President, I believe you love me, and I am sure I love you; only you have been able to show your love by services such as it was not in my power to render back. But, if even you came to me and proposed that I should, on behalf of

The Irish Methodists,

enter into a compact by which they should lose their Imperial franchise and change the perfect guarantee of their religious liberties, which experience proves to be given by that franchise, and that in exchange they should take their chances of guarding those liberties in a Legislature of which the members in an overwhelming majority should be the nominees of the bishops of the ex-Established Church, then, sir, even from you I could not patiently listen to a proposal so extraordinary. I should not hold my tongue. (The President—"I should not make it.") No, I believe you would not, sir; but they make to us one much worse – a proposal calling upon us to let our Imperial guarantees be taken away, and to accept in exchange a substitute, which I hold would be of infinitely less value. Ay, and we are to bow to this without saying a word. Would the

Nonconformists of England and Wales

submit to be told that they were not to say a word if it were proposed

to take from them the Imperial franchise, and to leave their civil and religious liberties in the hands of an assembly mostly nominated by the Anglican bishops? Would those Presbyterians in Scotland who make little of our guarantees consent to lose their place in the Imperial Parliament and to hold life and conscience under the law of a Parliament chiefly selected by the Scottish bishops? Yet these are the men of whom many not only desert us when our liberties are put in peril, but insist that the voice of protest on our part is to be stifled. They might tell us that the gentlemen who would be placed in power must inevitably divide into Conservatives and Liberals, and that we might hold the balance. As to that, I do not prefer judging by the future, but rather judging by the past. I am better informed as to the past than as to the future. Now, in the past it has not been found inevitable that those gentlemen should be either Conservative or Liberal. In practice they have been the opposite of Conservative and the opposite of Liberal. Therefore we should not covet the opportunity of standing between their divisions, but would cede that place to any one who thinks it better than rights held in

the Imperial Parliament.

For ninety years, by effect of a great Act, we have had perfect security for our rights and privileges. Ireland has had ninety years, unequalled in its history, of rest from civil war, and for the empire they have been ninety years of such progress and expansion as no old empire ever knew. And after this "they call on us to barter all of good we have inherited and proved for the desperate chance of something better which they promise us;" call on us to let go the one guarantee of our civil and religious liberties, and to be still and hold our peace. Now any man who has consented to such a compromise of the guarantees of religious liberty can never undo his deed. He may not repeat it, or he may in the future try to repair its effects, but the deed was done, and he cannot be the man whose act it never was. The deed cannot be taken out of his history. In all these years of agitation, I, for my own part, have thought far more of the scattered people in the West and South than of you people of Ulster, who can make a noise. Ay, of those few sheep in the wilderness I have constantly thought. Not long ago a member of one of those families in whose homes our ministers were wont to preach, speaking to a friend of mine of those years of the reign of terror not so far behind us—

years with which the last five years present a wonderful contrast, as they do also with the five years of confusion and bloodshed that preceded the Union—said,

"At that time, when we saw the sun set, we wondered if ever we should see it set again."

Yet they ask us to surrender the guarantee which is good for both religious liberty and life. They ask it in vain.

Our Duty is clear before God and man.

What a merciful Providence gave to our fathers we shall, in the Lord's strength, struggle to preserve to our children. They who demand this of you have circulated against you many accusations, bitter but groundless. May God forgive them. When I have found such charges against you, sometimes accompanied with compliments for myself, I felt as if the same man was stroking my hair and tearing the flesh off my bones. In withstanding those men we may have to suffer, to suffer heavily, but not eternally. One thing they cannot lay to your charge: The Irish Methodists have never voted for taking away from

Welsh or English Methodists

the shield of the Imperial suffrage and handing over their hopes of freedom to worship God to the nominees of Roman Catholic bishops. God forbid that you should ever be open to such a charge. And as to those who have done you this great wrong, may their hearts never be pierced and made to bleed as yours have been; may their wives and children never be put through the fears and cares that yours have been; may the flock they feed never know the anguish under which yours have suffered; and if after all they harden their hearts and vote us down, then there is a judgment above. "The Lord watch between Thee and me when we are absent one from the other."—*Northern Whig*, 25th June, 1892.

IRISH CATHOLICS

AND

THE UNION.

THE EARL OF FINGALL, the premier Catholic Peer of Ireland speaking as Chairman of the great Convention of Irish Unionists of the Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, held in Dublin on 23rd June, 1892, said :—

The occasion of our meeting is of so great moment that I shall not occupy your time with conventional, though unusually appropriate, remarks upon my unworthiness of the honour conferred upon me. I must, however, in my brief opening address be careful to recognise that the selection as chairman of a Catholic and Liberal Unionist has a significance which throws all personal considerations into the background. I hasten on behalf of loyal Catholics and Liberal Unionists to assure our Protestant and Conservative companions in arms that we will stand by them as long as they stand by us. I am not aware that in the southern province of Ireland there has ever been seen an assembly such as I am addressing. Every creed and class, all professions, trades, and occupations, are represented here, each county having sent its proper proportion of delegates duly appointed at meetings of electors. No doubt we shall be told that our coming here is a mere political move, an election device, perhaps, in response to the call of party leaders in England. Accepting the full responsibility of an utterance from the chair, I state emphatically that our action is spontaneous—that this meeting is a strictly Irish convention, that it was not promoted or even suggested by any party or leaders outside ourselves. It is our opponents, and not our friends, who have forced

us to come here and speak out to-night. Having failed by ridicule to discount beforehand the importance of the great convention in Belfast, seeing that the laugh was going to be on the other side, they fell back upon the oft-repeated fiction that outside a small portion of Ulster Unionism was only kept alive by what their leaders have described as a "despicable minority." It may be that we South of Ireland Unionists have ourselves to blame for the apathy with which we have neglected to initiate and maintain an effective political organisation. Organisation, as a friend of mine said the other day to electors in this county, "is the life-blood of political parties." I look upon this gathering as the most important step ever taken by the loyalist party in Southern Ireland, and I am sure there is not one present who does not feel relieved by the consciousness that he is performing a duty which is "better done late than never done at all." I think I may say that the duty which lies before us is two-fold. Firstly, we are to declare in the most solemn manner that we are determined to uphold the Union between Great Britain and Ireland; and, secondly, in order to give effect to our determination, we, without further delay, must strengthen and confirm the bond of union amongst ourselves. So clear is our course with regard to our first duty, and so fully will it be dealt with by the speakers who follow, that not wishing to take up too much of your time I will address myself in my few remaining remarks to our second duty, "the union of Irish Unionists." Five years ago we Liberals joined hands with men to whom we had often been bitterly opposed, and to-night in this same hall we are able to congratulate ourselves on a matured friendship and seemingly permanent alliance. Time has almost obliterated the differences which formerly kept us asunder, and while we Unionists do not claim a monopoly of patriotism, we may at least contrast our behaviour to former opponents with the behaviour of so-called Nationalists to former friends. And, what is far more encouraging, time is dealing with the religious difficulty, with (I use the expression not without sorrow) the religious obstacle to peace in Ireland.

So far as Catholics are concerned I cannot help thinking that if our faith can be said to have any political tendency at all it is rather towards the maintenance of the Union than towards Home Rule. This was illustrated a few years ago when Home Rulers called to their aid the most inhuman political agencies, which the head of my Church was constrained to condemn. Referring to the famous rescript Mr. Gladstone at Clapham on Saturday last used words which throw a strange light upon the connection which it is sought to establish between Catholicism and Nationalism. Mr. Gladstone said—"The whole mass of the Irish Roman Catholics, except a portion of the upper class opposed to Nationalism and to Home Rule—the whole mass of the Irish Roman Catholics, including the clergy and almost every bishop, opposed this rescript and protested, led on by their members of Parliament, that the Pope had no right to dictate to them the course they were to pursue in political concerns." Now, this assertion that the clergy and almost every bishop opposed the rescript is no more true, but of course less capable of immediate and complete refutation than the suggestion made in the same speech as to the bogus signatures of the Irish Nonconformists. As a matter of fact, the rescript, or Papal decree, was promulgated in this very diocese by the archbishop, who ordered it to be read in all the churches. But the quotation I have given you contains one remarkable and damning admission on the part of Mr. Gladstone—namely, that in order to bolster up the Home Rule movement our priests are led in a new crusade against the authority of the Pope by the Irish members of Parliament. It is not for us to inquire whether under Home Rule the priests would dictate to members of Parliament as to their politics, or whether members of Parliament would dictate to priests as to their obedience to the Pope. I prefer to follow the simple instincts of an inherited faith rather than the guidance of even such an intellectual giant as Mr. Gladstone, and thus I come by the belief that the Catholic religion is better safe-

guarded under the protection of the Imperial Parliament than it would be under any form of Home Rule Government which Mr. Gladstone can devise. I shall not dwell further on the sectarian hopes and fears which centre round the great issue that brings us here. But let me point out that our resistance to this threatened destruction of the United Kingdom will become more and more powerful as we grasp the undoubted, but often forgotten truth, that whatever claims individuals may assert neither my creed nor any creed represented here to-night contains any tenets or provisions which either directly or by implication can be held to justify "clerical domination" or "religious ascendency." I have said enough to show that those whom I have the honour to represent are determined in their loyalty to the cause—that they feel honoured by the trust you repose in your new allies—that they are devoted to their Queen, and proud to remain as Irishmen an integral and governing portion of the British Empire. So long as our birthright is being offered for sale to an English party, and the Empire which has risen by union is being hurried along a downward course, we give notice to all who would tamper with our freedom, our fortunes, and our lives, that Ireland will continue to block the way.

Petitions against Home Rule.

LEINSTER, MUNSTER AND CONNAUGHT.

It is commonly alleged by Gladstonians that the loyal minority in Ireland are all, or nearly all, resident in the Province of Ulster.

This is grossly untrue.

You will see from the figures given below that 127,292 residents in the three Southern Provinces of Ireland have petitioned Parliament against the Home Rule Bill of 1893.

You will also see from the same statistics that Unionism in the three Southern Provinces is far stronger and more popular now than it was seven years ago; since it appears that five times as many people have signed Petitions against the Bill of 1893 as against the Bill of 1886.

	1893.	1886.
Carlow ...	2588	Nil.
Clare ...	1300	Nil.
Cork ...	16437	11832
Dublin City and County	45900	2246
Galway ...	3391	Nil.
Kerry ...	2302	63
Kildare ...	3427	84
Kilkenny ...	2165	572
King's Co. ...	3066	458
Leitrim ...	3859	105
Limerick ...	3421	50
Longford ...	1737	248
Louth ...	2424	Nil.
Mayo ...	1828	Nil.
Meath ...	3043	1845
Queen's Co. ...	4362	Nil.
Roscommon ...	1719	747
Sligo ...	4224	854
Tipperary ...	4518	1044
Waterford ...	2460	Nil.
Westmeath ...	2244	100
Wexford ...	4818	6515
Wicklow ...	6059	
	127292	26763

BE SURE OF YOUR FACTS!

Here are a few Specimens of Gladstonian accuracy.

I.—MR. GLADSTONE

Made the following statement to the Deputation from Belfast Chamber of Commerce, March 28th, 1893—

"While the Civil Government of Ireland cost £1 per head, the Civil Government of Great Britain cost a little more than 10s."—*Irish Times*, March 29th.

WHAT IS THE TRUTH?

That "the Civil expenditure of Great Britain is 19s. 2d. per head, and that of Ireland £1 4s."—(Reply of Belfast Chamber of Commerce, *Irish Times*, April 12th.)

II.—MR. DAVITT

Made the following statement to the House of Commons, April 11th, 1893—

"The census of 1891 shows that there are 870,000 inhabited houses in Ireland, and out of these there are no less than 300,000, or *over thirty-six* per cent., built mostly of mud."—*Freeman's Journal*, April 12th.

WHAT IS THE TRUTH?

That "the census return shows that there are 20,000 houses, or *two* per cent. of the inhabited buildings, 'built mostly of mud or other perishable material.'"—Mr. Goschen, House of Commons, April 17th, 1893.—*Irish Times*, April 18th.

III.—"THE DAILY NEWS"

Made the following statement in its leading article (criticizing Mr. Chamberlain's arithmetic!) of April 4th, 1893—

"This would be still more interesting if we were not all in possession of a religious census for Ireland. But we are: and according to the information thus furnished, the Catholics are four millions and a half."

WHAT IS THE TRUTH?

That, according to the census returns for 1891, the Roman Catholic population of Ireland numbers 3,547,307.

IRISH LOANS

AND

BRITISH CAPITAL.

Everyone knows that the Imperial Government lends money to public bodies and private persons in Ireland for permanent improvements, but, perhaps, few realize the extent and magnitude of the loans thus conferred.

The following table shows concisely in round numbers the variety of these improvements, and the amounts lent for the different purposes ; and columns (2) and (3) give some idea of the loss in this respect that would be involved in Home Rule. British credit, which commands money at less than three per cent., would then be withdrawn, and a poor, small country like Ireland would have to pay at least double that rate for future loans. At present advances are made for many purposes at five per cent. for 35 years. And the extra three per cent. (the very least a Home Rule Government would have to pay) would raise the annual charge from five to eight per cent. for 35 years. Taking this as a basis, column (3) has been calculated at eight per cent. showing what the annual charges now payable would have been under an Irish Parliament. Are the Irish public, are the Irish farmers, prepared

to pay £1,000,000 extra annually for Home Rule, or to surrender for it the benefits of cheap loans?

GOVERNMENT LOANS IN IRELAND.

Purposes for which advanced.	(1) Total Amount advanced.	(2) Under the Union. Annual Payment.	(3) Under Home Rule. Annual Payment.
	£	£	£
Railways, Inland Navigation, Harbours, Roads, &c.	4,050,024	116,842	324,002
Quarries and Mines	15,283	53	1,223
Land Improvement, including Arterial Drainage	6,824,850	177,598	545,988
Housing, including Labourers' Acts	1,429,800	105,798	114,384
Schools, Institutions and Glebes ...	2,160,387	61,445	172,831
Public Health and Medical Charities	1,773,021	360,864	141,841
Relief of Distress, Food, Fuel, and Seed	907,314	4,005	72,585
Purchase of their Farms by Tenants	9,477,468	377,710	757,194
Emigration	11,755	838	940
Miscellaneous	676,069	22,922	54,085
Total Current and Unclosed Loans	†27,325,971	1,228,075	2,226,587

† Of this £1,483,787 has been remitted.

In addition to the above current and unclosed loans there have been closed loans to the amount of £18,966,186, of which £6,470,140 was remitted.

Mr. Gladstone
AND THE
PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

Mr. Gladstone has revived an old assertion of his, in his Electoral address to Mid-Lothian, viz.: that the Plan of Campaign was the answer of Ireland to the refusal of the present Government to pass Mr. Parnell's Relief Bill in September, 1886.

That dates are against this assertion, may, we think, be proved by the following extracts :—

Mr. T. Healy said at Cork, in 1883, "He would never again be a party to recommending an estate to strike for a reduction of rents until every man on the estate had put down a year's rent, and banked it in the name of his parish priest, or some local leader of the National party."—*Freeman's Journal*, 13th June, 1883.

The same paper reports another speech by the same agitator, dated 4th October, 1885. "Now he (Healy) suggested on a former occasion that what should be done was, that when they were refused a reasonable abatement they should lodge their rent in a bank in the name of three or four trustees, including the priest, some trustworthy men of their organization, and two or three of themselves, and that the money should be used for the aid of those whom the landlord should try to evict. It was evident a mere parish organization of that kind would be broken up by the landlords in detail, and, in his (Healy's) judgment, if they wanted to win—if the landlords had again the campaign of evictions—what the National leaders would have to recommend was this, that the half-million tenant-farmers in Ireland should put up their rents into one common fund, and, instead of paying it to the landlords, pay it to the trustees. They would then have a sum of six or seven or ten millions of money as a campaign fund—a war chest—to fight the battle with, and he believed if the landlords saw that the people had even a single million of money to fight with, while they themselves had been delivered of their rents, they would speedily give in and kick the bucket."—*Freeman's Journal*, 5th October, 1885.

United Ireland of 24th October and of 19th December, 1885, contains leading articles advocating what was subsequently known as the Plan of Campaign. In the article of the 24th October, 1885, comment is made on the usual method adopted by the tenants in trying to force the landlords to grant reductions of rent; this method was that the tenants "left the rent office in a body" when their demands were refused. The article contends that this is a weak method, and

recommends the banking of rents in trustees' hands, in short the creation of a war chest to succour every man who is attacked. The article of the 19th December, 1885, contains more information in these words :—"We observe that in many parts of the country, the farmers in desperation are banking their rents; and if the example is generally followed, and the fund is united in a common purse, we are certain the distress-mongers can be brought to their senses."

United Ireland moreover gives some account of how the "banking of the rents in trustees' hands" worked in the latter part of 1885, a year before Mr. Gladstone says the Plan was adopted as Irelands answer to the policy of the present Government; the occurrences may not all be true, but they are reported in *United Ireland* as if they were facts. The following are some of them taken from the paper mentioned:—

24th October, 1885. The tenants of Mr. Gorman Uniacke of Mount Uniacke, on Friday, October 16th, drove into Youghal and lodged their rents in the Provincial Bank, deducting 20 per cent in the name of their respected curate, the Rev. John Savage. The landlord says he cannot afford to give any abatement; but the tenants are prepared to fight if they don't get something.

24th October, 1885. The tenants on the Newtown estate of Archbishop Plunket, it was announced at the last meeting of the Shendrum National League Branch, have taken the sensible course of lodging their rent in bank in the name of trustees, pending his Grace's decision regarding a reasonable abatement. They have also resolved on forming a Defence Fund in view of the possible contingency of a hardening of the episcopal heart in their regard, and a considerable sum has already been subscribed.

24th October, 1885. On Saturday last the tenants on Lord Kenmare's Bantry estate visited Carrigana in a body. As the tenants would not pay unless they received 35 per cent. reduction, and as Mr. Leonard had no authority to make the abatement, they left without paying anything, and on Monday lodged the amount, less the reduction asked, in the Munster and Leinster bank, and set about raising a fund to resist any legal proceedings that Lord Kenmare may take.

7th November, 1885. At a meeting of the tenants of Sir P. O'Brien, M.P., at the Market House, Borris-in-Ossory, Rev. M. G. McGrath, C.C., chairman, said, that the tenants should come to an arrangement as to what fair reduction they would require, and if the landlord refused to grant that fair reduction when the men went forward in a body to pay their rent, they should

then lodge the reduced rents in the bank in the names of three or four trustees. A resolution was then passed calling on the landlords to make a reduction of 30 per cent., and not to call for arrears of rent until next November. It was proposed and seconded "that we select Father McGrath, Mr. Kelly, &c., (six persons) to act as trustees of our rents if we be put to the necessity of lodging them in bank." The resolution was unanimously passed.

7th November, 1885. Mr. O'Connell's agent, Mr. Carney, visited Rathmore on the 3rd inst., to collect rents due on the property, but he got none, as he would not give a reduction of 30 per cent.; the tenants, one hundred in number, left in a body, and are going to lodge their money in the bank, and sixpence in the £ for a Defence Fund.

7th November, 1885. It was decided by the tenantry of the united parishes of Murroe and Boher, who met to consider what reductions they required, to meet together, confer with Canon Wall, and if the money is refused, hand it to Canon Wall until such time as there is a general settlement made.

7th November, 1885. Final meeting of tenants on the property of Major Doyle to make arrangements in demanding a reduction in their rents. Unanimous in demanding 25 per cent. If refused, they will bank the rents at the reduction in the name of trustees, and raise a Defence Fund at one shilling in the £ to protect any tenants that may be put out.

14th November, 1885. Lord Doneraile having refused the demands of his tenants, the latter subsequently met and came to a resolution of banking their rents less 30 per cent., the reduction sought, and have determined to pay no rent without the reduction required. About £2,000 have already been lodged.

14th November, 1885. The tenants on the Cuddagh and Clonin (Mountrath) property of the late D. M. Kirk, accompanied by Revs. Fathers Coady, P.P., and Fitzpatrick, C.C., waited on the respected agent, Mr. H. Franks, and offered him the rents now payable, less 25 per cent. This the agent declined to accept, as the trustees of the property had only empowered him to grant a reduction of 15 per cent. This offer they declined, and as they considered their demand not only just but extremely moderate, they withdrew in a body and handed over their rents, less 25 per cent., to five trustees who have lodged them in bank.

5th December, 1885. The tenants of the townlands of Clonbrowne, Clonrooske and Ballygarrett, attended at the office of Mr. J. H. Tyrrell, Edenderry, and demanded a reduction in their rents, which Mr. Tyrrell refused to grant. The tenants then left in

a body and called on Mr. John P. H. Patterson, who accompanied them to the Hibernian Bank, and there lodged the amount of their rents that they considered themselves able to pay in the names of trustees.

5th December, 1885. The tenantry on the Cullohill property of Lord Carberry a few weeks since forwarded a memorial to the agents, Messrs. Stewart & Son, Dublin, asking a reduction of 35 per cent. on the year's rent now due. Mr. Stewart attended at Durrow on the 20th inst. (Nov. ?), to receive the rents. The tenants attended, accompanied by Rev. P. Phelan, C.C., Cullohill, but he offered them only 15 per cent. on the half-year's rent. This offer they unanimously refused, but went away and lodged the year's rent, less 35 per cent., in the Hibernian Bank, in the names of the Parish Priest, the two curates and three farmers of the property. The attention of the Hon. William Freke, the trustee of the property, has been called to the matter. A favourable reply is expected.

5th December, 1885. The tenants on the Kildare, Irish-town, and Loughnavally estates of Miss Magan met the agent; their demands being refused, they left the office in a body, and, to a man, lodged their rents, less the reduction demanded, telling the agent that the money was at his disposal the moment that Miss Magan would favourably receive their demand.

19th December, 1885. The tenants on the estates of Miss Collis, Major Collis and Mr. Mathias Hendley attended at the rooms of the National League, Kilworth. They some time since decided to pay their rents at an abatement of 20 per cent. Their demands not having been acceded to by the respective landlords they now met and handed over the rents minus the required abatement to Rev. P. J. Horgan, P.P., President, and Rev. J. D. Greene, C.C., Vice-President of the Kilworth and Araglen Branch in whose names the money is for the present to be deposited in the bank.

It appears therefore from the above, (1) that the Plan of Campaign, though not called by that name, was fomented by the Nationalists before 1886. (2) That, according to the authority of *United Ireland*, it was put in force in 1885, and (3) that it differed from the conspiracy in 1886, in this only, viz., that in 1885 the "trustees" were not necessarily unknown persons, whereas in 1886 their names were to be kept secret.

HOW THE HOME RULE BILL AFFECTS GREAT BRITAIN.

1. *Great Britain will not be mistress in her own house.*

Because a Government, which has a sufficient majority to carry a British measure, can be turned out of office by the votes of the eighty Irish members on an Imperial question.

2. *Great Britain will have to pay Ireland's debts if Ireland repudiates them.*

Because clauses 27 and 28 enact that, if Ireland declines to pay the salaries and pensions of the existing servants of the Crown in Ireland, amounting to upwards of £750,000 a year, the British Exchequer must pay them.

3. *Great Britain, in the event of a war, not popular in Ireland, will have to pay Ireland's share of the cost as well as her own.*

Because the Imperial Parliament will have no power to impose an Irish Income Tax; and she will have no force under her control to collect an increased Excise Duty.

4. *Great Britain will have no power to enforce the payment of Ireland's share of Imperial expenditure, viz., two millions and a quarter.*

Because the British Executive will have no police or executive under its control whereby those who won't pay can be made to pay.

5. *Great Britain can never decrease the Customs duty on foreign spirits, tea, or tobacco.*

Because if she did so, she would diminish Ireland's contribution (the amount of the Customs duties) to the Imperial Exchequer.

6. *Great Britain can never lower the Excise duties on spirits and beer.*

Because if she did so she would be bound by clause 10 to hand over to Ireland the amount of any consequent loss, compared with amount obtained by Ireland from these duties on 1st March, 1893.

7. *Great Britain will be unable to prevent smuggling in Ireland.*

Because the British Government will have no force under its control to arrest or to execute punishment upon smugglers in Ireland. The Irish Government will have no interest whatever in checking smuggling.

8. *Great Britain will have no means of collecting the interest on the eighteen millions Ireland now owes her.*

Because Great Britain will have no executive forces under her control to collect the interest payable under clause 16. All the officials at the Irish Exchequer, and all the disposable executive forces, will be the servants of, and in sympathy with, the Irish Government. The situation will be precisely that of a landlord whose tenants refuse to pay rent, except that the Imperial Government can neither put in an execution nor carry out an eviction.

9. *Great Britain may lose the interest upon the money which Englishmen and Scotsmen have invested in Ireland.*

Because Great Britain will be deprived of all executive control in Ireland ; and she will thus be powerless to resist a "No Interest" and "No British Tribute" agitation.

10. Great Britain will have to pay Ireland seventeen millions.

Because, under the terms imposed by the Irish Nationalists, she pays Ireland half a million a year, which, being capitalised, is seventeen millions. (See clause 30.)

11. Great Britain may have to pay Ireland the whole of Ireland's police bill—a million and a half.

Because the Home Rule Bill, as well as ma ing a free gift to Ireland of half a million, stipulates in clause 30, sec. 5, if Ireland fails to pay her share of one million towards the police, the British Exchequer will pay it.

12. British Manufactures may be undersold.

Because, although Ireland cannot impose protective duties, she can grant bounties to Irish Manufacturers, thereby enabling them to compete unfairly with English, Scottish, and Welsh Traders.

Mr. Chamberlain's Speech

IN THE

"NO CONFIDENCE" DEBATE.

On Thursday, August 11th, 1892, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain took part in the debate on Mr. Asquith's amendment to the Address of "No Confidence" in Lord Salisbury's Government. Referring to Mr. T. M. Healy's objection to his (Mr. Chamberlain's) resumption of the debate, the right hon. gentleman said :—

Sir, I will venture to express the hope that after the division which will take place to-day, and after my hon. friends who sit around have obtained the object of their desires, from which no doubt I humbly confess that the party to which I belong has been the means of excluding them for the last six years—(Ministerial cheers)—I say, I hope that when they have obtained their desires they will themselves feel that the system of petty slights and injurious language—("Oh, oh," laughter, and Ministerial cheers)—towards the members of

THE LIBERAL UNIONIST PARTY

should be finally abandoned. (Cheers.) We have come back 48 strong, and I am told that in a short time we shall add another to our number. (Cheers.) I would ask whether in the history of third parties, who are always placed in a difficult position, there is any case in which such a party has come back after a second General Election 49 strong to this House. (Cheers.) My hon. and learned friend the member for East Fife talked about our dwindling numbers. I am not certain that dwindling numbers are any greater proof of dwindling influence than dwindling majorities, whether in East Fife or elsewhere. (Loud cheers.) But, Sir, our influence in the country is not measured by our numbers in this House, and there is a very simple test by which you can measure it. In 1885 there was a square fight in the

country between Conservatives and Liberals. On that occasion the Conservatives came back to this House 249 strong. They had, however at that time, the support of the Irish vote in the British constituencies. The hon. member for the Scotland Division has stated that that vote is worth 40 seats. I think the hon. member exaggerates, as usual—(cheers and laughter)—but let us say that it is worth 20 seats. Then the number due to the Conservative strength alone in 1885 was 229, and to-day the number of Unionists in this House is 315, and the difference of 86 seats, counting 172 votes on a division, is the measure of the influence of the Liberal Unionist party. (Cheers and laughter.) In these days of political combination I would venture to point out that the addition of 172 would make the majority of the present opposition 212, and even if on a great division they were to lose the Irish vote they would still be in a majority of 52. I only say this in order to point out that, after all, in spite of all hon. members on this side of the House have done, we remain a certain political force. And I would say, with all respect to my hon. and learned friend behind me, that I do not think he will lessen our influence in the country the least bit by calling us either "political apostates" or an "ill-starred abortion." (Laughter.) My right hon. friend the member for Mid-Lothian said on Tuesday that this debate was, in his opinion, the most singular in the records of the House. I agree with him, although I am afraid that we should differ a little when we came to describe what each of us believed to be the greatest of its singularities. My right hon. friend says that the issue between the Unionist and

THE HOME RULE PARTY

has been decided by the country, and I agree with him. He says that from that verdict there is no appeal, and I agree with him. But then he goes on to say that under these circumstances it is irrelevant, and I think he almost said it was impertinent, for us to do anything more than to expel the Government from office, without any curiosity whatever as to what was to follow it—as to that Government of the future, which, with something more than his usual felicity, my right hon. friend described as a "nebular hypothesis." (Laughter and cheers.) But my right hon. friend was not altogether consistent, because in a later part of his speech he admitted that a debate of this kind could not be altogether retrospective. He said it was natural that there should be some desire to have light thrown upon the future, and for his part he was not even surprised at the application of pressure. (Laughter.) And then he proceeded to give answers in writing to the questions put to him by the hon. member for Longford. I appeal to my right hon. friend. Is not that rather

hard measure? Here are 315 Unionists, and we may not ask a single question. Here are 71 Nationalist Irishmen, and they may ask five questions and get a civil answer. (Laughter and cheers.) I have been studying the characteristics of nebular bodies, and I find that now-a-days, by the employment of powerful telescopes and the latest inventions, those bodies are forced to disclose their secrets and can be resolved into their component atoms. (Laughter.) And I have come to the conclusion that the hon. member for Longford must have one of the latest and most powerful of these instruments—(cheers and laughter)—and I cannot help thinking that the hon. member for Waterford wishes that he could borrow it (Loud laughter.) Now I have said that I agree with my right hon. friend as to the singularity of this debate. I believe that the situation is absolutely unprecedented in English political history, although not so, perhaps, in the history of foreign countries under a system of Parliamentary government. In France and Italy I have seen again and again that

A COMBINATION OF SECTIONS,

however much in entire disagreement they may be about everything else, has effected the extrusion from office of the existing Government, and nobody in those countries has seemed to think it necessary to ask who was to follow. The Act has been an act of destruction and condemnation, and there has been no attempt to proceed to construction or to substitution. But that is not the case in this country. Owing to the fact probably that we have not so many parties, and that the parties that we have are more homogeneous and clearly defined, in almost every case in which a Government has gone out of office the vote of want of confidence in that government has implied a vote of confidence in the Opposition, in the party which was taking their places, and in the leader of the party. (Cheers.) Is that so to-day? (Cheers and counter cheers.) You know that when you come to put that Government in a minority of 40 you do not know whether the Government of the right hon. gentleman the member for Mid-Lothian will not be in a minority of 100. (Cheers.) I have said that that is the rule—I believe it is the almost absolute rule—in English politics. But there is one exception. In 1859 there was a combination of sections to put out of office the then Tory Government. It consisted of friends of Lord Palmerston, the friends of Lord Russell, the Peelites, the friends of Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, and, of course, of the Irish Party. At that time, when they put the Tory Government out of office—and I am speaking in the presence of my right hon. friend the member for Mid-Lothian—those parties did not know what Government would follow, or who would be at the head of it. Not only did they not

know, but they had not the ordinary means of foreseeing that we have at the present time. But what happened then? When these various sections had made up their differences, when they had agreed to form a Government, then they came back and met Parliament, and produced their measures and their policy. They asked for supplies, and took the opinion of the House of Commons and asked its approval; and, having got it, they were able to say that they had the confidence of the country and of the House of Commons. But how different it is to-day. To-day we are to put out this Government, and the Government which comes in is immediately to prorogue Parliament; and, for five or six months it may be,

THIS "NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS"

is going to carry on the whole administration of the country. (Laughter and cheers.) It was going to decide its policy. (Home Rule cheers.) It is going to exercise all the prerogatives of Government—(Home Rule cheers)—and neither the House of Commons nor the country knows whether, from the first moment of its existence, it may not be in a minority. (Home Rule laughter and Ministerial cheers.) Oh! I will show that very soon. (Cheers.) It is a strange and unexampled position, and yet the right hon. gentlemen on this side, **backed and supported by the hon. gentlemen behind them, have endeavoured to stifle debate; and they are going, without one word of explanation, without one word of information upon important parts of their policy, to endeavour for these five or six months, to carry out a policy which may never have had, which never could have had, the approval of the majority of this House.** (Cheers.) I will put a case to show what may be the result of this situation. What is the foreign policy of the future Government—(loud Ministerial cheers)—of those who, to use the language of my right hon. friend, may possibly be called upon to guide the councils of the country? Some time ago there were speeches made by the right hon. gentlemen the members for Newcastle and Mid-Lothian; and rightly, or wrongly, those speeches were believed by many people of this country, and by a large portion of the foreign Press, to point to the desirability of immediate or very early

EVACUATION OF EGYPT.

And the same speeches were understood to imply, if not hostility, at all events something akin to disapproval of the policy of the Triple Alliance. Is that to be the policy of the future Government? (Loud cheers.)

Mr. GLADSTONE.—I never touched it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.—Does my right hon. friend say that he did not touch on the question of Egypt?

Mr. J. MORLEY.—The Triple Alliance.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.—I was under the impression that the question of the position of Italy in regard to the Triple Alliance had formed a very distinct and important part of one of the speeches delivered by my right hon. friend. (Ministerial cheers.) If my right hon. friend denies it, I accept his denial, and I will deal only with Egypt. Now, there is a rumour—there are plenty of rumours—that **Lord Rosebery is to be Foreign Secretary. I hope it is true—(Ministerial cheers)—because the country has confidence in the conduct of foreign policy by Lord Rosebery. But why? Because it is believed that the policy of Lord Rosebery is distinctly opposed to the policy of my right hon. friend and the right hon. gentleman the member for Newcastle.** (Loud cheers.) If Lord Rosebery returns to the Foreign Office, I believe the country will have confidence in his administration; but suppose the rumour is not true—then it is conceivable that we may awake some morning during the next five or six months to find that preparations are going on for the evacuation of Egypt, and the opinion of the House of Commons and the country will never have been taken on the subject. (Cheers.) There is an opinion among some of my hon. friends that the democracy of this country would favour a policy of that description. I do not believe it. (Cheers.) I do not believe that democracies—and I judge by the experience of the democracy of France, and above all by the experience of the democracy of the United States—I do not believe that democracies are anything but keenly sensitive of the honour and interest of the nation to which they belong—(cheers)—**and I do not think that the British democracy will favour a policy of scuttle, and so I say, if it should happen that this policy of evacuating Egypt should be the policy of the incoming Government,** it is my firm belief that, although at the present moment the Opposition may have a majority of 40, the Government would then be in an actual minority. But the difficulty is not chiefly or entirely confined to questions of foreign policy. It is perfectly well known—it is an open secret—that on this side of the House and in the majority—I am speaking now of the British portion of that majority—there are different sections who have different objects to which they attach altogether different values. They may be

content to postpone these several objects in favour of a greater and more dominant one, but when it comes to the settlement of the question of precedence between the remainder it is not too much to say that very probably there may be division of opinion. Have those differences been reconciled, or are they likely to be reconciled before the new Government comes into office? If they are, then I admit that, so far as a Government majority is concerned, you will have a homogeneous party; but if they are not reconciled, if they remain in the form in which the public Press has made us acquainted with them, then you cannot count upon your majority for a single day. (Cheers.) Some persons have complained—and it is not surprising under the circumstances—of what they call

THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

that has been maintained. Here are all these various sections, and not one representative of any single section has addressed the House. It is wonderful docility—(laughter and cheers)—but how long will it continue? I do not wonder at this silence, for there are only two things that they could possibly talk about—they must talk either about the past or the future. If they talked about the past they might repeat, no doubt, the charges against the present Government which have been heard on 100 platforms, but then they would be at the disadvantage that, in this House, they can be answered—(loud Ministerial cheers)—and, therefore, I am not surprised that they preserve a discreet silence. On the other hand, they might talk about the future; they might express, as their Irish allies have done, their desire for assurances, but they know perfectly well that, if the assurances asked for by one section were granted, some other section might be displeased, and the displeasure of one section would be fatal to the hopes of all; and, therefore, again they preserve a discreet silence. They prefer to wait for something to turn up. There are, however, two sections in the House whose taciturnity seems to me to be exceptionally strange. The first consists of

THE WELSH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

There are 31 of them, we are told by their own resolutions, who have been returned for a specific purpose, and we know that the first object of their constituents is the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales. Well, they are content to postpone the realization of their desire for a time, but they insist that it shall have the second place in the Liberal programme, but have they got any assurance to that effect? (Cheers.) Did they hear the speech of the hon. and learned member for Waterford the other night, when he said that, though he and his friends would be willing to support British reforms, those reforms

must not be questions which were of a nature to divert the attention of the British people or to make the Irish question less dominant? Is there anybody who will say that a question so complex and difficult, and exciting so much interest in all classes of the community, as the question of disestablishment can be introduced into this House without diverting the attention of the whole British people? That question, therefore, is excluded by the mandate of the hon. and learned member for Waterford—(laughter and cheers)—who carries with him in this and other respects the support of the other section of the Nationalist party. Therefore it appears to me that for Welsh disestablishment the prospect of a second place is not promising, and it is under those circumstances that I have wondered that no representative of the Welsh people has thought it necessary to say something in this debate. The other section to whom I have referred consists of the members who profess to represent specially the cause of

AN EIGHT HOURS BILL FOR MINERS.

I should have thought that their experience would have convinced them of the virtue of a little pressure. (Hear, hear.) I do not think that there is in the whole history of our politics, even in these times of rapid conversion—(laughter)—a more extraordinary instance of progress in regard to any question than that made by the right hon. member for Mid-Lothian between the time when he refused to receive a deputation to talk the subject over and the time when in the course of the election at Mid-Lothian he saw the representatives of the miners, and was able to give them the most satisfactory assurances that he was prepared to support an Eight Hours Bill with local option. (Cheers.) I understand from the papers that this section of the members of this House communicated with my right hon. friend and made a most modest request—namely, that this matter of an Eight Hours Bill should have the attention which it merited in the course of this debate, and I suppose they meant in the course of the right hon. gentleman's speech. Has it had the attention which it merits? Has it had one single word from my right hon. friend? Has the subject been even mentioned in the course of the debate except by the hon. member for Morpeth, who is himself opposed to an Eight Hours Bill? And yet in spite of this **putting aside of the modest requests of the miners' representatives there is not a representative of Labour in this House who is able or willing to get up and express his opinion upon the situation.** (Cheers.) Well, I have heard a good deal about an Independent Labour Party; I shall believe in it when I see it. (Laughter.) I shall not say anything about the other sections of the majority—the crofters' members, the Scotch Home Rulers, the Metropolitan members in favour of

the London programme, or even the members who are the friends and supporters of the United Kingdom Alliance. I say nothing about them, because I understand that they have been in some way or other reconciled and squared, and so far as they are concerned my argument would be out of place. They will be a portion of the great homogeneous party which is to be formed and to create that "nebular hypothesis" of which we have heard. I have in truth spoken only of the British portion of the majority which is to defeat the Government to-night. You can, perhaps, dispose of the difficulties arising out of English and Scotch and Welsh questions, but can you dispose of

THE IRISH DIFFICULTY?

I appeal to every man of sense and intelligence whether it is not entering upon a fool's paradise to attempt to form a Government until you have at least assured yourselves that you have a sufficient agreement upon the main points of the Irish question to insure your going on with a sufficient majority. Is there any certainty that there is such agreement among you? Are all the members of the majority Home Rulers? (Laughter.) I know they are classed as such; but we have seen in the Press that a certain section of them have been recommending that Home Rule should be postponed and that British Measures should take its place. The hon. member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) I am told has been endeavouring to persuade the Irish members that it would be to their distinct advantage that such questions as Welsh Disestablishment, and one man one vote, and registration, should be dealt with in the course of the next Session, his view being that the settlement of these questions would supply a leverage facilitating the subsequent concession of Home Rule. The hon. member for Northampton appears to be a good deal sobered by the vision of coming responsibility. (Laughter.) I do not wonder at his silence; he thinks the more. (Laughter.) He has, indeed, a difficult task to fulfil. It is said that he will have high office in the "nebular hypothesis," and he will then have to **reconcile the interests of the Cabinet with the interests of "Truth."** (Laughter.) Now, how do

THE IRISH MEMBERS

like the idea of having in the centre of this Government an hon. member—a right hon. member I suppose he will be then—who has determined to do his best to slip off the yoke of Home Rule in order to introduce British reforms? The hon. and learned member for Waterford quoted, with apparent pleasure, a speech of the right hon. member for Mid-Lothian, in which he had referred to the Irish question as the "Old Man of the Sea." But does the hon. and learned member remember his "Arabian

Nights"? Does he remember what happened to the Old Man of the Sea? Sinbad made him drunk and then broke his head with a stone—(laughter)—and are the hon. members below the gangway certain that this sad fate may not befall them at the hands of the hon. member for Northampton? (Cheers and laughter.) Now, if the hon. member for Northampton takes that line he will have support in the new Cabinet. He will have the support of the right hon. gentleman the member for Bridgeton. (Laughter.) The right hon. gentleman the member for Bridgeton, I am sure he will forgive me for reminding him, said in this House—

"The confession that the Liberal party was a Home Rule party—I speak with all respect for those who think otherwise—is one which, until every faculty I have is strained to the uttermost—(laughter)—and every constitutional method inside and outside the House has been exhausted, I, for one, will never consent to."

I should not think of doing the injustice to the right hon. gentleman of supposing that he would be false to a pledge so complete, so emphatic, and so strong as that which I have read to the House. Again I ask hon. members for Ireland how they like the prospect of

TWO CABINET MINISTERS IN THE CITADEL,

both of them determined to do their utmost to prevent the Liberal party being a Home Rule party and being confined to the prosecution of the Home Rule measure? (Ministerial cheers.) But putting that aside—(an ironical cheer)—yes, assuming that in some way or other these difficulties are got over, although I should not assume them to be got over by the exclusion of the hon. member for Northampton and the right hon. member for Bridgeton from the next Cabinet—(laughter)—but assuming they have been got over, then I ask what kind of Home Rulers are the majority of this House? Are they **federal Home Rulers, colonial Home Rulers, Gladstonian Home Rulers, Parnellite Home Rulers, or gas and water Home Rulers?** (Laughter and cheers.) Of course, it would be perfectly absurd, in the time at my disposal, to deal with all the important questions which arise in connection with this subject of Home Rule, and as to which there is difference of opinion; but I am going to beg the attention of the House to one and one only. I am going to ask them to consider how far the majority of the House are united and agreed to such an extent as affords the slightest justification for their taking office and holding office for five months without appealing to the House of Commons—how far they are united upon this one question. It is a question of the supremest importance, as every hon. member, I am sure, will admit. It is a question to which my right hon. friend the member

for Mid-Lothian has pointed again and again, and has said in this House that when any proposal was made for the better government of Ireland the first thing which it behoved the members of the House of Commons to do, was to inquire how far, and in what way,

THE SUPREMACY OF THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT

had been preserved. (Ministerial cheers.) Now, Sir, are the majority agreed in regard to this question of supreme importance, which was made of supreme importance at the elections? Are they agreed as to the methods by which they will secure this supremacy, and as to the kind of supremacy which they will give? I assert that in regard to this question my right hon. friend, and not only he but every important leader of the Liberal party, has declared emphatically and distinctly in favour of a supremacy of the Imperial Parliament which shall be absolute, which shall be unquestioned, which shall be continuous, which shall be effective and practical. (Ministerial cheers.) The House will see the importance of this. We have often complained—I have complained—of my right hon. friend that in regard to certain parts of the Home Rule Bill he left us in the dark, and that we could not gather from his language what it was he would propose; but I should be doing him scant justice if I did not say that in regard to this matter his language has been as plain and distinct as man can wish. I am sorry to have to delay the House by quotations—(cheers)—which are always tedious, but I really feel that this question, lying as it does at the root of the whole of this Home Rule controversy, ought to be settled once for all; that before we separate for five months we ought at least to know what will be the policy of any Government of which my right hon. friend shall be the head, and how far that is a policy which the majority can unanimously support. (Cheers.) I have said I think it important to show that not only my right hon. friend, but all the leaders of the party, have agreed upon this point. My hon. and learned friend

THE MEMBER FOR HACKNEY,

speaking only a month ago at Richmond, on July 8th, said :—

"What would be the checks upon this Parliament? First, the veto of the Crown on cases of importance or grave impolicy; secondly, the fact that as the Imperial Parliament had made this other, so it could unmake or modify it; and, thirdly, the inherent right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate directly for any portion of the Queen's Empire. It was not contemplated that any of these checks should be used except in cases of dire necessity, but he wished to point out the enormous reserve force which would still remain **with the Imperial Parliament.**" (Ministerial cheers.)

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I attach great importance to that statement, because it comes from my hon. and learned friend, who is not only an Irishman, and therefore intimately acquainted with all the details of this controversy, but he is a lawyer, and knows exactly the meaning of constitutional legal language. It appears from his statement that the Imperial Parliament will have as a reserve force, in the first place, the veto of the Crown, which, you will observe, must be exercised by the British Ministers, otherwise it would not belong to the Imperial Parliament—(Ministerial cheers)—and, secondly, they have the inherent concurrent right of legislating in matters of dire necessity for the Irish Parliament. I mean to say for matters committed to the Irish Parliament. I go to the right hon. member for Bridgeton. (Laughter.) The right hon. gentleman says :—

"**If the Imperial Parliament does not continue Imperial I shall never care to sit in it again.**" (Laughter.) "By an Imperial Parliament I mean, and we all mean, a Parliament which represents in equal proportion all parts of the United Kingdom. We mean a Parliament that is not only nominal or theoretical, but also real, practical, and genuine, controlling every other body and authority whatsoever—a Parliament to which every citizen may look for the safety of his life and for the maintenance of his personal rights."

Therefore we know that, so long as the right hon. gentleman sits in this Parliament, every man—every Irishman—may continue to look to it for the safety of his life and the maintenance of his personal rights. (Ministerial cheers and laughter.) I come to

THE RIGHT HON. MEMBER FOR DERBY.

(Laughter.) The right hon. gentleman, speaking on April 17th, 1891, said :—

"The principle for which the Liberal party had contended had been the right of the Irish people to manage their own affairs, subject, always subject, to the control of the Imperial Parliament."

The right hon. gentleman went on to say that

"Mr. Parnell had once accepted that, but now he repudiated it, and the system for which Mr. Parnell now contended was one which the Liberal party had never countenanced, and one which they would never support." (Cheers and counter-cheers.)

I think hitherto it must be perfectly clear to the House that these statements exactly fulfil the account I gave of them—that they are consistent with one another, that all point to the same kind of supremacy exercised in the same way. Now I come to the right hon. gentleman

THE MEMBER FOR NEWCASTLE.

Speaking on July 6th, 1887, at Manchester, and referring to something which Lord Hartington said, he says :—

"But does Lord Hartington mean—I hope this may be the case—that if the Parliament at Dublin passes unjust, tyrannical, vindictive, oppressive measures

against any section of the Irish population the Parliament at Westminster shall be free promptly by some measure or other, direct or indirect, to overrule and so forbid such a law. If that is what Lord Hartington means, there is no difference of opinion and no difference of aim. I hope we shall not interfere to prevent mere unwisdom and mere mistakes, for the mischief has come because Ireland has not had the responsibility of her own actions and the consequences of her own actions. We should not interfere to prevent mere unwisdom, but we should interfere, I suppose and hope, to prevent injustice and wrong."

But much later in July, 1892, the right hon. gentleman, referring again to this subject, said that "whenever the Irish Parliament did anything that was violently wrong and violently oppressive the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament would come into force." Well, now, who is to decide what is violently wrong and what is violently oppressive? (Cheers.) It must be the Imperial House of Commons. Nobody else—(cheers)—and consequently this follows from what the right hon. gentleman has said—that if after Home Rule has been granted, with the retention of Irish members here at Westminster, any representative of Ulster, for instance, should think that any Act of the Irish Parliament was oppressive and wrong, he would be able to bring it before this House, and if he could convince this House this House would overrule it. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman does not believe that the Irish Parliament would ever do anything violently oppressive or violently wrong. (A laugh.) We cannot take so hopeful a view of the situation—(hear, hear)—when we have before us the threats which have been made again and again by those who would control the Irish Parliament, and who have said in effect that they will have their revenge upon their enemies by its means. If they were to try to do what they have threatened to do, then I say it would be the bounden and the clear duty of this House to step in and to prevent, either by concurrent legislation or by the veto of the Crown, such acts of wrongful and violent oppression. (Cheers.) I have gone through the speeches of the principal leaders who sit on this bench. Of course I have left to the last those of my right hon. friend

THE MEMBER FOR MID-LOTHIAN,

who, I have no doubt, would control them all. (Ministerial cheers.) What does my right hon. friend himself say upon this subject? He spoke at Nottingham on October 19, 1887. On the previous day he had referred to the matter, and he had said that the Irish Parliament must be subject to the Imperial Parliament, and these are his words:—"Liable, if need be, to be corrected by it." (Ministerial cheers.) How can one Parliament be corrected by another without a constant supervision and control being exercised over it? (Hear, hear.) Every act and every deed of the Irish Parliament will have to be controlled and supervised by the Imperial Parliament. But, on the next day,

the right hon. gentleman returned to the subject and he explained himself more fully. He said, in answer to objections which had been taken :—

"Will not the Crown, in a system of Home Government in Ireland, appoint the Lord Lieutenant, will not the appointment of the Lord Lieutenant, who must be the head of the Irish Executive, effectually reserve to the British Crown, and through the British Crown to the British Ministers, and through the British Ministers to the British Parliament, the power of interfering—of which I can only say that I am certain of its sufficiency for any purpose whatsoever, and that I devoutly hope and pray that it may never be used in the wantonness of tyrannical strength for the purposes of evil and mischief. But, if an Irishman challenged me on that matter and complained that this power of Parliament marred the settlement that would exist, I must own to you that my only answer would be—Trust in the magnanimity of the British nation and their representatives and rely upon it that they will not seek to defeat, by unjust interference, the spirit of the settlement."

Now, nothing can be clearer. It appears that the British Parliament, through the British Ministers, through the British Crown, is to have a power of interference which my right hon. friend says is sufficient for any purpose whatsoever. He says that it may be used for the purposes of evil and mischief, but even then the power does not cease, and he can only hope that it will not be used in the tyrannical wantonness of overpowering strength, and, if the Irish complain that under these circumstances their Parliament is wholly subject to the control of the Parliament of Westminster, my right hon. friend says :—

"Trust in the magnanimity of the British nation."

That was in 1887. Has my right hon. friend altered his mind upon the point since then? I am able to say that he has not. During this last election

Mr. OSCAR BROWNING

was a candidate for East Worcestershire—he has been referred to by the hon. member for Waterford. Mr. Browning said that any Bill passed by the Irish Parliament would be subject to the veto of the Queen by the advice of her English Ministers. The accuracy of that statement, as expressing the view of the Gladstonian party, was questioned in the Press, and thereupon a letter was written by my right hon. friend the member for Mid-Lothian, dated May 26 of the present year, to Mr. Thomas Harris, of Birmingham, in which he said :—

"Mr. Browning's account of the veto, if I understand it correctly, is right, and the opposite contention is absurd."

The opposite contention was that the veto would be exercised on the advice of the Irish Ministers. (Ministerial cheers.) I think that, at all events, I have proved what I undertook to prove as to the clearness of the view with which this question of supremacy has always been dealt, both by my right hon. friend, and by the other leaders of the Liberal party. (Hear, hear.) It was on

this view that the question of the election was fought—(Ministerial cheers)—and it is this view of the question which you are going to confirm by your vote to-night, if you mean that vote to imply confidence in my right hon. friend. (Cheers.) What do

THE IRISH NATIONALIST PARTY

say in this state of things? I was going to have quoted the opinions of the hon. member for Cork City, of the hon. member for East Mayo, of the hon. member for North Louth, of the hon. member for the Scotland Division, and of other hon. members belonging to that section of the party to show that they have always demanded, in the strongest possible terms, that the Irish Parliament should be absolutely supreme in regard to the affairs committed to them. But this is unnecessary. From a correspondence which the hon. member for Cork City had with me—and which, after, I suppose, a characteristic fashion, he sent to the papers without my permission—("Hear, hear,"—and cries of "Oh")—and without waiting for any reply which I might have wished to make to his last letter—(Ministerial cheers and laughter)—from that correspondence there is evidence of a desire on the part of the hon. member for Cork City to whittle away his past declarations, and, as far as he is concerned, I think it is quite likely that if he dared he would range himself side by side with the party above the gangway, and that he would be "whipped" as easily as any of them. (Ministerial cheers and laughter.) But, fortunately, I need not trouble the House with quotations from these hon. members, because the House heard the appeal made to them by the hon. member for Waterford. I imagine that there is no love lost between the two sections of the Irish Nationalist party. (Ministerial cheers and laughter.) If they could, the larger section would be glad enough to contradict the smaller one; but when the hon. member for Waterford declared what was in his opinion the irreducible *minimum* which the majority of the Irish people would accept, and when he challenged those around him to get up and say that any one of them would take one whit less, they all remained silent—(Ministerial cheers)—and until any such contradiction of the hon. member for Waterford is forthcoming, we must take it for granted that he did accurately represent on this point the views of the whole of the Irish Nationalist party. (Hear, hear.) What was the demand of the hon.

MEMBER FOR WATERFORD?

It was that the supremacy of the Irish Parliament in regard to Irish affairs should be absolute; that in regard to those affairs which are committed to them there shall be no interference from this country; that, above all, there shall be no English veto, and that the only veto which should be permitted should be a

veto of the Crown on the advice of the Irish Ministers. And he went on to say that the matters which were to be committed to the Irish Parliament must include the land, the police, and the judiciary, which are precisely the things upon which it is most likely that controversy would arise between the British and the Irish Parliaments. (Ministerial cheers.) Do my hon. friends behind me see why my right hon. friend the member for Mid-Lothian passed by without the slightest allusion the speech of the hon. member for Waterford? (Cheers.) If he had spoken, what could he have said? He could only have said, "What you ask for, I refuse; what you demand you shall not have. I have declared—I am pledged by everything that can pledge an honourable man—(Ministerial cheers)—by declarations made as recently as May of the present year—to refuse the demands which you make on me." My right hon. friend has thought it better to postpone such a declaration. (Ministerial cheers.) Meanwhile, there will be six months of a Government which, if it keeps faith with England, will insure the hostility of the Irish Nationalist party. (Loud Ministerial cheers.) I began by saying that the singularity of all this debate is that we do not know, when we have thrown this Government out, whether the next Government or whether any possible Government can command a majority of this House, and yet we are to be prorogued, we are to have no opportunity of pronouncing an opinion upon the incoming Government. (Ministerial cheers.) The incoming Government, if it does not settle this matter of the supremacy of Parliament with its Irish allies, and if they stick to what they have said — these are all hypotheses; nebulous hypotheses, perhaps—(Ministerial cheers and laughter)—if their promises are kept, may not be in a majority of 40, but may be in a minority of 120. (Ministerial cheers and Irish laughter.) Then we shall be beginning a state of things which was contemplated with so much glee by one of the hon. Irish members when he said that they would knock out one Government after another, and would force us to take a dissolution once in six months. (Cheers and counter-cheers.) We may then have to ask the question how is

THE QUEEN'S GOVERNMENT

to be carried on? (Cheers and counter-cheers, and Irish laughter.) The noble lord the member for the Barnsley Division, told me on Tuesday night that, say what I might, they had all made up their minds—(cheers and counter-cheers) — that no argument would win a vote from them. (Hear, hear.) Yes; I believe that is true. (Ministerial cheers.) I do not think, however, that it is a compliment to my hon. friends to say that they are impervious to argument and are impatient of debate. (Hear, hear.) But at least, although I cannot win a vote from them, I may ask them

how long this serious state of things is to continue. (Irish laughter.) How long are you going to allow ducks and drakes to be made by the Irish party of all your British legislation? (Cheers.) Is it not a serious situation? (Cheers.) My right hon. friend the member for Mid-Lothian in 1885 gave a very grave and serious warning to the Liberal party. He warned them that it would be dangerous to them and dangerous to the Empire if they proceeded to the consideration of this question of the government of Ireland as long as there was a party in the House who could say to them, "Unless you do this or unless you do that we will turn you out." (Cheers.) What has happened since that has lessened in the slightest degree the value or the weight of the advice that was then given to the Liberal party? Why is it safe to do now what it would not have been safe to do then? (Cheers.) The task that you have undertaken is a gigantic task; it is a Herculean labour. You are not going easily to pull to pieces and reconstruct a Constitution. (Loud cheers.) Even as you are in the last election you have failed. By an overwhelming majority

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

are against you, and you know that if it had been possible to confine the issue to Home Rule the decision would have been still more unfavourable. (Cheers.) There are two conditions which are essential—and you know it—to the prosecution of your great design. One is that you should be absolutely agreed among yourselves. The other is that you should be able to look—to count—upon a spirit of moderation and conciliation from your allies pushed even to the furthest conclusion. You have neither. (Prolonged cheers.) You know that on many important questions there are serious differences among you, and you know that those whom you seek to benefit are even now professing the arrogant intention of dictating to you the details of your Bill. (Cheers.) I say, then, it may be true that I cannot win a vote, but at least I can ask the wisest and the most sensible among you—(derisive Irish laughter)—yes, to the others I do not speak—(laughter and cheers)—to reconsider the position. What was at all times supremely difficult has now become in the present circumstances impossible; and though it would be too much to ask from you, after having for six years been struggling in the fight, sufficient self-denial to resist the temptation to grasp at the fruits of victory—ay, and the semblance of power—(loud cheers)—yet you cannot conceal from yourselves that you will be unable to gratify the expectations which you have excited, and that your efforts are doomed beforehand to inevitable failure.—(Loud cheers.)—*Times*, 12th Aug., 1892.

PARNELLITES

AND

ANTI-PARNELLITES

DESCRIBED BY ONE ANOTHER.

PART I.

THE ANTI-PARNELLITE PARTY.

"Half-educated, pettifogging attorneys."—Dr. Fitzgerald, M.P., at Longford, January 24th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, January 31st, 1891.)

"They are endowed with the worst spirit of the informer."—C. S. Parnell, M.P., at Navan, March 1st, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, March 7th, 1891.)

"Their policy had its origin . . . partly in cowardice, partly in treachery, and partly in ignorance and incapacity."—C. S. Parnell, M.P., at Clonmel, April 26th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, May 2nd, 1891.)

"Their private characters had been for years a difficulty, a drawback, and an embarrassment to the Irish cause."—Tim. Harrington, M.P., at Dublin, June 2nd, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, June 6th, 1891.)

"Dumb Dogs."—C. S. Parnell, M.P., at Limerick, September 12th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, September 19th, 1891.)

"Their imbecility; their weakness."—John O'Connor, M.P., in Cork, October 21st, 1891.—*United Ireland*, October 24th, 1891.)

"Wittingly have sent that man (Mr. Parnell) to an early grave."—John E. Redmond, M.P., at Cork, October 24th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, October 24th, 1891.)

"Wretched cowardly crew."—Pierce Mahony, M.P., at Limerick, November 8th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, November 14th, 1891.)

"They degraded the name of Ireland by their treachery, by their ingratitude."—John E. Redmond, M.P., at Waterford, December 19th, 1891.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, December 21st, 1891.)

"Hate, jealousy, dissension, treachery, distrust, prevail amongst them."—John E. Redmond, M.P., in Cork, January 15th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, January 23rd, 1892.)

"A miserable pair of flunkies."—Tim Harrington, M.P., at Inchicore, Co. Dublin, January 13th, 1892.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, January 14th, 1892.)

"Irish traitors."—Dr. Fitzgerald, M.P., at Roscommon January 18th, 1892.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, January 19th, 1892.)

"Bawling Irish barristers with more brass than brains."—Dr. Fitzgerald, M.P., at Roscommon, January 18th 1892.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, January 19th, 1892.)

"They had shamefully betrayed the evicted tenants. . . . A betrayal as infamous as the betrayal of Fenians by Corridon and Massey."—Dr. Fitzgerald, M.P., in London, March 17th, 1892.—(*Irish Daily Independent* March 18th, 1892.)

MR. TIMOTHY HEALY, M.P.

"Represents the treachery" of the Party.—C. S. Parnell, M.P., at Clonmel, April 26th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, May 2nd, 1891.)

"I do not wonder that Mr. Healy had used low language; indeed the wonder would be if he were found capable of using anything else. . . . I am shocked that the priests . . . did not stand up and protest that the people of Ireland must not be taught in the language learned in the haunts of vice."—Tim. Harrington, M.P., in Dublin, June 2nd, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, June 6th, 1891.)

"It had come about that a creature thought that by wallowing in filth he could save himself from the consequences which would attach to another man's conduct."—Tim. Harrington, M.P., in Dublin, June 2nd, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, June 6th, 1891.)

"This man has thrived at all stages of his career by slanders and by lies."—C. S. Parnell, M.P., at Glynn, Co. Carlow, June 30th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, July 4th, 1891.)

"One could not touch pitch without being defiled. So it was with the persons associated with Tim Healy."—J. E. Kenny, M.P., at Waterford, December 31st, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, January 9th, 1892.)

"Foulness of his utterances. . . . The coarseness and the ribaldry that flowed from Mr. Healy's mouth."—Pierce Mahony, M.P., at Carlow, January 24th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, January 30th, 1892.)

"Foul-mouthed individual."—P. O'Brien, M.P., at Kilkenny, February 1st, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, February 6th, 1892.)

"No one expected anything chivalrous or decent from that gentleman."—Mr. H. K. Redmond, M.P., in Dublin, February 4th, 1892.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, February 5th, 1892.)

"Damned for ever."—Dr. J. E. Kenny, M.P., February 7th, 1892.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, February 8th, 1892.)

"Had disgraced Irish public life and Irish platforms by using the foulest and the filthiest language."—Pierce Mahony, M.P., in Limerick, February 7th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, February 13th, 1892.)

"His inexhaustible stock of Billingsgate abusiveness."—Dr. Kenny, M.P., in Dublin, February 9th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, February 13th, 1892.)

"The statement made by Mr. Healy was a deliberate lie."—Dr. Kenny, M.P., in Dublin, March 4th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, March 12th, 1892.)

"His power rests . . . upon political blackguardism, upon political scurrility."—John Redmond, M.P., at Howth, April 24th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, April 30th, 1892.)

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M.P.

'Represents the ignorance and incapacity" of the Party.—C. S. Parnell, M.P., at Clonmel, April 26th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, May 2nd, 1891.)

MR. TIM. HEALY, M.P., & DR. TANNER, M.P.

"The immeasurable filth and blackguardism which issues from the lips of Tim. Healy and Dr. Tanner."—C. S. Parnell, M.P., at Bagnalstown, Co. Carlow, June 29th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, July 4th, 1891.)

MR. TIM. HEALY, M.P., & MR. T. SEXTON, M.P.

"Miserable and shortsighted politicians . . . with no more brains than would sit cross-legged upon the point of a pin."—C. S. Parnell, M.P., at Tullow, July 5th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, July 11th, 1891.)

MR. KNOX, M.P.

"Young puppy."—Tim. Harrington, M.P., in Dublin, September 14th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, September 19th, 1891.)

MR. SEXTON, M.P.

"Represents the cowardice" of the Party.—C. S. Parnell, M.P., at Clonmel, April 26th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, May 2nd, 1891.)

"His duplicity; his peevishness."—Dr. Kenny, M.P., in Dublin, February 9th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, February 13th, 1892.)

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P.

"In 1887 and 1890 he is for England, and he is willing to blacken Lord Spencer's boots."—C. S. Parnell, at Creggs, Co. Galway, September 27th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, October 3rd, 1891.)

"A cowardly and disgraceful attitude" to take up.—J. E. Redmond, M.P., at Clonard, Co. Kildare, September 27th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, October 3rd, 1891.)

"The proceedings of last Sunday (December 13th) were a cold-blooded and deliberately concocted scheme entered into on the instigation of Mr. O'Brien himself, not merely to intimidate the voters of the city, but to use violence and physical force in the process."—John E. Redmond, M.P., at Waterford, December 20th, 1891. —(*Irish Daily Independent*, December 21st, 1891.)

"Approaching them (the Healyite methods) very nearly in the force of his vituperation and abusive language."—Dr. J. E. Kenny, M.P., December 31st, 1891.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, January 1st, 1892.)

"I characterise the statement (by Mr. O'Brien) as a mean and wicked falsehood."—J. E. Redmond, M.P., at Naas, January 3rd, 1892.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, January 4th, 1892.)

"I will denounce him as a foul and dishonourable calumniator," should he not apologise or retract his statement.—J. E. Redmond, M.P., at Naas, January 3rd, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, January 9th, 1892.)

"Had used language very little better than that used by that foul-mouthed individual, Mr. Tim. Healy."—P. O'Brien, M.P., at Kilkenny, February 1st, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, February 6th, 1892.)

"A mind made in watertight compartments, which enabled him only to see one side of a question at a time."—Dr. Kenny, M.P., in Dublin, February 9th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, February 13th, 1892.)

MR. JOHN DILLON, M.P.

"Talks sometimes like a fretful woman."—John E. Redmond, M.P., in Dublin, December 29th, 1891.—(*United Ireland*, January 2nd, 1892.)

"Stands to-day in a more despicable position than he ever did before, because he has shown more clearly than ever the thorough egotism of his nature."—Pierce Mahony, M.P., at Carlow, April 24th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, April 30th, 1892.)

"Thrashed puppy." "Posturing self-chosen leader."—Pierce Mahony, M.P., at Drogheda, April 26th, 1892.—(*United Ireland*, April 30th, 1892.)

MR. MICHAEL DAVITT.

"Such utter incapacity, such gross stupidity, I never in my life witnessed."—J. E. Redmond, M.P., in Dublin, December 29th, 1891.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, December 30th, 1891.)

"Asked the Tories for their votes." "Adopted terrorism." "(And his colleagues) brought in men armed with bludgeons" (to the Waterford election).—J. J. Dalton, M.P., at Newbridge, January 10th, 1892.—(*Irish Daily Independent*, January 12th, 1892.)

PART II.

THE PARNELLITE PARTY.

"Interested in keeping Parnellism alive for their own private ends."—Mr. Murphy, M.P., in Dublin, July 29th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, August 1st, 1891.)

"Their language disgraceful and scandalous—I might almost say in some instances, murderous."—John Dillon, M.P., at Dungarvan, October 18th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, October 24th, 1891.)

"Are traitors to the cause of this country as black and as false as ever existed in the whole history of the past."—John Dillon, M.P., at Drogheda, November 15th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, November 21st, 1891.)

"Trying to throw dust in the eyes of the Irish people. . . . for the purpose of covering their own perfidy and treason in the Irish National movement."—T. J. Condon, M.P., at Clonmel, January 17th, 1892.—(*Weekly National Press*, January 23rd, 1892.)

MR. PARNELL, M.P.

"Because of his crimes and because of his falsehoods . . . he was told to stand aside."—T. M. Healy, M.P., at Tullow, June 28th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, July 4th, 1891.)

"Where do these people" (the Carlow Parnellites) "get the money to spend in the publichouses? They get it out of the money that Parnell stole."—T. M. Healy, M.P., at Bagnalstown, June 29th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, July 4th, 1891.)

"An unmitigated humbug."—John Pinkerton, M.P., at Tynock, Co. Carlow, July 4th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, July 11th, 1891.)

"He is a liar."—T. M. Healy, M.P., at Carlow, July 5th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, July 11th, 1891.)

"The Irish Party were led into a rat-trap by their leader."—John Dillon, M.P., in Dublin, August 12th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, August 15th, 1891.)

"Indulging in a long string of assertions which are either grossly inaccurate or utterly false."—John Dillon, M.P. Interview with reporter.—(*Weekly National Press*, August 22nd, 1891.)

"His whole life had been a tissue of selfish intrigues."—John Pinkerton, M.P., at Loughgiel, Co. Antrim, August 15th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, August 22nd, 1891.)

"Of all those who had betrayed the cause of Ireland, there was no one who had sold it for so base a price."—Vesey Knox, M.P., at Manchester, August 22nd, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, August 29th, 1891.)

"Can go on talking arrant pitiable nonsense."—William O'Brien, M.P., at Westport, September 26th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, September 26th, 1891.)

"Have you not . . . seen trick after trick and detected lie after lie issue from his throat."—T. M. Healy, M.P., in Dublin, September 20th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, September 26th, 1891.)

"Guilty of one of the most awful acts of treachery ever attempted against the Irish people."—John Dillon, M.P., at Carrick-on-Suir, October 4th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, October 10th, 1891.)

MR. TIM. HARRINGTON, M.P.

"Nothing more disgraceful," than his speech "could have come from any man." . . . "He was base."—M. J. Kenny, M.P., in Dublin, July 29th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, August 1st, 1891.)

"He fills his blunderbuss with a kind of red hot stirabout and fires it off at the bench of bishops."—T. M. Healy, M.P., in Dublin, September 20th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, September 26th, 1891.)

"Shamed and disgraced."—T. M. Healy, M.P., in Longford, November 1st, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, November 7th, 1891.)

"A discredit to the profession he belongs to."—T. M. Healy, M.P., at Templemore, November 8th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, November 14th, 1891.)

It is "Loathsome that Irish Catholics like John Redmond and Timothy Harrington should appeal to the vile spirit of religious bigotry."—W. O'Brien, M.P., at Drogheda, November 15th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, November 21st, 1891.)

WILLIAM REDMOND, M.P.

"His skedaddle from Mr. Parnell until he was driven back by newspaper paragraphs."—William O'Brien, M.P., at Cork, October 27th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, October 31st, 1891.)

"Shamed and disgraced."—T. M. Healy, M.P., in Longford, November 1st, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, November 7th, 1891.)

MR. LEAMY, M.P.

"In the face of cruel and infamous insinuations, in the face of foul and blackguard threats, in the face of invitations to assassinate me by Mr. Leamy, Editor of *United Ireland*, I shall," &c.—John Dillon, M.P., at Dungarvan, October 18th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, October 24th, 1891.)

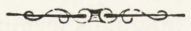
His "murderous blatherskite."—William O'Brien, M.P., at Kilkenny, October 20th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, October 24th, 1891.)

"We will stand no blackguardism; we will stand no Leamyism in this city of Cork."—William O'Brien, M.P., at Cork, October 27th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, October 31st, 1891.)

His "fit of homicidal mania."—W. O'Brien, M.P., at Cork, October 27th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, October 31st, 1891.)

MR. PIERCE MAHONY, M.P.

"An ill-omened spectre."—William O'Brien, M.P., at Kilkenny, October 20th, 1891.—(*Weekly National Press*, October 24th, 1891.)



THE IRISH MINORITY.

NATIONALIST THREATS.

The loyal minority have stood to England and to Englishmen in time of trial and in time of need, confident in the honesty and justice of a great people. For doing so they have been denounced as "foes" and "enemies" to be punished hereafter. This is no fancy rhetoric, but the declaration of men whom Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill will make governors of the island. The following are a few statements:—

RELENTLESS WAR.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P., at Mallow, December 16th, 1888:—

"That spirit the Irish people and the Irish representatives will have to display to the end . . a spirit of love and gratitude for every friend of Ireland, and of open and relentless war upon our foes."—*Freeman's Journal*, December 17th, 1888.

MR. DILLON WILL HIT AND HURT.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Thurles Convention, October 25th, 1888:—

"I, perhaps, have an unfortunate turn of mind; but it is a deep-rooted and ineradicable feeling with me, that if I am engaged in a struggle I like to get hold of some weapon with which I can **hit and hurt the enemy**, and I am utterly sceptical of any policy which consists purely and simply in organization and in preparation, and in fine essays and songs, though these also are excellent things in their way."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 26th, 1888.

DEAL OUT OUR PUNISHMENT.

At Kilmovee, 5th December, 1886, Mr. DILLON said:—

"It is a struggle to undo the system set up in this country by William and Cromwell, and under which the Irish people have toiled for nearly 200 years. . . . . When we come out of the struggle WE WILL REMEMBER who WERE the PEOPLE'S FRIENDS, and who were the PEOPLE'S ENEMIES, and deal out our REWARD to one and our PUNISHMENT to the other. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, December 6th, 1886.

DASTARDS AND COWARDS TO BE REMEMBERED.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, at Limerick, 20th September, 1887, declared:

"If a man believes in landlordism, believes in British rule, and believes in coercion, let him take his stand in the name of God, but I believe that a man who in a time like this, when the life of a people is struck at, and every man who dares raise his voice on behalf of liberty and the right of the people of Ireland to live in their own farms runs the risk of being run into prison like a common street-walker. I say that a man who stands aside under such circumstances is a dastard and a coward, and he and his children after him will be remembered in the days that are near at hand, when Ireland will be a free nation (cheers); and when every man, and every man's children who have suffered imprisonment or been struck at in the cause of Ireland, will find it to be a mark of honour in those days of our prosperity. (Loud Cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, September 21st, 1887.

MR. DILLON UNDERTAKES TO MANAGE ULSTER.

At a banquet at Limerick on November 1st, 1887, Mr. JOHN DILLON said:—

"Let the people of Ireland enjoy the rights of every nation that is not born to slavery; let them get arms in their hands; let the young men be enrolled as volunteers like every devoted citizen of a civilized country, and he declared there was no nation on earth that would risk the task of making slaves of that old nation. Was the present condition of Ireland satisfactory? England tried to govern Ireland for eighty years, and had failed, and if the Irish themselves, when they got the management of their own affairs, made a worse hand of Ireland than those masters who had ruled them so long, then he would shake the dust off his feet and bid good-bye to Ireland. **But they would manage their own affairs, and do it well. They would manage the South, and they would also manage Ulster.**"—*Irish Times*, November 2nd, 1887.

NO MERCY FOR COWARDS OR TRAITORS.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, at the Maryborough Convention, January 15th, 1889, stated:—

"And I say it is my determination—which I have exhibited on more than one occasion, not on many, but on more than one, when the occasion arose—to show absolutely NO CONSIDERATION OR MERCY whatever for the man who basely betrays his neighbours. I will see that he gets no assistance or grant whatever from the National funds, and he can have the pleasure—if pleasure it be to him—of sneaking back into his home a dishonoured and disgraced man with the loss of his money; and from the funds over which I have control not one shilling or sixpence shall he ever get (applause); and when the struggle is ended, and the people of the country have obtained that control over their own affairs which must come very soon, he will be pointed out by his neighbours as A COWARD AND TRAITOR, and he will have the pleasure of seeing the man who has stood firm, and acted honourably by his fellow-tenants, saluted with honour by all who meet him, and that his children after him will be proud to bear his name. (Hear, hear,)"—*Freeman's Journal*, January 16th, 1889.

THE NATIONALISTS

ON THE

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

Here are a few statements by Nationalist Members of Parliament regarding the Royal Irish Constabulary, and what they will do with that splendid force when they get the power.

ON THE POLICE.

MR. DILLON WILL DISORGANIZE THE FORCE.

Not long after the Trevor Hall Convention of the Land League of America on 18th May, 1880, Mr. JOHN DILLON addressed a meeting, at which he said :—

"**It will be our duty, and we will set about it without delay, to disorganize and break up the Irish Constabulary that for the past 30 years have stood at the back of the Irish landlords—bayonet in hand.** The pay of these men, which is taken out of the pockets of the Irish tenants, is voted yearly in the English Parliament, and not an Irish Member could be found to protest against it. Let us now see that instead of the twelve hundred thousand pounds a year, which is devoted to pay the Irish Constabulary, that not one hundred thousand will go for that purpose ; then I would like to see the landlord who would face the Irish tenant ! (Applause.) I tell you that the hour we take away the bayonet of the Irish policeman, that hour the landlords will come to ask us for a settlement of the land question."—*Special Commission Report*, p. 30.

Cross-examined at Cork on 26th March, 1891, Mr. JOHN DILLON was questioned on this matter, as follows :—

Mr. Ronan—Did you say in a speech—"**It will be our duty to disorganize and break up the Royal Irish Constabulary?**"

Mr. Dillon—**Yes, and I trust to do it yet.**

You would break and disorganize the Royal Irish Constabulary? No ; I have not the power yet, **but when I have the power I trust to do it.**—*National Press*, March 27th, 1891.

WHEN THE POLICE ARE OUR SERVANTS.

At Castlerea on 5th December, 1886, Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., stated :—

"I want to say a word of warning to the bailiffs and all that class of people who will side with the landlords in the struggle this winter in Ireland, and that warning is this, that there is no man in Ireland, England or Scotland who does not know who will have the Government in Ireland within the next few years. (Cheers.) The little potentates are in their own estimation the Lynches or

Macdougalls, who have the police to help them to-day, and who think they can ride over the bodies of our people. I tell these people that the time is at hand, and very close at hand too, when the police will be our servants, when the police will be taking their pay from Mr. Parnell, when he will be Prime Minister of Ireland. And I warn the men to-day who take their stand by the side of landlordism, and signalize them as the enemies of the people that in the time of our power we will remember them."—*Daily News*, December 6th, 1886.

MR. O'BRIEN ON THE POLICE.

At Bodyke on Sunday, 30th January, 1887, Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P., made the following statement:—

"I tell you candidly here to-day that though we allow these policemen to withdraw from this meeting, because they were weak—a mercy which, I am sorry to say, that they have never reciprocated to the people—I tell you, and I wish the Government reporter was here to listen to it, that if our people had power to meet them, man to man and rifle to rifle (prolonged cheers) in the open field, I, for one, would cut short my speechmaking this very moment, and the next speeches that the destroyers of your homes would hear would be the speeches out of the mouths of your guns. (Loud cheers.) We cannot meet them like that. Unfortunately we have not the power; but we have a weapon to-day before which all the power and pride of landlordism is going down like the walls of Jericho. (Cheers.) It is tumbling down at the shout of an enfranchised and unconquerable Irish nation. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, January 31st, 1887.

MR. DILLON AS POLICE COMMISSIONER.

On March 13th, 1887, Mr. John Dillon spoke as follows, at Tipperary:—

"Believe me they will not be able to do much with their Coercion Act, and I will tell you what is more that there is not a magistrate or policeman (loud groans)—don't be so excited against the police, BECAUSE THEY WILL BE ALL WORKING UNDER MY ORDERS WITHIN A YEAR—(Great cheering)—there is no magistrate or policeman in Ireland who does not know in his heart that Mr. Parnell will be ruler in this country in a year or two, and DO YOU SUPPOSE THAT THEY ARE GOING TO WORK A COERCION ACT BITTERLY AGAINST US? NOT A BIT OF IT. THEY LIKE THEIR BREAD AND BUTTER AS MUCH AS ANYBODY. THEY KNOW RIGHT WELL THAT IT IS NOT TO THE LANDLORDS THEY WILL HAVE TO LOOK IN THE FUTURE. They know perfectly well now what they did not believe during the last Coercion Act, that since Mr. Gladstone has come round, the cause is going to win, and they know perfectly well, every man of them, that Mr. Parnell will be their master, as he will be the master of this country (cheers) within a very short time."—*Freeman's Journal*, March 14th, 1887.

MR. DAVITT ON THE POLICE RUFFIANS.

At Swords, Co. Dublin, on June 5th, 1887, and referring to his visit to Bodyke, Mr. Davitt said:—

"If you could see that as I saw it, oh! you would not measure your words, but you would wish from the bottom of your heart we had there in our hands the weapons which **England placed in the hands of her armed mercenaries, and we would have taught these ruffins** that the people of Ireland in the year of 1887 had not lost the courage or the spirit of their ancestors. (Loud cheers.)"—*Freeman's Journal*, June 6th, 1887,

THE IRISH PRIEST IN POLITICS:

AS REVEALED IN THE EVIDENCE GIVEN ON THE HEARING OF THE

MEATH ELECTION PETITIONS.

"Mr. Justice O'BRIEN'S decision may have been as creditable to him as a lawyer as it was, in the tone and matter of many of its passages, discreditable to him as a Catholic; but we have no hesitation in saying that if those at whose demand it was pronounced fancy that it will act as any deterrent to Irish priests from discharging their duties as electors and as citizens, and as well as the friends and advisers of their people, they forget the courage, the constancy, and the patriotism of the unconquerable and devoted clergy of Ireland."—*Irish Catholic*, 10th December, 1892.

PRINTED FOR AND PUBLISHED BY
THE IRISH UNIONIST ALLIANCE, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER,
AND 109, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

London:
PRINTED BY McCORQUODALE & COMPANY LIMITED,
"THE ARMOURY," SOUTHWARK, S.E.

THE following pamphlet contains:—

The full text of Bishop Nulty's Pastoral.

A summary of the evidence given at the hearings of the South and North Meath Election Petitions.

An important passage from the speech of Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., in the South Meath Petition.

The more important passages from the Judgments of Mr. Justice O'Brien (South Meath), and Mr. Justice Andrews and Mr. Justice Johnson (North Meath).

An Appendix contains a report of the proceedings in the Queen's Bench Division, Dublin, when the Rev. John Fay, P.P., was adjudged guilty of Contempt of Court.

THE

IRISH PRIEST IN POLITICS:

AS REVEALED IN THE EVIDENCE GIVEN ON THE HEARING OF

THE SOUTH MEATH ELECTION PETITION.

AT Trim, on November 16th, 1892, the hearing of the South Meath election petition commenced before Mr. Justice O'Brien and Mr. Justice Andrews. The Petitioner was Mr. J. J. Dalton, the defeated Parnellite candidate; the sitting member Mr. Patrick Fullam (McCarthyite), being the Respondent. Mr. Fullam's majority was 83. Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Q.C., Mr. Drummond, Q.C., and Mr. Miles Kehoe represented the Petitioner; Mr. D. B. Sullivan, Q.C., and Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P. represented Mr. Fullam. The Petitioner, amongst other matters, alleged intimidation, practised by means of a certain Pastoral Letter from the Bishop, Dr. Nulty, which was read in every Roman Catholic church in the constituency, certain altar denunciations, canvassing and speeches by clergymen of an intimidating character.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, in his opening statement, stated that the polling booths were

MANNED BY CLERGYMEN

as follows:—

ATHBOY	Rev. P. Briody	*Sub-Agent*
BALLYVARY	Rev. P. Fagan	*Do. and Personation Agent*
CLONARD	Rev. Michael Woods.....	*Sub-Agent*
DULEEK	Rev T. Gilligan	*Do. and Personation Agent*
DUNBOYNE	Rev. B. Quigley	*Do. do.*
Do.	Rev. John Leonard.....	*Personation Agent*
Do.	Rev. Chas. Crinnion	*Do. do.*
JULIANSTOWN ...	Rev. P. A. Murtagh	*Sub-Agent and Personation Agent*
Do.	Rev. P. Fitzsimons.....	*Personation Agent*
Do.	Rev. P. Callery	*Do. do.*
Do.	Rev. P. Flynn.....	*Do. do.*
LONGWOOD	Rev. C. Shaw	*Sub-Agent and Personation Agent*
Do.	Rev. R. M'Donnell	*Personation Agent*
SUMMERHILL ...	Rev. John Fay	*Sub-Agent and Personation Agent*
Do.	Rev. P. Cantwell	*Personation Agent*
Do.	Rev. S. Kelly	*Do. do.*
TRIM	Rev. H. Behan, P.P.	*Sub-Agent and Personation Agent*
Do.	Rev. W. Egan.....	*Personation Agent*
Do.	Rev. P. J. Skelly.....	*Do. do.*
Do.	Rev. C. Carey.....	*Do. do.*
Do.	Rev. C. Murray	*Do. do.*
Do.	Rev. J. Cochrane	*Do. do.*

Counting Agents:—Rev. J. Cochrane, Rev. P. Cantwell, Rev. C. Carey, Rev. Michael Woods, Rev. Richard O'Donnell, Rev. Hugh Behan, Rev. P. J. Skelly, and one layman—Mr. Peter Cantwell.

THE BISHOP'S PASTORAL.

After referring to the fact that **out of a total population of 38,133** in South Meath, **the Roman Catholics numbered 35,618,** Mr. O'Shaughnessy read the contents of a Pastoral Letter, written by the Roman Catholic Bishop (the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty), which was read by the officiating priest in every chapel in the constituency.

[The following is the **full text** of the Pastoral. The more important passages are printed in larger type.]

"DEARLY BELOVED,—The issue which you are now considering, and which you will finally decide by your votes at the coming election, is by no means wholly and purely political. If Parnellism were really such, I should address you not as a bishop, but as a politician, with some claims, perhaps, on your confidence in consideration of the very feeble, but also of the very honest and earnest part I have acted in defending your interests and your rights for the last thirty years. Even as a politician I might claim the right of counselling and advising you on the course of action you ought to take in the coming crisis, but I could not, and would not, claim the right of forcing my views and opinions on your acceptance, at least till I had proved their soundness and truth beyond all controversy or doubt, and entirely to your own satisfaction. But Parnellism, whose continued existence or practical extinction you will decide at these coming elections is much more than a purely political question. Beyond all doubt it is an essentially and an intensely religious question as well, and one that will vitally influence your faith, your religious feelings, and the moral obligations and duties by which, as Christians and Catholics, you are conscientiously bound. On Parnellism, under that point of view, I, as a Bishop, and as a successor of the Apostles, have a Divine right from God to instruct you and to teach you, and you are bound by a Divine precept to listen to me and to learn the doctrines and the religious principles I teach you. Parnellism, like many of the great rebellious movements which heresy has from time to time raised against the Church, sprung from the foul root of sensualism and sin. I had a close and an intimate personal knowledge of Mr. Parnell throughout almost the whole of his public political life. During the whole of that period I respected and esteemed him as a man of high principle, of pure morality, and of unblemished honour. I regarded him as the very last of men then living who would stoop to the degrading meanness of defiling and disgracing himself by the vilest and foulest form of sensuality and crime.

"I will not dwell on the prurient and disgusting incidents of the Divorce Court further than to state that they furnished undeniable evidence of his guilt, and put it, in fact, beyond all controversy or question. The absolute and irresistible certainty which they furnished of his guilt created in my mind a painful sense of anguish and agony which were equalled in bitterness and pain only by the sad and deplorable necessity of parting and breaking with him for ever. God and nature have vested in every man and woman living three great fundamental rights which in all circumstances must for ever remain sacred and inviolable. The first of these is the great natural right which every man has to the quiet and peaceful enjoyment of the life and existence with which God has favoured him, and during the period of time allotted by his Creator for it to run. This right has been sanctioned, hallowed, and protected by the great commandment of the law—'Thou shall not kill.' The sacred right which a man holds in the chastity and purity of his wife, and in the sanctity of the marriage bed, is in its own order as important and as precious as the former. The right is sanctioned, blessed, and protected by the Divine commandment—'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' The third of these is the right which every man has to the exclusive use and enjoyment of the various forms of wealth in which he holds a real right of property and ownership, because they are all the fruit of his own earnings, or because they have been produced by his own toil and labour.

"This right is recognised and sanctioned by the Divine precept—'Thou shalt not steal.' But, notwithstanding the protection thrown around these sacred rights by the ordinances of God, they may still be violated, and violated to an extent that would make their enjoyment painfully insecure, and would render them, in fact, practically worthless. A criminal, vicious, and reckless class of miscreants exists in human society in all countries, who would violate the most sacred and venerable of human rights without remorse or scruple, whose violent passions and evil propensities will not be controlled or restrained by any respect for God's laws or by the fear of His justice, whose hands can be tied, and whose vicious instincts can be effectively held down only by the moral terror inspired by the most awful and appalling forms of visible human punishment. Society, therefore, in its own defence, and for its own self-protection, has been obliged to erect around these sacred rights a new bulwark of protection to shield them still further from the unjust and aggressive assaults to which they are even yet liable. It, therefore, solemnly warns all evildoers that it will exact 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' and that the man who imbues his hands in his brother's blood will expiate his guilt by an ignominious death on the gallows tree. And society will, and does, execute the murderer, not through a feeling of vindictiveness, but for the purpose of inspiring a moral terror which will make the murderous miscreant recoil from the commission of a crime that he knows will be punished with such implacable and merciless severity. The murderer by his crime diffused through society a painful feeling of insecurity in the tenure in which men held their lives, but his execution relieved them from that feeling, and restored the enjoyment of life to its former normal security. In like manner the thief, the robber, or burglar will not be induced to abandon his business through any feeling of natural abhorrence of the injustice and wrong he is continually doing, or through a feeling of fear of the just punishment of God's justice, but the fear of forfeiting his liberty, of the loneliness and pain of imprisonment, of the galling severity of prison life and discipline, the terrors of the convict ship, and the nameless horrors of penal servitude. The fear of these numerous and appalling forms of human punishment is the only effective deterrent that could make him hold his hands from unjustly appropriating the property of others, and keep the precept—'Thou shalt not steal.' Human justice has not forgotten the sacred right which every man holds in the chastity and purity of the wife who is the partner of his joys and his sorrows during his pilgrimage in this world. Neither has it left this right unprotected and undefended, any more than either of the other two. There is no species of human depravity or crime that is capable of creating a larger amount of unmitigated misery, anguish, and distress amongst men than the crime of adultery. The peace of mind and domestic happiness of the man whose wife has broken her marriage vows are blighted and irretrievably ruined for ever. The crime by which she has defiled herself brings disgrace and dishonour on her husband and her family. Her infamy, as long as her memory survives, will be a source of reproach and of shame to her children and her children's children after them. Society does not leave the punishment of this crime exclusively in the hands of the hangman or the jailer. Every honourable man and every virtuous woman in the community has a hand and acts a part in inflicting it. The crime of adultery when freely admitted, or clearly and judicially proved, naturally excites an universal feeling of execration, of abhorrence, and of loathing detestation of the criminal in the breast of every upright man and chaste woman in the community. That feeling of hatred or aversion is not the result of a principle of religion or of a dictate of reason, but rather of an instinct of nature. We still inherit as much of our original rectitude and justice as will make it impossible for us not to abhor the adulterer as well as his crime. Hence this instinct of nature has asserted itself visibly, practically, and effectively in all ages, in all countries, even among Pagans as well as amongst Christians. The adulterer, therefore, as soon as his crime has been clearly proved, finds himself confronted with a deadly, an implacable, and an aggressive enemy in every upright man and virtuous woman he meets with. They will not, however, hang him or imprison him, or transport him, or offer him the slightest violence. But they will assail him with, as it were, the daggers of their angry, defiant, and threatening looks, they will wound him with, as it were, the swords of their unconcealed contempt, scorn and abhorrence, and they will assassinate him socially through the intolerable isolation in which they will place him, by

the impatient haste and eagerness with which they will fly from him, and shun him as they would a plague or a pestilence. The deep and impassioned execration with which all just, upright, and virtuous men will loathe and abhor the adulterer, and the intolerable social isolation with which they will mercilessly ostracise him, will amount conjointly to the last and the severest form of human punishment and suffering. The adulterer may not feel a particle of shame or abhorrence for the foul moral turpitude of his crime. He may be utterly indifferent and insensible to the fear of God's justice and of God's eternal punishment; but the impassioned execration of all that is good, noble, and holy in human nature will cow and make him tremble. No other form of human punishment can furnish as powerful and as effectual a deterrent to prevent, to discourage and restrain men from defiling and disgracing themselves with the foul and odious guilt of adultery.

"That Mr. Parnell had disgraced himself by the crime of vile, habitual and persistent adultery is beyond all doubt. That he never felt the slightest shame or remorse, and that he never expressed the smallest regret or sorrow for his sin is equally certain. He never made the slightest atonement or the smallest reparation for the grave and irretrievable injury he inflicted on the great domestic virtue, on which the not only peace and happiness of families but the most vital interests of society itself essentially depend. In punishment, therefore, of his crime, and with a unanimity hardly ever paralleled, the great public opinion of all the archbishops and bishops of the secular and regular clergy, and of all that was great, good, and noble in the laity of Catholic Ireland, degraded and deposed him from the high and distinguished dignity of the leader of a chaste and religious nation.

"Sorely against our wishes we felt that we could not possibly condone and forgive even in Mr. Parnell a crime which we are conscientiously bound to reprobate, to condemn, and to punish in every man living. Adultery is a grave violation of the fundamental laws of nature, and is, in all circumstances and under all conditions, an essential, an unnatural, and an intolerable moral evil which will ever and always cry aloud for blame and punishment. We cannot change God's eternal laws. We can administer them only as we find them. Those who yet maintain that Mr. Parnell is still entitled to the esteem, the confidence, and the high and honourable dignity of leader of the Irish nation must hold, too, that he did no wrong which deserved either blame or punishment; and, consequently, that habitual adultery, which was not even regretted, atoned for, or repented of, has nothing whatever in it that is criminal or sinful.

"On this principle the adulterer who had already emancipated himself from all fear of God's eternal justice would find himself still further relieved even from the fear of blame and punishment from the justice of man.

"But this pestiferous principle would soon foster and encourage the increase and multiplication of adultery and crime to an extent that would shake and dislocate the very framework of human society itself. In these circumstances it is sad and humiliating to see upright, patriotic Irishmen, and chaste, virtuous Irishwomen, striving for the ascendancy of Parnellism, and thus doing their very utmost to demolish the great breakwater which God and nature have raised up to protect Christian society from being submerged by the deluge of adultery and crime with which the unbridled, licentious passions of wicked men and of shameless and abandoned women threatened to overwhelm it. In a state of human society in which there were no prisons or jails, in which deliberate and cold-blooded assassins and murderers would not be hanged or executed; in which thieves, burglars and robbers would not be arrested, imprisoned, or transported; and in which adultery was regarded as a harmless or pardonable pastime, the gifts of life at its root, and in its source.

"But I must confess that I have stronger, deeper, and much sterner antipathies and dislikes to the anti-Catholic and anti-National character of the living organisation or party into which Parnellism has developed. The doctrines of faith, on heaven, hell, purgatory, on the resurrection of the dead, on the general and particular judgments to come, and on the other great truths of our religion could never

be discovered, proved, and accepted as certain by the reason and intelligence of man in any possible form of human inquiry. God alone knew these great truths, and no one but God could reveal them, teach them, and publish them to mankind. Under the new dispensation, at least, a clear, a distinct, and an intelligent knowledge of several of these Divine truths is an essential condition for the salvation of every man living, because that knowledge is an essential prerequisite for the supernatural Divine faith, without which no one can please God. The Almighty was therefore bound by His own Divine ordinances to furnish the facilities and opportunities that were not only sufficient, but abundantly sufficient, to bring within every man's reach that Divine knowledge without which he could not believe and be saved. The agencies and machinery which it pleased him to employ for this purpose were the preaching of His Gospel, the public teaching of His Divine Word, and the explanation and interpretation of His Holy Law. The great and wonderful work, preaching His Gospel and teaching its Divine truths to the whole world in all ages and generations, He entrusted to the ardent zeal and untiring labours of His Apostles and their successors till the consummation of the world. The commission which He gave and the Divine command which He imposed on His Apostles and their successors to undertake and carry out in all nations and throughout all ages this great work of enlightening the world with the knowledge of His Divine doctrines was the very last act of His visible presence in this world: 'Go,' said He, 'and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you, and lo! I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world.' The successive divisions of time by which the actions of men are measured, reckoned, and recorded, do not apply to God or to any of His Divine acts. God has no past, present, or future. The past and the future are as near, as close, and as intimately present to God as the things that actually exist, and the things that actually exist are before God as if they did not exist at all. Hence, our Lord, speaking here as God, addresses the successors of the Apostles in all ages to the end of time as directly and as immediately as He did the Apostles themselves. Hence, He commissions and commands them all, indiscriminately and without any distinction, to preach His Gospel to all nations and in all ages, and He promises to remain with them in every age till the consummation of the world, aiding, assisting, and co-operating with them in accomplishing the great work He had commanded them to perform. Hence, I myself and every bishop now living received directly and immediately from our Lord Himself the same commission and the same command, and in the very same words as the Apostles themselves, to preach the Gospel to the men of this generation exactly as they preached and taught to the men in theirs. As the men, therefore, of their age received their enlightenment and their faith from the preaching and teaching of the Apostles, so the men of the present age, and of every age to the end, do and will receive their

faith from our preaching and that of our successors till the consummation of the world. This commission is carried out now exactly as when the Apostles lived. We all come into this world exactly as pagans and infidels, without a shred of knowledge of any kind, either human or Divine. We are taught our simple elementary prayers and the rudiments of our religion by our parents. The elementary knowledge we have thus gained is enlarged, improved, and becomes clearer and more distinct by the catechistical instructions we receive from the teachers of the schools to which we are sent by our parents. That knowledge is still further enlarged and improved, and is rendered much more rational and intelligent by the lectures delivered to us by our parish priests or curates when they are preparing us for confirmation. Finally the bishop falls in with us on and during his visitation to our native parishes. He interrogates and examines us, sifts and tests the extent, the accuracy, and the truth of our religious knowledge, and finding it sufficient and satisfactory, he confirms us and enrols us in the ranks of the strong and perfect Christians who compose the great supernatural society of the Church of God on earth. Thus we learn, then, not on the authority of our parents, or our teachers, nor even of our parish priests or curates, but on the authority of one who comes to us as an accredited envoy from God, Divinely commissioned to preach and teach us His Gospel that the doctrines we have been taught, and in which we have been instructed, and which we now thoroughly understand, are all revealed truths contained in the written or unwritten Word of God. Having ascertained that fact on His authoritative testimony, and aided by God's grace, we with our whole hearts and souls make an act of faith in the truth of the doctrines of our religion, on the authority of Him who has revealed them, and who cannot possibly mislead or deceive us. That act of belief is at once a rational, a supernatural, and a Divine act of Catholic faith. It is in this way, and precisely on these principles, that Catholics believe in the truth of all the doctrines of their religion, and what was said of the preaching of the Apostles not only applies, but was actually said, too, of the preaching of their successors. 'He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned.'

"Now, Parnellism strikes at the very root and saps the very foundations of Catholic faith.

"I have already proved, I trust to your satisfaction, that Parnellism is much more than a political question, and that it is an essentially and an intensely religious question as well. All the successors of the Apostles in this country—that is to say the 29 archbishops and bishops of Ireland—have solemnly warned and taught their respective flocks that Parnellism was unlawful and unholy.

"That it was in distinct, direct, and essential antagonism with the principles of Christian morality, and even dangerous to their faith as Catholics, and consequently that they should shun and avoid it.

"They who refuse to accept that teaching or that principle on the unanimous authority of the whole Irish Hierarchy, deprive themselves of every rational ground or motive for believing in the truth of any of the other doctrines of their religion.

"Because it is solely on the authority which they here despise and decry that they know, or possibly can know, that any one of those doctrines was ever revealed at all by God Almighty.

"If the bishops can mislead or deceive their flocks on this particular doctrine what is to prevent their doing exactly the same in the case of any of the other doctrines which they are continually teaching? Invincible ignorance may undoubtedly excuse many of the misguided but well-intentioned men who still cling to Parnellism, but no intelligent or well-informed man can continue and remain a Catholic as long as he elects to cling to Parnellism.

"Paganism did its very utmost through a cruel, an inhuman, and a bloody persecution of 300 years duration to extirpate and stamp out of existence what it regarded as the aggressive and execrable superstition of Christianity. English Protestantism did the very same thing in this country; and during practically the same protracted period. The blunt, brutal, and savage expedient employed in either case to realise this infamous design was to murder and martyr in hecatombs the Popes, bishops, priests, and religious who preached the Gospels and propagated the doctrines of Catholicity among the people. If the preaching of the Gospel was purely the work of man and not principally the work of God these savage persecutions would undoubtedly have extinguished and stopped it. The human agents employed in the preaching of the Gospel may perish and pass away, but our Lord will find others to take their places, and He has distinctly promised to remain with them too till the consummation of the world. The preaching of the Gospel of our Lord must go on earnestly, vigorously, and fruitfully to the end. Nay, it will go on with increased energy and fruitfulness, and it will actually grow and thrive under persecution. Religious persecutors in modern as well as in ancient times have learned and proved by actual experience that the martyr's blood was a divine seed from which a fresh, a numerous, and an abundant crop of new Christians and Catholics invariably sprung.

"Now, Parnellism, like Paganism, impedes, obstructs, and cripples the efficiency, and blights the fruitfulness of the preaching of the Gospel and the diffusion of that Divine knowledge without which our people cannot be saved.

"It does not now employ the old, coarse, and exploded expedients which failed the Pagans so egregiously. It will not now murder or martyr, or transport the bishops or priests who preach the Gospel. But its newspapers and its orators are now doing their utmost by calumny and falsehood, by scorn and ridicule, to decry and run them down, and to bring them into contempt, odium, and unpopularity with their flocks.

"Now, the high and Divine dignity of our sacred character and calling necessarily entitles us to the reverence, respect, and veneration of every man who really believes in his religion. It is through our preaching and teaching alone that the faithful receive the Divine faith and knowledge without which they cannot be saved. It is exclusively through us that the clean and holy oblation of the Sacrifice of the Mass is offered daily for the living and the dead on the thousands of altars throughout our country. It is through our ministry that the poor penitent gets forgiveness of his sins in the Sacrament of Penance.

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"The dying Parnellite himself will hardly dare to face the justice of his Creator till he has been prepared and anointed by us for the last awful struggle and for the terrible judgment that will immediately follow it. Should the day then ever come when we shall have lost the confidence and have fallen in the estimation of our people, when, instead of reverence and respect, they shall regard us with distrust, aversion, and dislike, when the 'soggarth aroon' will be regarded as the base and corrupt traitor of the interests of his country and the welfare of his people, then our preaching will not be listened to, our sacraments will be neglected and even despised, and the Catholic religion, purpled and hallowed as it is by the blood of our forefathers, will be radically extirpated out of our country. This is the natural tendency and will be the inevitable result of Parnellism. I earnestly entreat you, then, dearly beloved, to stamp out by your votes at the coming election this great moral, social, and religious evil which has brought about so much disunion and bad blood amongst a hitherto united people, which has worked so desperately, but in vain, to break the golden link of love that has bound the priests and the people for centuries inseparably together, which by sowing dissensions in the National Parliamentary Party has weakened its strength and efficiency and which has seriously imperilled on the very eve of victory the claims of our poor country to its legislative independence. I remain, dearly beloved,

"+ THOMAS NULTY,

"Bishop of Meath.

"MULLINGAR, 29*th June*, 1892."

PROVING THE PASTORAL IN EVIDENCE.

Mr. M. A. CASEY, editor of the *Drogheda Independent*, proved that a public copy of the pastoral appeared in the *Independent* of 2nd July, of which paper Mr. Fullam, the respondent, was part proprietor. The **Rev. Richard Blake, P.P.**, of Derry, South

Meath, called on subpœna, produced an original copy of the pastoral; a Latin portion was appended commanding the pastoral to be read at all Masses.

The following is a summary of the more important points in the general evidence.

"FIRE THEIR HEELS AND THEIR TOES."

Mr. MICHAEL SAURIN, J.P., of Harristown, said "he was at mass on 26th June, at Ballinabrackey. **Rev. Patrick O'Connell** officiated. Before the last Gospel he said he had a duty to perform, and that duty he would perform by warning the people against the curse of Parnellism. No Parnellite could receive the sacraments worthily. He called them anti-clericals. He warned the fathers and mothers not to allow their children (sons or daughters) to attend a Parnellite meeting about to be held. I attended mass on June 29th at Castlejordan. **Father O'Connell** preached. He referred to a meeting at Clonard, and said he expected every man, woman and child in the parish would attend. He told them plainly it was no longer a political matter, it was a matter of their holy religion. He said the procession would start from the chapel at Clonard, and they were all to be present in time to walk to the place of meeting. He would be present along with **Father McLoughlin** and go round and see who was absent. Anyone absent he must know why, and any that wilfully absent themselves without a just cause he would meet them on the highway and the bye-way, and at the rails, and that 'he would fire or he would set fire to their heels and toes.'" Mr. Saurin, continuing: "I voted at Clonard; the door was crammed so as to prevent anyone getting into the booth. The Curate of Ballinabrackey and **Father McLoughlin** were present. When I came up the crowd (about two hundred) began to boo and shout 'Down with Saurin,' and

ONE MAN SPAT ON ME.

The clergymen were standing about. The police got me into the booth. The crowd booed and shouted me down the road when I came out."

JOHN F. MONAHAN examined, and said:—"I attended Castlejordan chapel on 29th June [a Saint's day], **Father O'Connell** delivered a sermon after the first Gospel. He said that there was to be a Federation meeting in Clonard, that the priest expected everybody to go, and, in fact, he commanded them to go; that their parish priest expected them to go, and that he would be going there himself as well as the parish priest. He said he did not expect them to do impossibilities, but if any one was absent he would expect them to give a good and sufficient reason for their absence. Then he went on to talk about the Parnellites. He said they were only a handful or so, that they were 'anti-clerics.' Then he recollected himself, and said 'anti-Catholics.' He would have no compromise whatever with them. He said that the Parnellites were

INFIDELS AND HERETICS,

that he would make it hot for them, that he would meet them in their homes, on the highways and bye-ways, and 'in the church,' or 'at the rails'—I could not say which. He also said that anything he took in hands before he was not put down in, and he would not be put down this time. He said, too, **that 'he would set fire to the heels and set fire to the toes.'"**

Mr. EDWARD WEIR, a hale old man, was examined on November 18th. He said:—"I attended masses at Castlejordan chapel on 26th and 29th June. After the first Gospel, on 26th June, the priest (**Father McLoughlin,** I think), when the collection had taken place, turned to the people, and he alluded to 'the Guardian.' I am a Poor Law guardian. He said, 'this Pigotted guardian, that was put in on the Pigotted votes.' When he said that I was sitting opposite him. As soon as the allusion was made to the name of 'Pigotted guardian,' I stood up and left the chapel; I went outside. On 29th **Father O'Connell** preached a sermon. He commenced by telling the people a Federation meeting would be held in Clonard, and he advised the people to go there. He said, 'There is another matter. There is a clique of Parnellism here. There is a few who want to bully the priest,' and got a little hot with the heat of passion. He said, 'I will make things hot for them here,' and stooping down, he says, 'at the communion rails I will meet them, and in the bye-ways, and will put fire to their heels and their toes, and make it hot for them.' It had an effect on me. Next night but one I was going home to my own place late, and I saw a fire, and I thought my place was on fire; it was not the house, but they had lit the hedge, and they had put a fire on the pier of the gate. I wondered if they were going to burn me out, and I said I would not be surprised at it after

THE ADVICE THEY GOT ON SUNDAY.

I said to them (about 30 people present) 'Couldn't you pass by without burning my place?' My son went to take the fire down off the pier, and one young man came forward with a pole and said, 'Leave that fire alone.' I said to him, 'Go back there; there might be harm here.' Then they went back. One man raised the pole to strike my son, and I went between them."

JOSEPH MCNAMARA, farmer and mill owner, Castlejordan, was examined on November 18th. "I was at mass at Castlejordan on June 29th, **Father O'Connell** preached. He referred to a meeting which was to be held that day at Clonard, six miles distant. He advised the people to go—everybody who possibly could. He said that he would be there himself, and that he would mark and see who would not be there. He referred then to the parties who would not be there and said that he would meet them on the highways and bye-ways and 'would put fire to their heels and toes.' He referred to the Parnellite party and said they were people he would watch and called them anti-Catholics. I was at the same chapel on the 3rd July, **Reverend Father McLoughlin** read the pastoral."

NICHOLAS COONEY, a groom to Mr. Carew, of Kildangan, was examined on 18th November. "I attended mass at Castlejordan on June 29th. **Father O'Connell** said mass and preached. He said 'there was going to be a great meeting at Clonard, and for them to meet there, at Clonard chapel, at two o'clock, and that he would be there himself, and that he would see those who were absent from the meeting, and that he would mark them, and that he would make it hot for them on the highways and bye-ways; and that he would put fire to their heels and at their toes, and here—beckoning to the rails.'"

Did he say anything further?

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Did he say he would meet them at the rails? He was beckoning at the rails. He said: "I will put fire at their heels and at their toes, and at the rails."

Mr. Kehoe—Did he say anything further? He said "it was not a political meeting. It was a religious meeting, and for them all to go there."

Now did he say anything else? Yes; he said "the Parnellites were few in number, and that he would crush them out."

JOHN COONEY, coachman to Mr. Thomas Carew, gave evidence on November 18th. "I am a voter. I was at mass on 29th June at Castlejordan. I recollect after the collection **Father O'Connell** making some observations from the altar. He told the people to go to Clonard—men, women, and children.

He said "that they would meet in Clonard at two o'clock, and that he would be there himself to see who would be absent or who would not—that he would make it hot for those Parnellites, behind them and before them, in highways and bye-ways, everywhere he would meet them, inside the chapel, outside the chapel, and at the rails."

Do you remember anything further? Yes; he said "he would put fire to their heels and their toes."

PATRICK CAREW, a herd, was examined by Mr. Kehoe. "I was at mass at Ballinabrackey on 29th June. The **Rev. Father O'Connell** preached a sermon. He said 'that they [the Parnellites] were holding a meeting and that no one would attend them, and if they did they might not go near him.'"

Rev. PATRICK O'CONNELL, curate of Ballinabrackey, cross-examined by Mr. O'Shaughnessy on November 25th.

What is the meaning of setting fire to a man's toes and heels? Nothing at all.

And do you mean to say that, standing upon the altar steps, you, a priest in your vestments, uttered language of that kind, meaning nothing at all? It was a reply to the language of another person.

Is the altar used to reply to a politician? It is used in a conditional sense that if anybody in the parish attempted to make it practically hot—the meaning of it was that we would be well able to defend ourselves.

What did you say about firing the heels and toes? That is a

certain statement which emanated from a certain prominent member of a certain party. That was a floating maxim.

That is a statement, then, which is a floating maxim? To make it hot in one sense.

Well, go on? If any person undertook to put that maxim into practice, it would be made hot in return.

You, in return, said that very soon such a person would find it hot, and have fire scattered at his heels and toes? Yes.

Who was to scatter the fire? I don't know. It was not meant——

It was only a metaphor? It was only a metaphor.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—It was not a case of spontaneous combustion? (great laughter).

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Q.C.—Then you said you would scatter fire at their heels and their toes? I did not say scatter fire at their heels and their toes. I said if any person undertakes or attempts to put that maxim into practice it would be made hot in return.

Was that on the altar? It would be. I said that, perhaps, very soon such a person would find fire scattered at his heels and his toes.

Rev. RICHARD McLOUGHLIN, P.P. of Ballinabrackey, in reply to Mr. Drummond, said he preached on 26th June and referred to the election.

Didn't you on more than one occasion intimate to your congregation that the question of religion was at stake in supporting or opposing the Parnellite Party? I believe I did, or that religion was concerned.

More than once? Yes.

And didn't you convey that idea to the congregation several Sundays immediately before the election? I suppose I did.

And didn't you convey to them that it was inconsistent with catholicity and their duty as Catholics to support the Parnellite party? I suppose I did. I have no doubt I did.

Did you remember the occasion of the words "Pigottist votes?" Not distinctly.

Do you mean to convey by that expression you were not speaking of the coming election? If it was on the 25th June it must have been.

Were not you then conveying to your congregation that it would be a bad thing, a disreputable thing, to support a Parnellite candidate? No. It was the duty of every good, honest Catholic to support the National candidate, no matter who it may be.

SPITTING UPON VOTERS.

NICHOLAS COONEY swore:—"I went to Clonard on the day of voting with Mr. Carew. It was nearly half-past seven in the evening. There were about 100 people around the door of the booth hooting and booing. They gathered round the horse and car, while the others were inside.

THEY SPAT UPON MY CLOTHES AND IN MY FACE.

Father Woods was there when I drove up first."

John Cooney in his evidence also stated:—"I went to Clonard with the last witness to vote. There were a hundred persons or more on the road at the door of the booth."

Did you notice any clergymen there? One; the **Rev. Father Woods.**

When you got up there did the crowd do anything? They rushed up and I stepped in.

You got voting? Yes.

When you came out did anything occur? Yes, they booed me.

Did anything more happen? One chap drew a stick at me and tried to hit me.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Did you hit him? No, my lord.

Did you drive away? Yes.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—Did they follow you any distance? They did.

Were you present at the time they spat at your brother? I saw him spat at.

Did you see the spit upon him? Yes; I saw it on the front of his coat. It was quite plain.

JAMES GRIFFITHS said:—"I acted as personation agent for Mr. Dalton at Summerhill. There was a large crowd outside booing and shouting and calling names. **Father Buchanan** was there the whole day. He was giving voters instructions and bringing them up. When I was leaving the booth at eight o'clock I saw a young man named Kinahan, who was an agent for Mr. Dalton, **covered with spits."**

FRANCIS BRACKEN, in reply to Mr. Drummond:—"I am a voter and a Parnellite. I went to vote at Clonard after seven o'clock in the evening. There was a crowd around the booth. I was driven in by Mr. Carew's two men."

What are their names? John Cooney and Nicholas Cooney.

Did they drive the car over close to the door of the booth? They did; and **the crowd stood round the horse and tried to spit on us, and called out "Roper."**

Did they spit on any persons on the car? Yes; upon Nick Cooney.

"When I came out I believe I stood in such danger that they took me upon the car and left me at home. On the day following the declaration of the poll, I was at work in Mr. Gill's field as usual. There were five men at work in the field besides myself. They said that none of them would work with me. I stayed at home next day in consequence of what occurred. My employer called at the house, and I followed him back to the field. Mr. Gill told them that 'if they did not like to work with me they might go into the road.' Then they continued working."

REFUSED ADMISSION TO MASS.

MATTHEW BROGAN, a farmer, examined by Mr. Drummond on 18th November. "I remember going to Clonard chapel on 10th July, the

Sunday before the election. My son, daughter-in-law, her children and two men accompanied me. When I got to the chapel I did not get in. I saw a mob outside it. The gate was partially closed. The mob was between the chapel and me. The gate is a heavy iron one with two doors. The gate is about four yards from the chapel door. About 30 or 40 persons, partly young and grown boys, composed the mob. There was one head man. He was keeping them close to the gate. He is a married man named John Sheridan. He closed the gate and would not let me in or anyone with me. He stood against it and a couple along with him. One man said 'Let him in,' and another said 'No, he is a Parnellite.' I said to Sheridan, 'Are you going to serve me as you served Dickson and his brother?' He never opened his lips. They (the mob) groaned at me and booed me till I was off. They said

'GO TO ROPER.'

He is the Protestant rector. I did not go to mass that day. I went home. I had no place else to go."

When your daughter-in-law and the two boys came up were they let in? They were not.

Did they ask to get in? did they go up to the gate? They shut the gate upon her hand.

Did she try to push the gate? They pushed the gate back and near cut the hand off her.

I suppose she turned home? She went home along with her husband and the two children.

You are a voter? I am; and have been for fifty years.

What did they do when your son came up? They stopped him at the gate and would not let him in either.

Was there any other Parnellite came up except yourself and your son? There were two.

What are their names? Fagan and Dillon. One is a servant boy and the other a workman.

Where are they employed? One of them is a servant boy for Mr. Robertson.

They are both members of the Parnellite party? Yes, my lord.

They were not let in either? Neither of them.

They are grown-up young men? Yes; one of them is a married man.

"When I came out of the polling booth at Clonard on the election day a man named Glynn asked me if I was a Parnellite. I said I was. He said 'I'll kick you,' and I walked away. Glynn is a blacksmith."

MICHAEL KENNY, a servant man to Mr. Bernard Robertson, of Ballyboggan, was next examined. "I remember going to mass at Clonard chapel on July 10th. I saw Peter Fagan going before me to the gate. It was closed against him when he went up. John Sheridan and William Farrell closed the gates. Mass was going on."

When you got up to the gate what happened? It was open letting in other people, and I was going in, and James Fagan cried out—

"HERE'S ANOTHER PARNELLITE; DON'T LET HIM IN."

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Do you know whether at that time Peter Fagan had gone in? No, my lord, he was not let in at the time.

Mr. Kehoe—Did Peter Fagan turn away? Yes.

Had he gone away when you got to the gate? He was gone on one side.

After the expression was used—"Here's another Parnellite; don't let him in"—what happened? The gate was slapped, and my wrist was caught in the gate.

It is an iron gate? Yes. Were you hurt? I was. Did you turn away? Yes.

Did you remain any time there? Yes.

"I asked Farrell to let me in to hear mass, and Sheridan told me to 'take myself away out of that.' I am a voter and Parnellite. Coming away I was hooted and booed at."

PETER FAGAN, also a servant man to Mr. Robertson, was examined. "I remember going to mass at Clonard on July 10th. There was a crowd of persons at the chapel gate. I attempted to get in. Somebody called out, 'here is a Parnellite,' and not to let him in.

THEY SAID 'GO BACK TO ROPER.'"

Did you go away or stay? I stopped.

Did you go down on your knees? **I went down on my knees outside the gate on the kerbstone.**

Did you say your prayers on your knees on the kerbstone? Yes.

During the whole of mass? Yes.

Did any one of these men who were keeping the gate kneel down? They did for a short time during a part of the mass.

Did they remain at the gate the whole time? Yes.

During the whole mass? Yes.

Did you hear any hooting or booing from that crowd? Yes.

CHRISTOPHER BROGAN was the first witness examined on Monday, November 21st. He said:—"I remember going to mass at Clonard on July 10th. I walked down and I saw the chapel gates shut, and a party of men and boys inside. I saw some people who were kept out, as I thought, standing outside the gate; I saw my wife, who walked down before me, amongst the people outside the gate. I went over to my wife and I asked her what was this about; she told me

THE PARNELLITES WOULD NOT BE LET IN.

I walked back to the gate from her and I asked John Sheridan, who was inside, was he at the head of this. He said not. I asked what did we do that we were kept out of mass. The first thing I heard was a voice for me **to go to 'Roper,'** and they all began booing

and hissing. They called upon their people to come up, and according as they came up they were let in. I said, **'I drew stones to the belfry of that chapel, and I am badly treated.'** I walked across the road and looked at some advertisements; I walked back, and they said, 'There he is coming again to strive to get in.' I went away a few minutes afterwards. **My wife went away before me."**

A CIRCLE ROUND A VOTER.

THOMAS BROGAN was sworn, and examined by Mr. Drummond on November 18th. "I attended mass in Clonard on July 10th. **Father O'Connell officiated.** He spoke to the congregation after the collection. He impressed upon them to go and vote at Clonard on the following Tuesday, and he said 'it was not so much a political question—that it was

ESSENTIALLY A RELIGIOUS QUESTION.'

He spoke of the pamphlet droppers, and those who carried round pamphlets, and he said they all knew what pamphlet droppers were. He then said he wanted to get a name for the man who brought the pamphlets around, and he said that the right name for him was only a **'souper'** (Protestant). I acted as a personation agent for Mr. Dalton at Clonard. There was a large crowd at the booth, they were from Castlejordan and Ballinabrackey; **Father McLoughlin** and **Father O'Connell** were there. The crowd hissed me on the way to the polling booth. I spoke to **Father McLoughlin** and he said I had insulted him before. He put back the crowd. I said 'I never insulted any man, much less a priest,' and that if I insulted him I was ready to apologise. The crowd got more enraged then, and they put me with my back to the wall of the polling booth, and then he said, 'Leave him alone.' **He drew a circle around me with his walking stick, and said, 'Leave him alone; leave him by himself.'**

"I went into the booth and remained there until 8 o'clock. I could not go out for fear of being killed. I left with Mr. Carew, and was taken up on his car. **Father Masterson** was there at the close. The crowd followed us along the road, throwing stones and saying all sorts of bad names—priest hunters, and everything that way."

AFRAID TO VOTE.

PATRICK HOGAN, farmer, of Castlejordan, was examined by Mr. Kehoe on November 18th. "I went to vote at Clonard about one o'clock. There was a crowd straight opposite where they were voting. I met Barney Mitchell and Peter Carr, some of the crowd. They asked me why didn't I go and vote. I said I was after voting, and they said that I didn't, that they watched me too well, and that I could not vote 'unknownst.' I went away further.

I WAS AFRAID TO VOTE.

I went to Thomas Carbery's gate, and Carbery ordered me away. I went away entirely then. I went home. I did not vote at all. I was afraid."

PETER LOGAN sworn on November 18th, and in reply to Mr. Drummond, said:—"I am a voter and a Parnellite. I left to vote at Clonard on the polling day about eight o'clock, arriving there at ten o'clock. I saw a crowd when I was approaching Clonard. **Father McLoughlin** and **Father O'Connell** were there. As I passed the two clergymen **I was called 'Priest-hunter' and 'Roper.'"** *

"ROPERS" AND PRIEST-HUNTERS.

JAMES RAFFERTY was next witness on November 18th. "I remember the 29th June, the day the meeting was held at Clonard, at which Mr. Fullam spoke. I was not at the meeting. When the persons who were at it were returning they stopped at my gate. They called me 'Roper' and several other names, and cried, 'down with me.' I am a Roman Catholic. I voted at Clonard. I saw **Father McLoughlin** walking about. I was not booed going to the poll. I can neither read nor write. I was told by a man in the booth to look at my name and put my pen on it. I voted for Mr. Dalton. It was after that when I came out that I was booed. On 16th July, about half-past two in the morning, a crowd of about thirty came to my house.

THEY CALLED ME 'ROPER,' AND SAID 'DOWN WITH ME.'

They were coming from a bonfire and were booing and shouting. Patrick Mooney thought to break in the door, but I had it secure inside with the crowbar. My house is about nine to ten perches away from the road. I remained guarding the door with a pitchfork. One put in his head and got a good peep at the pitchfork—they then withdrew."

THOMAS DUNN, a labourer and voter living in Ballinabrackey, was sworn. He was a Parnellite. "I remember June 29th; there was a meeting at Clonard. The people coming back from the meeting were shouting and booing. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. I was out looking for the children to bring them home. James Mitchell followed us down the lane and came into our house, and I put him out three times. He called out

'DOWN WITH PRIEST-HUNTERS AND ROPERS.'

The third time he came in my wife threw a tin of water into his eyes. After that he gave her a box in the face and closed up her eye and cut her. A young man named James Carew took him away and I saw no more of him after that."

* Roper is the name of the local Protestant Clergyman.

A BONFIRE.

CHRISTOPHER BRENNAN was called and sworn. "On the Saturday after the election I passed by where there was a bonfire."

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—You and your wife were going home and you had to go that road? Yes.

Was the bonfire part of the celebration of the triumph? It was more for an evicted tenant getting back.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Is it for the celebrated Commission? (Laughter).

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—There will be very few bonfires for that, I think.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Had the evicted tenant been put out or back? He was getting back.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—Did the crowd say or do anything to you? They groaned and called names.

A PRIEST IN A PASSION.

JOHN THOMAS GRIFFIN, Station Master at Drumree, the next witness, said:—"Close to the railway station I had a flag-staff with an inscription on it, "Vote for Dalton and Home Rule." The flag-staff was on the railway bridge. My attention was called to the fact that **Father McEntee** had torn down the flag. Some young fellows, including my son, had put it up. I asked him for what reason he pulled down the flag. He said it was a shame for me to have such a flag or placard—I cannot say which—exhibited."

Did he do anything to the placard? He tore down the flagstaff and tore the placard from it.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Did he do this while you were present? Yes.

Was it paper material? Yes; and large capitals on a board. I may say the board was my own private property, and it was borrowed from me.

What did he do with the material?

HE JUMPED ON THE PLACARD.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—What did he do after he jumped on it?

Witness—I told him that I was ashamed that a clergyman should get into such a scene of passion as he was in at that time.

What did he say to that? He said it was a shame for me to be making fun of the dictates and instructions of my bishop.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Is he a curate or a parish priest?

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—A parish priest.

Witness—I think he is imported into our parish, but he does not belong to it.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—What next occurred?

Witness—I said he had no right, not being placed clergyman in the parish, to interfere with the parish; and he said that he was five years in the parish, and I told him that I did not care about that, that he was not in the parish now.

Did that end the conversation between you?—No; **Father McEntee** grasped the placard, which was at my feet and his, and he threw it into an adjoining field.

Did you say anything?—I repeated it was a shame for a clergyman to allow his passion to dominate him, and he said I might follow him with the law if I pleased.

SUMMONING "SUSPECTS."

JOHN MAGENNIS, a milesman on the railway, was next sworn. "I was at mass in Batterstown chapel. **Rev. Father Crinnion** is the curate of the parish. After mass **Father Crinnion,** partly in his vestments, on the altar, called out the names of certain persons (about seven, there might be more); my name was one of them. He said that

HE WANTED THOSE PERSONS INTO THE VESTRY

after mass. I was about the second that went."

What was the business? He simply asked me for my vote, and I would not tell him who I was going to vote for. I told him I did not wish to make my mind known to anyone—that I was working in Dublin, and that I did not think I would vote for any of the parties. The reverend gentleman told me he did not want me to go in danger of losing my vote.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Did you give the vote at all? I did.

"He took a ballot paper, and he made an offer, or wanted to show me the way to make my mark in case I did come. I told him I knew all about it, and it finished up at that."

I suppose he put a mark at Mr. Fullam's name? He did not say anything about that.

Where did the paper come from?—It was in the vestry, lying on the table beside where he was after taking his vestments off.

About how many came into the vestry while you were there? We were only

ADMITTED ONE BY ONE.

I have no knowledge of what happened to anyone but myself.

"I should say the men's names called out were suspects. The reverend gentleman read the bishop's pastoral after the collection same Sunday."

A MATTER OF RELIGION.

PATRICK KING, a caretaker, was next called:—He said, "I was canvassed by **Father Tynan** for my vote for Mr. Fullam, and I said I would not give it. He told me I had a right to give it, and I said I thought not. He told me it was a matter of religion, and I should vote according to my religion. **He said that if I was dying he would not attend me.** He said he would leave it to my own conscience."

"DEPRIVED OF CHRISTIAN BURIAL."

JOHN COWLEY, of Kilcavan, was next sworn. He said: "**The Rev. Mr. Tynan** is my parish priest. The day before the election **Father Tynan** spoke to me about my vote. He met myself and another man on the road, and he says 'Boys, I am canvassing.' He said to the other man 'You have a vote.' He said the same thing to me. I said I thought not, and he said I had. I said I would vote for neither party if I had one. **He told me I was bound to vote for my religion on the pain of being expelled from the Church.**"

Did he add anything to that? He did, that I would be deprived of Christian burial when I died.

"I said I did not know of that; then I walked away. The other man stopped with **Father Tynan.** I met **Father McGrath,** the curate, the same day. He told me he was ashamed of me.

"I told him, your lordships, that I never did anything I was ashamed of, or that I should have to be ashamed of."

What did he say then? He told me I would not vote for my religion.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—That is the thing he meant you should be ashamed of, I should judge, following that observation.

Witness—I asked him if Davitt was going to make religion for us (laughter).

I believe Mr. Davitt was candidate for North Meath at the time? Yes.

You were not far from North Meath at the time? Not too far.

What did he say to that? He said the bishop was making religion, "and I suppose you don't give fourpence about him."

"A FIERY SERMON."

Miss JOHANNA CAREW was the first witness on November 19th. She said:—"I was at mass at Castlejordan on 29th June. After the communion **Father O'Connell** preached. He commenced his sermon by making a remark about a few individuals in Castlejordan. He said that their conduct was savagery, and he thanked God that there were only a few, and that

THEY WOULD BE CRUSHED OUT

now after the general election. Then he went on to speak about a meeting that was to take place at Clonard that day. He said he would not detain them long in order to give them time to go to the meeting; that they were to meet at Clonard chapel at two o'clock and to walk in a body to the meeting, and that he and **Father McLoughlin** would be there, and that he would expect everyone to go. He said this was a religious meeting and not a political one. Of course, he said, he would not be unreasonable to those who could not conveniently go, but that he would see those who did go and those who were out of it, and that he would 'make it hot for them

on the roads, in their houses, in the chapel, outside the chapel, at the rails, with fire to their heels and fire to their toes.' Then he made some remark about those parties going to the sacraments—or going to the altar, I think—they would commit a sacrilege. He also made some remarks further, and called them anti-Catholics.

"He called them anti-Catholics and heretics, and said **'he was never yet put down, nor would he now.'** I have not been at mass in that church since."

A SIN TO BE A PARNELLITE.

Mr. NICHOLAS MARTIN, a large farmer, was next examined. "I attended mass at Ratoath chapel on July 10th. **Father Davis** read the bishop's pastoral."

JOHN ROGERS, of Piercetown, the next witness:—He remembered attending mass on June 29th. **"Father Fitzsimons** said mass. He preached, and he took for his text 'Peter, on this rock I will build my church.' Mr. Dalton was in the church along with me. He **(Father Fitzsimons)** said 'the enemy was amongst us.' He said 'the Church had often been attacked from without, but had always survived. Now it was attacked from within, and it would survive.' I met **Father Davis** since the election, about a week before the petition was lodged. He said, in a good humoured sort of way, 'that I was a Parnellite and would have to give it up.' **I asked him was it a sin to be a Parnellite? He said it was.** He said 'if I did not follow the bishop in that part I need not follow him at all.'"

INSTRUCTION FROM THE ALTAR.

Mr. RICHARD MACINTOSH deposed:—"I attended mass at Ardcath Sunday week before the voting. **Father Carey** read the pastoral. The Sunday before the election **Father Carey** preached a sermon. He said 'he had the blank form of a voting paper in his hand.' He said 'the first name was Dalton, and the next name was Fullam.'"

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—What more did he say?

Witness—He said about the voters to go to the booth, and, **"in the name of God, to put their cross after Fullam's name, in the interest of religion and for the good of their country."**

THOMAS MCCOY said: "I was at mass at Ardcath on July 10th. **Father Carey** gave instructions to the people how to vote. He said that 'Mr. Dalton's name was first, and Mr. Fullam's next in the instructions, and for God's sake to make their cross after Fullam's name.'"

JAMES BENNETT, a voter, who was in the chapel at same mass, confirmed the above evidence.

CLERICAL CANVASSING.

Mr. ROBERT J. HEANEY said:—"The bishop's pastoral was read by **Father Gillick** at mass in Duleek chapel. **Father Gillick** called specially at my house. He asked me was it possible that I would oppose the bishop. I said I did not know what right the bishop of Meath had to ask me for my vote in a political matter. He mentioned that I did not read Dr. Reilly's book, which said that the bishops and clergy had a right to ask the voters to vote as they wished."

THE PRIEST IN THE POLLING BOOTH.

ANTHONY GROGAN, of Longwood, was next examined. "I went to vote at Longwood. **Rev. Father Shaw,** curate, was in the booth. I told the officer my name, and that I was down on the paper as 'Anthony Geoghegan.' The presiding officer asked the agents were they willing that he should swear me to say whether I was Anthony Geoghegan. I went into the booth three times, the third time about 7.30. I offered, in presence of **Father Shaw,** to take an oath that I was the real person wrongly described on the register.

HE OBJECTED TO MY GETTING A VOTE.

The presiding officer said he didn't like to deprive the man of his vote. The argument continued mostly between **Father Shaw** and the officer till three minutes past eight. I was then told to walk out, that the ballot box was closed."

EUGENE REILLY examined, and said:—"I went to Longwood to vote. Mr. Lowndes was the presiding officer. I am described on the register as 'Owen' Reilly."

Judge O'Brien—I understand Eugene and Owen are the same? Mr. Lowndes asked me was I prepared to swear I was the man on the list. He was about to swear me when **Father Shaw** said: "If you swear him, Mr. Lowndes, I will have him arrested." I turned to **Father Shaw** and I said, "I cannot but be thankful to you." I thought he would be the last gentleman in the world to introduce me to one of Mr. Balfour's lodging-houses. I then walked out. I am a Parnellite."

PRAYING FOR THE PARNELLITES.

ANDREW REILLY, a P.L.G., said:—"I attend Longwood chapel, at which **Rev. Fathers Cassidy** and **Shaw** officiate. Before the elections there were frequent sermons and allusions to politics."

Used you go to the same mass every Sunday? To the second mass, at which the discourses were sometimes delivered by **Father Cassidy** and sometimes by **Father Shaw.**

What did he say about the Parnellites? He called them

Factionists; he told his flock to "beware that they were a cunning, tricky lot of people, and that we did not understand properly what we were about or up to."

Do you remember anything more? Well, **Father Cassidy** used to go on so fast I can hardly remember it.

Do you remember any particular words he used? He said "that our bishops never led us astray, and that he expected his flock to follow."

Do you remember hearing the pastoral read there? Yes.

"On the Sunday after the election **Father Shaw** delivered an address from the altar. He returned thanks to his supporters, and to all the parties that helped him in carrying on this canvass."

What further did he say? He said, **"Thank God there were not many of the others in the parish"**—of the seceders. He called on the flock to pray for the people who withdrew, and did not go with him. The following Sunday **Father Cassidy** came out, and he did the same. He called on the flock to pray for the few was in the parish, and thanked God there was not many of them in the parish. He then went on with a long sermon and said **"he was victorious, and won by a neck."**

"TREAT THEM AS WILD BEASTS."

PATRICK BYRNE, the next witness, said :—"My parish church is Cool, and parish priest **Rev. Father Fay.** On the Sunday before the election **Father Fay** addressed the people between the Gospels. He said 'the Parnellites were men opposed to the clergy and religion. That he would treat them as wild beasts in the Zoological Gardens, and put them in cages. They were without religion, and were followers of Garibaldi.' He went on to tell how they should vote for Mr. Fullam. He would show them, after mass, how to place their marks on a blank paper. He said 'the man who would not vote for him he would not forgive him then or ever.' **He was in his vestments at the time."**

LOUIS FARRELL, the next witness, said :—"His chapel was Drangan, and parish priest **Rev. Father Fay.** I heard **Father Fay** read the pastoral and say 'he hoped none of his parishioners would vote for Mr. Dalton.' He said 'it was really wrong to do, and that it would not be lucky to do it.' He was then standing on the altar. The Sunday before the poll, to the best of my recollection, he said **'he would never forget them if they would vote against him or the bishop, and that they would be going wrong.'"**

HE SAID "I WOULD GO TO HELL."

THOS. DARBY said:—"I was at Kill chapel when the pastoral was read by **Father McDonnell.** The next day the priest called at my house. He came in and he said 'whether is it Darby or Murtagh lives here?' I stood up and said 'I am Darby.' He asked who I was going to vote for, and I said 'Mr. Dalton.' He said **'I would go to hell,'** and I said 'if I would I would have comrades.'"

HIDING IN A WOOD.

JAMES GUERIN said :—"He was in the booth at Summerhill as personation agent for Mr. Dalton. **Father Cantwell** was in the room. After ten o'clock a crowd collected outside and commenced booing and hissing. During the day, while at the door, I was called 'priest hunter' and another name I don't wish to mention. When I was going home at eight o'clock, and leaving the town, the people remarked that they were ashamed of me because of the side I took. I crossed a wall out of the way of a crowd. I got into a young wood and stayed there till ten o'clock. I then left the wood, and about thirty people followed me along the road. They pegged stones at me as I went along, and some old cans, too. A police car came along and took me up. I was at Jordanstown chapel on 3rd July. **Father Campbell, P.P.,** after the Gospel, read the bishop's pastoral. He went back on particular words. He remarked 'that ignorant persons might be clinging to Parnellism up to this; but then, he said (pointing to the bishop's remarks), that now, after this, no intelligent or well-informed persons could remain Parnellites and Catholics.'"

WILLIAM TO VOTE AS PETER.

JOHN MOONEN, of Smithstown, stated that "he was at Julianstown on the polling day, about 3 o'clock; there were a dozen voters going into the booth, and **Father Callery** said **'Thanks be to God, I am proud of the men of Mornington, that they are not a lot of goats.'** A man named William Reynolds came up to vote: he asked **Father Callery,** who had the register in his hand, had he a vote. He asked him what was his name, and he looked at the register and he had them marked off, and he told him to go and say that his name was Peter Reynolds—that there was no William Reynolds, and to go in and vote."

BLACKTHORNS TO BE CARRIED.

PAUL LARKIN deposed "he was a farmer living at Castletown. He was a voter; Summerhill was his polling station. His chapel was Kill, and **Father Cantwell** his priest. **Father McDonnell** one of the curates. **Father McDonnell** read the bishop's pastoral at Kill on July 3rd. He said at some time that there was going to be a meeting held at Longwood in support of Mr. Fullam. He told the people to **'go and bring sticks, he would bring one himself.** He expected some three hundred men to go down.' He made some allusion to the men canvassing for Mr. Dalton, and said that

THEY WERE MARKED MEN.

I was personation agent in the booth, at the lower end of the town at Summerhill. I saw a crowd coming down booing Mr. Carew, who was a sub-agent. Some of them spat upon a man named Kinlan. I got some kind of a kick when I came out. I went to a house where my

coat was, and the people of the house would not let me in. Whilst these things were going on **Father Buchanan** and **Father Cantwell** were in the street."

THOMAS MURRAY, of Tandragee, in the parish of Kill, was examined on November 21st. He said:—"I remember being at Kill chapel on 3rd July. **Father McDonnell, C.C.,** preached and read the pastoral."

Mr. Drummond—After he had read the pastoral did he make any reference to the political parties? He did.

What did he say? I forget a great deal.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Tell us what you do remember.

Witness—"What struck me was this. I went down to canvass the voters a week before for Mr. Dalton, and he made allusions in his remarks. **He said 'there were disreputable persons in the parish who went out to canvass, and it would,' he said, 'be much worse for them here and hereafter.'** He referred to a meeting at Longwood. He said he would go to Longwood and he wished them to go there, and anybody who was unable to walk to let the others carry him, and he advised them to bring their blackthorn sticks, and that he would bring one himself for the purpose of defending himself."

Rev. Father McDONNELL, C.C., replying to Mr. O'Shaughnessy, admitted he told his congregation on July 3rd to attend the meeting and bring sticks with them, and that he would bring his own stick. He took an active part in canvassing, and saw Murtagh and Darby. He spoke to Murtagh about the pastoral.

"Are you going to vote," said I, "against your bishop?" His answer was that he did not care for bishop, priest or Pope. Then I was irritated at his answer, and I said, "Are you ready to take the consequences of your words?"

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—At the time you made that speech, which I will call the "blackthorn" speech, do you remember making any speech about cutting down these people? I did.

Did you make any observation about a fertile soil and weeds? I did.

I said I would rather strike them or cut the head off them—I cannot remember which I said—just as the head of a noxious weed that was scattering its ruinous seed over a fertile soil. I think my words were that I would strike them on the head. It would be a little more natural thing at the time.

ANOINTING THE DYING.

PATRICK HARTFORD, a labourer living at Stamullen, was next sworn. He deposed:—"I remember being on the way to a meeting on June 26th. I met **Father Murtagh.** There were ten or twelve of us, and he asked us where we were going. Somebody said we were going to a National League meeting. There was a man beside

me, and **Father Murtagh** said to him: 'I did not expect this from you. But I do from you' (meaning witness). Then I asked him what did I ever do on him that he made that on me above any of the rest. 'You are a two-faced man' he said, 'and I have it in for you,' or 'I will have it in for you.' I asked him then hadn't we liberty of conscience. 'Yes' he said, 'you may vote for who you wish when you go to Julianstown, but don't go to that meeting.' With that the rest went back, all but myself. 'Will you go back,' said he, or 'will you go to the meeting?' I made no reply, for I was determined to go to the meeting, and I did go. Next he asked me 'would Frank Fullam (a Parnellite local leader) **anoint me when I was dying?'"**

AN ADULTERERS' MEETING.

THOMAS CONNEL, the next witness, said:—"I was in Rathfeigh chapel, at mass, on the Sunday or couple of Sundays before the election, the same day that **Father Callery** preached. He **(Father Callery)** referred to a meeting at Tara, to be held that day, a Parnellite meeting."

Mr. Drummond, Q.C.—Did he apply any epithet or name to those who went? Yes; adulterers.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—He called them adulterers?

Mr. Drummond, Q.C.—Now, as far as you can give the names and the words he used about the meeting at Tara? He said that the people who would go would be adulterers, and, as I understood, **non-adulterers would be going to Screen.**

Screen was an anti-Parnellite meeting? Yes.

ONLY ERECTED A PLATFORM.

JOHN FRY, a labourer, said:—"On July 10th **Rev. Stephen Kelly,** curate, said mass and preached at Moynalvee. He said that 'this was a religious question as well as a political question, and he would wish—he would expect that they would all go there with their bishop and clergy.' Then, my lord, he referred to Mr. Parnell. 'He did a great deal of good in his day, but now that he was dead he could do no more.' The rev. gentleman continued, and said 'he would go to every house in the parish, or all he could to-day and to-morrow. That is all I remember, my lord."

You voted? No, sir. I was not allowed to vote.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Do you mean to say you claimed a vote? Yes, my lord, and would not be allowed to sustain my claim. **On the night of the declaration of the poll my effigy was burned.**

Had you taken an active part in the election? No; all the active part was to erect a platform on Friday, the 8th, for a meeting that was to be held at Moynalvee.

PROTESTANTISM PURE AND SIMPLE!

MICHAEL BRIEN was next witness. He deposed:—"I am a voter. Dangan is my parish church. I was at mass the Sunday before the election. **Father Buchanan** celebrated mass and preached a very short sermon immediately after the collection. He spoke from the altar. He said, '**Father Fay** (parish priest of Summerhill) had read an extract taken from the *Independent* newspaper.' He read part of it—'any man voting at an election should vote according to his own conscience no matter what Dr. Nulty (or it might be any bishop) might say.' That's all he read. He would not trouble them with reading any more, and he said '**that this is pure Protestantism—now that is Protestantism pure and simple.**' He said 'he hoped that no Catholic people would read this paper that would publish such language as that, or such words.' On 3rd July the pastoral was read by **Rev. Father Fay.**"

What did he say with reference to the Parnellite party? He said "that one and all should vote for the priests. He hoped everyone would, and that anyone that would go against them he would never forget it to them."

Rev. GEORGE BUCHANAN cross-examined, and in reply to Mr. Drummond:

You said that was preaching the doctrine of private judgment? Yes.

And you said that was pure Protestantism? I may have used those words.

That is to say you won't contradict the witness who swears you did? I will not.

Witness—I didn't say that Parnellism was "pure Protestantism."

That for the Parnellites to vote was "pure Protestantism." Is not that the sum and substance of it? No, I was referring to the teaching in the "Independent" paper. I said when I read that that it was the Protestant doctrine of pure private judgment—that is to act on a false conscience, and not to follow or inquire into the teachings of the bishops and priests.

Would you mean a false conscience was this—to inquire into the teachings of the bishops and priests, and if a man agreed with them then he has a right conscience, and if he disagrees he has a false conscience? No.

What do you mean by a false conscience? No answer.

MARKING MEN FROM THE ALTAR.

MICHAEL GAUGHAN said "I was at mass at Rathmoleen on the Sunday the pastoral was read by **Father M'Donnell.** After reading it, he said the time had come when no one could remain a Catholic and be a Parnellite, that a few parties went through the parish looking for votes, and that they reminded him of the wandering jew. He said they went to the highways and bye-ways and went so far as to say that anyone who would vote

against them would be marked men. He turned round and struck the altar, and said that

'HE KNEW WHO WOULD BE MARKED MEN.'

He said that he went himself to some of those parties and wanted to know what they meant by their politics, and they could give him no satisfaction but he says, 'They had a motive in it, and an under motive, and I could tell it if I liked.' He said 'there was to be a meeting held in Longwood on that day, and he required them all to be there and to bring sticks with them, not for fighting, but to protect themselves.' He said, 'I will be there too, and if anyone assaults us I will strike the first blow.' He said **'he would cut them down like a weed that would grow up and destroy the fertile soil.'**

"When we were going home a mob gathered at the chapel gate. They shouted at me that the Castle hacks were now done any way; more of them told us that we might go to church*; that it was time to wipe us out."

You were a Parnellite? Yes.

A PARNELLITE'S PROPERTY BURNED.

PATRICK FAGAN was called and deposed on November 21st. He was a farmer living at Cloudoolan. He said:—"About 27th June, a man named Clarke came to my house; he was sitting in a donkey's cart, and he came and called out to know was I within. When I went out—**'You rotten dog,'** says he."

Mr. Justice O'Brien—This is the way he opened the conversation (loud laughter).

Witness—He said "I was getting Castle money." After that he went home—somebody brought him away.

"On July 13th, after voting, some people came across the fields to his place and lit a fire about sixty perches from my house. They got furze and straw, and they called out 'We will burn Fagan's effigy.' They remained from eleven till one o'clock at night. They called me out. They said they would burn me and trample on me. I stopped inside. They called me 'Priest-hunter.'

"On the night of the 15th, **a cow shed, a croydon and harness were burned on me,** for which I have claimed compensation."

CANVASSING AT THE CHAPEL DOOR.

JAMES BONIS, the next witness, said:—"I went to Boycetown chapel on the 10th July, and near the chapel door I was met by the parish priest, **Father Luke Hope.** He said, 'he missed me from the meeting the day before.' I said didn't he miss

*Protestant place of worship.

thousands as well as me, and he said 'he saw my name on the registry list, and that I had a vote,' and he asked me to whom would I give it, I told him it would be very hard to know it; that I would not give it him, anyhow.

"I walked into the chapel; I saw him speak to three or four people as they came in."

OFFERINGS AT MASS REFUSED.

THOMAS ALLEN was sworn, and said: "I am a parishioner of **Father Fay**; one Sunday, before the election, I heard **Father Fay** speak of politics in the chapel; he remarked that those who were not for us were against us: he would rather see a man that would oppose him openly than a man who would stay at home. Some Sundays after the election I remember **Father Fay** going round with the collection. For four Sundays after the election he took the copper collection from me."

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Q.C.—Will you tell us about what occurred after that? Well, then, it might be the seventh or eighth Sunday after that, I happened to be in the front seat in the chapel, and he would not let me put the money down or take it from me. **He took it from the man beside me and would not take it from me.**

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Did he say anything? Not a word, my lord.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Q.C.—I forget whether I asked you if he salutes you? Not since the election.

Now, before the election did he salute you? Oh, always.

PATRICK DOWD, the next witness, deposed:—"I heard the pastoral read in Dangan chapel on July 3rd by **Father Fay** He said that after this Parnellism was not to be mentioned. He advised the people in the parish who had votes. He understood there were people in the parish who were not inclined to vote on either side. He said he would rather see a man against him than a man who would not vote at all, and he went on saying that that man was against him."

Rev. JOHN FAY [who was in charge of a prison warder] deposed in reply to Mr. Drummond.—On the 10th July, two days before the election, in your sermon, did you refer to the Parnellites and the Parnellite party as being opposed to the Catholic Church and religion? Yes.

And you conveyed that a man cannot be a good Catholic if he is a Parnellite? Yes.

Or a Catholic at all? He may be a nominal Catholic.

On the 26th June, did you say anything about the Parnellite party? Did you refer to them on that day also as being irreligious? I don't remember.

But didn't you convey that the Parnellite party were against the Church? Oh, of course, that was clear.

Do you state that it was clear that the Parnellite party are against the Catholic Church? Yes.

And did you in every sermon that you referred to them convey that to your congregation? No.

In almost every sermon? That they were the enemies of the Church.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Did you say that? I don't remember the exact words.

Mr. Drummond—But it is the substance of what you said? Yes.

What were the words you used that the old man said, "Not if they repent." Did he say that? He didn't say "Not if they repent."

Did he say "If they repent?" No.

Did he say "repent?" He did.

What were you saying? I was talking about the treatment they gave Mr. Davitt in my presence. They almost dashed his brains out with a stone, and I thought he was killed. I said it was horrible conduct and he said they would repent.

Of what? Of what I was describing.

Were you specially thanked by the bishop at the retreat for having contributed to secure Mr. Fullam's return? I was.

Being one of the principal hands? Not exactly; I worked for him as I had a right to do.

Was any other clergyman specially thanked? Yes, **Father Gillick.**

Were those the only priests specially named? That day.

Was that at the retreat? Yes.

What day was the retreat? It commenced about the 17th or 18th of July.

Was it at the end of the retreat that the political business was brought in? At some part of it.

FATHER BRADY A POWER.

PATRICK MOORE was sworn and said:—"I heard the bishop's pastoral read in Dunboyne chapel by **Father Brady.** I attended mass the following Sunday. **Father Brady** said that anyone that went against the bishop he would have done with him. I canvassed extensively in my own district for Mr. Dalton. I asked one man who he was going to vote for and he said '**Father Brady.**'"

Mr. Drummond—I don't want you to confine yourself to any particular person, Mr. Moore, but what was their general reason for not voting?

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Any man canvassing voters knows when he comes upon a difficulty of some kind and the causes of the difficulty. Did you find any difficulty, and was the ground assigned by those people themselves the influence of **Father Brady?**

Witness—Yes, my lord.

A MEETING SUMMONED IN THE SACRISTY.

Mr. THOMAS BYRNE, farmer and shopkeeper, said:—"I am a voter. In the month of May **Father Brady's curate** announced a meeting in the chapel yard for the following Sunday, to appoint delegates to attend the convention to be held in Navan, on the 1st June. I attended the following Sunday. There was a crowd in the chapel yard, but no meeting."

Did you then go in to the vestry? Yes.

Did you then speak to **Father Brady**? Yes, I asked him was the meeting to be held in the vestry that was originally announced for the chapel yard, and he said "Yes." He asked me was I at second mass, but I said no, I was at first. He said he had announced at second mass that **the meeting would be held in the Sacristy.** I then asked him would he adjourn the meeting for a few moments until I acquainted all the people in the yard that the meeting was being held in the Sacristy, and he said "Yes." I went to the people and told them, and they appointed three delegates to go and interview him. I was one of them. We went into the Sacristy and protested against the meeting being held there, that it should be held in the chapel yard as originally announced.

What followed? He said he would not hold it in the chapel yard, and there were a few hot words between previous witness [Patrick Moore] and **Father Brady**, and he ordered the previous witness to be arrested. He ordered one of his friends to go for a policeman. We adjourned.

"I remember **Father Brady** preaching since the election. He referred to political questions; he used the words distinctly that **'those who were going against him, or maligning him, he did not know how they could expect their priest to attend them or to administer the Last Sacraments.'** He was after alluding, in a general way, to the political situation at the time, so I take it it was to his political adversaries he was alluding at the time."

Mr. O'Shaughnessy— You are an advanced Parnellite? Yes.

ON THE WAY TO THE DEATHBED.

JOHN MURTAGH, a labourer, next took his place in the witness box. He said:—"I live at Kildalkey, and I voted in Athboy. I know the **Rev. Mr. Fagan,** curate of our parish. **Father Martin,** is the parish priest. About a week before the election I remember going for **Father Fagan** to attend one of my family who was sick. I met him in the street in Kildalkey. He asked me did I want him. I told him I wanted him

TO ATTEND A SICK WOMAN.

He asked me after a few perches of travel if I had a vote. 'Well,' says I, 'I do not know, your reverence, until I look after it.' 'And

if you had a vote,' says he, 'who would you give it to?' 'Who would I give it to,' says I, 'but to the man who begged the world for me,' meaning Mr. Parnell. He called Mr. Parnell then a blackguard. He said, my lord, that he should go travel that part of the parish to look for votes, and I told him that he had no business—that they were all Parnellites in that part. I also told him he had no business going to the meeting that was in Trim, that he would get no votes in it—there was a meeting, to be held here a few days afterwards—and that the people had their eyes open now, that they were not as they were formerly, and that they saw their enemy and their friend. Then he says—**'That the landlords may come and hunt the whole of ye to hell's blazes out of the country.'** I said, 'You wish your neighbour well, sir.' He told me then **he would kick me into the ditch,** and I told him, my lord, that I would kick him like a young dog if he would raise a hand to me. Then he said to me **'You ruffian, you will want me at the Last Day.' 'I won't hear the woman's confession,'** he said. 'I do not care whether you do or not,' says I. 'I will go for **Father Martin.'** Then I went in. Then after a minute or two he came in. I walked out of the house and left him there. I went back soon after but he had left."

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Did he attend the woman? Yes.

And heard her confession? Yes.

Mr. Drummond—Is your wife dead since? She is dead, my lord.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—How long is she dead? Four weeks last Saturday.

Mr. Drummond—**Was she on her death bed at that time? Yes, sir.**

The Rev. PATRICK FAGAN, C.C., in replying to Mr. Kehoe, said:—"Murtagh came to him to attend his wife."

Did you say you would kick him into the ditch, or some words to that effect? I did, but I had no intention.

Did he say on that day "I do not care whether you hear the woman's confession or not; I will go for **Father Martin**"? When I said "if you do not open the gate I will go away," then he said "I will go for **Father Martin.**" He was very active for Mr. Fullam.

A PRIEST AND "SOUPERS."

PHILIP GORAN, the next witness, deposed:—"I am a labourer and live at Cullenogue. I am a voter. I had a conversation with **Father Casey** about my vote. He said 'he was not going to let himself be trampled on by soupers,'* 'and God forbid,' says I,

* Protestants who endeavour to convert Roman Catholics.

'that I would allow that to be done.' **'If you were dying,' says he, 'whom would you send for? it is not for the soupers.'** I said not a ha'porth, but that 'you and I will be the best of friends, but I will vote for Mr. Dalton.'"

A PENSIONER AND HIS CERTIFICATE.

WILLIAM FARRELL was sworn. He said:—"I was twenty-one years in the army and have honours. I live at Kildalkey. I am a voter. I am in receipt of a pension, and have got certificates signed every three months by a minister of religion. I remember **Father Fagan** seeing me on 1st July. I was working on the roads, he was coming from Athboy. He said 'Willie, give me your vote.' 'I would, **Father Fagan**,' says I, 'if it was for yourself.' 'Oh, so it is for myself,' he says. 'It is not, **Father Fagan**,' says I. 'Who will you give it to, then?' he says. 'To the only honest party in the country, the Independent party, or the Parnellites if you will,' I answered. He got excited, and so did I. 'You won't give it to your priest, then,' he says. 'No,' says I, 'I could not give it to anybody who has any connection with that cowardly cur, Tim Healy (loud laughter).' He put up his hand and said, 'You have done with me, never come near me; **I will never sign the paper for you again**.' Since he became curate, three years ago, he had signed my paper every quarter."

AN OLD CURATE'S INTERFERENCE.

PATRICK REYNOLDS, examined and said:—"My parish priest is **Father Martin** and curate **Father Fagan**. Immediately before the polling **Father Kenny**, a former curate, was down in the parish. **Father Martin** did not interfere in politics on this occasion. The day before the polling I was talking to a man on the side of the road when **Father Fagan** and **Father Kenny** came up. **Father Fagan** asked me for my vote. I said I had no vote, and he said I had. He took some papers out of his pocket and began to write. I said, 'If I had a vote I had promised it. I asked him what he had against the other man [Mr. Dalton], and he said he was a brother-in-law of Redmond, and that he was keeping back the Paris funds from the evicted tenants. He asked me was I at mass on Sunday. I said I was at second mass."

HIDING TO AVOID THE PRIEST.

WILLIAM HUGHES, of Warrenstown, deposed:—'About a fortnight before the election I saw **Father Brady** in my garden after returning from work. I left the house and went up the road with the intention of not meeting with the gentleman, and I crossed the gate into a field, and I lay down at the back of the ditch."

Mr. Justice O'Brien—A very capable citizen.

Witness (continuing)—"The gentleman crossed through the gate, and he says to me, 'Hughes, is it hiding from me you are? 'Yes, Father,' says I. 'Well,' he says, 'for what reason are you hiding on me?' I said the reason I was hiding on him was that I did not want to have any interference from **Father Brady** at all. **He called me a low mean ruffian and wretch,** and said he did not think he had the like of me in his parish, and says he, 'Perhaps you will want a priest yet, or me, or some office.' He returned in to my wife and said,"—

[The Court would not admit as evidence what **Father Brady** said to witness's wife]. "I am a Parnellite."

THE SACRAMENT REFUSED.

MICHAEL MCKENNA, of Athboy, the next witness, said:—"I heard **Father Briody** refer to the Parnellite party in his sermon on 10th July. He said that the people were bound to follow their priests, and that the clergy and bishops were always safe guides in politics, or some words to that effect. He quoted the text in support of what he said—'**He that heareth you heareth Me.**'

The **Rev. Mr. Fox,** parish priest of Athboy, spoke to me about voting."

Did he make any reference to the sacraments? Yes, on the 28th June at the confessional.

Mr. Drummond—I need hardly say I don't want anything to be said which occurred in the confessional as part of the confession. I merely want you to say what he said about the sacraments after the confession was over.

Witness—"He asked me was I satisfied as to the course I was taking in politics. He knew me, of course, intimately, and knew the part that I was taking."

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Had you left the confessional at that time? No, my lord, I said I was perfectly satisfied. That I believed I was pursuing the same course as I always followed in politics. He told me that I ought to be reasonable and pay some respect to the opinions of others who knew, or ought to know, more than I knew. **He told me to pray to God to direct me, and that I might return to him in about a week or ten days.**

Mr. Drummond—Did he say anything about the sacrament? **He told me that he would not give me absolution then, sir.**

Mr. Justice O'Brien—And was it after that he said to return to him in ten days? After that. Then I told him that I was fully convinced that I was right, just the same as if I was before God. These are the very exact words that I used. **Then he told me that he could not admit me to the sacrament. So then I left."** [471

PRIEST IN CONFESSION *v.* THE WIFE.

Mr. JOHN MCKENNA, a marine dealer of Trim, deposed:—"**Father Hugh Behan** canvassed me for my vote. I said 'how can I go through the country and give you my vote?' Says he, 'You can put it in and no one will be the wiser of it.' The witness related how he was only allowed two pints in the day, having the pledge against any more. He went towards Navan expecting his two sons coming home from the Militia training, but took 'a little Sherry wine.'" He continued—"I came home and I said to myself, 'I am very sorry for breaking the pledge,' and I determined I'd take no more until I went to the priest, **Father Behan.** I went to the priest and saw him. He heard my confession, and gave me absolution. 'And now,' says he to me, 'we can say what we like and no one will be the wiser. **What are you going to do with your vote—are you going to give it to me?**" I apologised to him, and said, 'I have to go through the country, and how could I go against the country,' at the same time knowing that my wife at home was a staunch Parnellite (loud laughter). I then 'sang dumb,' and went away home. After going home I sat for a while, and then told my wife that **Father Behan** had asked me again **in the confession box,** and that I thought I would go with him. 'It would not turn me,' says I, 'and, in the name of God, will you allow me go with him?' 'Have you promised him?' says she. 'I have not,' says I. 'If you did,' says she, 'you mightn't face me' (loud laughter), and she would not let me go with him."

CANVASSING IN THE CONFESSIONAL.

MICHAEL LOWRY deposed that he was a voter. "I was at confession with **Rev. Father Behan** the last Saturday in June. After I confessed he asked me was my name Michael Lowry, and I said yes. He asked me would I vote for my priest. I told him I thought I had no vote. He said I had. **He said not to let on to anyone that he spoke to me.**"

PATRICK KELLIGAN, a bread car driver, was next sworn. He said:—"I remember being canvassed at Boardmills by **Father Behan,** accompanied by **Father Skelly.** He said would I give him my vote. I said 'I do not know about that.' He said 'that as a good-living man as I was I would go with my clergy.' Some other words passed that I cannot remember exactly; but he made a motion as if about to put my name in the book, and I said I would not promise. **Father Behan** told me 'That would do; drive on.'

On the Saturday before the poll I was at confession with **Father Behan;** before I left **the confessional** he spoke on the subject of Parnellism' and said that 'the Parnellites were good some time ago, and it was not right to follow them now.'"

WILLIAM SKELLY, a voter, deposed:—"In the month of June I was at confession with **Father Behan**: before I left the confessional he

asked me had I a vote, I told him I did not know whether I had or not. He told me I would have a vote, and that I should have a vote, and then **he told me to vote for Fullam and that I might shout for Dalton when I went out in the street.**"

JAMES COWLEY, of Daveystown, sworn, and said :—" I was at confession with **Father Behan** at Boardmills a week before the election. Before I left the confessional he asked me for my vote. I said I would not give it to him."

GEO. PLUNKETT called and sworn. He said :—"I remember the Saturday night before the pastoral was read. I was at confession with **Father Behan.** When my confession was finished he told me that I would hear a pastoral from the bishop in the morning, and to pay particular attention to it ; that we were living in terrible times, and he said, 'You are the only one of them I would speak to.' "

Were you or are you a Parnellite ? Yes.

FATHER BEHAN AT A FUNERAL.

JOHN TEELING, a civil bill officer, deposed :—"I remember attending a funeral after the election. **Father Behan** was officiating. I went on to answer the responses, and he objected to me. He told me to go back out of that."

Did he give any reason ? That I was signing the papers for those fellows. I signed the election papers for the voters, for the registration.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Q.C.—Tell me, do you remember speaking to a man named Rogers about that date ? Yes. **Father Behan** came up. He said, **"Don't speak to that man. He would not go with the priests."**

Dr. NULTY'S SERMON, 29th JUNE.

JAMES COLLINS, of Trim, the next witness, deposed :—"I was present in Trim chapel on 29th June ; the **Most Rev. Dr. Nulty** preached. It was on SS. Peter and Paul's day, and he commenced by speaking for some time on SS. Peter and Paul ; and he went on and spoke of his own time, when he was curate and parish priest and bishop, and he said that the doctrines that the great saints taught he and the other bishops, their direct successors, taught to-day ; he introduced the General Election at the present crisis in the country, and **said that 'Parnellism was nothing better than a heresy, and that he would approach the death-bed of a drunkard or a profligate with greater confidence as to his salvation than that of a Parnellite.'"**

VINCENT SHERIDAN, of Trim, was the last witness on 21st November, He said :—"I was at second mass on 29th June. **Rev. Dr. Nulty** spoke from the altar. He said that Parnellism was

morally wrong, that it was improper and unholy; that Parnellites were losing their faith, and that they were becoming heretics. His lordship then said that a crowd of drunken rowdies and abandoned women had assailed one of the purest Irish patriots living and nearly killed him."

Mr. Drummond—Referring to Mr. Davitt, I suppose? Yes.

"He said if the people did not believe him on this doctrine of Parnellism, how could they believe him on religious matters, such as confession and communion?

He said he was sorry to see the town of Trim a headquarters of Parnellism."

TOLD TO GO.

JOHN COWLEY was the first witness on November 22nd. He said:—"In the month of June **Father Skelly** came to me. I had been a year and a half employed by the nuns then as caretaker. **Father Skelly** asked me for my vote. I told him I would not give it, and then he told me to remove and give a chance to a man who would give it. He said he would speak to Mr. Clarke (Solicitor to the nuns), and send me to Kilmainham. He said I would not have luck. I gave up the keys of my house to the Rev. Mother. I told her what **Father Skelly** had said to me, and she told me to take care what would happen my children."

AN ALTAR WARNING TO ATTEND.

EDWARD BAILEY next deposed:—"I remember being in Dunderry chapel on July 10th. **Father Casey,** the curate, preached. He said the election was about coming off, and he hoped the parishioners would go with the bishop and the priests, as they usually did, and that there was a meeting in Navan, and he said that the Parnellites, or the other party had a meeting on the same day, and that he expected all his parishioners would go to the meeting and meet at Johnny Clarke's cross-roads—that they might not fear any disturbance—that three or four priests would meet them there from some other places I cannot remember, but I think Bohermeen and Athboy. That they would hold their meeting on the green opposite the Parochial House at Navan, and that the other party would be kept down on the square. **He was sure of all the parishioners except five or six."**

FATHER FAY'S SERMON.

Mr. THOMAS BARRY examined, and said:—"I was at Cool chapel before the election. **Father Fay** is the parish priest." [This witness gave his evidence with great reluctance, and, although called by the petitioner, was cross-examined by Mr. O'Shaughnessy as to the statement he gave to the solicitor.]

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Q.C.—Now, I want to ask you this—Did not **Father Fay** say that the Parnellites would be lost or damned? Well, now, I am not aware. I do not know the meaning or what was the meaning he meant to convey.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—You must give us some idea of the words he said.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Q.C.—Now, sir, did he not use the words "Parnellites will be damned," and did not a man in the gallery say, "Oh, your reverence, no, not if they repent?"

Witness—Those are not the words he used. He said, "They will repent."

Who said that, O'Keefe? Yes. "Surely they will repent."

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Mr. Barry, we must have the truth here, no matter whom it affects—we must have it here. I cannot believe any man in a congregation in a church would stand up and make use of an observation like that without something being said. You must tell what was said. Who did **Father Fay** speak of, on your oath?

Witness—I think it must have been the Parnellites.

Were the words "lost" or "damned"? **I think it was "damned,"** my lord.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—It was after that O'Keefe called out, **"Not if they repent?"** Yes.

Did not **Father Fay** then stop the sermon? Yes.

O'KEEFE COMMITTED FOR CONTEMPT.

EDWARD O'KEEFE, the man referred to by last witness as having interrupted the **Rev. Father Fay's** sermon, was next called, and refused to take the oath or give evidence. He claimed to be exempt on privilege.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—What's the privilege?

Mr. O'Keefe—My lord, I am eighty years of age; I am a postmaster. I never took any part in this election, public or private, and neither my parish priest nor the curate ever asked me a word, and I respectfully decline.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—We can't yield to your application. This is no case of privilege in point of law. The fact that you are a postmaster and eighty years of age does not prevent you from speaking the truth, and ought not to prevent you from doing it; you must be sworn.

Mr. O'Keefe declined to take the Book.

O'Keefe said "he only wanted a solitary place to put in the rest of his days, and was quite willing to submit himself to the court, and declared since Mr. Parnell died he had no peace. He was a staunch Parnellite." **The court sentenced him to a month's imprisonment for contempt.**

Mr. J. J. DALTON, THE PETITIONER.

Mr. J. J. DALTON, ex-M.P., the Petitioner, was examined by Mr. Drummond on 22nd November. He said:—"I began a tour of the division on the Sunday following the convention at which I was

selected (16th June). All communications and answers I had from the electors made me conclude that I would have the majority of the votes.

AFTER THE PASTORAL

appeared on 3rd July I was told by my friends in some places that the pastoral had altered the state of things considerably I was at mass at Athboy on June 19th. The **Rev. Father Briody** was the clergyman. After the communion he said he wanted to refer to a matter which he had often referred to before. He went on to state that a meeting was announced to be held that day in the town of Athboy, and that this was a meeting that was to be addressed by myself and my friends. He told them that I came down there with Castle money in my pocket, and that we were in alliance with the Tories. Then he said it was very easy to see who were on the right side if the people only reflected. On our side were the bailiffs, the landlords, and emergencymen, and that on their side were the bishops and priests of Ireland. He then said we came down there to oppose the priests. He then alluded to the fact that the parish priest of Ballinabrackey was removed from the chairmanship of the Dispensary Committee, and that the Protestant parson was put in his place. **Father Briody** went on to say: 'What kind of Catholicity is this which allows a man to put out of that position the reverend parish priest of Ballinabrackey?' and at that moment the reverend gentleman stopped abruptly, for reasons which I will state. Mr. Bernard Carew, who was alluded to, and knowing his brother was alluded to, was sitting beside me, and he stood up as if to leave the chapel, and **Father Briody** evidently saw him, because he said immediately: **'Keep quiet there, Mr. Carew.'** He then turned round and went on with mass."

THE DOCTRINE OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

"I was at mass at Ardcath on 29th June. **Rev. Father Fitzsimons** officiated. He spoke after the collection. He came down from the altar to the rails. He commenced, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church.' Then he went on to say that 'a great many assaults had been made on the Church from time to time, and that the Church had always prevailed against those assaults. But before this the assaults on the Church were made by enemies from without, but on this occasion the assault was made from within the fold of the Church itself.' **And then he said that 'the doctrine of private judgment** which was the spirit of infidelity was now openly advocated through the country, and that the Church which had withstood so many assaults in former times would come out triumphant from this latest assault against it.' That was practically what he said."

A BALLOT PAPER ON THE ALTAR.

"I attended mass on Sunday, 10th July, at Boardmills. **Father Skelly** officiated. After the collection he turned round and addressed

the people from the altar. He said:—'You all know there is to be an election next week. There are two candidates before you; one of them is Mr. Fullam, and the other is Mr. Dalton. **I ask you to vote for Mr. Fullam.'** Then he said, I think, that 'the anti-Parnellites were winning all along the line, that Mr. Fullam represented the true Parnellism.' **He pulled out of his pocket a sample ballot paper.** He held it up as if to open it. But, as if he had changed his mind, he put it on the altar before him. He described the situation of the names on the ballot paper, and told them that my name was first and Mr. Fullam's last, and asked them to put the sign of the cross after Mr. Fullam's name. He then went on with the mass. He turned round on the altar as he was walking down after having said mass, and said there was another matter he wished to tell them about. He told them the ballot was absolutely secret; no one knew how anyone would vote; that people were not to mind anybody; that all they had to do was——"

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Is it not to mind anybody who said the contrary?

Witness—That was the substance of what he said—that all they had to do was to **"wink the other eye"** (laughter).

Mr. Drummond—He said, in the words of the song, **"Wink the other eye"** (laughter).

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Is there a song?

Mr. Drummond—There is a music-hall song.

"He also gave instructions to the illiterate voters as to how to vote. He told them they were to say they could not read or write."

SENTRY ON THE BALLOT BOX.

"About 11 o'clock on the polling day I visited Longwood booth, **Father McDonnell,** the curate of Trim, was acting as personation agent. He was standing right up at the ballot box, and I objected to his standing so close. Every voter going to the ballot box had to stand beside **Father McDonnell** and touch his shoulder. I put it to him as a matter of taste whether he should stand there." **Father McDonnell** said—"That's my taste, anyway."

Mr. Justice O'Brien—Very courteous.

Witness—He told me he would get me put out.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—The candidate?

Witness—Yes.

Mr. Drummond—Was he standing in such a position that the persons dropping papers into that ballot box had to do so under his eyes? As I stated, no person could put it in without touching his shoulder, and, in case of illiterates, he was standing beside him, and during that time [when in the booth], as a matter of fact, an illiterate voted.

"I went into the second booth at Longwood about 11 o'clock, and found Father Shaw acting as agent for Mr. Fullam. My interests were not represented up to that hour. I spoke to the presiding

officer on the matter. He said that they (my agents) did not come until a few minutes after 8 o'clock, and that Father Shaw then objected to their admittance. The declarations of secrecy had been signed the night before."

Rev. Patrick Skelly, C.C., cross-examined by Mr. Drummond.

At a meeting of the Holy Family Society, held in the chapel, did you use these words:—"When the gang of priest-hunters are rotten in their graves I will be a priest on the altar with my vestments?" I cannot remember.

As a priest, if you used those words you should remember them? If I said them I would remember them.

Are you certain? I say emphatically I do not remember having said them.

What is this Society of the Holy Family? Males.

There were a good many voters there? There may be.

Do you remember preaching the sermon Mr. Dalton referred to? Yes.

At Boardsmill? Yes.

Did you speak about the election that day? Yes, I spoke about the election.

Did you speak about the illiterate voters, how they were to vote? Did you specially refer to the illiterates? I showed them how to vote.

Do you remember what part of the mass? After the collection.

Did you produce a ballot paper as described by Mr. Dalton? Yes.

Where did you produce it from? From my pocket.

You brought it there to mass for the purpose? Yes.

You substituted this for the Gospel of the day? That's my own affair.

But don't you think it is an affair for the public, too? I am not called on to state that.

When you produced the ballot paper what did you say? I showed the two names—that of Mr. Dalton, which was first, and Mr. Fullam second, and I told them to put their cross after Mr. Fullam's name.

Mr. Drummond—Did you say to them that although they voted for Fullam they might appear to support Dalton? Yes.

Did you say "You can, in the words of the song, wink the other eye?" Yes; I used that expression. I said that owing to the terrorism existing in the parish.

That is you, standing on the altar, advised the congregation to support Mr. Fullam and pretend to be supporting Mr. Dalton? No; not to pretend, but not to let on as to the person they voted for.

But do not you think that to an ignorant congregation—I do not speak disrespectfully—to country people that conveyed that they were to do one thing and pretend to be doing another? The meaning was seen.

You mean that they were to tell a lie? It was not a falsehood. They might take any meaning they liked out of it.

You meant that they were to act a lie? No; I told them to save themselves by not pretending for whom they voted.

And you, standing there in your vestments on the altar, felt justified in hinting to your congregation that they might tell a lie? I did not say or hint to them to tell a lie.

PRIEST *v.* PARSON.

Mr. BERNARD CAREW deposed:—"I was present at mass with Mr. Dalton on 19th June. **Father Briody** preached a sermon. He said that people came there with Castle money in their pockets to raise a disturbance." Witness added:—"There was a Parnellite meeting announced to be held in Athboy that day and we attended mass before the meeting at this chapel, which was the most convenient for us. The priest also asked what would they (the congregation) think of a Catholic who put the parish priest out of the chair on a committee board in Ballyboughan and put the parish parson (Protestant) in his stead? He also said that the strangers came there for the purpose of attacking the clergy. I was one of the strangers in the congregation that day, and Mr. Dalton was another."

The Rev. PATRICK BRIODY, P.P., Athboy, on Nov. 24th, in cross-examination, admitted that he used the words "Castle money" in his sermon referred to.

EXPERIENCE OF A SUB-AGENT.

Mr. Carew continued:—"I was sub-agent for Mr. Dalton at Summerhill, **Father Fay** was in the booth. There were three rooms in the house, which was a labourer's cottage, built by Lord Langford. The kitchen part of it was used as the open portion of the booth, where the presiding officer sat. One of the rooms was for the use of voters, who knew how to vote, and the other was for illiterates. The illiterates, I found, made a declaration of secrecy in one of the rooms before **Father Fay.**"

THE "BEAUTIFUL PASTORAL."

"The whole day whenever I went out between the three booths, the people about began to spit in my face, boo, and call me names.

Mr. Drummond—When these scenes were going on were there clergymen among the crowd? Yes.

Who were they? **Father Buchanan** was heading them all day, and **Father Fagan** was among them.

When they were spitting on you was **Father Buchanan** there? Yes.

Did he see them? I am quite sure he did; he was there.

As far as you saw did he do anything to restrain them by word or act? I never heard him speak.

"Mr. Fullam visited Summerhill before the poll closed and addressed the people. **He attacked me about labourers' cottages, and about leaving the chapel while the beautiful pastoral** was being read. **Father Cantwell**, who was present, stamped his foot and threatened me while standing at the door of the booth. When Mr. Fullam referred to the pastoral, I thought the crowd would pull me out of the booth."

THE PRIEST AS CANVASSER.

MICHAEL MURTAGH was next sworn, and said:—"I live with a man named Darby, at Crossleas. I was in Darby's house when **Father McDonnell** came to canvass him. Darby said 'he would not give him his vote.' **Father McDonnell** asked him 'was he a Catholic?' and said that **'he would not go to heaven.'** He asked me for my name and vote. I told him 'I would not give it to him, but I would give it to Mr. Dalton.' He asked me 'was I a Catholic?' I said 'I was, and intended to die one.' He said **'you seem to be satisfied to go to the devil as well.'** No more passed; he then went away."

The evidence of MARY MURPHY, owner of the hotel at Dunshaughlin, regarding the alleged supplying of drink on the day of polling, closed the evidence in support of the petition.

BEFORE MR. GLADSTONE'S LETTER.

The Rev. THOMAS TYNAN, P.P., of Johnstown, near Navan, in reply to Mr. Drummond, said he was present at a meeting in Navan on 20th Nov., 1890, four days after the divorce proceedings, at which five-and-thirty priests were present, and heard a resolution proposed and carried in support of Mr. Parnell.*

MR. T. M. HEALY, M.P., ON THE CLAIMS OF THE CHURCH.

This report does not contain any reference to the speeches of Counsel in the case; but the following passage from the speech of Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., Counsel for the respondent, in which he reiterates the claims of the Catholic Church to make every political question one of morals is so important that it is here given:—

"Supposing," said Mr. Healy, "a candidate arose to maintain in plain

* The following point should not be forgotten by the political student. The Divorce proceedings opened on 15th November, 1890, and decree *nisi* granted on 17th November. On 25th November Mr. Gladstone's now famous letter to Mr. John Morley appeared, said letter being undoubtedly the outcome of the agitation raised by the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and other leaders of Nonconformity.

terms that the law of divorce ought to be instituted in Ireland, the English law of divorce or the American law of divorce, was he to be told that in regard to a matter affecting the very root of society, the very foundations of religion, and in regard to the candidate who had inscribed on his banner 'Vote for Smith and the law of divorce,' that the bishop or the priest was muzzled, and that he could not affect the minds and the consciences of his flock? Then, the question of education had long been a burning question in this island. The question of secular education and religious education was one that would always form a battleground for intellects of opposing parties, the one to maintain that education should be given under the sanction of the Church, purified from error and untainted by views even on scientific questions which might tend to sap the foundations of religious feeling. The other order of thought maintained that conic sections had nothing to do with the seven Sacraments, and that a man might go and attend his schools, and ought to be allowed to go, and that the State ought to be prevented from in any way spiritualising their institutions. These questions roused the keenest conflicts. Candidates came forward on both sides, and, forsooth, if an election was not to be void

THE VOICE OF RELIGION

must be silent, and rights must be exercised according to what was called the right of private judgment, or as it had been better phrased, the right of private stupidity (laughter). For what was the case? The more ignorant a man was the more obstinate he generally was grounded upon the impregnable basis of his own ignorance. Many a man upheld doctrines from which the College of Salamanca could not move him. The higher the religious question involved the keener would be the action of the clergy, and the keener the action of the clergy the more would it be scrutinised and challenged. Let such a case arise with two candidates, A and B, and in a pastoral enunciating the opinion of the Ordinary of the diocese is proved that here was a question of morals, that the Church had jurisdiction where morals were concerned, and had jurisdiction to decide its own jurisdiction. Because either it had that jurisdiction, or every man was a law giver himself. His learned friends might not like the Catholic doctrine, the State might not like the Catholic doctrine, the candidates might not like the Catholic doctrine, but the Catholic doctrine would not be changed for them. The rude peasants at Clonard gates said 'if you want private judgment go to Roper.' But for those who held with

THE DOCTRINES OF AN INFALLIBLE CHURCH,

for those who held with Episcopacy descendant and traced from the Apostles, for those who held that into almost all the relations of life questions of morality thrust themselves at every chink and cranny, for such persons that Church, when such questions arose, would declare

and would pronounce upon them. They might view with jealousy the concerted action of an organised priesthood, and enact laws to punish that priesthood; they might view with horror the doctrine which imported a binding sanction on the minds of the people to listen to the teaching of the pastorate—let them root out that Church, they had the power; but so long as the State sanctioned toleration so long as it was indifferent to the doctrine that was preached, so long the question of the truth or the untruth of that doctrine would not be questioned in a court of law, but so far as the Catholic Church was concerned it would be a question for the Court of Rome.

JUDGMENT OF MR. JUSTICE O'BRIEN.

Mr. JUSTICE O'BRIEN, in delivering judgment, said:—"In this case of the South Meath election, the petition has been presented against the return of Mr. Fullam, on the ground of undue influence—that form of it which consists of intimidation of a spiritual kind, and it contains, besides, allegations of treating and of bribery, and of physical violence, occurring at the election. With respect to the first of which, namely—the charge of treating, it may merely be observed that though made with unnecessary zeal on the part of a witness in obstructing inquiry, it could not, upon any evidence whatever, have been maintained, because no person could be so foolish as to suppose that what was alleged concerning the **Rev. Mr. Tynan** could amount to the charge of corrupt treating. And as to bribery, it may be observed that no evidence at all was offered in support of it, and that such an agency as bribery, a thing necessarily restricted to a small number of persons, could not in any state of facts be expected to be found lying side by side with another agency, alleged to cover the whole field of the constituency, or that such an incredible thing should happen as that so great a sum as £100 in a constituency of over 6,000 persons should be expended upon not more than seven favoured individuals. With respect to the actual physical violence, and intimidation of that kind, there was undoubtedly a good deal of violent conduct at Clonard and also at Summerhill. Both Mr. Saurin and Mr. Carew had just reason to complain of it. In judging of the scene at the former place—at Clonard—we could not leave out of mind

THE HATEFUL AND ALL BUT NAMELESS FORM OF INSULT

that came from the lips of a clergyman, and for which the only palliation is that it is substantially confessed by **the Reverend Mr. O'Connell**; nor can we leave out the torches at Mr. Weir's gate, of which the witness who was examined for the respondent—the schoolmaster's son—gave such a lame account. If the violence had been more general, if voters in other places had refrained from voting under apprehensions like the two at Clonard, who could possibly have voted with reasonable zeal and firmness on their own part, it would be the duty of the court to consider the effect of such

intimidation on the election; and it could not with such consideration, acting on the whole Mayo case, admit a set-off of bad conduct, of violence on the other side, of which undoubtedly the evidence showed that there was a great deal in the town of Trim, assuming, I regret to say, the form of unwarrantable insult and disrespect towards the local clergy; but no voters were really obstructed in the result. The police, whose appearance is always such a test, were there and are not here. The evidence of disturbance was at two or three polling places out of ten, and the conclusion which I have arrived at, with entire certainty in my own mind, is that there was no such violence or intimidation at the election in that extent or degree which would itself justify the Court on that ground in setting the vast machinery of the constituency again in motion for a new election. But the great contest remains—a contest that has taken so much time and involved such vast expense—indicating the struggle of great forces and interests of a class resolutely clinging to habits and traditions of power and authority against new ideas—a struggle not of one time or place of which political parties are but the occasion, and not the principle, and touching relations and interests of which on one side no measure is admitted to exist in temporal judgment, and on the other is considered as affecting the deepest interests of society, namely, the use or abuse of spiritual influence at an election."

After a statement of the law applicable to the case, the learned judge proceeded.

"I now come to the particular grounds on which the validity of this election is questioned, and the first and gravest is

THE PASTORAL OF THE MOST REV. DR. NULTY,

which was read in all the churches on the 3rd July, setting forth as it did the Divine authority of the Church, the obligations of the moral law which Mr. Parnell had violated, and the responsibility of those who supported Parnellism. All alike with great power of expression and moral dignity and severity calculated to have the most powerful effect on the community to which it was addressed. Parnellism was alleged to strike at the root and sap the very foundations of the Catholic faith. It was stated to have been declared unlawful and unholy by the successors of the Apostles, though the resolution of the bishops, which was the foundation of this proposition as far as I recollect, related solely to the question of political leadership. Those who refused to accept that proposition on the assumed authority of the Catholic Hierarchy were pronounced to have deprived themselves of every reason for believing in the doctrines of a revealed religion, which all rested upon the same authority. 'Invincible ignorance'—I quote the words—that exception which identifies the condemned doctrine with heresy, was allowed possibly to excuse misguided men and women, for it was laid down authoritatively that no intelligent or well-informed person 'could remain a Catholic and continue to cling to Parnellism.' For these

STARTLING AND TREMENDOUS PROPOSITIONS

the reason suggested in argument was, on behalf of the respondents, that a spirit of antagonism had of late risen up against the clergy, that it took the form of attacks upon their sacred office in journals and in speeches, and constantly strove to weaken and detract from the respect due to their functions. And if that were the real case, if the object had been to assert and maintain the just respect due to the bishops and clergy which is essential to religion and to the benefit of the graces which it is the function of their ministry to dispense through the Sacraments, if their wisdom had led them to discern a rising spirit of opposition to religion in its teaching, and to recognise in a particular party, constituted, as all parties are in their character, not merely by principles expressly avowed alone, but by traditions, by tendencies, by their spirit, and by the language of their organs, had led them to recognise such elements of danger to religion—elements some of which, subject to foreign influences and habits were alien from the faith and obediences of Catholic people in this country—if that were the real object of the pastoral the motive and the means of these declarations, and the **Most Rev. Dr. Nulty,** had declared, justly or unjustly, that he found in this contest certain issues which he considered were of great importance to religion and had expressed his opinion in language in proportion to such an object, no one could complain justly of such an exercise of his episcopal office and authority. The language of the pastoral in that case would have taken the measure of the object with which it was published. But what was the occasion for the discussion of this delicate and dangerous

QUESTION OF PERSONAL PURITY,

and for the terrible warnings and imputations that were levelled in the pastoral against the members of a certain party, and were, at least capable of being applied by them to themselves—though never, perhaps, so intended—by innocent men and women who cherished the virture of domestic purity and chastity in their own conduct, and who would resent the mere taint or breath of the contrary as a wound giving rise, as these declarations did, to the allegation made in support of the petition that it was a skilfully constructed wedge to be driven into a political party, which would inflame, alarm, and excite by appeals to the strongest and deepest feelings of a catholic population? Mr. Parnell was dead. He was dead, and 'could do them no more good,' to use the expression related by one of the witnesses of the fleeting nature of gratitude for political leadership. In that situation what was the reason, what was the justice, to dig up the grave, to revive dead and buried shames, to raise the lid of the tomb and again uncover

THE POOR REMAINS OF HUMAN FRAILTY

in order to array a political party in the shroud of departed sin? But the pastoral, which was the great spring which set in motion the whole machinery of ecclesiastical organisation in the diocese, was not

the only form of influence which the evidence attributed to the **Most Rev. Dr. Nulty.** The bishop preached twice on the 29th June in Trim. In one discourse, according to the evidence, he alluded to the crisis in the coming election, and said that Parnellism was nothing but a heresy, and that he would approach the death bed of the heretic and the profligate with greater confidence as to his salvation than that of a Parnellite, and he added an expression which, in the silence of the printed reports, I would not have trusted my own note to quote until after comparing it with the official report, in reference to women who sympathise with Parnellism. In the other discourse on the same day, he said that Parnellism was moral ruin, that it was improper and unholy, that Parnellites were losing the faith and becoming heretics; he also declared, following the same line as the pastoral, if the people did not believe him on the doctrine of Parnellism, how could they believe him on such questions as Confession and Communion?

THE MOST REV. DR. NULTY

was not himself examined, and we must conclude he would have been if the reports of the statements attributed to him were not correct. I cannot admit the least doubt that those statements made by the **Most Rev. Dr. Nulty** were made by him under a strong sense of the obligations attaching to him in his great office, but it is certain that the declarations made with such authority and energy must have produced a most powerful impression on the minds of a Catholic community and amongst his own clergy. It was not strictly correct to state that the meeting of the 1st June, which was formally held to adopt candidates for the election in North and South Meath, or the meetings which preceded it, were exclusively clerical as was alleged. The laity attended there, perhaps, in the usual proportion, but the prominent part of the organisation undoubtedly fell to the superior station, influence, ability, and antecedents and traditions of the priesthood. From the first moment, accordingly, the clergy threw themselves into the contest with all the overwhelming power, organisation, and discipline of their order, and the zeal of men who could be reckoned upon to have no fear from popular insult or violence, and to look to no reward. The Church became converted, for the time being, into

A VAST POLITICAL AGENCY,

a great moral machine moving with resistless influence, united action, and a single will. Every priest who was examined was a canvasser; the canvass was everywhere—on the altar, in the vestry, on the roads, in the houses. There was no place left for evasion, excuse, affected ignorance, weakness, or treachery. Of the ten polling places there was but one, that at Dunshaughlin, in which there was not a priest as agent and personation agent with or without laymen. That was alleged to be owing to the fact that the laymen could not be found to face the hostile feeling that existed, but that reason cannot apply to cases where there were laymen joined or to localities where, as at

Summerhill and Clonard, the ascendancy was entirely on the other side. The presence of the priests, no doubt, would be a strong moral influence and check upon cowards and traitors, but it was an influence undoubtedly attended with distinct dangers to the freedom of voters. Of the whole constituency there were not less than, I believe, **nine hundred illiterate voters** who had to declare themselves in the presence of a priest to whom so many of them were apparently opposed. The publicity, of course, was the same where there were laymen in the booth, but the real influence would not be the fear of publicity, but of disfavour. The voter would trust the layman less, but would

FEAR THE PRIEST MORE

—the former he might not see again, but the priest he would constantly meet. I do not say that an adverse vote would be remembered for him, but it is a thing he certainly would fear. At the counting of the votes there were seven priests named to attend on behalf of Mr. Fullam, with but one layman. Whether or not their presence on such an occasion could have any influence, the respondent certainly at least had a staff of expert and trained logicians who were more than a match for his opponent on the many questions that arise over voting papers, and which are of such moment in case of a narrow majority, Over this **highly-equipped army of agents**—agents of an entirely disinterested kind and who could be reckoned upon for their zeal and fidelity—so diffused the influence of the pastoral, added, I have no doubt, to a loyal personal attachment for their bishop that could not but make itself evident in the evidence that was given; and the leading idea of the pastoral that

PARNELLISM WAS SINFUL,

that it was a matter of salvation was in question, was developed with fidelity and distinctness, and governed the conduct of the whole election. The shadow of sin was over the whole contest. How that idea was carried out and expounded was demonstrated by instances, the very multitude of which require to be explained by contrary evidence, and was itself no small argument. But I now must advert to some of those instances, and pass rapidly over them, because in very great detail it would not be necessary that they should find their place in the decision of the court, having been discussed repeatedly on both sides. The first of these instances was a remarkable one—always remarkable—one of the **closing of the chapel gates at Clonard.** That is not altogether an unknown form of popular hostility in Ireland, but it is never one without great significance, and in this particular instance undoubtedly was, and was known to be a public act of excommunication directed against certain political opponents. I cannot, upon the evidence, yield to the suggestion made by the counsel for the petitioner, in imputing to the **Rev. Mr. Fitzsimons** any complicity in such

AN UNWARRANTABLE AND VIOLENT ACT,

so foreign to all the ideas of a priest as the exclusion of any class of people from the House of God. I acquit him of that entirely. But it was an act that certainly would never have been committed, or that the persons would never have dared to commit, unless they were emboldened by the confidence that it was not likely to meet with severe condemnation. Christopher Brogan, or Matthew Brogan, and his son, and his son's wife and his grandchildren, **found themselves turned away under circumstances of great violence and insult and contumely—turned away from the church door in the face of the public**—and it is impossible not to have some sympathy with that old man when he stated that he had brought stones to build the belfry that called him to

THE PRAYER HE WAS NOT ALLOWED TO OFFER.

I pass away now from that incident—one of a very remarkable kind—and I refer next to the extraordinary statement and discourse of the **Rev. Mr. O'Connell**—a discourse the substantial part of which was proved by very little variation by a very great number of witnesses —that curious and singular discourse in which he stated that he would put fire to the heels and toes of his opponents. He was examined himself, and he denied a certain part of the statement. He stated that the passage or the expression, 'highways and bye-ways,' had, by some confusion of the witnesses, been taken from a sermon that he preached upon the text of the rich man's feast, to which the invited guests did not come. He did not, however, according to my recollection of the evidence, deny that he had made use of the expression that he would meet persons in the church or outside it. He did not deny it at all. And I cannot now entertain any doubt—and there is hardly a possibility of any doubt being entertained upon it—that really he did in substance say what he was alleged to have said. It is a most extraordinary thing to say that he would

SCATTER FIRE BEFORE HIS OPPONENTS,

or the opponents of a certain party; and it calls back to my memory from early education the incident in Roman history of the casual word of a slave that he would make a bath hot for his master, the victorious soldier, Vespasian, which was the cause of a great town being burned: and certainly **the incendiarism of the Rev. Mr. O'Connell's** metaphor has tended to produce no small flame on his own account. It would be an unreasonable thing to attach to the thoughtless expression of a priest, having not a very long experience, an importance in exact proportion to the graphic violence of his language, but there were a lot of statements made by him at the same time which certainly tend to aggravate the act of illustration. Miss Carew was examined, and she stated, in addition to the account she gave of the sermon preached by the **Rev. Mr. O'Connell,** that upon the same occasion he referred to

the Parnellites as persons that committed sacrilege in their communion, and she took that expression to herself, having been at communion the day before. That certainly was a very grave statement on the part of the **Rev. Mr. O'Connell,**

A VERY GRAVE ACT ON THE PART OF A PRIEST

to pass judgment upon the communion of a member of his own flock. I will pass away from the **Rev. Mr. O'Connell** and refer to some other incidents which were established in the evidence, all of them of the same character, but some few of them possessing a particular prominence and importance, and some of them which gave rise to a great deal of dispute. I will take first the case of the statement alleged to have been made (passing over those of less importance) by the **Rev. Mr. Tynan**—a clergyman, I may take leave to observe, whose demeanour upon this trial impressed me with the highest confidence in his statement, and with a very high opinion of his character. He had an interview—not a casual one at all—but, apparently, a designed and intentional interview, with a person named Patrick King immediately before the election. King has sworn that upon that occasion the **Rev. Mr. Tynan,** upon his refusing to vote for him, or refusing to give any promise to vote, stated that he would not attend him when dying. A different kind of statement was attributed to King in a very curious way, which gave rise to a great deal of discussion, but King himself distinctly denied it. But while he denies that, and while his whole demeanour was that of a man who did not want to tell anything at all beyond the strict necessity of the matter, and that was the impression he made on my mind, he positively and distinctly adhered to the expression that **Rev. Mr. Tynan** said

HE WOULD NOT ATTEND HIM WHEN DYING.

And there is this further curious circumstance to be remarked upon. He says that until the interview that he had with this unknown agent he did not know that the language of the **Rev. Mr. Tynan** conveyed the meaning of a threat not to attend him when dying, and upon that answer of the witness a good deal of argument was founded by counsel—legal argument, based to a large extent upon the authority of a decision which was referred to. It was contended that because King himself was not under the impression at the time that this conveyed a threat or a menace to deprive him of the Sacraments that that would not be undue influence. But I apprehend that that was an entire mistake, and the facts on which the decision was grounded do not at all support such an argument, because in the incident referred to in the Longford trial, before Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, it was absolutely as certain as anything could be that the language used was not in its own nature calculated at all to convey any menace. It was language intended merely as personal advice, such as would be given by one person to another. But upon the account given by Patrick King of this language it is impossible not to come to the conclusion

that **the language did convey a menace of a certain kind,** and now what is the account given of it by the **Rev. Mr. Tynan** himself in his own words? The difference is between saying simply that he would not attend him when dying, and that he would not like to attend him when dying; and **Rev. Mr. Tynan** did not even confine himself to admitting that he would not like to attend him when dying, but that he hoped he would not be called upon

TO ATTEND A PARNELLITE.

What was the meaning of that? Could language of that kind be used by any person unless to produce a certain impression upon the mind of the person to whom it was addressed? I am, therefore, constrained to come to the conclusion that the **Rev. Mr. Tynan** did upon that occasion **use language in the interview with Patrick King,** undoubtedly according to its ordinary and necessary and proper construction conveying the meaning of some spiritual loss or some grave inconvenience to him in his spiritual character against this man King, who had refused to vote for him. Another witness was also examined in reference to the **Rev. Mr. Tynan**—namely, a man named Cowley, who alleged that **Father Tynan,** because he had refused to vote for him, or would not promise to vote for him—the witness was of a very strong political character, undoubtedly—that the **Rev. Mr. Tynan** declared that he was not a Catholic; that

HE WOULD EXPEL HIM FROM THE CHURCH,

or some language of that kind, and that **he would be deprived of Christian burial.** Upon his oath the clergyman declares that this was entirely untrue. I, perhaps, would be disposed to entertain the idea that this man Cowley had heard some statement made to the effect that he in fact might incur some sort of a penalty of expulsion from church or from the communion of the Catholic Church, and that he himself attached to that according to popular superstition or popular idea this consequence of being deprived of Christian burial. But certainly at the same time there was some very angry dispute, indeed, as the **Rev. Mr. Tynan** admits, between him and this man Cowley, because Cowley related that after the interview with the **Rev. Mr. Tynan,** and upon the same day, according to my recollection, he met the **Rev. Mr. M'Grath,** one of his curates, and the **Rev. Mr. M'Grath** then reproached him with what he had said to **Father Tynan,** and used language in itself calculated, undoubtedly, to convey the impression of great spiritual hostility existing against him. I asked the question of the **Rev. Mr. Tynan** myself and he stated that the **Rev. Mr. M'Grath** was here—and the **Rev. Mr. M'Grath** was here, apparently, and was not examined as a witness, and I consider the fact of his not being so examined tends, to some degree, if not to maintain the statement of this man Cowley against the oath of the **Rev. Mr. Tynan,** to remove him from the impression and the

suspicion of having altogether mis-stated the character and the nature of the interview he had with him. Many other cases of the alleged exercise of similar influence and use of

SIMILAR THREATS

were spread over the whole evidence. I will take that of the **Rev. Mr. M'Donnell** who exposed himself undoubtedly to a great deal of observation, and exposed his evidence to the character of strong suspicion in some respects by unusual and unprecedented advice that he gave from the altar. He had not, of course, very much experience or he would have known how true it is that 'how oft the sight of means to do ill-deeds make ill-deeds done,' and he certainly would never have ventured upon such a very dangerous recommendation to his parishioners or flock as **to go armed in a certain manner to a meeting they were to attend,** stating that he himself would be armed in the same manner, though only for self-defence. It was alleged that he had used in more than one discourse passages of a nature tending to convey the impression that great spiritual hostility would occur to the persons who had refused to vote in a particular manner. One expression was particularly relied upon, that in which he stated the consequences that would happen to the persons who voted for Mr. Dalton, 'here and hereafter.' And, certainly, being bound to weigh and consider the evidence, and consider it minutely sometimes. I could hardly accept the construction that has now suggested itself, to his mind, as the true one, that when he spoke of what would happen 'here and hereafter,' he meant 'here' at present, and 'hereafter' in this country, also in this world. The words 'here and hereafter,' according to all the ordinary understanding of persons, convey the impression of temporal and eternal consequences of some kind. After referring to the case of Murtagh, between whom and the **Rev. Father Fagan** a violent altercation took place, and that, although it was alleged that **Father Fagan** had stated that he would not visit Murtagh's wife who was ill, yet he eventually done so. The judgment proceeds. Now, upon the question of the credit or credibility, it is impossible altogether to leave out of consideration the incident between the **Rev. Mr. Fagan** and the witness Farrell, which is entirely uncontradicted.

FARRELL WAS A PENSIONER.

and he required in the usual manner, for the payment of his pension, at certain stated times, a certificate from a rev. gentleman or a magistrate. **Rev. Mr. Fagan** was in the habit of signing this for him, and stated he would not do it for him in the future, as he had refused him his vote. **Farrell's statement on that is entirely uncontradicted. Rev. Mr. Fagan** did not dispute one single expression the man uttered, and he, as John Murtagh declared, according to his own statement that he would go to the **Rev. Mr. Martin.** Farrell appears also to have gone

to the **Rev. Mr. Martin** for his usual certificate, and I cannot leave that out of consideration in estimating the degree of credit to be given upon the whole matter to the **Rev. Mr. Fagan** as opposed to this man, John Murtagh.

REV. MR. FAY WAS ANOTHER WITNESS

to whom the statements attributed concerning this election were very material, and of course of very great matter. I don't wish to dwell upon many of the expressions which were attributed to him, some of which he has atoned for, and which, unless for the necessity of the matter, ought not to have been introduced again, and not beyond the measure of a necessity. But, undoubtedly, the **Rev. Mr. Fay** did upon several occasions during this election contest distinguish himself by language of a very unusual character, which renders it the more likely that the particular expression imputed to him by one of the witnesses was really what he did use. He was examined himself again and cross-examined upon many statements made by him and language used by him of an unprecedented kind. I merely dwell upon and refer to one particular expression which he used, and in reference to that he did not hesitate to declare that a witness named Barry who was examined had sworn false evidence against him. If ever there was a witness who deserved credit in a court of justice it was Barry, because he was the subject of an applicatton to this court concerning his evidence. He had not attended—am I not right in saying so?"

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—Yes.

Mr. Justice O'Brien—"He had not attended on his subpœna, and an application was made to the court which resulted in announcement that an attachment would be issued against him unless he did attend, and then only did he come into court. And there was not a word uttered by Barry upon this trial that was not said reluctantly. He was silent, he hesitated, he qualified, he extenuated, and it required a continual course of examination and cross-examination to obtain from him the actual account of what the **Rev. Mr. Fay** said. He even substituted the word 'lost' for the other and more open expression of what would happen to a man who voted against Mr. Fullam, and only in the end he yielded to the statement that what the **Rev. Mr. Fay** had said was that

SUCH A PERSON WOULD BE 'DAMNED.'

And that was the person whom the **Rev. Mr. Fay** declared to have sworn falsely concerning him—the man that put himself in the peril of the law and all its coercive power in order not to tell what he knew, or for some reason in his own mind that I can suppose to be no other reason than that he did not wish to tell what he knew. Supposing that the rev. gentleman did say so, that, of course, was a most unequivocal and startling declaration, which would amount to the strongest form possible of undue influence of a spiritual kind. Other witnesses—many of them—were examined, between whom and

the account given concerning their statements it is very difficult to find any real or very great conflict. The **Rev. Mr. Buchanan** was examined, the **Rev. Mr. Brady,** the **Rev. Mr. Cantwell,** the **Rev. Mr. Fitzsimons,** the **Rev. Mr. Gillick**; and although the statements concerning the refusal to administer the Sacraments to persons who would vote against Mr. Fullam cannot be said to apply to all those clergymen alike, undoubtedly there were expressions conveyed by them all that were calculated to make an impression upon the mind of any Catholic that would indicate that he would subject himself to the greatest peril

TO HIS SOUL'S SALVATION—

the greatest peril of a conflict with his religion and duty if he did not vote as was suggested to him."

Having referred to the evidence affecting **Fathers Brady, Gillick, and Cantwell,** Mr. Justice O'Brien proceeded :—" It was stated of the **Rev. Mr. Callery** upon the occasion when the polling took place, and he attended some of the voters who went to vote for Mr. Fullam, that he drew a distinction between them and their opponents, which was conveyed in the terms that they were not

'A PARCEL OF GOATS,'

a curious expression, which at the time did not occur to myself, but, I fear, has a strong significance in its meaning. He was examined himself as a witness, and while the counsel was contending for the distinction between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites the **Rev. Mr. Callery** declared that in his opinion there was no distinction at all; that Parnellism was the same now as it was before, and the same before as it is now, and that the distinction was between '**adulterers and non-adulterers.**' An extraordinary expression to have fallen from him, which showed what was in his mind and in the minds of so many as to what were the real issues supposed and alleged to have been in question during this election—that they were 'adulterers and non-adulterers.' There is one other incident which, though not directly connected with the question of spiritual intimidation or spiritual influence, or of any spiritual intimidation or intimidation of a spiritual kind, I considered it my duty to advert to, namely, the incident with which the name of

THE REV. FATHER SKELLY

is connected—that curious and unusual circumstances of the dismissal, as was alleged on one side, and the dismissal by himself, as was alleged on the other, of the person who was employed in the convent of the Sisters of Mercy in Trim. He was canvassed for his vote and he refused to give it. He appears to have been employed at the convent as a labourer, and he appears to have received some small addition to his wages for the performance of the duty of collecting for the chapel. There was a statement made in proof of his supposed political zeal that upon a particular day—a festival of the

church—he was absent from that duty. But there was no evidence given, that I recollect, on that point at all—namely, that he had, in order to attend a meeting or to take part in some political demonstration of some kind, deliberately absented himself on an occasion when he was required to attend and collect at the chapel. Leaving that out, let us direct our attention to the other matter—that he was canvassed for his vote, and that he refused to give it, and the **Rev. Mr. Skelly** stated to him that he must see the parish priest—that he must tell this matter to the parish priest or see the parish priest. **On the very same day he went and gave up his situation** —according to my recollection, on the very same day. The suggestion is that this was a man who considered that he would derive some advantage from a course of that kind, greater than he could from retaining his employment. He did not appear to have taken any other employment immediately, nor can I see that the character of the employment that was referred to—namely, mowing—was open to him at the time this happened at all. He was supposed to have taken this course with a view to the advantage of

WHAT IS CALLED POLITICAL MARTYRDOM.

Political martyrdom has undoubtedly some kind of advantages, but I would rather say, in view of the experience of later times, that **political martyrdom in the town of Trim was hardly a substitute for his weekly pittance.** He did not appear to have derived any advantage from it whatever, and if this man had intended for the time to have derived any advantage from an act of that kind in substitution for his employment I would certainly have expected that he would have gone and made it known immediately and spoken of it immediately. Instead of that he appears to have kept extremely silent about it. Two Sisters of Mercy were examined here, and were examined apparently with a view of showing that this man had gone of his own accord, for no sufficient reason, and to show that he was not in any danger at all of losing his employment, but had gone and given it up. But that view entirely failed, because each of the Sisters of Mercy who was examined stated that in the conversation with them he said that he had refused **Father Skelly** for his vote, and that they

IN THE SPIRIT OF CHARITY

and consideration for an humble man had said to him that was no reason for giving up his employment—which I can perfectly understand —putting a different construction upon, not that the refusal was any reason for giving up the employment, or the interview was any reason for it, but suggesting to his mind that there was a mode of avoiding a difficulty by giving his vote. That was the construction that an humble man would be disposed to put upon it. **Rev. Mr. Skelly** was examined, and he cannot deny, of course, that he stated to this man that he would tell the parish priest. It has occurred to himself that the reason he used the expression was merely to report to the parish priest

that he had failed to obtain the man's vote, but he could report that to the parish priest without telling Cowley of it, and I am forced to draw the conclusion that the statement that he would tell the parish priest **was undoubtedly intended to convey to the mind of this man that his situation was in danger**—that some complaint would be made of him which would probably result in the loss of his employment. **Rev. Mr. Skelly** did not deny another statement made by the witness, that he had threatened to have him put in Kilmainham. **Put in Kilmainham! For what crime?**

WHAT CRIME HAD HE COMMITTED?

this humble man—what crime had he committed at all? No crime that I can understand, except that, with a decent spirit, not wishing to make known what had happened to him, apparently under the frown of a power that he thought he could not resist, **he bowed his head in humble submission, and gave up the bread of his wife and his children for his own independence.** Some other matters have been introduced into this case which are of course of an extremely delicate and painful character—**all the incidents connected with the confession.** Whether it was right or wrong to give that evidence—whatever view may be taken of it on any side, or in any respect, the evidence was of an unusual and an unprecedented kind. The statement made was that several clergymen, the names of whom are mentioned, had canvassed voters in the confessional, and there is no person at all—there is no Catholic who cannot understand the tremendous importance of evidence of that kind. In all the instances but one, undoubtedly the communication was after the confession was over; but there was one incident—

A TREMENDOUS AND UNEXAMPLED INCIDENT—

in which this interference with the franchise—entirely innocent, I believe, and from the purest reasons and motives, according to the evidence—was allowed to intrude into the mysterious sanctity of the divine commission itself, and in which the absolution of the penitent was postponed at least owing to the construction possibly made to depend upon the vote he gave. And now let me not be supposed to have any desire at all to do injustice; I was greatly impressed, as my colleague was, with the demeanour of the **Rev. Mr. Fox,** an aged clergyman, not identified to any degree at all by active partisanship in the contest—a man apparently advanced in life, of great moderation and great modesty and consideration of his duty, and if such an incident be strictly correct, it would be open to no ambiguity at all which we have no means of knowing here. I certainly do unhesitatingly come to the conclusion that if the **Rev. Mr. Fox** did undoubtedly speak in confession to this man concerning his vote, he certainly did so in the strongest sense of his own duty."

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Mr. JUSTICE O'BRIEN, in conclusion, referring to the clergy generally, said:—"I have no doubt, a strong obligation of obedience to their own bishop, and whether or not in conformity with their own opinions and sentiments, did use language calculated to convey to the minds of the voters in this division that their conduct in this election involved

THE QUESTION OF ETERNAL CONDEMNATION

or the contrary. Now, having expressed that opinion, it remains to me to say one word concerning the legal aspects of the evidence concerning this question in relation to agency, and upon that apparently very little difficulty seems to me to arise. I consider if ever there was a case of agency established it was in this particular case. Mr. Fullam was named as the candidate from the very beginning of the contest, he attended all the meetings held, he attended there with clergymen, he named them as his agents, as his personation agents in many instances, **he received the subsidy or money provided for the expenses of the election from them or some clergyman,** he, upon the public occasion when the victory was celebrated, thanked publicly the clergy for the services they had rendered, and the only question that would remain on my mind as the result of the evidence is the application of this term agent at all, and of the possible application of any such term to the position the clergy assumed. They appear to me to have fulfilled positions of principals, while Mr. Fullam was only the agent, and upon that part of the matter, therefore, I have formed my opinion. We have heard a great deal, of course, of

THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS QUESTION,

and this trial, and a great many arguments and observations had been made concerning it. I am quite conscious of the great importance of it—that it is a struggle between great parties and great interests, and, it may be, of great consequences. But with the consequences I have no concern whatever. **My concern is with justice; my allegiance is to justice alone, and in the fulfilment of that obligation I am constrained in justice to declare that, in my opinion, the election for the South Division of Meath, both under the statute and the common law, is void through undue influence, and must be set aside** (applause in court, which was immediately suppressed)."

Mr. Justice Andrews, in a brief judgment, concurred.

APPENDIX A.

THE REV. JOHN FAY, P.P.

On the 11th November, 1892, counsel on behalf of the petitioners in the South Meath case applied that the Rev. John Fay, Parish Priest of Summerhill, Co. Meath, be adjudged guilty of contempt of court, and that he should be attached for that contempt, expressed in a sermon delivered by him in his chapel at Dangan on Sunday 6th November.

The following are the words alleged to have been delivered, as stated in the affidavit of Mr. Peter McCann, solicitor, who was present when the remarks were made:—

"Before I have an opportunity of meeting you again, I shall be on my trial at Trim with the other priests of the diocese and the bishop, and I am glad of the opportunity of showing up the character of these men who will give evidence against me. We will expose again the scandal of the Divorce Court. These people, imbued with the devil, will pursue me to the end. I expect that I am prepared for it. I tell you the devil will attack me, and they are possessed with the devil of impurity, the most frightful of passions. Now, this is pure Parnellism. Is it not a glorious thing to put our bishop like a common criminal in the box after 29 years of service and toil and devotion for you? Now, report this, every word, accurately, and put it in your *Independent*. Don't leave out a single word, for I'll be there, and I'll prove that every witness that will come up against me is a black-dyed scamp. I never intimidated you. I never said I would kill you or break your neck, or said you would go to hell. You may go there if you like. We will resume this in Trim." The reverend father proceeded to lecture on the due preparation for Extreme Unction, and said, "You may think it strange for me to refer to bodily cleanliness, but I find it necessary from my great experience, but I suppose they will put an end to me on the petition in Trim next week. That they should not look upon him as a mere man, if they did they might have some prejudice against him, for all had their shortcomings. The priest is the ambassador of Jesus Christ, and not like other ambassadors. They carried their Lord and Master about with them, and when the priest was with the people the Almighty God was with them."

After referring to the language used by Father Fay, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, in delivering the unanimous judgment of the Court, said:—

"He is an educated gentleman. Is his education any alleviation? His education ought to have taught him that he should not have done this. Is there any mitigation to be found in his priestly character? The mission of the priest and the Christian clergyman is to proclaim and to enforce by precept and example the gospel of peace. I will not refer again to these words, or indicate again in express language the doom which is indicated for those who would oppose him. The time was the Sabbath, the place was the church—even on the altar. I stop—I refrain from comment, because I do not wish to harrow the feelings of the reverend gentleman. **I wish I could find any mitigation of this language.** I have searched for it. We have considered with great care and great anxiety what

should be the measure of penalty for conduct such as this. **Never, I believe, in the history of this country, was language—and I say so with the bitterest pain—more reprehensible proved to have been used,** and we have come reluctantly to the painful conclusion that a fine would be inadequate in this case, and were it not at the last moment the Rev. John Fay has offered some words of apology we could not pass what I consider, under the circumstances, the mild sentence or order that I am now about to announce as the judgment of the court. We do adjudge the Rev. John Fay guilty of contempt of court, and we do order that he be imprisoned for one calendar month from the date of his arrest, and we order him to pay the costs of this application."—*Independent*, 12th November, 1892.

THE REV. GENTLEMAN'S WELCOME HOME.

Father Fay was released from Kilmainham Jail on Sunday, 11th December. The *Freeman* report says :—

"At Maynooth station, the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe ; Very Rev. Professor Maguire, Maynooth College ; Rev. Professor O'Growney, and a number of other clergymen were waiting on the platform to shake hands with Father Fay, and congratulate him on his release. On arriving at Summerhill Square a meeting was held, and amongst those present were Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., and Mr. Fullam, ex-M.P. for South Meath. An address from his parishioners was presented to Father Fay. It stated—

'We are proud of you to-day, for are you not the one whom God has chosen to confound our enemies and to hold them up to the world in their true character ? You have always made us feel that you had the courage of your convictions. Regardless of consequences you have always done your duty. Yours is the character which wins the hearts of the Irish people. You were bold enough to speak to your own people from your own altar words which were construed into an expression of contempt for a certain judicial tribunal. You were adjudged guilty by an administrator of the law, and torn from your flock, but—

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage."

Your spirit was unconfined, it animated your people, and we are here to-day to show that it is strong within us."

"It is well to remember," says the Dublin *Mail*, "what it is that the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell thus comes forward, in so public a manner, if not to approve of, at least to sympathize with. The excuse which has been offered over and over again for the action of the South Meath priests is that they uttered words in the heat of a contested election, and at a time of political excitement. This excuse does not hold good for Dr. O'Donnell, who has now, when all is calm, and when he has had ample time to reflect, taken this opportunity of publicly identifying himself with the action of a clergyman, who from the altar used language which a judge of the land has declared to be 'the most reprehensible' he has ever heard used, even in Ireland. The incident is striking, because it shows with distinct clearness that even some of the members of the Irish Roman Catholic Hierarchy regard such conduct as that of the Rev. Mr. Fay to be quite justifiable, and that his imprisonment entitles him to the deepest sympathy."

NORTH MEATH ELECTION PETITION.

THE hearing of the North Meath Election Petition, in which Mr. P. C. MAHONY, ex-M.P., was Petitioner, and Mr. MICHAEL DAVITT, M.P., Respondent, commenced at Trim before Mr. Justice Andrews and Mr. Justice Johnson on December 15th, 1892. The allegations set forth in the petition were similar to those put forward in the South Meath case. Mr. Davitt was charged with having been guilty of undue influence through certain priests acting as his agents, and through the pastoral letter of the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, by whom he was nominated. Mr. F. L. O'Shaughnessy, Q.C., Mr. M. Drummond, Q.C., and Mr. Miles Kehoe represented the petitioner. The respondent was represented by Mr. D. B. Sullivan, Q.C., and Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P.

When the court sat Mr. Sullivan rose and expressed his willingness to accept the ruling in the South Meath trial, as far as the charge of undue influence was concerned. Mr. O'Shaughnessy, on the other hand, said he too was willing, after formal proof of the pastoral, to accept the decision provided his client, Mr. Mahony, were permitted to make a personal statement; same time he was quite prepared to go on with the case. Mr. Justice Andrews pointed out that an election petition was not a matter concerning individuals alone: it concerned the purity and freedom of election, and affected the entire community. The case, he said, should therefore proceed.

THE CLERICAL CAUCUS.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, in his opening statement, related how Mr. Davitt was selected as candidate at a convention on 2nd June. Mr. Davitt was proposed by **Very Rev. L. Vaughan, P.P.,** and seconded by Francis Sheridan. At same convention it was proposed by Mr. James Everett, Duleek, and seconded by the **Rev. Father Fay, P.P.,** Summerhill—

> "That an election committee be formed in every parish of the county, "whose duty it should be to make arrangements to organise and canvass their "respective districts in the interest of the candidates selected here to-day, and "to collect the sheriffs' and other necessary expenses."

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, proceeding, read the Bishop's Pastoral, which, he stated, was read in every church on 3rd July in North and South Meath. (The full text of the Pastoral is given on page 9.)

Rev. Peter Kelly, P.P., of Slane, was the first witness. He said:—"There was a meeting on the 23rd May, in the Parochial House, Navan (the Bishop's residence). There were about a dozen clergymen present. We agreed to adopt or recommend Mr. Fullam and Mr. Davitt to the convention as candidates, and passed a resolution. I received the Bishop's Pastoral. (Copy produced.) I read it to my congregation on 10th July. My curate read it also. I was one of the proposers of Mr. Davitt, who stopped at my house for a week during the election. A sum of £200 was collected and given to Mr. Davitt to pay the nomination expenses."

MR. DAVITT'S PROPOSERS.

Mr. Charles Lowry, Sub-Sheriff of County Meath, was called. He produced the nomination paper in which the **Most Rev. Dr. Nulty** nominated Mr. Davitt and Mr. Patrick Casey seconded him. In a second paper Mr. Davitt was proposed by the **Rev. Lawrence Coghlan, P.P.,** and seconded by John Skelly. A third paper was produced and signed by **Rev. Peter McNamee** as proposer, and Nicholas Kelly seconder, on Mr. Davitt's behalf. Mr. Davitt was described as of "The Parochial House, Slane."

Dr. NULTY ON THE ALTAR.

Mr. James Lawlor, town clerk of Navan, was then called. He said:—"I was at mass at Navan on July 10th. The **Rev. Dr. Nulty** spoke after the first Gospel. He said that Mr. Davitt and his supporters were coming to Navan, and he said he was coming there more in the interests of religion than in a political matter. He said he was coming in the interests of religion. He said this was more a religious than a political question. **He said that**

the number that would come would cow the Parnellites, and that the Parnellites were cowards and rowdies. I left the chapel at that stage, and know nothing further."

BERNARD CLARKE said :—"I heard **Father McNamee** read the pastoral at Navan on 3rd July. He said there would be an important sermon at last mass, which I attended. The **Rev. Dr. Nulty**, the bishop, preached the promised sermon."

What did the bishop say? He said "There was to be a meeting of Mr. Davitt's supporters; that Mr. Davitt would be there himself on the following Sunday; to come in like lambs and go out like lambs, **but to be armed with sticks,** and if booed or insulted that the people would get their skulls broke in, and that they would be beaten with the sticks."

Is that all you remember? **I left the chapel when I heard him say we would get our skulls broke in.**

He was still speaking? Yes.

That was the bishop himself? Yes.

PATRICK SHERLOCK said:—"The Sunday before the polling day at Navan chapel his lordship [the Bishop] referred to the fact that that was the last Sunday he would have an opportunity of speaking to them, and he told them that **any man that would vote for Mahony that he would stand before the bar of justice in reference to that man who voted for Mahony and plead against him.**"

VINCENT SHERIDAN, son of the Clerk of Trim Union, said:—"I was at mass at Trim chapel on 29th June. Dr. Nulty after mass said 'Parnellism was moral ruin, that it was improper and unholy. The Parnellites were losing their faith and becoming heretics; that if the people did not believe him on this doctrine of Parnellism how could they believe him on other things, such as Confession and Communion.' He said 'the other day in Navan a mob of drunken rowdies and abandoned women attacked the priests and nearly killed one of the purest Irish patriots living.'"

Did you understand him to be referring to Mr. Davitt? Yes.

CANVASSING IN THE CONFESSIONAL.

PATRICK COLLINS, of Kells, sworn and examined. He deposed:—"I am a grocer and provision dealer. I attended mass on 3rd July. **Father Casey** read the pastoral. In Kells chapel on 10th July, **Father Guinan** said one reason why he should discontinue the

support of Parnellism was that a priest in the neighbourhood of Ballybricken was waylaid and a bulldog set upon him. And also that the person whom he was going to attend to, died with him. It was a slander."

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—Did you find any difference with reference to voters before and after that statement ?

Witness—I found a difference with some afterwards.

"I went to confession to **Father Jones** about a fortnight before the election. After confession was over the reverend gentleman spoke to me about my vote and voting for Mr. Davitt. He was an auxiliary priest brought down for the Sacred Heart retreat. I declined to accede to his request."

PRIESTS AS CANVASSERS.

PATRICK TIMMONS, of Gibstown, the next witness, said :— "**Father Dermody** is curate of my parish. A Sunday about a fortnight before the election he was riding by and stopped. He asked my little girl was I in, and I went to the door and stood 'fornenst' it. He told me to walk down along the road with him—that he wanted me. I walked down with him. He asked me would I give him my vote. I told him I had no vote. He told me I had. 'Well,' I said, 'I got papers, and they were taken back.' 'Well, no matter,' said he, 'you have a vote.' I said 'I can't promise you yet.' 'You would rather give your vote to Gerrard, or Bective, or Everard, or Mr. Jordan,' my employer, and I said yes, I would give it to him in preference to any other person, and I was earning my bread from him, and my people before him. I said then I would go by my conscience. He asked me did I know my conscience. I said yes. He asked me what it was. I said it was my religion and my faith. **He told me he would not forget me or mine.**"

KNOCKED DOWN AND KICKED.

JAMES MCCABE, of Oristown, said :— "On the day of nomination, shortly after six, going home from my work and about a mile from my house, a number of cars came up. There were a number of priests on them with other people. They were shouting and cheering for the workmen's friend, Mr. Davitt. The man along with me began to shout for Mr. Mahony, and one lad jumped off the car and made for this man, and then a lot jumped off the cars and gathered around and began to leather him (laughter), and I went over and said, 'My God, don't kill the man!' A few ran at me and knocked me and dragged me about the road ; one lad came and gave me a welt

and a kick on the head; blood flowed from me, and my shirt was full of blood, and I went home. I was confined to bed and the doctor attended me three times. I did not shout for Mr. Mahony, I shouted for no one."

FATHER GUINANT'S SPECIAL TRAIN.

JAMES LAVERY, station master at Kells, deposed:—"On Sunday, July 10th, **Father Guinan** was a passenger in the special from Oldcastle to Navan. Three hundred tickets were sold. The amount was debited to **Father Guinan** who paid the balance due, £3 15s., on the following Tuesday. The Parnellites were kept out of the train till the others were seated."

A DAVITTITE CAR PARTY.

JAMES MCDONNELL, of Carlingstown, was the first witness on December 16th. He said:—"On the day of nomination, 7th July, a number of cars drove through the village on the way back. **Father Fagan,** my parish priest, was on one of them. A man named Lawless shouted and cheered, and I went out and booed them. **Father Fagan** then drove over to my door and made a bat of the whip at me. My wife and servant girl took me in by the neck."

OWEN GARSON, of Balreask, deposed:—"On the night of the nomination a number of cars passed by where I live. **Father Fagan** and a curate were of the party. They came off the cars and came towards me. I ran into the house and got a shash-hook. They came up no more when they saw the weapon. **Father Fagan** never said a word to save me when they passed. I heard a great noise and blows at Clinton's gate. I saw the gate afterwards and it was broken."

"PRIESTLY INFLUENCE."

MAURICE NULTY, of Smithstown, near Crossakiel, said:—"The day before the election, **Rev. James Murphy** came to me. We discoursed on the election. I said to him, **'only for priestly influence and intimidation there would be no seceders.'** We argued for a quarter of an hour, and he said 'you insulted me and I settled your house and garden for 30s. a year.' The priest's uncle is the owner of the house, and he said the rent is not fixed yet. The rent was fixed on 24th February, but the hand-writing [confirmed in writing] was not done."

FATHER KELLY ON THE ALTAR.

Miss ANNE KELSH deposed :—"I am a parishioner of **Father Kelly**. In Slane chapel I remember during the month of June him saying from the altar that the fight was upon them, that before that day month the battle would be fought and won, and he predicted a victory along the line. Then he said that these men, **these wretched factionists, would be swept into the sea,** that they might get four or five seats. He stated he would not like to have the conscience of the man and a Catholic who would go to the booth and vote for 'these men' or 'these members.' I don't remember which. He said a good deal more in the same strain. He was on the altar and in his vestments at the time, and it was after the first Gospel. For two or three Sundays before the election every-one attending chapel carried big sticks. Since the election my sister and I have been annoyed and insulted, the vilest names have been called to us. We were in our own house at the time and people came outside and called bad words. My brother took an active part in support of Mr. Mahony. On a telegraph pole outside one of our gates a disgusting production was posted. It commenced—'Rotten Kelsh. Remember Kitty. The solicitor for slander in the recent case,' and on the other side, 'The Tory spy, Mahony, and pledge-breaker.'"

ON HIS KNEES IN THE BOOTH.

PATRICK KELSH said he was brother of last witness. "I took an active part on behalf of Mr. Mahony. I attended a number of Parnell's meetings after March, 1891; up to that time I had been on best of terms with **Father Kelly.** I have an aunt up to 80 years of age living at our house. For the last 50 years there was always the privilege of mass being said in our house. Since March I met **Father Kelly** on three occasions, and he did not salute me. I have not had mass in the house since I began to attend Mr. Parnell's meetings in March, 1891. I acted as personation agent for Mr. Mahony; **Rev. Father Cassidy** acted for Mr. Davitt in same booth at Slane. **An illiterate voter came in and threw himself on his knees before Father Cassidy, and in a faltering voice he said, 'I will vote for Mr. Davitt.' He threw himself on his knees as if he was going to confession."**

JAMES O'BRIEN, of Dollondstown, said :—"He acted as personation agent for Mr. Mahony at Slane. **Father Cassidy** acted for Mr. Davitt. I remember an illiterate voter coming in by the door, which was about three or four paces from where the presiding officer and personating agents were sitting, when he dropped down on his

knees beside **Father Cassidy.** He put up his hands and said, **'I will vote for Davitt.'**

He voted as an illiterate."

REV. JOHN CASSIDY, Curate of Slane, was the first witness examined for the respondent on December 20th. He denied that an illiterate voter knelt in any reverential attitude to him in Slane booth. This voter was hard of hearing, and knelt on one knee so as to catch the words of the presiding officer in asking him his name and number on the register. In cross-examination, **Father Cassidy** admitted that the two men who swore about this kneeling voter were respectable men. One man was a parishioner.

About how high is this table that in order to lean down on it he had to go down on one knee? It is an old-fashioned table.

I suppose it is three feet high? Hardly.

Did he regularly go down on one knee? It appeared to me to be the act of an uncultured man.

The other people had a better opportunity of seeing than you, I understand?

The answer of the witness was inaudible.

REV. JOHN CASSIDY was cross-examined regarding the refusal of mass in the Kelshes house, as follows :—

Are you not aware that for long years they had mass celebrated in their house? I heard that.

Didn't you know that they were asking that to be continued? No answer.

Let us come to the point. Didn't you know that? I didn't.

Then let me understand you. I was there and I never refused to say mass for them.

I am not talking about yourself personally at all. I have not much fault to find with you about the matter at all. They told me this, that **Father Kelly** said he could not say mass for them.

Why? On your oath was it not because they were Parnellites that mass was not said in that house in which for twenty-five years at least it had been said? I don't know.

Give a reason now. I don't know. They said that **Father Kelly** said he could not say mass for them before I came to the parish.

Didn't you know that this young Kelsh had taken up the Parnellite side? I heard so.

Now let us have your thoughts on the subject. I could not tell the reason that **Father Kelly** discontinued mass.

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OBLIGED TO SEE A DOCTOR.

Miss MARGARET KELSH, a sister of Patrick Kelsh. "I was at eleven o'clock mass at Slane on 3rd July. **Father Kelly** made reference to the election from the altar, and said he expected every man in the parish to attend the meeting about to be held in Navan on 10th July; that he would have cars and carts, and even if he had to take them in wheelbarrows he would take them. He said there was a gang of hired assassins in Navan, and they should be prepared and armed to defend themselves. On the 3rd July I heard portions of the Bishop's Pastoral read by **Father Kelly**—the paragraph commencing "the dying Parnellite." During the months of June, July and August our gates were opened about a dozen times, and the cattle found out on the road. I was obliged to see a doctor after the hooting, caused by excitement and dread."

"KNEEL, AND BEG MY PARDON."

MARGARET HORAN, a feeble woman of advanced years, deposed:—"I live at Oristown with my daughter and son-in-law. About six o'clock on the day of nomination I went out on the road to see a wedding party coming back. A number of cars came up from the nomination, some of them on the cars asked me to cheer for Davitt. I said I would not, and they said 'Why?' 'For what would I cheer him?' says I. 'Why wouldn't you cheer him?' they said. 'I won't cheer him,' says I, 'and to hell with him' (laughter). One of the men who were on the car stood up, and, fixing his hand that way (witness indicated by a gesture), spoke something about the Horans, but I could not say what he said. I stooped down and I lifted up some clay and I threw it directly towards where the car was stopped. I turned round, and as I turned round there was a priest coming within a few steps of me. He said I threw stones at him. 'I did not, sir,' says I. **'Kneel down and beg my pardon,' says he. He insisted I would kneel down,** and I would not. He put his hand on my shoulder, and **I was very weak, and I just dropped down at his feet.** My daughter then came out. 'Oh, father,' says she, 'what are you doing?' 'Why did she throw stones at the priest?' said he. 'She did not,' says my daughter; 'where would you get a stone here?' It was a little paved street that was in it, my lord. Then my daughter said, 'And if she did, don't strike her.' 'I would,' says he, 'and I would strike you, too.' So he turned round and gave her a couple of slaps, standing on the door step."

Mr. Justice Andrews—Where did he give her the slap? On the cheek.

A WOMAN STRUCK BY A PRIEST.

Mrs. ANNE O'CALLAGHAN deposed that she was a daughter of the last witness. "When I went out of the house on the day, related by my mother, my mother was sitting by the side wall of the house, the priest standing right straight fornent the door. I said, when I opened the door and seen him, 'What are you doing, father?' 'Why did she throw stones at the priest?' he said. I said she did not. I did not know whether she did or not, but I said the word. He said that she did, and for the same reason that she should beg his pardon. I asked him where did she get the stones, and he said she threw them, no matter where she got them. I said, **'Don't hit her.' 'I would,'** he said, **'and hit you, too.'** I said that it would be better not."

Did he ask your mother again to beg his pardon? Yes; and he was persevering and leaning over to her to beg his pardon, and I said to him, "You are very ignorant, father." "I am ignorant?" he says. "Certainly," says I. Then he drew his hand, and he asked me **"Am I ignorant, madam?"** drawing his hand. **"Grossly ignorant," said I.** Then one of the men he had with him made over as if to hit me, and the priest did not let him hit me, and he said when he was going away, **"She will be in hell yet."** I said, **"She won't be there alone; when religion is coming to this she will have plenty of comrades."**

Did the priest strike you? Yes; across the face.

Were you near your confinement at the time? Within two weeks of my confinement.

SEVERELY BEATEN.

MICHAEL O'CALLAGHAN, husband of last witness, said:—**"The Rev. Father Dermody,** curate of our parish, at the latter end of May canvassed me for my vote. He asked me hadn't I a vote? I told him I didn't know whether I had or not. He told me that I had; that he saw my name on the sheet. He asked me would I back my religion, and I said certainly. Then he told me if I voted for Pierce Mahony I was voting against my religion. On the day of the nomination, I was coming up to my house after business. I saw some of the cars; the people came down off the cars. They were beating two men named Peter Shagley and Willie Holden. They came up to me and knocked me down."

How many men came to you? Nearly a hundred.

Were there some forty or fifty cars? I could not say.

Did they beat you severely? Very severely.

You are what's known as a Parnellite? Yes.

PROTESTANTS NOT VOTING.

PATRICK KERNAN said he was a monitor in the National School, Oldcastle. "On the day of the declaration of the poll **Father Graham** addressed the people—about four or five hundred. He said he saw Satan in the eyes of the Parnellites, and made a remark about the **Protestants not voting.**"

AN OLD WOMAN LEAPED ON.

MARY CAFFREY, an aged woman, deposed:—"I live in Butter Street, Navan. On 10th July a crowd of Mr. Davitt's supporters came up the street and pulled down a flag belonging to Mr. Pierce Mahony. Instantly I went down, thinking they would not meddle me, but they riz me up, leaped on me, and put my hip out of joint. I was laid up five weeks, your honour, and I will be laid up the end of my life, I am afraid. **There was a priest there. He said, 'Let her lie there, the old b———.'** A man named Sheridan, chairman of the Poor Law Board, was there. He called me a ———."

FATHER DUFFY'S BEHAVIOUR.

JAMES GANNON, of Rodenstown, said:—"I attended mass early in June. **Father Duffy,** the curate, addressed the people before the last Gospel. He said 'there was a meeting got up in Syddon for that day; got up against the priests and against the church, and he advised none of his people to attend it, and not to be seen with such a motley crew or crowd; that their real object in organising it was to sell their porter.' That might be a reference to myself as I was engaged in the spirit trade, and I helped to organise the meeting.

"He told the people not to attend from curiosity, that those who attended from curiosity would no doubt be put down as Parnellites.

"On 10th July I attended a meeting at Navan. **Father Duffy** was in Navan also. He came home before me. About eight o'clock I was in the street with some friends. **Father Duffy** came down from the parochial house with a stick in his hand; he was walking in a defiant manner. When the people saw him in the middle of the road they divided to allow him to pass. He turned back after passing through the crowd, and he asked me what I was doing—why didn't I go home. I said the people were doing no harm. He told them to go home in a stern kind of way. **Father Duffy** walked away, but came back again. Fearing that there might be a row, and that I would be held responsible for it, I went to **Father Duffy** and told him that he had no right to interfere with the people, as they were quiet and orderly, and they would go home. He raised

the stick and left the point of it on my breast and said, 'James, you are the greatest opponent in the parish.' I said I hoped that it was in the political sense that I was. He said, 'Yes, politically.' Then I said I was proud of it, or something that way."

What did he say then? He pointed towards the house then—towards the license board or door, I don't know what he meant—"I'll watch that," he said.

You have a publican's license? Yes.

What did you say to that? I said I suppose he was capable of doing the like. I said the house was conducted well, and I could defy him and the police.

Did he do anything then? He raised a stick and struck one of the men in the crowd. He struck him on the head, which was cut and bleeding. Meehul, the man struck, said or done nothing to **Father Duffy**. He then struck another man named Donegan, raising a lump on his temple. The people then rushed in and took hold of the stick. I told them to have patience. I got into the crowd and pushed them on one side. I asked **Father Duffy** to leave go the stick. I said "as bad as you think the people you'll not be hit. You have nothing to be afraid of." The people then let go the stick.

JAMES CALLAN was sworn, and said:—"I was in the street at Rodenstown on July 10th along with about thirty men. I saw the **Rev. Mr. Duffy** come towards us from the parochial house. We separated to let **Father Duffy** pass through. After going down about five perches of the road the crowd that was on the street called for a cheer for Pierce Mahony; they gave a cheer. **Father Duffy** returned, and he passed through the crowd twice; then he turned short and struck a man named Thomas Meade with a stick."

Mr. Justice Andrews—Struck him where? **Struck him on the side of the head over the ear.**

Examination resumed:—Did you see the blood flowing down his cheek? I did, sir.

What occurred then? He went to the extreme end of the crowd and he struck a man named Dolohan.

How? With a stick, on the side of the head, and knocked his hat off and left a lump on his head.

Did the crowd say anything to him? Not a word. He said to begone home out of that.

What did they say? They said they had as much right to be on the road as what he had.

"James Gannon spoke to **Father Duffy**. He called Gannon his greatest opponent in the parish, and said he had better be careful

about that house. **'I'll watch it,' he says, 'and I'll hear of it.'**

I was personation agent for Mr. Mahony at Drumcondrath booth. **Father Duffy** was outside, he was speaking to voters. There was a man of the name of John Moore. He asked **Father Duffy** had he a vote in the district. **Father Duffy** had a register in his hand and he looked over it. 'It is John Moore here,' he said, 'of Currabeg,' I was standing by. 'That isn't you,' says I to the man. 'It is Johnny Moore, of Currabeg.' 'Go in,' says **Father Duffy** to him, 'and vote' says he. 'Be careful what you are doing, John,' says I. 'Don't get yourself in a hobble.' **'Go in and vote,' says the priest.** He told the man two or three times to go in and vote, and the man didn't, and I believe he would have gone in but that I was there.

About 12 o'clock a man was carried out of the booth in a fainting condition, I thought he was dying. The **Rev. Mr. Rooney, P.P.**, of Drumcondrath, was outside the door of the booth as the man was carried out. A man came up and asked him to come and attend the man. **'Come over, your reverence,'** he said, **'and attend this man who is dying.'** 'Go on out of that' **Father Rooney** made answer, 'I will have nothing to do with ye.' The man put his hand on **Father Rooney's** shoulders. 'He is one of our own, your reverence,' he says, 'and attend him.' **Father Duffy** then moved over to where the man was. I then remarked in **Father Rooney's** hearing that if the man was a Parnellite he would be left to die without the priest. There was **a lot of sticks raised over my head,** making an offer to strike me at once, so I slipped into the Court House to escape the blows."

THOMAS MEADE said:—"He was on the street at Rodenstown on the evening of the nomination. "I Remember **Father Duffy** coming up. **He struck me on the outside of the eye with a big stick he had. It drew my blood.** I gave him no offence nor said a word. He struck another man also."

EDWARD ADDY, of Foxtown, said:—"**Father Duffy** made reference to the election petition in his sermon on 1st November, and a meeting to be held at Syddon on the following Sunday. He said 'that these gentlemen, not being content with being well beaten, were courting a greater beating, and that they came now to raise dissension in the parish, and **all that would attend that meeting their names would be taken down.**'"

FRANCIS DOORIGAN, examined on December 20th, and said:—"I remember **Father Duffy** coming down the street of Loganstown

on 10th July. He struck me on the head with a stick. I was standing with my back to the side of a car. I did not say anything, or offer any offence to the rev. gentleman before he struck."

A DYING WIFE.

LUKE FLOOD, of Oristown, said :—" I am a voter for North Meath. The **Rev. M. Rafferty** is curate of my parish. About a fortnight before the poll he canvassed me for my vote. I told him I would not give it to him. In the middle of October I asked the reverend gentleman to come **to administer the last Sacraments to my wife who was dying. He told me to go to Pierce Mahony**. I said I came for him. He said it was a busy day, and that he could not go till the evening. He came in the evening and attended my wife, who died on the Tuesday following. He did not speak to me, although he saw me."

MARCH INTO NAVAN.

JOSEPH COLLINS, a farmer, said:—" I remember **Father Rafferty** preaching in a neighbouring parish to me on 10th July. He said that there would be two meetings in Navan, that Mr. Davitt would be there, and he told his party to meet at a certain place, **the priests would be there and they would march to Navan**. For a great number of years I had a 'station'* at my house. Since my avowal of Parnellism the stations have been discontinued. I met **Father Cole** on the road one day last March, and he said I would regret it (my connection with Parnellism) all the days of my life. He had always up to that time recognised me and been to my house, since then he has not spoken or recognised me."

A WIFE GOES OUT OF HER MIND.

PATRICK REILLY said :—" On the day of nomination a procession of brakes and cars passed me at the cross roads. A very old and feeble man named McCabe was with me. The procession was very uproarious, shouting and cheering for Davitt, and they asked me, by gestures and words, to cheer for the 'workmen's friend.' Mr. Davitt was with them. A general halt was made; but one car, with three clergymen and a drunken layman named Gerraghty, the 'Slasher of Kells,' moved on. The **Rev. Father Woods**, administrator of Navan, was holding him on the car. A number jumped down off the cars. **I was struck on the left shoulder with a**

* Mass celebrated in a private house.

pole, and a second man knocked me. I was cut and wounded. A reverend gentleman saved my life, and I blessed him; he told me to remember I saved him. **My wife went out of her mind** in consequence of this conduct; she was under the hallucination that when she heard crowds booing that they were coming to attack our house."

A GOOD MAN AND A FENIAN.

PATRICK MEEHAN, a shoemaker in Kells, said:—"A man named Con. English came to me with a message from **Father Saughran,** to know who I would vote for. I asked them who they were going to put up for member. **'Michael Davitt,'** says he, **'a good man and a Fenian some time ago.'** I said I had not my mind made up.

I was at the retreat just before the election. I was at confession. **Father Casey** spoke to me in the chapelyard about my vote, and was I going to vote on the priests' side. I said I did not suppose it would answer me to go on that side."

"I'M THE COUNTRY."

MICHAEL GILSENAN, of Kilskyre parish, said:—"He was canvassed by **Rev. Mathew Kenny** the evening before the poll. A man named Giblin was with him. They were making a house-to-house canvass. He says, 'Come up here, my lad, I want you.' I obeyed his summons, and the next thing he says is, 'Why did I curse the priest?' I says, 'No,' and he says, 'Yes, sir,' and I says, 'No, sir,' and he says, 'Yes, sir.' I says, 'I deny it,' and he says, 'Who are you going to support?' I says, 'The country,' and he says, **'I'm the country,** and will you give me your vote?' and I says, 'No. Your candidate isn't a competent man for the Country, nor for the county Meath either, sir. Nor he couldn't be so and be a man that could pull out a revolver last Sunday, as I heard. My parish priest was there, and he never told that to me.' I said he would show **more respect for a dog than he did when he canvassed me** over my vote."

FATHER CLARKE'S BRUTALITY.

ANTHONY SMITH said he was at Nobber on day of polling. He saw Owen Reilly knocked down by **Father Clarke.** "I was a few yards from Reilly, he was addressing some remarks, but to no one in particular. Reilly said that everyone should be allowed to vote

according to his conscience, then **Father Clarke** said 'withdraw those words,' and I turned for an instance, and when I looked round Reilly was on the ground, and appeared insensible. He was muttering something like a man in a dream. Mr. Mahony then appeared on the scene and asked the people to be quiet, and they took his bidding."

Mr. PIERCE MAHONY, the Petitioner, in his evidence stated :—

"On the day of the polling I went to Nobber, and was met at the station by a few friends, and the sergeant of police, who communicated to me that he hadn't sufficient force to protect me, and he asked me not to go up, I told him I must visit the booths.

Do you remember being in one of the booths when some one called for you? Yes, Mr. O'Brien.

When you went out did you see a priest, whose name you since learned to be **Father Clarke,** on the roadway? I saw him surrounded by a very excited crowd. I rushed into the middle and tried to push them back.

"I inquired what happened, and was told that a man had been knocked down by a priest. I went over to the man. He was just beginning, apparently, to become conscious, and I heard a little more about it. I then went back to the priest and I said, **'You know that no man in this country likes to hit a gentleman of your cloth, and under the circumstances it is a cowardly thing to hit any man.'** He said—**'If you don't withdraw that I'll hit you.'** I said 'I'll not withdraw it. It was a cowardly thing.' The crowd then closed in. Then a reverend gentleman, whom I since learned was **Father Everard,** came out of another booth and took **Father Clarke** away."

AN ENGLISHMAN'S OPINION.

Mr. BENNETT BURLEIGH [of the London *Telegraph*] drew my attention to the fact that a Magistrate named Mr. Walker was on the street. I went up and asked him was he a Magistrate, he said he was. I called his attention to the fact that a very serious assault had been committed, and I expressed the opinion that **Father Clarke** ought to be arrested. He then said it would be, I think the word he used was dangerous to arrest a clergyman. Mr. Burleigh said—**'I don't know what you do in this country, but we would make short work of him in England.'** I said I thought it would be his duty to see that the police had his proper name and address in order that he might be prosecuted."

ATTEMPT AT PERSONATION.

THOMAS FARRELLY, of Oldcastle, said:—"I acted for Mr. Mahony at Oldcastle. I saw a man named Coyle brought in to vote. He had to be carried in and out from the car. He was carried up by four or five agents of Mr. Davitt's. Coyle was personating another man, and he was objected to and not allowed to vote. He was carried out same way."

TYPICAL SERMONS.

Mr. FRANCIS DOYLE, a reporter on the *Daily Independent* staff, said:—"I attended mass at Oldcastle on 3rd July. **Father Graham** officiated at 8 o'clock mass. I took a note of his speech from the altar. He read the pastoral, and, continuing, said—'That is a very serious pronouncement to come from the head of the diocese, and if any man feels inclined to contradict that he is certainly not in the right faith. He says invincible ignorance may be an excuse for this, but I think after the light that has been thrown upon the matter there will be no such thing as invincible ignorance. If any man believes in Parnellism he really has fallen in the faith, although he doesn't know it. A man might have been misled into a kind of belief that he is right, but his conscience must arise and he cannot be excused by that. This thing of Parnellism is not defined, but is no less an article of faith. **If you believe in it you commit a mortal sin, you defy the Church and make yourself open to excommunication.**

At second mass **Father Brogan**, the curate, celebrated mass. Before he read the pastoral he said:—'Next Sunday Mr. Davitt and others will address a great county meeting in Navan at three o'clock. A special train will leave Oldcastle for the Navan meeting at one o'clock, at a small fare, and will return at half-past six the same evening. Perhaps I may remark that, owing to the success of the meeting on last Wednesday, and from the fact that Mr. Mahony will be present in Oldcastle to-day, I think it would be little short of political apostacy for any individual, even a single one, who was present at the meeting on last Wednesday, to attend to-day to hear him speak. Of course, it is only right and reasonable that he should address those of his political creed. I think they are very few, and it is your business to abstain with iron coldness from having hand, act or part in the meeting to-day which he is going to address.'

He then referred to Mr. Parnell and his one-man power, Captain O'Shea, and the Galway election; concluding as follows:—'I'll read for you **the pastoral letter of your bishop** on this matter, and I am quite sure, though it is a little long, you'll listen to it with

every respect and attention. In the hierarchy of Ireland I am sure there is no man who has done so much for Ireland, and for his own people, and for his own priests. **He now comes before you as the accredited minister of God to teach you.** I ask you to take in every syllable of it and be convinced by it.'

He was standing on the altar in his vestments when he delivered this harangue."

"THE BLESSED SACRAMENT."

JAMES DALY swore "that on the second day before the polling he met **Father Brady.** He asked me was I a Davittite or a Mahonyite. I said I believed in the policy of Independent Opposition. On that he jumped off the car and caught me by the throat, and dragged me about on the road. He held a whip over my head. I begged him for God's sake not to strike me—that I was a good Catholic, and that I never insulted a clergyman in my life, or never meant to do so. Then he gave me a final shake and let me go. **I did not forget that he was a priest, and was carrying the Blessed Sacrament about with him, and on that account I did not or would not insult him."**

FATHER CASEY.

PATRICK BYRNE said :—"On the day of the polling I was in Kimgate Street, Navan, at one o'clock. I was talking to a friend. There was some sort of rush, and **Rev. C. Casey** walked up, **raised a heavy blackthorn stick and struck me on the head,** cut me right through a hard hat, the blood flowed down over my eyes and blinded me. I had not said a word. I got my wounds dressed at the local hospital. I was not able to work for three days. I never knew the reverend gentleman, and never gave him any offence."

The **REV. C. CASEY** was examined on December 21st, and said "he was on the streets at Navan on polling day. There was a crowd around a man named McDermott."

What did the crowd do then ? They rushed as I took it at me—as much or more at me than at McDermott.

Did they raise their sticks ? I do not remember about that. They rushed me round and hustled me about, and carried me away from the position in which I was standing. My hat was knocked off.

Did you do anything then in self-defence ? I believe, furthermore, this man Byrne struck me. I won't swear to it positively, but I will tell you about it. Looking back—

Mr. Justice Johnson—Is that the case in which informations have been returned ?

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—It is, my lord.

Mr. Justice Johnson—It is exceedingly difficult to try a case on the merits which is *sub judice*.

A MARKED MAN.

EDWARD SMITH said "he attended Mr. Mahony's meeting at Nobber. I was on a car. Mr. Anthony Smith was behind me. **Father Brady** was in Kilmainham Wood as we were going through to Nobber. **Father Brady** said, referring to Mr. Anthony Smith, 'Smith, you'll be marked in the parish for the future.' 'Well, Father Brady, I don't care,' said he. 'I'll stick to my principles.' "

ANTHONY SMITH, referred to by last witness, said :—"With reference to the remark of **Father Brady**, that I would be a marked man. I was sitting on my own car, coming down from my mother's house, when **Father Brady** appeared on the scene. There is a bridge on the road, and I did not see him until he addressed me. He remarked that I would be a marked man in the parish. I replied that I would stand by my principles.

On Sunday, the 10th October, I was coming from mass, accompanied by a friend, on the bridge I met a Mr. Fitzsimons. I was speaking to him on the bridge for his car—I don't know whether it was his own car or Father Brady's—but **Father Brady** arrived there, and he said to Mr. Fitzsimons that he ought not to be speaking to such a blackguard as I was."

Did you make any observation ? None.

What happened then ? He got up on the car, and he pointed a paper back to me and said I would regret my conduct in the parish during the past week. I replied that I did not want to hold any conversation with him after using these words to me. He then called me a blackguard two or three times.

What had you been doing ? I had been doing nothing at all, except that I had been to a public meeting in support of Mr. Mahony.

"A SOUPER FROM KERRY."

Mr. A. CASEY, Editor of *Drogheda Independent*, produced a copy of his paper of August 6th, containing report headed "Welcome home to Dr. Nulty," supplied by **Father Kearney**, of Mullingar.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy then read from the speech of the **Most Rev.**

Dr. Nulty, made on the occasion of his arrival in Mullingar, in which he said it had been sought in the contest in North Meath to put Michael Davitt on equality with Mr. Mahony, the Souper* from Kerry, but that they had carried Davitt triumphantly in spite of Tories and Factionists.

A GIRL KNOCKED DOWN BY A PRIEST.

PATRICK SHERLOCK also deposed :—" On 10th July, the day of the meeting at Navan, a procession came in led by Mr. Davitt. There were thirty or forty clergymen present. I was standing on the Courthouse steps, and there was a girl standing just opposite me, and a horse was running away behind, and as the horse was running away, **Mr. Davitt and the priests turned,** and as they were turned back they met the girl just opposite me, and the **clergyman up with his umbrella and knocked her hat off,** with the left hand, and **struck her with the stick with the right hand."**

Was she speaking or cheering ? No more than I was.

Did he knock her down ? He did; and there was **another priest coming to hit her and she lying.**

Do you say that he was going again to hit her ? Yes; and I lifted her up. I said he was not a clergyman that could strike a girl. He said that **"he would put his stick down my throat** if I interfered."

Was not the girl bleeding ? She had on a white dress, and there was blood running down from her head.

As far as you saw on that occasion, were not the clergymen the ringleaders of the mob ? There was nothing going in with Mr. Davitt on that day but murderers.

BADLY BEATEN.

JAMES HARRELL said :—"He acted as personating agent for Mr. Mahony. In the evening I was passing across the street with a Mr. Gore to a public house. The crowd **assaulted us with sticks. I was badly beaten and laid up for a fortnight.** The door of the public house was shut against me."

* The word "Souper" is used as a term of reproach, applied to Protestants whether Nonconformists or members of the Church of Ireland. Its meaning originated in the fact of gifts of food, clothing and other material comforts being made by Protestants to Roman Catholic poor, with the object, alleged by the Catholic clergy, of converting them.

MR. PIERCE MAHONY.

Mr. PIERCE MAHONY, the petitioner, was examined on Dec. 19th. He said:—"I am a Protestant, so were my father and grandfather. I used to reside at Kilmorna, near Listowel, Co. Kerry. I have left it now. I remember attending the County Meath convention four days after the Divorce Court proceedings. There were thirty-five priests present. **Father Behan** spoke. **Father Woods,** the administrator, acted as Secretary of the convention.

I lunched with the Bishop after the meeting, **Father Woods** took me over. His lordship sat next to me and spoke in a friendly way; I went straight from there to the famous Leinster Hall meeting. The witness then referred to an alleged insulting statement made by him regarding the priests of Ireland to Mr. Halley Stewart, an English M.P., which he declared was absolutely untrue.

At a Convention held in Trim on 16th June I was selected to again contest the division: from that date I spent a great part of the time in the constituency."

POLITICAL NEWS FROM THE ALTAR.

REV. JOHN CASSIDY, in cross-examination, was asked:—Tell me, you are a man, as I understand from your direct examination, who takes very little interest in politics—is it allowed by the Rubric to read out from the altar steps the result of a contested election? I never heard a word against it. It is an announcement.

An announcement of what? Merely an announcement that might be of interest to the parishioners.

You did not read about the Waterford election? No.

Because the Parnellite won there? Yes.

But amongst the prayers of the dead you read from the altar step the news of Mr. Redmond's defeat in Cork? I did not read it out amongst the prayers for the dead. There were announcements of stations and other matters.

Amongst those matters you read out this interesting anti-Parnellite bit of news? Yes.

With your vestments on? Yes.

MR. DAVITT AS CLERICAL MAGISTRATE MAKER.

Mr. Michael Davitt, the respondent, was cross-examined on December 21st, as follows:—Did you write a letter to a priest, asking that certain names should be sent up to the Lord Chancellor to be appointed justices of the peace? No; I asked him for certain names of popular men in the county eligible for the magistracy.

Listen. Is not that a copy of your letter (handing witness a document)? That, I think, is a copy of the letter.

That is after the election. Who is this addressed to? **Father Kelly.**

Is this it:—

"Ballybrack, Sept. 19th, 1892.

"Dear Father,—Will you please write to the priests of the chief districts in North and South Meath requesting them to send in to me as soon as convenient the names (in full), the addresses and occupations of the representative laymen who ought to be justices of the peace—men, for example, like—— "

Who is the blank? I think Mr. Everett.

Wasn't he a supporter of yours? He was.

There is another blank. Who is the other? I do not know the second one. Probably it was some gentleman from Crossakiel whose name I cannot recollect.

Another supporter of yours? Another representative of popular feeling.

Another supporter of yours—of what you call popular feeling? Very likely.

Very likely, you say. And then the letter goes on—"Or ——, near your place. It is the intention of the Lord Chancellor to create throughout the country a good number of magistrates, representing popular feeling, and I wish to submit a number of names from Meath. The men proposed must be: First, respectable; second, intelligent; and third, in character and general qualification worthy representatives of National feeling. No publican is eligible.

"Yours very truly,

"Michael Davitt."

Is not that a very queer letter for you to write to the principal priest who supported you—**Father Kelly**—at whose house you lived? I see nothing wrong in it.

THE JUDGMENT.

MR. JUSTICE ANDREWS in delivering judgment, after dealing with some legal aspect of the case, said—I now proceed to deal, and I shall do so as concisely as I properly can, with what has been proved during the trial of this case; and, first of all, with respect to the charge of undue influence. The undue influence which was relied on by the petitioner's counsel, both in the opening statement and in the reply, was that species of undue influence which consists of spiritual intimidation, by which I mean the infliction or threat of any spiritual injury, harm, or loss with the object of influencing votes. The evidence, however, and I heard it with the deepest regret, disclosed a considerable number of cases which I cannot leave unnoticed, in which clergymen who had involved themselves, as I think most unfortunately, in the strife and struggle of this election contest, allowed loss of temper to betray them into

DEPLORABLE ACTS OF PERSONAL VIOLENCE,

which, in some instances, were sworn to have been committed **even against women,** and some of which no provocation could justify. It is satisfactory that an opportunity for a public explanation of these acts has been afforded to those who were implicated in them, and that the respondent's counsel have had an opportunity of addressing the court upon all these cases. In the course of the evidence for the respondent some of the alleged acts of violence have been denied, and others have been presented in a different light from that in which they were left at the close of the petitioner's case. Still, much that is most regrettable remains; but as two of these cases have become the subject of pending prosecutions, and as some others of them may possibly come to be investigated elsewhere, I shall refrain from making any further observations respecting them than these: first, although the clergymen alluded to say, as I shall show hereafter, be properly regarded as agents of the respondent in relation to such matters as the promulgation of the bishop's pastoral of the 29th of June, and the production of the effect which it was intended to produce among the electors, I think it only just to say that I entirely acquit the respondent of any complicity, direct or indirect, in these acts of personal violence, and the remaining observation I have to

make respecting them is that gravely censurable though such acts after the election could not upon the evidence, and having regard to the law, have been avoided thereby. As regards

THE BISHOP'S PASTORAL LETTER,

which has undergone so much discussion, I have on a previous occasion been obliged to express my opinion, which was not formed without consideration, and which I have been unable to change. I have not overlooked anything which was so forcibly urged both at the trial of the South Meath petition, and at this trial, by the able counsel who led for the respondent in both, nor the clear evidence given at this trial by the **Rev. Peter McNamee.** I can neither decide, nor with propriety offer an opinion upon, any of the Ecclesiastical or Theological questions which the pastoral may give rise. These, as I said before, are not matters for me. Although the Statute Law classes the offence of undue influence among what it defines as corrupt practices, it is not essential in order to determine whether this offence has been committed to find a corrupt motive in the ordinary sense of those words. Its illegality both at Common Law under and Statute Law lies in its interference with what the law so jealously guards—the freedom of election. It is not my duty or province to investigate the motives of the bishop or his clergy in relation to the pastoral any further than to ascertain whether their action was with the object of influencing votes; but it is my duty to declare that their action with reference to the pastoral, pending an election, as the expressed purpose of the pastoral was to induce electors to vote at the impending election in favour of one candidate and against the other, the election was voided at Common Law by reason of the widespread

GENERALITY OF ITS INFLUENCE,

and under Statute Law by reason of its amounting to undue influence within the meaning of the second section of the Act of 1883, and of its promulgators having been the agents of the respondent with reference to it—for such I hold they clearly became. The evidence, in my judgment, irresistibly establishes that during the election period the respondent was aware of, and adopted and availed himself without objection of, the action of the bishop and his clergy in relation to the pastoral, and what was sought to be thereby impressed upon the electors, and he thus made them his agents and involved himself in responsibility for their action in that regard. It appears from his own evidence that on the 28th June he was aware of the bishop's intention to issue a pastoral with reference to the election, and that he requested the **Rev. Mr. McNamee** to convey to the bishop the respondent's

earnest request not to issue the pastoral until the election was over, believing that it could do him no good and might do him harm. Whether this request was actually conveyed he did not inquire, but next day

THE PASTORAL WAS ISSUED AND PUBLISHED,

and it was publicly read in all the chapels on the following Sunday. Some of the clergy who so read it commented upon it and enforced it; others read it without comment. In both cases it received their sanction and obtained publicity as an authorised pastoral from the bishop, which spoke for itself without comment. No more effective publicity could have been given, its tendency and object were patent, and the respondent with full knowledge of it availed himself of these things without objection. The case is widely different from that of a supporter merely attending a candidate's meeting or even being on his election committee or simply canvassing for him, though this might be more important, and many of the clergy did actively canvass for the respondent. It has been truly said that laymen were largely associated with the clergy in matters relating to the election, but it is quite plain that

THE CLERGY WERE THE LEADERS

and that the respondent was their nominee, willingly accepting their aid, influence, and action on his behalf. I do not agree that undue spiritual influence is, in point of law, subject to exactly the same considerations as undue influence by physical violence. The former is a much more subtle form of influence, and its full effect is much more difficult to estimate. I think it clear that if it has prevailed so generally that the result of the election may be reasonably believed to have been affected thereby, the court cannot be called on, before voiding the election, to determine, as a matter of fact, that if this influence had not existed the result of the election would have been different. From the very nature of the influence in question this could scarcely ever been done, and, in my opinion, even in the case of undue physical influence of a widespread and general character no such doctrine applies.

THE HISTORY OF THIS ELECTION

certainly affords no safe grounds for a conclusion that if the election had been free the result would have been the same. On the contrary, any impartial mind which appreciates the powerful effect likely to be produced by the pastoral and its promulgation from the altar by so many parish priests and curates

throughout a constituency in which the Roman Catholic electors have not yet been divorced from their Spiritual allegiance to and their veneration for the sacred office of their clergy, must regard it as at least a matter of grave doubt, considering the marked difference of opinion which had arisen and prevailed whether a free election would not have resulted in the petitioner's return. The impression which has been produced upon my mind by the evidence, though it may not in fact be a correct one, is that it would. Sermons were delivered during the election period by the bishop and a number of his clergy which I cannot leave unnoticed, though I desire to refrain from any unnecessary reference to them. Some of them were upon the lines of the pastoral and some were irrespective of it. There are portions of some of these sermons which appear to me, if I may be permitted to say so, little in harmony with the sacred office of the preachers and the temples of religion in which they were preached. If upon the entire evidence some of them which referred to bringing sticks and have been severely criticised as inciting to violence, ought not in fairness to be so interpreted, and in my opinion they ought not, still can it be said that, spoken as they were at a time of great excitement, they were not likely to lead to violence; and if the uncontradicted account given of other of

THESE SERMONS

is even only approximately correct, they unquestionably went far beyond legitimate counsel or allowable exhortation or appeal, and their preachers by undue use sadly misused their powerful influence. To what further length could undue spiritual influence go than for a bishop to declare from the altar that Parnellism, which was the political faith of one of the contending parties, was no better than heresy, and that he would approach the death bed of a profligate or a drunkard with greater confidence as to his salvation than he would that of a Parnellite; or for a priest to preach from the altar that to believe in Parnellism was to commit a mortal sin, and was to defy the Church and expose to excommunication.

After dealing with the allegations of violence and treating which the learned judge held had not been sufficiently proved, he concluded by declaring that his colleague and himself had come to the conclusion that the election ought to be voided.

Mr. Justice Johnson, after some preliminary observations, said:— I now approach a part of this case with deep regret. To some it may be a source of some satisfaction, but to those to whom religion is dear, no matter where they worship, it must be a source of sorrow and pain. When religion calls upon all who cherish her to stand

together for the right it is said that she should find herself wounded in the house of her friends. There is evidence of

ACTS OF ASSAULT BY INDIVIDUAL PRIESTS,

for which two of them now stand returned for trial, and which most of them have not been examined to deny. It may be that excuse is found in this, that, stung by insults, blinded by temper, or anticipating personal injury to themselves, they were carried away by the impulse and excitement of the moment, to the commission of acts which their sober reflection condemns. But for me the question is how do these acts affect the respondent's seat. He was no party to them—his interference—on the evidence before us—when any violence occurred was in the interests of peace, and we cannot be affected by any isolated acts of individual men further than—and they were so relied on as I understood by the petition, as they show the active part which these priests took in the election which

THEY ALMOST MADE THEIR OWN.

In much the same light, so far as the respondent is concerned, do I view the withdrawal—for so I find it to be—of the privilege of private mass from the Kelshes, the ceasing to hold the usual station in the house of Collins, a respectable farmer, or angry exclamation to Gannon, about his signboard and his store. All these are regrettable incidents, to be deplored in themselves, but for which the respondent cannot be held answerable, in my opinion. Nor can the respondent, in my opinion, be held answerable through this for undue influence by what for convenience has been rather inaccurately termed physical intimidation which is not proved in this case. These matters may be dealt with in the ordinary course of law, but there remains what must, in my opinion, void this election. The evidence has abundantly established that undue influence by spiritual intimidation has prevailed throughout the entire of the electorate division of North Meath, and for this the respondent by his agents is responsible by the Common Law of Parliament and under the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act. Agency does not depend solely on formal appointment by the respondent—though he appointed many of the priests his personation agents—it is a fact to be gathered from all the circumstances in evidence in each case, and in the present case the evidence is clear. The respondent placed himself and left himself

IN THE HANDS OF THE CLERGY

to manage and procure his election. From the railway station to the parochial house, the residence of the bishop, thence he proceeds to and returns from the Convention in the Catholic Seminary, where he was

adopted candidate. From the hands of a priest, one of the treasurers of the fund raised by the organising committee for election expenses, he received £200 to pay the sheriff's expenses. Priests accompany and attend him everywhere, canvass for him, deliver addresses in their churches on his behalf; he stays with a priest when in this country, and gives his residence as a priest's house in the appointments of his personation agents; he takes the services of the priests; he goes to the poll on the nomination of the bishop. The evidence of agency appears to me to be incontrovertible.

THERE REMAINS THEN THE PASTORAL.

Its public promulgation in every parish and in every Catholic Church, and the means by which its teaching and its influence were urged and enforced on the Catholic electors. I decline to enter on or contemplate the theological aspect of the case to which our attention was invited, and I entirely disclaim any intention to discuss or consider these matters, which are beyond the scope of my duty. On the 2nd July the bishop deemed it fit to publish this pastoral in the Drogheda newspaper, and he ordered all his clergy to read it on Sunday, the 3rd July, at all masses in their several churches in a loud and distinct voice. It has been so often read—it has been so fully discussed in all its parts—that I should not feel justified in occupying time in discussing it in detail again.

TWO PASSAGES ONLY

I shall refer to. "Now Parnellism," he says, "strikes at the very root and saps the very foundations of Catholic faith. I have already proved, I trust to your satisfaction, that Parnellism is much more than a political question, and that it is an essentially and an intensely religious question as well. All the successors of the Apostles in this country—'that is to say the 29 archbishops and bishops of Ireland'—have solemnly warned and taught their respective flocks that Parnellism was unlawful and unholy, that it was in distinct, direct, and essential antagonism with the principles of Christian morality, and even dangerous to their faith as Catholics, and consequently that they should shun and avoid it. They who refuse to accept that teaching or that principle on the unanimous authority of the whole Irish hierarchy deprive themselves of every rational ground or motive for believing in the truth of any of the other doctrines of religion, because it is solely on the authority which they here despise and decry that they know, or possibly can know, that any one of those doctrines was ever revealed at all by Almighty God. If the bishops can mislead or deceive their flocks on this particular doctrine what is to prevent their doing exactly the same in the case of any of the other doctrines which they are continually teaching?

may undoubtedly excuse many of the misguided but well-intentioned men who still cling to Parnellism, but no intelligent or well-informed man can continue and remain a Catholic as long as he elects to cling to Parnellism," and then after powerfully depicting the result if the priests (as he puts in the Irish, so dear to many, the *soggarth aroon*) should ever lose the confidence of his people and be regarded as a traitor to the interests of his country, he says, "This is the natural tendency, and will be the inevitable result of Parnellism. I earnestly implore you then, dearly beloved, to stamp out by your votes, at the coming election, this great moral, social and religious evil." This was addressed to the clergy and laity of the diocese of Meath. It was published from the altar in every church, at every mass, so that no one could escape it. It was read aloud by the officiating priest—read in his vestments. It was affixed in a conspicuous place. **The bishop, preaching at second mass at Trim, from the alter, in his vestments,** says, "Parnellism"—and the bishop has not been called to contradict any of this evidence—**"Parnellism was moral ruin, improper and unholy. The Parnellites were lofing their faith and becoming heretics; that if the people did not believe him in the doctrine of Parnellism, how could they believe him on other things, such as confession and communion."** Again at the other mass he is proved to have spoken about Parnellism, and said—"It was nothing better than heresy; in its teaching it was immoral and considered so by the Irish priests, and condemned by the bishops of the Irish Catholic Church; and that **he would approach the deathbed of the profligate and the drunkard with greater confidence as to his salvation than that of a Parnellite."** And this was from the altar and robed in his vestments. Then he said:—"Any woman that sympathised with Parnellism

WAS WORSE THAN AN ABANDONED WOMAN,"

and then there was this pathetic appeal—"He appealed to us by everything we held dear, to take his advice on this matter; that he had lived with us as curate, as parish priest, and as bishop, and that he hoped the people would give up Parnellism and blot it out from amidst them." The old bishop, standing on the steps of the altar, appealing to his life, that it was spent amongst them, that in the days of his youth, in his manhood, and then in his old age—all this was used to enforce this teaching that I have read. In Navan on the 10th July, the Sunday before the polling,

THE BISHOP MAKES THIS FINAL APPEAL:

it is not the final appeal. He said—**Mr. Davitt and his supporters were coming to Navan, more in the interests of religion than any political matter.** He said it was more a religious matter than a political matter, and that the numbers that would come would cow the Parnellites." The following appeal, and the only one which it is necessary further to refer to on the part of the bishop is this. It is the farewell before the election, it was the Sunday before the polling day. The bishop referred to it, and he said :—"**It was the last Sunday he would have the opportunity of speaking to them, and he said that any man that would vote for Mr. Mahony that he would stand before the Bar of Justice—which everybody who gave evidence, and who heard him, says must have meant the Bar of Almighty God—that he would plead against them in reference to that.**" That was the Sunday before the polling. My learned brother reminds me that there was a witness examined deposing to the same circumstance, slightly varying the words, and we have not had the advantage of these matters explained by the bishop, which have been urged against him. With regard to the teaching of the priests, upon that I will only refer to one sermon in evidence of it. My learned brother has already referred to it, and I just refer to the earlier part of it. It is

FATHER GREHAN'S SERMON,

and he says :—" I will not now read to you all the pastoral, but I will read to you the principal portions, which I think you ought well to consider." Then he read the pastoral, and he said :—" This is a very serious pronouncement to come from the head of the diocese." How would any of the priests throughout the diocese consider it except as a serious pronouncement ? And then he says—" If any man feels inclined to contradict that, he is certainly not in the right faith." He says—" Invincible ignorance may be an excuse for this," and here is the clergyman's comment—" After the light that has been thrown upon the matter there will be no such thing as invincible ignorance. If any man believes in Parnellism, he really has fallen in the faith, although he does not know it. A man may have been misled into a kind of belief that he is right, but his conscience must arise, and he cannot be excused by that ; " that is to say, the nature of Parnellism is not defined, but it is no less an article of faith ; if you believe in it you commit mortal sin. Any one who believes in these political principles commits mortal sin, defies the Church and exposes himself to excommunication ; lost in mortal sin for the world to come ; in the world that is, exposed to be cut off from the rights of Communion with his Church, and the comforts and consolations of religion.

Consider the formidable character of the most powerful engine in effecting spiritual intimidation. Regarding its time, its place, its circumstances, in my opinion it is undue influence. It is, in my opinion, undue influence, within the Act of 1883, as well as within the Common Law of Parliament, and I therefore think that this election must be set aside.

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ULSTER & HOME RULE

ON Friday, 17th June, 1892, a monster Unionist Convention was held in Belfast, for the province of Ulster to protest against the establishment of a separate Parliament for Ireland. There were 11,879 delegates present, chosen at 320 meetings held in the different electoral districts of the 33 parliamentary constituencies of the province. The Belfast Trades Council, comprising about sixty trades and branches of trades, sent 120 delegates representing 12,000 workmen. A great hall had to be erected to accommodate the delegates, there being no building large enough for the purpose. This wonderful structure was built in four weeks, and the pavilion has been declared the largest ever erected in the British Isles for a political meeting. It covered an acre of ground, and the seating area on the floor and in the balcony amounted to about forty-five thousand square feet, lighted from the roof, about one-third of an acre of glass being used, and almost square in shape, the frontage occupying 224 feet, while it extended rearwards 144 feet. It was built entirely of wood and splendidly proportioned; entrance was gained by twenty-seven doors, all opening direct to the open air; on the inside, the front of the balcony was embellished with mottoes and extracts from Unionist declarations by Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, and the Duke of Devonshire. The most elaborate artistic effect was an immense

cloth which formed the background to the platforms. It measured sixty feet by twenty-five, and was in effect a well-designed curtain. In the centre were the Royal Arms, with supporters of heroic proportions, and beneath were the lines from Tennyson:—

"One with Britain heart and soul,
One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne."

At a quarter after 11 o'clock at a given signal the doors were thrown open simultaneously, and the delegates immediately proceeded to their allotted places. The vast building was soon filled up. A cheer was raised in one of the galleries, when the thirteen apprentice boys from Londonderry held aloft the old volunteer flag of 1782. At noon, the Convention was called to order by Mr. Orr, one of the secretaries. On the motion of Mr. Robert Macgeagh, president of the Ulster Liberal Unionist Association, seconded by Sir Wm. Miller, Londonderry, the Duke of Abercorn took the chair. The Lord Primate of all Ireland, of the Protestant Church, having offered up a special prayer for the success of the Convention, the Rev. Dr. Brown, Limavady, ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, read a portion of the 46th Psalm, which the audience, rising to their feet, sang with great fervour.

The Duke of Abercorn delivered his address as Chairman. His Grace, who was received with loud cheers, said they were actuated by love of their country, of their families, of their homes, of their religion, and, above all, by a determination to live as they had hitherto done in this country, as an integral portion of Her Majesty's Empire. The protest was spontaneous, and expressed the feelings of the great Unionist Party of Ireland. A great danger threatened them—the loss of their civil and religious liberties; and their first care should be to prevent the British electorate from being any longer led astray respecting the loyal men of that province. They intended to show that the name of Ulster was not a sham—(loud cheers)—but a reality; that the people who inhabited it for centuries were determined to live under the same laws, to enjoy the same privileges and liberties as the rest of the British Islands, and not to be subject to a different treatment at the hands of a hostile majority. The Convention did not proclaim a threat, as had been said. Referring to the Orange Order, the noble Duke said that institution had completely vindicated its existence; and so long as it existed the principles of religious freedom would be asserted. (Applause.) Mr. Gladstone had gone astray in his policy. No leader had ever possessed such devoted friends as Mr. Gladstone had in the province of Ulster. (Hear, hear.) Among his supporters were a large number of Presbyterian clergymen, tenant farmers, and artisans. Where were those followers now? In the ranks of the Irish Unionists. (Cheers.) These men now denounced the policy

of Mr. Gladstone. Were the industries and the struggles for freedom and peace of Ulster-men to be sacrificed for a wild, impossible scheme? ("No.") The Ulster people uttered their voice to their fellow-countrymen in England and Scotland in entreaty and warning. They entreated that they would not make them the victims of an unparalleled act of treachery. The plot of Home Rule had been hatched in darkness; it could not stand the light of day. It was a base trick upon the unsuspecting electorate of England. (Cheers.) "We will not have Home Rule," said his Grace, in conclusion; "and that we state here in the most deliberate language that man could choose." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Sir Wm. Q. Ewart moved, and Mr. Thos. Sinclair, a leading Liberal Unionist, seconded the following resolution:—

"That this Convention, consisting of 11,879 delegates, re-
"presenting the Unionists of every creed, class, and party,
"throughout Ulster, appointed at public meetings held in every
"electoral division of the province, hereby solemnly resolves and
"declares"

THE DECLARATION.

1. "That we express the devoted loyalty of Ulster Unionists
"to the Crown and Constitution of the United Kingdom;

2. "That we avow our fixed resolve to retain unchanged our
"present position as an integral portion of the United Kingdom,
"and protest in the most unequivocal manner against the passage
"of any measure that would rob us of our inheritance in the
"Imperial Parliament, under the protection of which our capital
"has been invested and our homes and rights safeguarded;

3. "That we record our determination to have nothing to do
"with a Parliament certain to be controlled by men responsible
"for the crime and outrage of the Land League, the dishonesty
"of the 'Plan of Campaign,' and the cruelties of boycotting,
"many of whom have shown themselves the ready instruments of
"clerical domination;

4. "That we declare to the people of Great Britain our con-
"viction that the attempt to set up such a Parliament in Ireland
"will inevitably result in disorder, violence, and bloodshed, such
"as has not been experienced this century; and announce our
"resolve to take no part in the election or proceedings of such a
"Parliament, the authority of which, should it ever be constituted,
"we shall be forced to repudiate;

5. "That we protest against this great question which involves
"our lives, property, and civil rights being treated as a mere side
"issue in the impending electoral struggle;

6. "That we appeal to those of our fellow-countrymen who
"have hitherto been in favour of a separate Parliament to
"abandon a demand which hopelessly divides Irishmen, and to
"unite with us under the Imperial Legislature in developing the
"resources and furthering the best interests of our common country."

The resolution was supported by the Earl of Erne, the Rev. Oliver McCutcheon, President of the Belfast Methodist College, and ex-President of the Irish Methodist Conference; Mr. John Megaw, tenant-farmer, Ballymoney; Mr. Thomas Andrews, J.P., Comber, President of the Ulster Liberal Reform Club; Mr. T. F. Shillington (Liberal Unionist); Mr. Frank Johnston (Workingman).

The resolution was carried unanimously amid prolonged cheering.

A MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO THE OTHER PROVINCES.

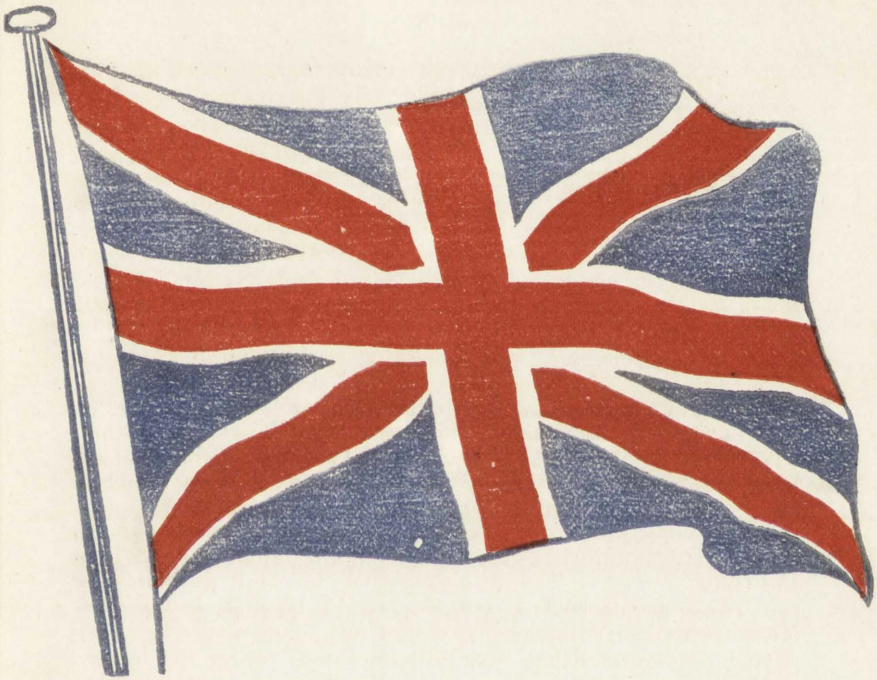
The Rev. Dr. Lynd (ex-Moderator of the General Assembly) moved the second resolution, which was seconded by Rev. Dr. Kane:—

"That we extend to our brother Unionists in the other "Provinces of Ireland the assurance of our profound sympathy, "recognising their position as even more critical than our own, "and declare our determination to make common cause with "them in resisting any attempt to deprive them of their liberty "and security which they now enjoy under the Union with Great "Britain."

Mr. Herdman (Co. Derry), Mr. J. D. Dunville, Mr. W. J. Doulaghan (tenant farmer), Mr. Robert Greer (Derry), and Dr. Usher (Baptist minister) having supported the resolution, it was enthusiastically and unanimously adopted.

A vote of thanks to the Duke of Abercorn for presiding having been adopted, the proceedings concluded at three o'clock with the singing of the National Anthem and the Benediction

Subsequent to the demonstration in the pavilion, a monster meeting was held in the Botanic Gardens, in which over a hundred thousand people took part. Three spacious platforms had been erected, upon which were gathered representative speakers from all parts of the province. On No. 1 platform, the Lord Mayor of Belfast, the Right Hon. Daniel Dixon, presided. Sir William Miller, J.P., Mayor of Derry, occupied the chair at No. 2, and Mr. Thomas Johnston, a Belfast working man, at No. 3. Amongst the speakers were Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., Colonel Saunderson, M.P., Mr. Thomas Lea, M.P., the Dean of Connor, Mr. William Johnston, M.P., Dr. Rentoul, M.P., Mr. Dunbar Barton, M.P., Mr. J. Walker Craig, Q.C., and others. Motions approving of the resolutions passed at the Convention were put and carried with great enthusiasm. There was not the slightest disturbance throughout, and at night the city was perfectly tranquil



The Irish Loyalist Case.

PROTEST AND DECLARATION.

A great Convention of Loyalists belonging to the three Southern Provinces of Ireland was held in Dublin on Thursday evening, the 23rd of June, 1892. Although the Leinster Hall is one of the largest buildings of its kind, it was utterly inadequate to accommodate the Convention, and a large temporary structure adjoining it was also requisitioned. Even then the Organising Committee, having charge of the arrangements, had to cut down the demands which came from every constituency in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, to be allowed to send additional delegates to the Convention.

The Earl of Fingall, the head of the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland, presided over one Meeting, and Mr. Thomas Plunkett Cairnes, Ex-Governor of the Bank of Ireland, Director of the Great Northern Railway, and a man largely engaged in Irish com-

mercial pursuits, presided over the other. Amongst the speakers were His Grace the Duke of Leinster, Lord Castletown, Mr. Thomas Pim, jun., and Mr. Joseph Pim, members of one of the principal commercial firms in Ireland, whose father sat as a Liberal for the City of Dublin, Mr. J. Malcolm Inglis, a large merchant and shipowner and a Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, Mr. George Pollexfen, an extensive merchant in Sligo, Mr. J. F. Bannatyne, a Limerick merchant, Alderman Scott, High Sheriff of Cork, and a leading merchant in that city, Mr. J. Forbes Maguire, a Cork Stock Broker, Mr. Maurice Dockrell, a Dublin merchant, Mr. John R. Wigham, Hon. Secretary of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, whose name is so honourably associated with Lighthouse illumination, Sir Richard Martin, Bart., a leading Roman Catholic merchant of Dublin, Mr. W. Kenny, Q.C., another Roman Catholic, Mr. Horace Plunkett, whose labours in furtherance of the development of the industrial resources of Ireland have been indefatigable, Sir Henry Grattan Bellew, who is a grandson of Henry Grattan, the Rev. Dr. Salmon, the learned Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Professor Dowden, whose name is known to every student of English literature, and who had received from the University of Oxford the previous day the high distinction of the Honorary degree of D.C.L., Mr. E. Phillips, a Tipperary farmer who was ruthlessly boycotted for no greater crime than paying his honest debts, Mr. William Dodds, a Scotch farmer, settled in Ireland for thirty years, the Rev. Samuel Prenter, Presbyterian Minister of Ormond Quay Church, Dublin, the Rev. Henry Evans, D.D., a prominent Wesleyan Minister, and one of the Commissioners of National Education, Sir Henry Cochrane, an extensive manufacturer, the Rt. Hon. David Plunket, Member for the University of Dublin, Mr. J. C. Colvill, Chairman of the Great Southern and Western Railway, the Bank of Ireland, the Great Northern Railway, and other important commercial undertakings, Dr. J. M. Finny, President of the Royal College of Physicians, Mr. T. C. Franks, President of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland, Mr. William Findlater, ex-President of the Society, and Sir Thomas Butler, Bart., one of the leading members of the Council of the Royal Dublin Society.

The speakers at the Meeting were but a reflex of the representive character of the Convention itself. All classes, all creeds, and all interests were represented.

Apart from the special business which brought the Convention together—viz., to assent to the Declaration which is given in full hereunder—the most remarkable feature in the proceedings was the reception accorded to the official representatives of the great Ulster Convention held in Belfast the week before, who came bearing with them in the persons of the Lord Mayor of Belfast, the Mayor of Derry, Mr. Adam Duffin, LL.D., Mr. W. J. Hurst, Mr. H. de F. Montgomery, Mr. W. J. Doulonghan, and Mr. Frank Johnston, a message declaratory of the resolution of the Ulster Convention, to have no part in any settlement of the Irish question which would accord privileges to them denied to the scattered

Loyalists of the South. "Ulster," said Mr. Hurst, "will stand or fall by you," and every delegate sprang to his feet in answering accord.

The following is the Declaration passed by the Convention, and which may be taken to be a full, temperate, and explicit statement of

THE IRISH LOYALIST CASE:—

We, Irishmen, belonging to the three Southern Provinces, being of all creeds and classes, representing many separate interests, and sharing a common desire for the honour and welfare of our country, hereby declare our unswerving allegiance to the Throne and Constitution, and our unalterable determination to uphold the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

We protest against the creation of a Parliament for Ireland whether separate or subordinate.

We protest against the creation of an Irish Executive, dependent for its existence upon the pleasure of an Irish Parliament.

We do so upon the following grounds:—

Because any measure for the creation of a separate Irish Parliament and a separate Irish Executive would produce most dangerous social confusion, involving a disastrous conflict of interests and classes, and a serious risk of civil war.

Because such a measure would endanger the commercial relations between Ireland and Great Britain, and would cause in Ireland widespread financial distrust, followed by a complete paralysis of enterprise.

Because such a measure would imperil personal liberty, freedom of opinion, and the spirit of tolerance in Ireland.

Because such a measure, instead of effecting a settlement, would inevitably pave the way for further efforts towards the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain.

Because no statutory limitations restricting the authority of an Irish Legislative Assembly, or the power of an Irish Executive, could protect the freedom and the rights of minorities in the Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught.

Because, while in the divided state of Irish society, no party in Ireland can safely be entrusted with powers of government over the other sections of the community, such a measure would hand over Ireland to the government of a party which has proved itself unworthy of the exercise of power by its systematic defiance of the law, and disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, liberty, and justice.

Because the Imperial Parliament is fully competent and willing to legislate for Ireland to maintain justice and equality, and to promote, by wise enactments, the welfare of our country.

Finally, regarding the question from a wider point of view than that which concerns alone the internal government of Ireland, highly prizing as we do the advantages we derive from our present Imperial position, and being justly proud of the place which Irishmen have long held amongst those to whom the Empire owes its prosperity and fame, having been faithful in our allegiance to our Sovereign, upholders of the Constitution, and observers of the law, we protest against any change that will deprive us of our Constitutional birthright, by which we stand on equal ground with Englishmen and Scotchmen as subjects of our beloved Queen and as citizens of the British Empire.

LORD SALISBURY AND THE IRISH LOYALISTS.

Lord Salisbury in his Manifesto on the eve of the General Election states:—What do the men say whose fate is in the balance, whose whole future existence is at stake? Do they ignore or deride the danger? **The Belfast and Dublin Conventions** have shown to all who are not wilfully deaf that the Loyalists of Ireland entertain no illusion as to the character and policy of an Irish Parliament ruling through Irish Ministers. We have the testimony of Loyalists of every rank, gathered from every part of Ireland (not from 'two northern counties,' as we are told), imploring you in accents of passionate earnestness to secure them from the fate which the party strategy of English politicians is preparing for them. They represent no isolated or sectional interest. Landowners and tenants, cultivators and traders, men of the world and ministers of religion, speak with one voice in assuring you that the perils they see before them are not imaginary. They speak of that they do know. It cannot be pretended that their judgment is biased by any party feeling. When Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Baptists join with the members of the Disestablished Church and with many Roman Catholics—eight out of every nine of the non-Episcopal ministers have signed their names to the stirring appeal for succour which they have addressed to you—it is an audacious mockery to tell you that their entreaties have been prompted and arranged by the cunning of some Conservative organization. When there is such a striking unanimity among those who agree in little else, but who are alike in this, that they alone know, by the knowledge of long intimate personal experience, what manner of men they are under whose feet you would place them, what kind of subjection you are forging for them, you cannot refuse credence to the witness of their bitter cry, or throw a doubt on the sincerity of their prayers.—*Times*, 28*th June*, 1892.

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