

A

HISTORY OF IRELAND

IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY;

BEING

A Supplement to Haverty's History of Ireland.

BY

DILLON COSGRAVE.



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PREFACE.

In attempting the task of giving an account of the HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, in continuation of the well-known work of Martin Haverty, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the following amongst other sources of information :—*The Histories of Ireland*, by M'Gee and Mitchel ; the Historical Works of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy ; A. M. Sullivan's *New Ireland* ; Mr. T. P. O'Connor's *Parnell Movement* ; the *Recollections* of Mr. T. D. Sullivan and of Mr. William O'Brien ; Mr. R. Barry O'Brien's *Life of Drummond* and *Life of Parnell* ; Mr. John Morley's *Life of Gladstone* ; the *Annual Register* ; the *Dictionary of National Biography* ; Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates* ; Thom's *Directories* and the newspapers of the period, especially the *Freeman's Journal*. But several items of information are derived from the miscellaneous reading of many years.

While I cannot expect that the opinions given here will be equally acceptable to men of all political views, I have at least endeavoured to secure accuracy in the facts narrated.

The example of Macaulay's *History of England* may be pleaded in justification of the practice of occasionally illustrating the text by fragments of popular ballads in notes.

I desire to express my thanks to the Rev. George O'Neill, S.J., F.R.U.I., for his kindness in correcting the proof-sheets and for many valuable suggestions.

I must also express my obligations to Mr. T. W. Lyster and his assistants for their courtesy in facilitating my researches in the National Library.

D. C.

Houses of Lords and Commons, who, for the most part, migrated to London. This exodus of the wealthiest people in the country had had a ruinous effect on the trade of Dublin. In 1803 another insurrectionary outbreak occurred. It was confined to Dublin, although the plans of its promoters included some of the home counties of Ireland. The central figure in this attempt was a brave and generous young Irishman named Robert Emmet. He was a younger brother of Thomas Addis Emmet, the United Irish leader. He had been expelled from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1798, after a memorable visitation held by Lord Clare and Dr. Duigenan. Even then Emmet held the extreme opinions on Irish nationality for which he ultimately died. This visitation is mentioned in the autobiography of Thomas Moore, whose poems, written in the first half of the nineteenth century, commemorate not only Emmet, but the struggle for emancipation, which they materially helped, and every phase of Irish national feeling. Moore's immortal verse, which marks every pulsation of the heart of the Irish people, will never willingly be let die by them. While a student in Trinity, he was united in the closest ties of friendship with Emmet, but, while one went to London to pursue his calling of literature, the other went to France and interviewed Napoleon.

The early years of the century were the years of the Titanic struggle in which the armies of France, led by the greatest soldier and king of men of modern times, were overcoming all the nations of Europe, putting down and setting up kings, and changing all the ancient landmarks of the world. It is little wonder that the oppressed people of Ireland, deprived of their legislature and their independence by force and fraud, and treated like helots on account of their faith, looked with secret hope towards Napoleon as a possible liberator. He really had a large army in these years encamped at Boulogne for the invasion of England, and Nelson's victories alone prevented the fulfilment of this project. The chain of martello towers around the Irish coast is a standing memorial of the genuineness of England's alarm at this time. Ireland, too, was filled with a large military force.

In spite of such surroundings Emmet went on with his plan. He had two or three arsenals in the old streets on the south side of Dublin. His plan was daring enough in all conscience. It was to seize Dublin Castle, the seat of Government, by a bold and sudden stroke. Had the details been better carried out it might have succeeded; and he would undoubtedly have found a powerful auxiliary in the seething discontent of the people of Dublin, who had seen their beautiful city, the metropolis of a nation, transformed into the chief town of a province. It has been admitted by members of the Castle government of that day that the secret of Emmet's attempt was better kept than that of most other Irish conspiracies. But the secret was certainly in great danger when an accidental explosion occurred in the magazine at Patrick Street, on Saturday, the 16th of July. On that day week the final attempt was made. Emmet and his principal followers issued from Marshalsea Lane,

where his headquarters were and his principal magazine,* and entered the main thoroughfare of Thomas Street in the evening. Here a disorderly crowd soon assembled, and Emmet found his influence overborne. Instead of a rebellion a mere street riot ensued. Lord Kilwarden, a humane judge, happened to be passing in his carriage. He received a thrust of a pike and was mortally wounded. Some accounts say that he was taken for another judge, Lord Carleton, who was unpopular, but others say he was murdered by a man named Shannon, who had some private grudge against him. Horrified at this crime and at his powerlessness to control the tumult, Emmet withdrew and fled to Butterfield Lane, Rathfarnham, where he had rented a farmhouse under the name of Ellis. From that he took his way to the Wicklow mountains, where the brave outlaw, Michael Dwyer, who had maintained his independence in spite of all attempts to capture him, for the whole five years, since 1798, had been in correspondence with him, and had intended to aid his insurrection. Emmet had spent all his private fortune in his hopelessly daring scheme for freeing his country from servitude. His courageous servant, Anne Devlin, the niece of Dwyer, left behind in Butterfield Lane, although subjected to threats, and even put in the greatest physical danger, refused to give any information of her master's movements.

There is no doubt that he might have fled from Ireland, but his own imprudence sealed his doom. A romantic interest has always attached to Emmet owing to his affection for Sarah, the daughter of John Philpot Curran. This great and honest Irishman continued, up to his death in 1817, his opposition to the Union statesmen and principles, and his advocacy of the claims of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. Emmet came into the suburbs of Dublin to arrange a meeting with Miss Curran, but was arrested on the 25th of August by Major Sirr in the house of a Mrs. Palmer at Harold's Cross. The manner of his betrayal has remained as complete a mystery as the position of his grave. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death on the 19th of September.† His speech upon that occasion is a splendid memorial of his great abilities and the purity of his motives. He died bravely on the following day. He was taken from Kilmainham along the northern line of the Dublin quays, to Thomas Street, the scene of the disturbance. [Here, outside St. Catherine's Church, a gallows had been erected on which he was executed, as were several of his followers. Thomas Russell, the United Irishman, who was also involved in Emmet's plans, was executed in Down-

* The magazine was in the present Marshal Lane, behind 137 Thomas Street, to which it had been removed from Patrick Street.

† It was discovered, but not until after the death of Leonard M'Nally, one of Emmet's counsel, publicly an avowed United Irishman, that this man disclosed to the Government all the information against Emmet of which he stood possessed, including the contents of his brief. He was in receipt of a Secret Service pension at the time of his death. He had, for almost thirty years, been systematically betraying the secrets of the United Irishmen known to him, either in his capacity as counsel or as a member of the United Irish Society.

patrick. The memory of Emmet is one of the most cherished possessions of the Irish people, and must ever remain so while unselfish patriotism is admired.

In 1804, Pitt became Prime Minister again. But this time his Government was frankly hostile to the Catholic claims, for he had promised the King that he would never again annoy him by bringing them forward. It was during his Ministry, nevertheless, that the question of emancipation again began to force itself to the front. In 1805, Henry Grattan entered the Imperial Parliament as member for Malton. At the General Election in the following year he was returned at the top of the poll for the city of Dublin, which he continued to represent until his death. The remainder of Grattan's career was devoted to pressing the claims of the Catholics to emancipation. In this he was ably seconded by William Conyngham Plunket, who entered the Imperial Parliament at the same time. The Catholic Committee at this time was led by its old pre-Union heads—the Earl of Fingall, Edward Byrne of Mullinahack, and, above all, John Keogh of Mount Jerome. Pitt died on the 23rd of January, 1806, and his place was taken by his great rival and opponent, Charles James Fox, who had always been friendly to the people of Ireland. This great man opposed the Union in the Imperial Parliament. He had a mere handful of supporters. Since the Union he had supported Catholic Emancipation. Much was expected of him, and doubtless he was disposed to act generously to Ireland, but he died on the 13th of September, 1806, only a few months after Pitt.

The new Prime Minister, Lord Grenville, was a Whig and a colleague of Fox. He instructed the Chief Secretary, Elliott, who had succeeded Pitt's Chief Secretary, Long, to communicate with the Catholic leaders as to a Bill making them eligible for posts in the army and navy. After it had passed the Commons, George III. objected to it, and required Lords Grenville and Grey to sign a pledge that they would not in future bring forward any measure favourable to the Catholics. This they refused to do, and a new Ministry was formed, of which the Duke of Portland was head, and afterwards Spencer Perceval. The Duke of Richmond was sent in 1807 to replace the Duke of Bedford, Fox's Lord Lieutenant, and remained six years. For the first year the Chief Secretary was the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, afterwards famous as Duke of Wellington. He had been a member of the Irish Parliament, and had afterwards become distinguished as a soldier in India, where his elder brother, the Marquess Wellesley, was Governor-General. He was called away from the Chief Secretaryship on receiving the command in the Peninsula in 1808, and his place was taken by his brother, Wellesley-Pole. It may be mentioned here that there were four General Elections between the Union and the concession of Catholic Emancipation. The latter was the test question in Ireland in all of them.

The Catholic Committee was prosecuted in 1811 for holding a General Assembly, which was a breach of the Convention Act. Some of its members

were imprisoned, and it was afterwards re-established as the Catholic Board. From 1811 to the end of the reign the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., was Regent, as the King his father had again become insane, as had happened before in 1789. Early in the session of 1812, Spencer Perceval, the Premier, was assassinated in the Lobby of the House of Commons by Bellingham, a disappointed Russia merchant. He was succeeded by the Earl of Liverpool, who held office for the long period of fifteen years, by far the longest Premiership of the nineteenth century. The Lords Lieutenant during his term of office were Earl Whitworth, 1813-7, Earl Talbot, 1817-21, and the Marquess Wellesley, 1821-8. The first Chief Secretary of this period was Robert Peel, then, like his predecessor, Arthur Wellesley, an uncompromising opponent of the Catholic claims, but destined, like him, to change his views ultimately under the pressure of Irish agitation. Agitation may be said, as a political weapon in Ireland, to date from this time, and its first successful exponent was Daniel O'Connell, of whom we shall have much to say presently. His "aggregate meetings" were the force that won Emancipation. A motion in favour of the Catholics, proposed by Canning in 1812, and by Grattan in the following year, raised the question of the Veto, or the right of the State to pronounce a prohibition in the appointment of Catholic Bishops. Amongst the Catholic body there was some difference of opinion on this question. Lord Fingall and the Catholic aristocrats generally were in favour of the Veto; but almost all the priests and Catholic laity of Ireland were against it. Ten Irish Bishops, constituting the Board of Maynooth College, had pronounced in its favour in 1799; but now twenty-three of the Bishops of Ireland pronounced against it. Only three dissented. The firm attitude taken up by the Catholics of Ireland on this question was largely due to the commanding influence of Daniel O'Connell, and his most zealous supporter amongst the Irish Bishops was Dr. Daniel Murray, coadjutor to Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, and in a few years more his successor. Pius VII., a prisoner in France in the earlier stages of this controversy, was represented at Rome by Monsignor Quarantotti. This prelate, in 1814, addressed a Rescript to Dr. Poynter, Vicar-Apostolic of London, commending the Veto. But the Catholics sent first Father Hayes, a Franciscan, and afterwards Drs. Murray and Milner, representing the Bishops, to Rome. Pius VII. received them kindly, and refused to support Monsignor Quarantotti in his attitude on the question. Thus the majority of Irish Catholics triumphed at Rome, as they triumphed afterwards at Westminster, owing to the firmness of Daniel O'Connell. To keep the Irish Catholic clergy in some state of subjection to British influence, as for instance, by subsidizing them, as recommended by Lord Macaulay, and as embodied in the Bill of 1825, which failed to pass the Lords, has always been a favourite project of British statesmen. But since their defeat on the Veto this project has never been seriously in danger of succeeding. The Catholics of Ireland, clergy as well as laity, would scout any such suggestion.

Lord Fingall and the other Catholic leaders, well-meaning but timid and unenterprising men, lost influence owing to their support of the Veto, and O'Connell, chiefly owing to his energetic opposition to it, became from this time to his death the recognized leader of the Irish people. Daniel O'Connell was born at Carhen House, near Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry, on the 6th of August, 1775. He was nephew and heir to Maurice O'Connell, of Derrynane, a Kerry gentleman of considerable property; but he did not come into this inheritance until he was fifty years old, for Maurice O'Connell died almost a centenarian in 1825. He was sent to school at his uncle's expense, and it is remarkable that he attended at Cove the school of the Rev. Dr. Harrington, the first priest who ventured to keep a school in Ireland after the relaxation of the Penal Laws. He was afterwards educated at St. Omer's and Douai, and some of the scenes of the great upheaval in France which he witnessed here instilled into him that horror of Jacobinism and revolutionary movements which distinguished him in after life. He was called to the Bar in 1798, on the 19th of May, the very day of the tragic arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and in 1800 began his life-long career of opposition to the Union by delivering a speech against that measure at a meeting of Dublin Catholics in the Royal Exchange. He soon attained a foremost place in his profession as a member of the Munster Circuit, and in a few years no great case in Ireland was complete without Counsellor O'Connell. In 1802 he married privately, for he feared it might not be acceptable to his uncle, his second cousin Mary, daughter of Dr. Edward O'Connell, of Tralee. It may be mentioned here, as a slight illustration of his immense personal influence, that at a later period all four of his sons, Maurice, Morgan, John, and Daniel, were members of Parliament in their father's lifetime. In truth the timid aristocratic vetoists had no chance of standing up against a man of such transcendent oratorical powers, extraordinary readiness of resource, and commanding personality. He was called and was, in fact, the uncrowned King of Ireland. He understood the Irish people, and exercised a sway over them which is unique in their history. The story of the Irish National movement for the next thirty years is synonymous with the life of O'Connell.

O'Connell's ablest lieutenant in the Emancipation movement was the distinguished orator, Richard Lalor Sheil. He did not always agree with O'Connell as to details, but he co-operated heartily with him, and was on terms of the closest friendship with him until his death. The Catholic question was somewhat overshadowed in importance in the Imperial Parliament about this time by other events which occurred outside the United Kingdom. The second American War came to an end with the great victory gained by the Americans at New Orleans on the 6th of January, 1815, after the conditions of peace had been settled, but this news had not reached the combatants. The American leader, General Andrew Jackson, was of Ulster Presbyterian extraction. Many Ulster Presbyterians had emigrated to the United States, especially to New Hampshire. Thousands of Irish Catholics

had already settled in the Republic, and a steady stream of Irish emigrants continued to flow into America until the famine of '47 swelled this stream into a great river. The Irish could no longer look to Napoleon as a deliverer, for he had fallen at Waterloo on the 18th of June, 1815. The annual motion in favour of the Catholics went on with varying fortunes until in January 1820, George III. died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the Prince Regent, as George IV.

But some other deaths occurred in these years with which Irishmen were more concerned than with that of the mentally afflicted, narrow-minded, and prejudiced old sovereign. Curran, as has been already mentioned, died in 1817, and in the preceding year the brilliant Whig orator, Sheridan, also an Irishman and a supporter of the Irish cause. In 1820, Grattan, though very ill and even aware that he was dying, for he gave directions for his funeral, determined to proceed to London, to plead once more in Parliament for his oppressed Catholic fellow-countrymen. After a conference with O'Connell he set out. He intended to be in Parliament on the 4th of June, but died early that morning in London. He declared to his son when dying that he maintained to the last his opinions in favour of the independence of Ireland and the freedom of the Catholics. His parliamentary coadjutor, Plunket, still continued his efforts on behalf of the Catholics.

The fall in prices consequent on the cessation of the great European War caused much distress and disturbance in Ireland. In the middle of this period of trouble the new King, George IV. visited Ireland. It was the first visit of an English Sovereign to Ireland since the time when James II. and William III. were there carrying on war against each other; and it was indeed the first visit of an English Sovereign of an avowedly friendly character. But here all praise of the parties concerned must cease. The King landed a few days after the death of his unhappy consort, Queen Caroline, from whom he had been long separated, and with whom his relations had been most unfortunate. He was received in Ireland with the greatest enthusiasm, but no good came of the visit, and none could have come. Thomas Moore, who had in the previous year written his noble elegy on Grattan, celebrated it in some of his satirical poems, some of the wittiest of which, as his *Ode on Corn and Catholics*, were written about this time. It elicited from Byron also the bitterly satirical *Irish Avatar*. Contemporary Irish feeling may be gathered from the ludicrous mock-lament on the King's departure, *Oh Wirrasthrue*, in which the decay of Dublin, after twenty-one years' Union with England, is significantly shown.*

* You praised each city street, and square :
It's a pity people don't live there.

Oh wirrasthrue ! oh wirrasthrue !
But quality lived there one day,
Before the time of Castlereagh ;
Like you and him, they're gone away.

Oh wirrasthrue ! oh wirrasthrue !

The novels of Charles Lever tell the same story of the effect of the Union on Dublin.

In 1822 the Royal Irish Constabulary force was founded. In the end of the same year, the 14th of December, a bottle was flung into the box occupied by the Marquess Wellesley, the new Lord Lieutenant, at the Theatre Royal, Dublin. Lord Wellesley was known to be friendly to the Catholics, and the Dublin branch of the Orange Society thought that such sentiments should be resented. The mob was organized, but although some Orange artisans were arrested, there was no conviction. All Conservatives in Dublin except the Orange Society disavowed all connection with this outrage. Since that time the Society has never been of much account in Dublin, although it is still a force to be reckoned with in Ulster.

On the 12th of August, 1822, Lord Castlereagh, who had become Marquess of Londonderry by his father's death in the previous year, committed suicide at his residence in Kent. Thus tragically was ended a career which had had much success for many years. As Foreign Secretary he played a large part in the affairs of Europe, and directed the Grand Alliance which overthrew Napoleon. It was probably in order to be free to play so grand a part upon the Imperial stage that he helped to destroy the liberties of his own country.

In 1823, on the motion of O'Connell, the great Catholic Association was founded. As regards the victory of Irish Catholics on the Emancipation question, this was the beginning of the end. The meeting was held in Townsend Street Chapel, Dublin, and Lord Killeen, the eldest son of the Earl of Fingall, presided. He disapproved of his father's timid policy, and became during the rest of the agitation a warm supporter of O'Connell. The Catholic Association discussed and settled all points of interest to Catholics, even the purchase of a new cemetery for Catholics near Dublin, which led, after a few years, to the foundation of Glasnevin Cemetery. But it was the establishment in 1824 of a monthly penny subscription called the Catholic Rent that made it really a power in the land. This system, proposed by O'Connell, brought the organization into every parish in Ireland, and raised up a powerful combination which became a source of alarm both to the British Government and the Orangemen. Instead of an annual motion in Parliament promoted by a few aristocratic Catholics, there was now an immense and enthusiastic popular movement directed by a leader of tremendous energy who was universally supported and beloved. Some of the large revenues of the Association were expended on a Catholic Press, some on defending Catholics in the courts; large annual grants were voted to Catholic poor schools and for the education of missionary priests for America. As no career but commerce had been open to Catholics for a century under the Penal Laws, some of them attained great wealth, and it is said that about 1800 the Catholic leader, Edward Byrne of Mullinahack, and some other Catholic merchants were the richest individuals in Dublin. But the multitudinous popular penny told even more than the generous contributions of such men in the finances of the Catholic Association.

The Government became so alarmed at the progress of the agitation that in 1825 the Association was suppressed by Act of Parliament. But a leader of O'Connell's legal ability was invaluable to the Irish people at this time. He simply renamed his society the New Catholic Association, and thus evaded the Act. In this year the Duke of York, next brother and heir presumptive to the King, declared that he would never as King consent to Catholic Emancipation. He seems to have inherited the prejudices of his father, George III., on this question. But he never came to the throne, for he died two years later, in 1827, and the heirship passed to the Duke of Clarence, who was less illiberal. Parliamentary Committees inquiring into the condition of Ireland sat at this time. Many witnesses from Ireland were examined, but the most notable was the famous Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare, already well known as a writer in Ireland by his signature, J.K.L., James of Kildare and Leighlin. The extent of his learning and his ability and confidence in answering impressed favourably even his strongest opponents. Wellington on being asked, "Have you been examining Dr. Doyle?" is said to have answered, "No, he has been examining us." In the following year, 1826, a General Election took place, and the Catholic Association made its power felt in every corner of Ireland. In the counties of Waterford,* Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan, Protestants of the intolerant type were defeated and those returned who were in favour of Catholic Emancipation. In many other constituencies, too, O'Connell used his great organization to influence elections in its favour, and the tenant-voters, who, of course, were always liable to be evicted for voting rather as they wished than as the landlord did, were emboldened to act courageously in that time of open voting, when they saw the immense far-reaching power of O'Connell and his Catholic Association.

Early in 1827, Lord Liverpool died, and was succeeded as Premier by George Canning. This really great statesman never forgot his Irish origin. Although a Tory, he had always supported the Catholic claims, both by speech and vote, and there can be little doubt that he would have introduced a Catholic Relief Bill. But he died on the 8th of August, having held power, like the great Whig statesman Fox, in 1803, only for a few months. Thus Ireland for the second time in twenty-one years was deprived

* Here the Liberal Protestant, Mr. Villiers Stuart, and Lord George Beresford, the reactionary, were contrasted in a ballad, for which the singer was imprisoned :—

"Now passing by very nigh
 Villiers Stuart heard him talking;
 He told the King 'twas no such thing,
 And said he'd send Lord George a-walking.
 His blood did rise to hear such lies
 Told about the priests and people;
 But he'll oppose ould Ireland's foes,
 And hang them on the highest steeple."

of her hopes, when on the verge of fruition, by the death of a friendly British statesman. The advent to power of a really liberal Conservative like Canning caused the greatest consternation in the ranks of the Irish bigots and Orangemen. They did not wish that seven-eighths of the Irish population and the handful of Catholics in England, many of whom were Tories, should be granted equal rights with them. The next Lord Lieutenant, the Marquess of Anglesea, a brave soldier, who had lost a leg at Waterloo, after a short experience of Ireland espoused the side of the Catholics, and was the first to prohibit the annual Orange procession in Dublin on the 12th of July. The year 1827 was the time of what was called the New Reformation. Theological controversies were the order of the day. The most famous Catholic clergyman in these displays was Father Tom Maguire, a Leitrim parish priest, and the most famous Protestant was the inappropriately-named Canon Pope. But little good was done by these controversies, and the Catholic Bishops soon prohibited their clergy from joining in them. Some great landlords were zealous promoters of the New Reformation. One Orange nobleman in the County of Down, the Earl of Roden, assembled all his tenants, and to show his veneration for the Bible, had all the other books in his library thrown into a lake in his demesne. But Lord Farnham, an equally enlightened County Cavan proprietor, went farther than anybody. He spared no efforts to make Protestants of his Catholic tenants. He found eviction a most powerful polemical argument. But those who know the depth of faith of the poor Catholics of Ireland will not be surprised to learn that even such drastic methods made few or no converts.*

The Catholic cause was championed by many of the most brilliant pens of that day. Not only Irish Catholics like Bishop Doyle, Thomas Moore, Thomas Furlong, Sheil, and O'Connell, but liberal-minded Englishmen and Scotsmen like Sydney Smith, the poet Campbell, Jeffrey, and Cobbett wrote in its favour. Sheil wrote articles in French in the Parisian press. Even before Emancipation was granted the Catholics of several Continental countries and of the United States and of the British Colonies had written, spoken, and subscribed in favour of Irish Catholic rights.

Early in 1828, a petition from Irish Catholics was presented to Parliament asking for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts enacted against the Protestant dissenters. But this year brought also the crisis of the agitation, the Clare Election. The short Administration of Lord Goderich had succeeded Canning's. In January 1828, the Peel and Wellington Cabinet came into office. The Duke of Wellington was Premier and Robert, afterwards Sir Robert

* Lord Farnham's zeal did not pass uncommemorated by the satiric ballad muse of Cavan:—

“Come all you heretics by faith forsaken,
Who sell your souls for a pound of bacon,
Come listen unto me one and all,
And I'll sing yez a song called Farnham Hall.”

Peel, Leader of the House of Commons. Both had always been opposed to the concession of the Catholic claims. In May the supporters of Canning left the Government, and in June Vesey Fitzgerald, member for Clare, was appointed to a position in the Ministry necessitating his re-election. The Catholic Association at once determined to oppose him as a supporter of the Peel and Wellington Government. The Association first asked Major M'Namara, a Liberal Protestant, a Clare gentleman of property and a noted fire-eater, who had acted as second to O'Connell in his duel with D'Esterre* in 1815, to contest the county. Major M'Namara replied a very short time before the nomination day, declining to stand against his friend Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald was personally very popular in Clare; he was a very able man, and his father had been an honest and uncompromising opponent of the Union, who could not be bought. Still the fight was for the Catholic faith, and the Clare people put that in the first place. So did the Catholic Association. At the last minute a most daring and original idea occurred to O'Connell. Why should not he be the candidate? The veteran Catholic leader, John Keogh, had always declared that to elect a Catholic to Parliament was the right way to precipitate the question. At seven o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 22nd of June, Sir David Roose, meeting in Nassau Street Patrick Vincent Fitzpatrick, a friend of O'Connell, recommended him to induce O'Connell to act upon Keogh's advice, which he did. The most intense enthusiasm prevailed in Clare on the receipt of the news of this decision. O'Connell wrote his address on the 24th of June in the office of the Dublin *Evening Post*, and had it issued. He soon followed it to Ennis. He was supported by the best fighting men of his organization. The word is to be taken literally as regards some of them, such as the O'Gorman Mahon, a young gentleman of property in Clare, an ardent O'Connellite and a noted duellist. Besides him there went to assist O'Connell in the contest his friend Sheil, Thomas Steele, a Protestant gentleman of Clare, John Lawless, editor of a Belfast Catholic newspaper, and Father Tom Maguire, the controversialist. The great landlords of Clare were almost to a man with Fitzgerald. The tenants were as universally with O'Connell, but they had to vote openly, and thus show courage, and even heroism, in opposing their landlords, who had the power and, in some cases, the will to evict them. Universal attention and interest were concentrated on the Clare election, the polling in which took place on the 5th of July. Every thinking man in the United Kingdom felt that a crisis had been reached.

* On the 1st of February, 1815, Captain D'Esterre, a member of the old Tory Corporation of Dublin, who thought himself personally alluded to in some strictures of O'Connell's on that body, fought a duel with him at Bishopscourt, Co. Kildare, then the seat of Lord Ponsonby, and now of the Earl of Clonmel. D'Esterre was the challenger. O'Connell unfortunately wounded him mortally, an occurrence which he always deplored. He publicly announced that he would never again accept a challenge, and settled an allowance on D'Esterre's widow.

The county is one of the largest in Ireland. It was appropriate that it should be the scene of this election, for it is the most Catholic county in Ireland, that is, the one whose population contains the smallest percentage of non-Catholics. No doubt this is largely due to the circumstance that the Clare people are the most purely and typically Celtic. Clare is Irish Ireland in the highest degree. No foreign race, not even the Normans, ever gained a footing in this county, which is cut off from the rest of Ireland by the broad River Shannon, by Lough Derg, and by the wide estuary of the Fergus, on which Ennis, the chief town, is situated. In 1828 the Clare people had to be addressed in Irish as well as English. A very large number knew Irish only. Even now a large number of them speak Irish and some only Irish. There are some remarkable traits of character in the Clare people, and in this election their whole demeanour and behaviour was most orderly and dignified. They felt the greatness of the crisis, and showed that they were worthy of the momentous part they had to play in the history of Ireland.

Much of the practical work of the election was in the hands of the priests. This continued to be a feature of O'Connell's movements during his lifetime. In the election that won Catholic Emancipation it was appropriate, and even necessary, that it should be so. This was before the establishment of the National Education system. The priest was often the only educated man in the parish. His flock had complete confidence in him, for they knew he was devoted to them. The forty-shilling freehold voters still existed, and were almost all for O'Connell. Under the influence of the clergy, in the wave of enthusiasm which swept over Clare, old feuds were forgotten and private injuries were forgiven in the determination to sink all personal considerations, to stand together against the powerful minority who would deny Catholics equal rights, and to elect O'Connell at all costs. One instance of such a heroic renunciation is the subject of John Banim's poem, *The Reconciliation*. Such a spirit was sure to triumph; and the result of the poll was declared to be:—O'Connell, 2,057; Fitzgerald, 1,075.

Catholic Emancipation could no longer be denied. The Marquess of Anglesea, Lord Lieutenant, openly sided with the Catholics. He wrote a public letter to the Catholic Primate, Dr. Curtis, in which he counselled the Catholics to stand firm. For this he was recalled early in 1829, and the Duke of Northumberland appointed in his place. But in a few months more Wellington and Peel were converted to the same opinion, and in the following year Lord Anglesea returned to Ireland as the Lord Lieutenant of the next Liberal Administration. Wellington declared before the session of 1829 began that there was danger of civil war in Ireland if Emancipation was delayed. Peel held the same opinion. In the month of March the Catholic Relief Bill was introduced. It passed through all its stages in the Houses of Commons and Lords in a few weeks. In the Lords the great influence of Wellington alone, and his assurances that the integrity

of the Empire was in danger as a result of the Clare election, secured its passage. On the 13th of April it received the royal assent. By a strange coincidence the sword fell on the same night from the hand of the statue of Walker on the wall of Derry, a monument of Protestant Ascendency.

By the Catholic Emancipation Act Catholics were declared eligible for every civil and military office except those of Regent (the Sovereign must be a Protestant by the Act of Settlement), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Chancellor. The Act contained one clause very injurious to Ireland. It disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders, as if in revenge for the part they had taken in returning O'Connell for Clare. It also compelled him to seek re-election, for, as he had been elected before the Act was passed, he was required to take an oath abjuring doctrines which Catholics believe. This he declined to do. He was returned unopposed for Clare.

The history of the Catholic Emancipation agitation furnishes one of the best instances of the futility of expecting that Ireland will obtain any redress from the Imperial Parliament unless she makes herself troublesome. Here was a reform promised along with the Union, but not granted until nearly thirty years after, granted then only through fear of civil war, and when granted, accompanied by a punishment of the Irish leader who had compelled it, and the abolition of a large class of Irish voters who had supported it. The last item would have been considered an unheard-of outrage in an English Act of Parliament. But the Irish Catholics who were expected to pay the taxes and fight the battles of the Empire, gained the concession so tardily and grudgingly made only by making themselves a peril to the Empire. The very different action of the Irish Protestant Parliament in 1793 shows that it would not have taken anything like that time to grant Catholic Emancipation, had it been allowed to survive. O'Connell, though always considered so distinctively a Catholic leader, declared over and over again that he would have trusted his Protestant fellow-countrymen to have broken the shackles of the Catholics sooner than the Imperial Parliament did.

George IV. died on the 26th of June, 1830, and was succeeded by his next surviving brother, the Duke of Clarence, who became William IV.

There was a General Election also in this year, and several Catholics were elected in Ireland. O'Gorman Mahon was elected for Clare, Lord Killeen for Meath, and elsewhere several others who had been active in agitating for Emancipation. O'Connell was returned for the County of Waterford along with his old opponent, Lord George Beresford. In the General Election of the following year he was returned for his native county of Kerry, and in that of 1832 he was elected unsolicited for the City of Dublin, a compliment he felt deeply. In 1835 he was again elected for Dublin, but unseated on petition in the following year, when he found a seat in Kilkenny City. In 1837 he was re-elected for Dublin, but in the General Election of 1841 he was defeated in the metropolis, partly owing to his opposition to Trades Unionism. He was however returned for the counties of Meath and Cork. He elected to represent the latter, which he did until his death.

No sooner was Emancipation gained than O'Connell practically revived the Catholic Association, which had been abolished by the Act, as the Friends of Ireland and the Anti-Union Association. The latter name shows the object of his new agitation. Repeal of the Union, as he called it in his legal phraseology, does not differ very much from what we call Home Rule. Even in 1800 O'Connell had spoken against the Union. Again in 1810, at a meeting of freemen and freeholders of Dublin, mostly Protestants, called by the Tory Corporation, he had denounced it. Only the superior urgency, as he thought, of the Catholic claims made him comparatively, but only comparatively, silent for years. Now, he thought, was the time. He was free to devote the rest of his life to agitating for repeal, and he devoted it. If he failed he was not to blame. He seems to have done honestly what he thought best. His Emancipation victory had made him more popular and influential than ever. He was styled the *Liberator*,* a title probably borrowed from South America; for Simon Bolívar, who had freed Peru from the Spanish yoke, was also called so about the same time. O'Connell and the Irish people in general sympathised ardently with Bolívar. Many young Irishmen, including one of O'Connell's sons, fought in South America against Spain. Such a part is played by the young hero of Gerald Griffin's tale of *The Rivals* written about this time. But the *Liberator* of the Irish Catholics was soon checked in his efforts at liberating all Irishmen by the restoration of a native Parliament. Both his Associations were suppressed, and he was prosecuted by Earl Grey's Whig Reform Government which had come into office in 1830. Yet O'Connell still thought, quite erroneously, as it turned out, that the Whigs were Ireland's best friends, and that he ought to give them the support of his party, the first attempt at an Irish party in the Imperial Parliament. It became more and more apparent as time went on that the Whigs in opposition denounced coercion and deplored the grievances of Ireland, while the same Whigs, when in office, applied coercion, and forgot those grievances. As Moore wittily said :—

“But bees, on flowers alighting, cease their hum—
So, settling upon places, Whigs grow dumb.”

“O'Connell's Tail,” as the English press contemptuously called his Parliamentary following, supported the Liberal Government of 1830 and succeeding Liberal Governments. Indeed these Governments could not have remained in office without Irish support. The Repealers supported the English Reform Act of 1832 which was a great benefit to England. An Irish Reform Act was passed immediately afterwards. The only notable change it introduced was the increase of the number of the Irish Members of Parliament from 100, as fixed by the Union, to 105. This was reduced to the present total of 103

* In the General Election of 1826 O'Connell established the *Liberator Order*. The Knights of the Order were those who were foremost in the service of Ireland. He probably took the name from South America.

nearly half a century later by the disfranchisement of Sligo and Cashel in 1870. But O'Connell and Sheil fought in vain for the restoration of the franchise to the forty-shilling freeholders, the backbone of the Irish National cause. This was more than the Whigs would grant. The disappearance of these voters from Irish public life, though not apparently a poetic subject, is the theme of a fine metrical lament by Henry Grattan Curran.

In 1831, Lord Stanley, the Chief Secretary, afterwards thrice Prime Minister as Earl of Derby, introduced the Bill for establishing National schools in Ireland. In the following year Commissioners of National Education were appointed who were empowered to grant aid to schools. The system has lasted till now in spite of many and grave drawbacks. One of the first commissioners, Dr. Whately, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, who in this year 1831 was directly imported to the vacant see from England, like so many Irish Protestant prelates in the days of the State Church, tried to use it as an engine of insidious proselytism. His biography contains an avowal, under his own hand, of his efforts to Protestantize the Catholic children of Ireland. Other commissioners and the framers of the school manuals for reading-lessons tried at least to denationalize them. Several proofs of this purpose may be found in Mr. Barry O'Brien's *Hundred Years of Irish History*. Mr. O'Brien tells us that Irish history was unknown in these schools until recently, and is tolerated now only as a reading-lesson. Dr. Whately suppressed a poem on the Irish harp, also Campbell's *Harper* and Scott's well-known lines on Love of Country.* The schools were to give mixed secular and separate religious instruction. But in most cases the schools were managed by the clergy, Catholic and Protestant, and became practically denominational. Chiefly owing to this circumstance the schools have been *perhaps* better than nothing.

The Catholic peasantry of Ireland, who, by voluntary contributions, always generously supported their own unendowed and unestablished clergy, were also called upon to pay tithes to the Protestant clergy, of whose ministrations they could not conscientiously avail themselves. They had also to pay church rates for the maintenance of Protestant churches. These tithes appeared a more galling grievance now that Catholics were told that Parliament had emancipated them. Soon an anti-tithe war was initiated, especially in the southern counties where the grievance was worst, for the Protestant clergy there were for the most part without flocks. O'Connell tried in vain to have tithes abolished. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare, exhorted his people thus:—"Let your hatred of tithes be as great as your love of justice." Many could not pay tithes; most would not. When the people could not or would not pay, their property was seized. If they resisted the always

* *A Hundred Years of Irish History*, p. 83. The present writer can add, on excellent authority, that James Montgomery's fine poem, *A Voyage round the World*, was suppressed because it contained a reference to British misgovernment of India.

unjust and often illegal proceedings of the tithe-proctor, the army and the police were utilised against them.

The tithe war was signalized by several bloody conflicts, in which many both of the peasantry and the police were killed. The first was at Newtownbarry, County Wexford. A fierce struggle occurred at an attempted sale of property seized for tithes due to the local rector. Thirteen peasants were killed and many others wounded by the police and yeomanry. But the greatest although not the last battle of the tithe-war occurred six months later at Carrickshock. A process-server, guarded by about forty police, went out about noon on the 14th of December, 1831, to serve writs for tithes due to the rector of Knocktopher, County Kilkenny. The people assembled also and accompanied the legal forces. They were determined to get possession of the person of the chief functionary, and force him to eat the process. This kind of compulsory though incongruous meal had long seemed to the people the most equitable, at any rate the most effectual way of disposing of writs for debt not justly incurred. When the forces of the law had reached a secluded and desert spot called Carrickshock Common, a short distance from Knocktopher, where the clergyman claimant's church was, a young man attempted to seize the official, and was instantly shot dead by the police. Then the fight began. Eleven policemen were killed and the process-server. But the writs were not served that day. O'Connell acted as counsel for several members of the crowd who were tried in the following year and all acquitted. This lot frequently fell to him in such cases.

This dreadful noonday tragedy, in which the forces of the Government fared so badly, at once aroused the Ministry to action. The Church Temporalities Act was passed in 1833. By this Act church-rates were abolished, the four Protestant archbishoprics were reduced to two, and the eighteen bishoprics to ten. This was only a partial relief, and did not stop the tithe-war. Instead of boldly abolishing tithes, as O'Connell and Sheil recommended, the Whigs passed another Coercion Act as a matter of course. All through the nineteenth century Coercion Acts have been the British panacea for the ills of Ireland. This measure was opposed by O'Connell, who, in the general election of 1832, the third after Emancipation and the first after Reform, had secured a following of thirty-four Repealers—not a very small number when we consider how new Emancipation was and how narrow the franchise. Having passed a Coercion Act for Ireland which was at once cruel, unjust, and ineffective, the same Parliament, in the same session, with unconscious inconsistency, passed a meritorious act, abolishing negro slavery in the British West Indies. Besides the tithe grievance and the chronic coercion plague, there was a serious visitation of Asiatic cholera in Ireland in 1832. The next serious outbreak was in 1849, after the famine.

In 1834 Earl Grey resigned the Premiership. He was succeeded by Viscount Melbourne, also a Whig, who held office for a few months. Sir Robert Peel and a Tory Ministry were in office for a few months more, but

Peel resigned in 1835. Then Lord Melbourne resumed office, and the Whigs continued in power for the next six years until 1841.

The Church Temporalities Act was only a half-measure, and did not mend matters with regard to the tithe grievance. Consequently the bloody conflicts in the south of Ireland between the peasantry on the one side and Protestant clergymen, tithe-proctors, soldiers and police, on the other, went on still. There was an affray at Thurles in which four peasants were killed, another at Wallstown, Co. Cork, with the same result, and another at Rathkeeran, Co. Waterford, where as many as twelve were killed. The last and worst conflict was at Rathcormack in the county of Cork, on the 18th of December, 1834. One week before Christmas the local rector went out to seize the property of a poor widow, a Catholic, who "owed" him (the word seems monstrous) forty shillings' worth of tithes. This gentleman, besides bringing the police, was supported by the 29th Foot and the 4th Dragoons. The neighbouring peasantry assembled and resisted the seizure. A fight ensued. The military fired. More than fifty of the people were killed and wounded. The worst feature of this dreadful and unchristian warfare was that it was carried on avowedly in the interest of religion. All this was done to support that incredible imposture, the State Church of Ireland, which four-fifths of the population utterly repudiated.

In 1831 after the Newtownbarry tragedy O'Connell implored the Government to stop the collection of tithes, at least until the Parliamentary Tithe Committee should report. But the Government would not. Shortly after the refusal came the Battle of Carrickshock, where eleven members of the splendid force which was the Government's chief reliance in Ireland* were killed in a few minutes by the infuriated people. Twenty-four hours after that incident the collection of tithes all over Ireland was stopped, the Temporalities Act was passed, and then the collection went on again. But it had to stop altogether after Rathcormack. And Rathcormack was the last, only because Thomas Drummond came back to Ireland in the new year, 1835, as Under-Secretary.

Thomas Drummond was born in Edinburgh in 1797. He became an officer in the Royal Engineers, and was attached in that capacity to the Irish Ordnance Survey. Here he learned, in his journeyings about the country, the real condition of the people, and soon came to have a deep sympathy with them. He filled for a few years minor official positions in England, renouncing with characteristic independence a pension which had been granted to him for his scientific inventions and unusual skill in surveying. When Lord Melbourne returned to power, in 1835, O'Connell and his Repeal Members agreed to keep him in office by their votes if he would introduce remedial legislation for Ireland. O'Connell agreed to suspend his demand for Repeal, with

* "That famous constabulary force which is the arm, eye, and ear of the Irish Government," says Mr. John Morley in his *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. III., p. 403.

which he had been thwarting the Government since 1830. His agitation on this question had aroused greater enthusiasm in Dublin than anywhere else in Ireland, for the people of the capital had not ceased to feel and resent the degradation of their city resulting from the Union. The agreement of O'Connell with Lord Melbourne was known as the Lichfield House Compact. O'Connell loyally observed his part in it, and Lord Melbourne did his best to observe his. But the remedial legislation suffered from the opposition of the House of Lords, whose members, mostly Tory, knew that the Whig Government was kept in office by the Irish vote. This was the position of all Whig Governments in the nineteenth century, except Gladstone's Government of 1880. Lord Melbourne sent the Earl of Mulgrave (created in 1838 Marquess of Normanby) to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and Lord Morpeth (afterwards, as Earl of Carlisle, twice Lord Lieutenant) as Chief Secretary, but the real government of Ireland was placed in the hands of Thomas Drummond, the new Under-Secretary. In four or five years Drummond showed the wonderful improvement which might be effected in Ireland by a ruler who would treat the majority of the people with justice, and not govern, as is usually done in Ireland, in the interests of a small ascendancy party only. It is difficult to enumerate in a short space all the reforms he inaugurated. Instead of four hundred inefficient watchmen he appointed a thousand vigilant policemen in Dublin, the nucleus of the present fine Dublin Metropolitan Police force. He manned the Royal Irish Constabulary with the sons of the Catholic farmers. Before that no government would trust them with police duties. A perusal of the trials for the Carrickshock affair will show how Protestant the police force then was. As local magistrates were often partial and biassed, Drummond appointed stipendiaries all over the country who were answerable to him. He kept a strict hand over the Ulster Orangemen. Orange Lodges in the army were suppressed. Readers of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's historical works will remember how Drummond abolished the tyranny of Sam Gray, an Orange magistrate in Duffy's native county of Monaghan. But he was equally severe in suppressing faction-fighting in the south. Assuming office after the Rathcormack tithe-battle, he refused to allow the Government forces, soldiers or police, to assist in recovering tithes, and thus put an end to the tithe-war. Agrarian crime decreased wonderfully when the people found that there was a man at the head of the Government who acted justly towards all—landlord and tenant. The ascendancy party tried to prove that crime had increased under Drummond's rule, but met with a signal defeat, as the result of the inquiry showed that it had diminished. Of course a contest of such old standing as the agrarian war carried on by the ubiquitous Ribbon society against the agents of land tyranny could not stop immediately. In the year 1838 Lords Glengall and Lismore, with thirty other magistrates of Tipperary, addressed a remonstrance to Drummond with reference to the murder of one Cooper. His reply contained the memorable dictum, "Property has its duties as well

as its rights," the disregard of which is really the Irish land difficulty in a nutshell.

O'Connell supported Drummond with his great influence in the country, for he felt that even in a native Irish Government no man could rule more justly.

Drummond suppressed a notable nuisance at his own door, the Sunday drinking booths in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. He held a kind of levee every day. He was accessible to every one. The Irish people gradually came to be on the side of the law when they began to find that they were fairly treated by it. Even landlords admitted this change. But when this improved state of things was reached, Drummond's health gave way, owing to his great labours in this cause, and he died on the 15th of April, 1840, aged only forty-three. He expressed a wish when dying to be buried in Ireland, the land of his adoption, where he had done so much good. He was buried in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin. It was intended that his funeral should be private, but crowds from Dublin and many from other parts of Ireland attended, and it became practically a great public funeral. A fine statue of him by Hogan adorns the City Hall, Dublin; it was erected by public subscription three years after his death. In 1833, two years before Drummond assumed office, there were 24,000 troops in Ireland: at the time of his death there were but 15,000, and in 1847, seven years afterwards, there were 28,000. These figures are the best commentary on the improved condition of Ireland under his rule.*

The remedial legislation introduced by the Whig ministry in fulfilment of the Lichfield House compact was not as satisfactory as Drummond's government of Ireland. In 1837 Lord Morpeth, the Chief Secretary, introduced the Tithe Commutation Bill, passed in the following year. This was a very poor compromise by way of settling the tithe grievance. The tithes, reduced by one-fourth, were made payable by the landlord instead of by the tenant. Of course the landlord made the tenant pay still by raising his rent. This intolerable burden continued until it was removed by Gladstone's Church Act and successive Land Acts. While this Bill was passing through Parliament William IV. died, on the 20th of June, 1837. He was succeeded by his niece, Victoria, daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent. She reigned until her death on the 22nd of January, 1901. Her Majesty visited Ireland in the course of her long reign in 1849, 1853, 1861, and 1900—four times. She was succeeded by her eldest son, the Prince of Wales, as Edward VII. He has already visited Ireland twice.

The first Poor Law for Ireland was also passed in 1838. The country was divided into Poor Law Unions, and workhouses were erected. While some such scheme was necessary, it must be said that the Poor Laws have always been unpopular in Ireland. This is perhaps inevitable with State-aided charity.

* See Mr. Barry O'Brien's excellent *Life of Drummond*.

But the break up of all family life, and the utter extinction of self-respect, which are the characteristic evils of the Irish "workhouse" system ("work" is notable by its absence from these institutions), give good ground for the odium in which they stand.

A Municipal Reform Act for Ireland was passed in 1838. This had several serious drawbacks, as it abolished 58 out of 68 municipalities in Ireland. But its advantages were that Catholics could at last become members and hold municipal offices in the Corporations of the chief cities of Ireland. In 1841 O'Connell was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin, the first election under the new Act. In Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and all the large cities and towns of Ireland, except Belfast and Derry, the Catholic and Nationalist element at once preponderated, and has remained in power ever since. This was a great blow to the old Ascendency party, but the greatest blow of all was that a Catholic might now be Sheriff of those cities, and thus take a prominent part in executing the laws.*

In the same year 1839 the Marquess of Normanby was obliged to resign the Viceroyalty owing to a vote of censure passed on him in the House of Lords for releasing too many prisoners. He had also displeased the Ascendency by removing from the Commission of the Peace Colonel Verner in Armagh County and other Ulster Orange magistrates, for celebrating the Battle of the Diamond. He was succeeded by Lord Fortescue.

On the very day of Drummond's death, the 15th of April, 1840, O'Connell founded the new Repeal Association. He had begun to despair of Whig remedial legislation. Late in 1841 the Melbourne Ministry resigned, and the Tories under Sir Robert Peel returned to power. Earl De Grey (1841-4) and Lord Heytesbury (1844-6) were his Lords Lieutenant. Lord Eliot, afterwards Lord Lieutenant as Earl of St. Germans, was Chief Secretary. Every Irish magistrate who favoured Repeal openly including O'Connell himself and Lord Ffrench, was dismissed by the Government. But O'Connell appointed the dismissed magistrates arbitrators, and the people resorted to their courts instead of the regular tribunals.

The huge Repeal meetings held by O'Connell at this time were greatly favoured by the new habits of temperance and sobriety which the people were acquiring. The Rev. Theobald Mathew, a Capuchin friar residing in Cork City, began there in 1838 his great temperance movement. Soon it extended all over Ireland, and was taken up with extraordinary enthusiasm. Father Mathew devoted the rest of his life to this excellent work, visiting England and preaching there with great success. While it is true that not everybody who took the total abstinence pledge was faithful to it, still many were, and the movement did the greatest good in Ireland. It had the disadvantage of

* The feelings of the Ascendency on this point have been put metrically in this highly-expressive line:—

The sheriff's chain is hanging where the rope ought to be.

being immediately succeeded by the Famine, which made all irregularities worse. But many were faithful even in this temptation, and the crusade of Father Mathew, who died in 1856, paved the way for much other excellent temperance work in Ireland since then.

O'Connell said that 1844 was to be the Repeal year. He held monster meetings in 1843 in many counties of Ireland. The greatest were those at Tara and Mullaghmast. The Tara meeting was held on the 15th of August. To hear O'Connell show the blessings of Repeal more than five hundred thousand persons, it is said, came to this historic hill, the residence of the ancient chief monarchs of Ireland. Mullaghmast, near Athy, in County Kildare had been the scene of a treacherous massacre of Irish chiefs by the English of the Pale, who had invited them to a feast, about the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. O'Connell's meeting here was held on Sunday, the 1st of October, and it is said that the number of those who attended this meeting was larger even than that at Tara.

This assembling together of large masses of men had alarmed the Government. On the next Sunday after Mullaghmast, the 8th of October, O'Connell made preparations for holding another monster meeting at Clontarf, a historic seaside suburb of Dublin, where King Brian, the greatest sovereign of Ireland, by a memorable victory annihilated the Danish power in 1014. But Clontarf was within easy reach of the immense garrison of Dublin. Late on the evening of Saturday, the 7th of October, a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant was posted on the walls, forbidding the meeting. O'Connell made every effort to prevent the vast multitudes from assembling who would have done so. In order to avert bloodshed he had agents on every road of access to Clontarf, turning the people back. Happily he accomplished his purpose; for the garrison had been sent to Clontarf, and the guns of the Pigeon House Fort on the opposite side of Dublin Bay turned on the place of meeting.

On the 14th of October O'Connell and eight of the principal members of the Repeal Association were charged with conspiracy and other misdemeanours. Conspiracy was a ridiculous charge to bring against O'Connell who always did everything openly. The eight others were O'Connell's third son, John; Charles Gavan Duffy, editor of the *Nation*; Dr., afterwards Sir John, Gray, editor of the *Freeman's Journal*; Father Tyrrell, parish priest of Lusk, County Dublin; Father Tierney, parish priest of Clontibret, County Monaghan; Thomas Steele, the Clare Protestant gentleman, who had been O'Connell's most faithful adherent ever since the famous Clare election; Richard Barrett, editor of the *Pilot*, Dublin; and Thomas Matthew Ray, the Secretary of the Repeal Association. The traversers were released on bail until the beginning of the trial.

On the 22nd of October O'Connell opened his new place of meeting called by him Conciliation Hall, on Burgh Quay, Dublin. At this meeting William Smith O'Brien joined the Repeal Association. He was a Protestant, son of Sir Edward O'Brien, a great Clare landlord, descended from that illustrious Irish

sovereign who had overcome the Danes at Clontarf. He had been a Member of Parliament for about twenty years. Hitherto he had acted with the Whigs, but had lost faith in them and in British Parliaments. He thought now that none but an Irish Parliament ever could or would right the wrongs of Ireland. Personally he was a man of most honourable and exalted character.

O'Connell's trial began on the 15th of January, 1844. The four judges and the twelve jurymen who tried the case were all Protestants. The Catholics on the jury panel and Protestants suspected of liberal views or Repeal politics had been carefully excluded. But jury-packing was so common a feature in Irish State trials that nobody, at least in Ireland, was much surprised. To enumerate all the instances of jury-packing in Irish political and agrarian cases in the nineteenth century would far exceed the limits of space allotted to this sketch. But a special circumstance aggravates its injustice in this case besides the eminence of O'Connell's character. One long slip containing the names of sixty-seven jurors, of whom a large number were Catholics, was missing, perhaps accidentally lost, perhaps designedly removed. The Crown counsel decided to dispense with it and go on with the case. O'Connell and his seven* associates would never have been convicted by a fairly empanelled jury of Irishmen. But in this case there was no doubt. On the 12th of February the eight prisoners were found guilty, and ordered to appear for sentence on the 30th of May.

In the meantime O'Connell attended Parliament, which he had practically abandoned in the previous year to hold his monster meetings, and spoke out with that pre-eminent and even vituperative directness for which he was so famous. He denounced the proclamation of the Clontarf meeting and the packing of the jury as these mischievous and contemptible acts of the Government deserved to be denounced. Many critics of O'Connell have complained that he was intemperate in speech, addicted to gross personalities or gross flattery. But he defended this practice of his by asserting that one should praise one's friends or censure one's enemies in as strong language as possible. It is probable that this excess in language of O'Connell was largely a matter of temperament. He was a Kerryman, an unmistakable Celt, and he had that ardent and enthusiastic disposition characteristic of the Munster Irishman. The jury-packing was denounced not only by O'Connell, but also by Lord John Russell and Macaulay, who were then in opposition. But four years later both those gentlemen were members of a Government (one was its head) whose Irish officials were packing juries to convict John Mitchel and others of the '48 leaders. Moore's couplet again held good—that Whigs became dumb when in office.

* Father Tyrrell, of Lusk, Co. Dublin, one of the nine originally charged, died before the trial. It is said that his death was hastened by his exertions in trying to prevent the people from attending the Clontarf proclaimed meeting, on which occasion he remained up all night turning back the people from the County of Dublin, who were assembling in great numbers.

On the 30th of May the Repeal prisoners appeared to receive sentence. O'Connell was sentenced to pay a fine of £2,000 and to undergo a year's imprisonment. He and his associates were incarcerated in Richmond Bridewell, then and for many years afterwards the prison for the City of Dublin. But the judgment was brought up to the House of Lords on a writ of error. It was reversed by the majority of the Law Lords. Three were for reversing it, two for maintaining it. It was on this occasion that Lord Denman, one of the Law Lords whose opinions reversed the judgment, uttered the oft-quoted words that trial by jury, carried on by such methods as were employed in this case, would become "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." On the 6th of September O'Connell and his associates were released from prison.*

O'Connell was now free, and had practically triumphed. But he and his Repeal Association had seen their best days. Even if the calamitous Famine had not occurred in the following years, the Association would still probably have gone down under the blow dealt by the secession of its ablest adherents. In 1842, three young men, named Duffy, Dillon, and Davis, determined in a memorable conversation under a tree in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, to found the *Nation* newspaper. It was founded—the first number appearing under the editorship of Duffy, who had already had some editorial experience—on the 15th of October, 1842. Its appearance was heralded by a well-known poem from James Clarence Mangan, in the opinion of many the greatest Irish poet of the nineteenth century. Duffy continued for many years to edit the *Nation*. As already mentioned, he was one of O'Connell's fellow-prisoners in 1843. But the inspiring genius of the paper and of the movement was Thomas Davis. This young Protestant Irishman, educated at Trinity College, had hitherto devoted his attention to archæology. From the affairs of ancient Ireland he had rapidly passed to those of his country in his own lifetime. His impassioned prose and poetry were designed to awaken Irishmen, especially young men, to a new future for Ireland. She was to be "a nation once again," in his own words. His patriotic enthusiasm soon gathered a gifted band of young Irishmen around him. This *Nation* school of fervently patriotic writers, poets, and orators acquired the name of Young Ireland, although they did not claim or acknowledge this name. Such names were then fashionable. "Young England," the party of Lord John Manners, now the aged Duke of Rutland, was then in its zenith. "Young Italy" and "Young France" had been known for some years. From the first the *Nation* young men had shown a spirit of independence, while they inculcated on their readers the duty of thinking for themselves and the value of education. The newspaper and the school were to be their weapons. They found many disciples, especially among the younger generation now growing up.

After the release of O'Connell and the collapse of the monster meeting

* "'Twas the law that broke the lock," said a contemporary ballad.

method this Young Ireland wing differed more and more from the old Emancipation wing of the Repeal Association. Although Davis, the leading spirit of the party, died prematurely in September, 1845, the quarrel went on. Smith O'Brien was the recognized leader of this section. O'Connell emphasized the importance at the Association meetings of some contemporary measures which related rather to religion than to Repeal or secular politics. The young men objected to this. They maintained that the increase of the grant to Maynooth College and the establishment of the Queen's Colleges were not matters for the Repeal Association to discuss. It is probable that Peel introduced this legislation for Ireland with some intention of dividing the Repeal Association. If so he succeeded. Many of the young men went so far as to favour the Queen's College scheme, and to advocate mixed education of Catholics and Protestants. O'Connell, as might have been expected from his career, supported Rome and the majority of the Irish Bishops on this question and denounced the "godless Colleges." Here O'Connell was certainly right; for these Colleges were not offered by Peel out of friendship to the religion of Irishmen. They were instituted on the usual British principle of giving Irishmen what Englishmen think is good for them, not by any means what Irishmen want or would choose for themselves. And the British educational policy to Ireland has uniformly been to try to make her Protestant or, at least, to wean her from Catholicity. But, the Queen's College question apart, there were many points in which Young Ireland was right in its quarrel with O'Connell. They said a Repeal movement should include everybody, Catholics and Protestant. Being a national movement, all Irishmen should be in it. O'Connell did not really contest this. He thought so, too. He was always too glad to welcome Protestants as members of the Association, and he had secured many of them. But the Protestants, especially the Dublin Protestants, who hated the Union and denounced it in 1800 and 1810, in both of which years O'Connell was by their side, were afraid of a Parliament subservient to the man who had won Emancipation. This circumstance alone would have been sufficient to bring failure to O'Connell's Repeal movement.

Although O'Connell had tried, ever since 1829, to gain over his Protestant fellow-countrymen to his Repeal platform, it cannot be said that he succeeded. The title of Conciliation Hall bestowed by him on his new place of assembly meant that he wished to have Irish Protestants there, too. He saw, as every far-seeing man has since seen, that the Irish Parliament would never be restored save on the demand of a united Irish nation, and that the descendants of the fighting Protestant anti-Unionists of 1800 would have to be foremost in the demand. He predicted that Isaac Butt, who had been selected by the Unionists to speak against him in the Repeal debate at the Dublin Corporation, would yet be found fighting for the cause of Home Rule. As we know, he became the leader of that cause. But this was not to be in O'Connell's lifetime. To Irish Protestants he was the most representative Catholic in the world. And they were right in thinking so, although wrong in suspecting that he ever had

any other wish than to see all Irishmen, Protestant as well as Catholic united for Irish nationality and enjoying its triumph equally. O'Connell, notwithstanding some personal failings, had always been sincerely attached to the Catholic faith. Now, in his old age, he added to faith the greatest devotion, and was a typical pious Catholic.

There was another cause of controversy between O'Connell and Young Ireland in which the Young Irelanders were clearly in the right. They thought Irish members of Parliament should not accept places from the Whigs or any other Government. O'Connell thought otherwise. To the Liberator, who had abolished the Penal Laws, it seemed an excellent thing that Catholics should attain the highest places in the State. We cannot wonder at his thinking so; even now Emancipation in Ireland does not seem a reality when Protestant ascendancy monopolizes the loaves and fishes. But O'Connell's principle would be fatal to the independence of an Irish Parliamentary Party. In this matter as in many others the quarrel of Young Ireland was not so much with O'Connell as with his followers, especially with his third son, John, who aspired to succeed to his father's leadership, although he had inherited none of his great qualities. Although O'Connell did not object to the acceptance of office by his followers, he would by no means accept it for himself. He declined the Irish Mastership of the Rolls, and there is little doubt that the Whigs of sixty or seventy years ago would have been as willing as Gladstone was in 1868 in the case of Lord O'Hagan to supplement the Emancipation Act by appointing a Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland if by doing so they could have bought off the leader of the opposition to English rule in Ireland. But many of O'Connell's Parliamentary following were mere worthless venal place-hunters, not for a moment to be compared with the Young Ireland leaders, who believed rather in an uncompromising fight for Irish nationality than in Irish Members of Parliament being bought off with good places by a Whig Government, which had already bestowed Civil Service clerkships and tidewaiterships on the sons of their constituents. The controversy on this subject became acute when the Whigs returned to office in 1846, and the final severance between the two sections of the Repeal Association took place in that year, when the Young Irelanders seceded and founded the Irish Confederation rather than accept O'Connell's principle that the winning of Irish liberty was not worth the shedding of one drop of human blood. It is likely that O'Connell did not literally mean what he said, but rather that Ireland was not then in a condition successfully to oppose England by force of arms. Although O'Connell in his later days preached the efficacy of moral force, in his younger he, too, had believed in physical. He had extolled Bolivar and declared his wish to imitate him, and Bolivar freed his country by fighting. A certain passage, too, in Fitzpatrick's *Sham Squire** shows, if well founded, that O'Connell when a young man of twenty-three was

more than half disposed to throw in his lot with the United Irish insurgents in Dublin in 1798. But age had tempered his fervour, and he foresaw more clearly than the Young Ireland leaders themselves that their principles would hurry them into a futile revolutionary attempt. They did not think so at the time, for at this period the only revolutionist among them was John Mitchel.

In 1845, 1846, and 1847, Ireland was passing through such a dreadful period of calamity that political dissensions could not be thought of. The potato had long been the staple food of the Irish people. This vegetable yielded a good crop and suited the soil and climate. It had often failed partially before. But there was a bad failure in 1845. The blight appeared and there was great distress. Even at this early period O'Connell advocated the prohibition of the export of food from Ireland; for, extraordinary as it may appear, there was plenty of food in the country, although the people were starving. John Mitchel always maintained that the Famine in Ireland was artificial. But the fault was with the Irish land system, the source of so many of the economic calamities of Ireland. The price of the exported food had to be paid to the landlords. O'Connell advocated tenant-right, but he was far in advance of the British Government of that time. All through the dreadful Famine years the Government relief measures were ineffective, and this was largely due to the fact that a change of Government took place in the very middle of the period. O'Connell wished the Corn Laws to be suspended and the Irish ports thrown open for the import of provisions. The English Protectionists, members themselves of the Conservative Party, of which Peel, the Prime Minister, a Free Trader, was leader, denied that there was any danger of famine, for they thought that such an acknowledgment would only help their opponents, the Free Traders. Thus Peel's hands were tied and the people of Ireland starved. The Government of Peel's successor only began to take satisfactory measures for relief as soon as the Famine was over and millions of the Irish people had been sacrificed.

In a single night early in August, 1846, the potato crop was blighted as in the previous year, only more completely. Fever followed famine, and death and degradation accompanied both. The public soup-kitchens, the recently erected workhouses were the only refuge of many, but for the majority there was no refuge and no hope. When infectious disease had supplemented hunger, many of the friends of the unfortunate deserted them. Then the hideous trap-coffin or hinge-coffin was seen at work, by so much did the dead exceed the living in number. This was a coffin in which the corpse was carried to burial, but which, instead of still enclosing the corpse, was brought away from the coffinless grave to convey thither hundreds of other departed victims of the Famine and the typhus. The English Government came out very badly in the history of the Famine, but not the English people. With characteristic benevolence private individuals in England subscribed enormous sums of money to relieve the distress in Ireland. So did many in other countries. But these generous gifts, which it was hard for a brave and a high-spirited

nation to be obliged to accept, could not counterbalance the miseries and the irreparable losses to Ireland caused by a Famine of which the iniquitous Irish land system was the chief if not the only cause. Wholesale evictions, incredible as it may appear, took place in those years. But, worst of all, famine and eviction produced that nation-killing emigration which still goes on. The population of Ireland in 1841 was over eight millions. In 1845 it cannot have been far from nine millions. Now it is under four millions. This is the saddest fact which must be chronicled in the history of Ireland in the nineteenth century. The emigration is worse than the Famine. For the Famine is over long ago, but the emigration continues. An alien Government and bad land laws have produced both.

O'Connell made a masterly speech in the House of Commons on the 3rd of April, 1846, showing the outrageous condition of the Irish land system. But Peel, instead of reforming that system, brought in a Coercion Bill. On the 25th of May the Bill was defeated, the first and last Coercion Bill for Ireland ever defeated in the British Parliament. This was effected by the junction of the Whigs and the Protectionists with O'Connell's party. The Whigs wished to return to power and succeeded. The Protectionists, under Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli, wished to defeat Sir Robert Peel, who advocated Free Trade, and they succeeded. Peel resigned, and the Whigs returned to office with Lord John Russell as Prime Minister. The Earl of Bessborough was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, but he died in the following year, and was succeeded by the Earl of Clarendon. For the first year of this Ministry Henry Labouchere was Chief Secretary, for the five years following Sir William Somerville. Lord John Russell, who had denounced Coercion and jury-packing when out of office, not only employed those weapons now against his political opponents in Ireland, but even descended to use a lower one through his Irish Government. It was admitted in cross-examination in 1851 by Lord Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant, that he had paid one James Birch, the proprietor of the *World*, a low black-mailing newspaper published in Dublin, to traduce the private characters of the Young Ireland leaders. This admission was made during the hearing of an action brought by Birch in the Law Courts for the recovery of money which he alleged the Government owed him. This was even worse than the methods in Ireland of the preceding Whig Government, which, while openly in friendly alliance with O'Connell, had, through its Irish officials, opened and read his private letters in the Post Office. The letters to and from O'Connell and certain other Repealers had been opened by softening the seals or envelopes by an ingenious application of steam, then copied, and skilfully re-sealed. All this information as to the opening of the letters is to be found in a Parliamentary Return of the Session of 1845.

O'Connell appeared in Parliament for the last time on the 8th of February, 1847. He made a most pathetic appeal to that body to relieve the terrible sufferings of the Irish people whom he had led and loved so long. The famine,

the differences in his Repeal Association, domestic trouble, and the malady—softening of the brain—from which he had been suffering for some time, contributed, together with old age, to break down that marvellous mental and physical organization for which he had been remarkable in youth, and which had helped him to win so many triumphs. Physicians recommended him to go to the south of Europe, and his own piety prompted him to visit Rome. But he never reached it. He died at Genoa on the 15th of May, 1847, bequeathing his heart to Rome and his body to Ireland. His funeral took place with almost regal honours at Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, on the 5th of August. It is a significant token of the bitterness of the differences in the Repeal Association that the Young Ireland leaders, who had always spoken with respect of him personally and acknowledged his great services, on expressing their desire to join the funeral were curtly forbidden by John O'Connell.

Notwithstanding personal failings and faults in policy, O'Connell is, on the whole, the grandest figure in the Ireland of the nineteenth century. He defeated the Veto and yet gained Emancipation. He invented popular agitation, the most effective weapon in Irish politics ever since. His greatest praise must be that he revived national feeling in Ireland. So long as he retained his powers he kept alive in the Irish people faith in the efficacy of constitutional methods. As an orator he was in the first class. Those who listened to his eloquence were affected by it as they were by no other man's. Nor is this the testimony of his own fellow-countrymen alone. The great English novelist, Charles Dickens, in his youth a Parliamentary reporter, declared that he was on one occasion so overcome by O'Connell's words that he had to throw down his pencil. He could not report it or do anything but listen to it. The sun of O'Connell's day seemed to set in gloom, but those who review it now must admit that there had never been so brilliant a day.

O'Connell's death was virtually the death of the Repeal Association. John O'Connell tried to keep it alive, but it was scarcely heard of afterwards save in the General Election of 1847, when it advocated Whig place-beggars against the men independent of English parties whom the *Nation* supported. In too many cases the place-hunters won. The Repeal Association adjourned its meetings *sine die* on the 4th of March, 1851.

After O'Connell's death the aggravated horrors of the famine of 1847 gradually drove the Young Ireland party to rebellion. But this had not been their deliberately adopted programme. In their earlier period they aimed rather, under Davis's influence, at educating the people and popularizing national literature. They issued shilling monthly volumes dealing with Irish history and literature through James Duffy, a publisher of Dublin. Duffy's *Library of Ireland*, as it was called, still maintains its place as the best national series of books ever issued in Ireland. The subsequent careers of many of the Young Ireland leaders are the best criterion of their abilities, and must cause universal regret that the services of so gifted a group of men were lost to their country, owing to misgovernment. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, who had been

editor of the *Nation* from its foundation to 1855, when he emigrated to Australia, afterwards became Prime Minister of Victoria. He died in 1903, having reached the great age of eighty-seven, and was accorded the honour of a splendid public funeral in Dublin. Thomas Darcy M'Gee, poet, historian, and orator, and excellent in all three, was a member of the Ministry of the newly-formed Dominion of Canada. His career after 1848 in America presents singular points of resemblance to that of John Boyle O'Reilly, who took part in the later Fenian insurrection. O'Reilly did not die a natural death, nor did M'Gee, but the latter's death was incomparably sadder. Early in the morning of the 7th of April, 1868, when walking to his home in the streets of Ottawa he was shot dead by one Whelan, who was executed for it. Whelan was a member of the Fenian Brotherhood, to which M'Gee was opposed, but the crime had never been ordered or sanctioned by the Fenians. Thomas Francis Meagher, a most eloquent Young Irelander, whose father, a Waterford merchant, was an Old Ireland Repeal Member of Parliament—and this difference of opinion between father and son was not uncommon in Ireland then—after bravely leading an Irish Brigade on the Federal side in the great American Civil War of 1861-5, became Governor of Montana, and was accidentally drowned in the Missouri in 1867. Richard O'Gorman the younger, who was engaged in the insurrection and had to leave Ireland, became a judge in the United States. His father, the elder Richard O'Gorman, a wealthy Dublin merchant, although he joined the Young Irelanders and left the Repeal Association, did not approve of the attempt at insurrection. William Smith O'Brien, the leader of the party, was allowed to return from his Australian exile, and died at Bangor, in Wales, in 1864. Some of his children and grandchildren have been distinguished for their talents. His statue was erected on O'Connell Bridge, Dublin, a few years after his death. John Mitchel, the greatest writer and the most irreconcilable and sincere rebel of all Young Ireland, escaped from imprisonment in Tasmania and went to the United States, from which he returned to Ireland in 1875, after twenty-seven years' exile, only to die. He had just been elected member for Tipperary, and his election caused a legal difficulty as he was an unpardoned felon. His high-minded brother-in-law, John Martin, died a few days afterwards. John Blake Dillon, one of the founders of the *Nation*, father of the present Mr. John Dillon, took part in the insurrection, and escaped to the United States disguised as a Catholic clergyman. He returned to Ireland, was an alderman of Dublin, and died member for Tipperary in 1866. Richard Dalton Williams, a poet of great merit, settled like Mitchel in the Southern States. He died in Louisiana in 1862. Michael Doheny, an able orator and writer, died in the United States in the same year. Kevin Izod O'Doherty and his wife, formerly Miss Kelly from Galway, but better known as "Eva," one of the seditious poetesses of the *Nation*, were still alive in Australia until recently. He died in the summer of 1905, and his widow is the last survivor of Young Ireland.

There were other writers on the *Nation* who were rather literary men than politicians. James Clarence Mangan, a man of rare poetical genius; Denis Florence M'Carthy, who was scarcely inferior to him; Sir Samuel Ferguson, an Antrim Presbyterian, who reproduced in English verse the very soul of Gaelic poetry; John O'Hagan, afterwards a judge, but once a very seditious poet, always a man of the greatest literary culture; Thomas M'Nevin, who brought out an excellent edition of the Trials of the United Irishmen; Father Meehan, Dublin curate and literary man for over half a century; last, but not least, John Kells Ingram, who is still living, Fellow, and ultimately Vice-Provost of Trinity College, who contributed to the *Nation* in its earliest days the best Irish rebel poem ever written, *Who fears to speak of '98*. There were some poetesses, too, whose contributions to the *Nation* became famous. Besides "Eva" (Mrs. O'Doherty), there was "Mary" who was Miss Downing, a Cork lady, who afterwards became a nun. Above all there was "Speranza," Miss Elgee, better known afterwards as Lady Wilde. She married in 1851 Dr. afterwards Sir William Wilde, who was eminent both in literature and medicine. Their two sons were very gifted, and the younger especially was a man of real genius. In 1848 Speranza's burning verse and no less burning prose were amongst the best and boldest in the *Nation*. A leading article from that paper was read aloud in court during the trial of its editor, Gavan Duffy. She stood up and avowed its authorship. She died amid great sorrows in 1896.

The horrors of the Famine, the fever, and the evictions had driven some of the Irish Confederation to the opinion that there was no hope save in insurrection. Foremost amongst them was John Mitchel. Mitchel was born in 1815 at Dungiven, Co. Derry, where his father was a Unitarian minister. While he was still a child the family removed to County Down. He was educated at Trinity College, and soon became a member of O'Connell's Repeal Association, from which he seceded with the other Young Irelanders. On the death of Thomas Davis in September 1845, Mitchel was invited to take his place on the *Nation*. In the end of 1847, when he began to advocate resistance by force, he was obliged to leave the *Nation*, as its conductors, Duffy, Dillon, and M'Gee did not approve of his views. There was a debate on the subject in the Confederation, and it is curious, in view of later events, to note that the principal opponents of Mitchel's gospel of force were Smith O'Brien, Meagher, Dillon, Duffy, M'Gee, O'Gorman, Doheny, Williams, and O'Doherty, all of whom took part in the attempted insurrection a few months later, either by actually joining in it or advocating it in the press. Mitchel thereupon started the *United Irishman*, and openly preached revolution. He was the successor of Robert Emmet and the predecessor of the Fenians. He recommended barricades, the throwing of broken bottles, and even of vitriol. Those who condemn the desperate counsels of Mitchel should remember the desperate plight of his country. It is perfectly wonderful, nevertheless, that the Government should have allowed his paper to last three months. He was soon helped in his advocacy by events outside Ireland. A wave of revolution swept over all

the countries of Europe in 1848. In many countries it was successful in getting rid of the old order of things. This was notably the case in France where Louis Philippe, the self-styled King of the French, the Citizen King, who had risen to power by the revolution of 1830 which swept away the elder branch of his family, found himself swept away in his turn, and a Republic established. This Republic did not last long, for in a few months Louis Napoleon Buonaparte was elected President, and managed, like his illustrious uncle half a century earlier, to seize the imperial power as Napoleon III. But while the Republic lasted the Irish confederates fraternized with it as the United Irishmen had done with the first French Republic of the great Revolution. All Young Ireland at once came over to Mitchel's views, and regarded a revolution as quite feasible. O'Brien and Meagher went to Paris to interview M. Lamartine, best known as a poet, who was the first President. Parliament passed rapidly a new Coercion Act by which writing or speaking incitements to rebellion in Ireland was made treason-felony, punishable by transportation. Mitchel, O'Brien, and Meagher were arrested. The juries which tried the two latter were not packed completely and disagreed, and the prisoners were discharged. But Mitchel was tried under the new Act. The jury was packed, and the prisoner, though defended by the eminent and venerable Robert Holmes, brother-in-law of Robert Emmet, was of course convicted and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. The Government apprehended an attempt at rescue, for Mitchel's determination and single-minded honesty had won all hearts. But none was made, and Mitchel was transported, first to Bermuda, then to South Africa, and ultimately to Tasmania, from which he escaped to the United States in 1853. His prison experiences may be read in his very interesting *Jail Journal*. Like his contemporary, Duffy, he wrote, but from a much more extreme standpoint, the history of the Young Ireland movement in *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)*. Even the most violent of Mitchel's opponents must admit that this book gives proof of a literary style which has rarely been equalled.

The *United Irishman* soon had successors, for the friends of Mitchel not only shared his views, but had the warmest personal admiration and sympathy for him. A fortnight after Mitchel's trial O'Doherty and Williams started the *Irish Tribune*, and in another fortnight John Martin began to publish the *Irish Felon*. Martin was assisted by James Fintan Lalor, a native of the Queen's County, a very able and original writer, of opinions as extreme as those of Mitchel. But the Government soon suppressed the *Nation*, the *Tribune* and the *Felon*, and arrested Duffy, Martin, O'Doherty, and Williams. The Cabinet determined to forestall the plan of the Confederation, which was to begin the insurrection after the harvest. Parliament passed an Act suspending the Habeas Corpus in Ireland, and warrants were issued for the arrest of the principal members of the Confederate clubs in Dublin and other Irish towns. The editors were in prison. There were warrants out against O'Brien and Meagher. This

news reached O'Brien in Wexford County, where he was staying with a friend. He rapidly betook himself to Tipperary where he was joined by Dillon and Meagher, Terence Bellew M'Manus, a Young Ireland leader who had been in mercantile life in Liverpool, and Michael Doheny, who was a native of Tipperary. Richard O'Gorman tried to raise the people of Clare and Limerick; Thomas Devin Reilly and Smith, two Mitchelites, went to Kilkenny. But the attempt was hopeless. Not only were the people dispirited by the Famine but the Catholic clergy were opposed to armed insurrection, seeing, no doubt that under the circumstances it was madness. The only conflict occurred Ballingarry, where one Captain Trant, who had the warrant for O'Brien's arrest, was at the head of forty-five police. These barricaded themselves in a strong stone house called Farranrory. O'Brien and a few hundred peasants were outside. The police fired, killing two and wounding several. The local clergyman appeared on the scene and persuaded many to return home. That evening O'Brien, Meagher, and M'Manus were outlaws in the Tipperary mountains with a few followers. Many of the people were Repealers of the old school and did not approve of insurrection. Thus, in the preceding March, when Mitchel, O'Brien, and Meagher were being entertained at a public banquet in the city of Limerick, the hall was entered and a great riot raised by an angry O'Connellite mob because Mitchel had written disrespectfully of the Liberator's policy. Amongst those wounded at Ballingarry was James Stephens, a native of Kilkenny, then a very young man, afterwards famous as the Central Organizer of the Fenian Brotherhood. He succeeded in making his escape with Doheny who wrote the history of this flight in the *Felon's Track*.

O'Brien was arrested at Thurles Railway Station on the 4th of August. He practically gave himself up. Meagher, with two companions, Leyne and O'Donoghue, was arrested near Cashel on the 12th. Dillon escaped, as already mentioned, on a ship sailing from Galway to New York. After a few days he was recognized by another Irish political refugee, Patrick James Smyth, who happened to have chosen the same vessel. Richard O'Gorman escaped on a ship sailing from Limerick to Constantinople, and went thence to Algiers. John O'Mahony, who made an unsuccessful attempt at another rising in Tipperary a little later, escaped to Paris, where he met Stephens, with whom he was afterwards associated as a Fenian leader. M'Manus was arrested at Queenstown on board a ship sailing from Liverpool to America. On the 14th of August John Martin was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation for publications in the *Irish Felon*. The four prisoners, O'Brien, Meagher, M'Manus, and Patrick O'Donoghue, were tried for high treason at a Special Commission in Clonmel. The trials lasted a month, from the 23rd of September to the 21st of October. They were of course, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. It is probable that the Government had never any intention of inflicting the barbarous old penalty for high treason. There was no execution for treason in the long reign of Queen

Victoria or in that of her predecessor, William IV. The last execution for this crime took place in 1820, early in the reign of George IV., when Thistlewood, Ings, Brunt, Tidd, and Davidson, the five Cato Street conspirators, were executed for conspiring to murder the members of the Cabinet of that day. But had the Government in 1848 been disposed to proceed to extremities, they would have found it very difficult to do so. A famous old soldier, General Sir Charles Napier, made public a letter he had received in 1832, the year of the Reform Act, from one of the political associates of the very Whigs who formed the Government of 1848 asking the aid of his military experience in such a project of insurrection by the Whigs as the Young Irelanders had attempted in Ireland. Napier refused to help the English insurrection, but kept the letter, and when he saw the Whig Government trying the Irish leaders for high treason, made it public in the interests of justice. Lord John Russell, who had proposed the Reform Bill in 1832, was now Prime Minister. He was obliged to advise the Queen to commute the sentences, and this was done in the following year, when the four prisoners were transported for life to Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania. O'Doherty was convicted in November, and sentenced to ten years' transportation. Most of the sentences were subsequently reduced. Williams was acquitted. There were one or two Catholics on his jury, as on those which tried Duffy. Duffy was tried twice. In both trials the jury disagreed. After some months in prison he was at length released, and started the *Nation* again. M'Manus, Meagher, and Mitchel escaped from Tasmania to the United States in 1851, 1852, and 1853 respectively.

The Young Irelanders had failed. The evictions and the emigration continued. An Encumbered Estates Act, passed in 1849, to enable or compel landlords who were overwhelmed with debt to sell their estates, did not do much good. Other landlords bought the estates and the bad old system continued. The Celtic exodus to America was greater than ever. English writers and statesmen professed to be delighted with this, not foreseeing that thus was formed the nucleus of the Fenian movement, a much more dangerous insurrection than that of 1848. Men whose last ideas of English rule had been associated with famine, disease, and eviction were ready, when the time came, to use the most violent means of resistance to it.

On the 12th of July, 1849, the worst Orange outrage of the century occurred. John Mitchel calls it "the predetermined massacre of Dolly's Brae," a place near Castletwellan, Co. Down. There has been nothing like it since, except, perhaps, the great Orange riots at Belfast, in 1886, occasioned by the return to Parliament of Mr. Thomas Sexton as member for that city. It is said that many Orangemen are reasonable men on every day of the year except the 12th of July. But on that day a spirit of frenzy, prompting the destruction of their Catholic neighbours, seizes the brethren in Ulster. The day is the anniversary of the Battle of Aughrim, or, by the old style of reckoning, of the Battle of the Boyne; in both of which battles the Irish Catholics were defeated

when supporting the lawful Sovereign, who was a Catholic, against the foreign and usurping Prince of Orange. On this day, in 1849, the brethren assembled in great numbers at Tollymore Park, the demesne of the Earl of Roden, an Orange peer, the same who had thrown all the books of his library except the Bible into a pond in his park during the "New Reformation" in 1827. One contingent had marched through a Catholic district with Orange banners and lilies displayed, playing the insulting tune, "Croppies Lie Down." At Tollymore there was a dinner, some drink, and a speech by Lord Roden. The Orangemen determined to march back by Dolly's Brae, where they expected to meet with opposition from Catholics. Lord Roden might have dissuaded them, but did not try to do so. They went to Dolly's Brae, accompanied—incredible as it may seem—by a magistrate, one Beers. The Orangemen, as usual, were armed; the Catholics, as usual, were not. There were police present, but their officer actually helped the Orangemen. Many Catholics were murdered, and most of the houses burned or wrecked. So atrocious was this outrage that Lord Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant, was obliged to dismiss Lord Roden and Beers from the Commission of the Peace. But nothing else was done. Nobody was ever brought to justice for it. There is good evidence besides that in the alarm of the Young Ireland rebellion in 1848, Orange officials in the Castle secretly furnished arms to the lodges in Ulster. It is quite probable that some of the weapons used at Dolly's Brae were amongst those so furnished.

Perhaps this is the most appropriate place to give an account of the rise and progress of Orangeism, so much heard of in the century following the Union. The Orange society is said to have been founded after the "Battle of the Diamond," an affray, or rather massacre, in the County of Armagh, in 1795. About three hundred of the Kildare insurgents who had surrendered in 1798 were massacred at the Gibbet Rath on the Curragh, on the 29th of May, on an order given by General Duff. The regiment selected to perpetrate the massacre was an Orange corps known as the Foxhunters, raised and commanded by the Earl of Roden, father of Lord Roden of Dolly's Brae notoriety. Three months later, on the 27th of August, this regiment was amongst those who were ignominiously routed by the French at Castlebar. Orangeism, which is practically contemporaneous in history with the nineteenth century, became strong once more as Emancipation drew near.* The Duke of Cumberland, brother of the King, who succeeded to the throne of Hanover on the death of William IV., and would have succeeded to that of England but for the birth of Queen Victoria, became Grand Master of the

* A toast drunk in the Glaslough Orange Lodge, Co. Monaghan, and overheard by the Rev. Dr. Murray, of Maynooth, in 1835, ran as follows: "Here's to the little house in the bog, that's built with the bones of Papishes and thatched with the skins of priests and O'Connell's head for a chimney." A good account of the Orangemen of his native Clones, with a characteristic Orange song, is given by Dr. Murray in his paper, *A Night in an Orange Lodge*, in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Miscellany*, 1850.

Orangemen in 1827. In the evidence before a Parliamentary Committee one Orangeism, in 1835, it was alleged by some witnesses that some of the more ardent of the brethren had made a plot to seat their Grand Master, the Duke of Cumberland, on the throne when William IV. should die, to the exclusion of the Princess Victoria. The first Irish official who showed a disposition to curb the Ulster Orangemen was Thomas Drummond, the famous Under Secretary of 1835-40, who was almost as much hated by them as the present Under Secretary. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's historical works contain a good account of Orangeism in this period, but the best is Mr. Barry O'Brien's *Life of Drummond*. Orange lodges in the army were suppressed then, and it is no wonder they existed when the Prince of the blood royal, who was next but one in succession to the throne, was Grand Master. As a rule few Ulster Protestants of education or standing in the world belong to the Orange Society. But a few peers and other great landlords find it expedient for political purposes to accept County Grand Masterships and such offices. It is probably a sign of better times in Ulster and in Ireland that Lord Rossmore recently refused to accept the Grand Mastership of Monaghan, and wrote a sensible letter to the Monaghan Lodges pointing out that the interest of all Ireland was also the interest of Orangemen. It is remarkable that Orangemen have always been much more numerous amongst the Episcopalian body than amongst the Presbyterian. Ulster, the cradle and home of Orangeism, is the only part of Ireland where it is found in any strength. It has been of no account in Dublin since the Bottle Riot of 1822. It is most violent in Belfast and Derry cities, and in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Down, and Fermanagh. Ulster Orangeism has been imported to Australia and Canada, England and Scotland, where it makes a few recruits of other than Ulster origin, who adopt it for political purposes. It is a sad circumstance connected with the history of the Parliamentary Committee on Orangeism already mentioned that William Motherwell, a Scottish poet of great genius, author of *Jeanie Morison* and other fine poems, is said to have had his death hastened by chagrin at his failure to answer satisfactorily as a witness before it. He edited a Tory paper in Paisley, and in an evil hour for himself became a member of the brotherhood. He was not the right sort of man for the Orange Society.

When Orangemen turn out on the 12th of July they wear sashes and sport lilies of the colour of the orange, a fruit of Persian origin, as its name shows. On this subject of the word Orange the brethren are the victims of a strange confusion of ideas. The name of their society does not, of course, come from the name of the fruit, but from Orange, the ancient Arausio, where the Cimbri defeated the Romans in 105 B.C., a principality in the south-east of France held by William III. The house of Orange-Nassau still reigns in Holland. Some Orange processions consist of drumming-parties only, carrying no other instrument. Those which aspire to be musical play invariably their own set of party tunes, "The Boyne Water," "The Protestant Boys," "Derry

Walls," and, most barbarous of all, "Kick the Pope!" In vain did John Mitchel remind Orangemen that the Pope serves no writs in Ulster. In vain did Thomas Moore write conciliatory words to the air of "The Boyne Water," and Thomas Davis to that of "The Protestant Boys." Gerald Griffin and John Banim did the same good work, but their poems have not improved the Orangeman, and are probably unknown to him. A man who is ignorant enough to be an Orangeman is scarcely open to literary influences, as the following circumstance will show. Sir Samuel Ferguson wrote a satirical poem, supposed to tell the experience of a Portadown Orangeman who went up to Dublin Castle to offer the services of the brethren to the Government, then menaced by Young Ireland. His "conditional loyalty" is well brought out.* He is loyal as long as he enjoys supremacy or, as he says, "the Papishes put undher me feet." He has an interview with the Commander-in-Chief, who asks him doubtingly if he will serve with the loyal Catholics. A Catholic official of high standing is present. The Orangeman replies that no loyal Catholics exist, and takes his leave. But he speaks to some Orange officials, who supply him with arms. He concludes his story by declaring that if a rebellion should break out he will assist the Government by at once shooting the official he has seen, Sir Thomas Redington, the Under Secretary, because he is a Catholic! The Orangemen, not perceiving the irony of the piece, are said to have deliberately adopted Ferguson's satire as embodying their real sentiments. Thomas Moore in his *Petition of the Orangemen of Ireland* against Catholic Emancipation has wittily summed up the absurd and intolerant pretensions of Orangeism.† But it is not quite so violent in Ulster as it was half a century ago, and such a letter as Lord Rossmore's could scarcely have been written then.

It has been remarked that the Orangemen of Ulster never formed so large a percentage of the Presbyterian body as of the Protestant. This was to have been expected from the historical antecedents of the Ulster Presbyterians. The United Irishmen of Belfast, Antrim, and Down were almost exclusively Presbyterians. Monroe, who made the brave attempt in Down, in 1798, and M'Cracken, who did the same in Antrim, were both Presbyterians. Both paid for their daring with their lives. In 1850 circumstances again brought the Catholics and Presbyterians into friendly alliance. *The League of North and South*, whose history has been ably written by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, was founded for the purpose of having tenant-right made law in Ireland. In Ulster the conditions of holding land were different from those in the rest of Ireland. What was called the "Ulster custom" prevailed, that is,

* In 1869, when the Protestant Church was disestablished, Rev. John Flanagan, an Orange clergyman, threatened that the Queen's crown would be kicked into the Boyne.

† That forming one-seventh, within a few fractions,
Of Ireland's seven millions of hot heads and hearts
We hold it the basest of all base transactions
To keep us from murd'ring the other six parts.

the Ulster tenants, unlike those of the other three provinces, had the right of continuous occupancy at a fair rent. It was the custom rather than the law. The reason of this favourable system of land tenure in Ulster was that the tenants, Presbyterian and Protestant, were the descendants of those Scotch and English settlers who were placed in possession of the land by agreement in the plantation of Ulster, early in the reign of James I. The chief planters were called "Undertakers," because they undertook to plant so many settlers according to the size of the estate granted by James. Most of the great Ulster landlords, the Abercorns, Conynghams, Downshires, Londonderrys, Enniskillens, etc., are descended from the Undertakers. These allowed their tenants the benefit of the Ulster custom in order to induce many Scotch and English emigrants to settle on their estates. The Ulster tenants, too, in many cases, unlike those of the other three provinces, were of the same race and religion as the landlords. But the Famine had hit Ulster hard as well as the rest of Ireland. As for Irish tenants in the other provinces, their condition had long been unendurable. In April, 1850, a circular, signed by three leading Irish public men, Frederick Lucas, Dr. Gray, and Mr. M'Curdy Greer, a Catholic, a Protestant, and a Presbyterian, announced that a conference of the tenant societies of the four provinces would be held in Dublin. This conference was held on the 6th of August, 1850, in the City Assembly House, William Street, Dublin. It was most representative. The editors of the Dublin Nationalist organs met those of the Presbyterian Liberal newspapers of Belfast and Derry. The chair was taken by one of the latter, Dr. M'Knight. One of the ablest of the Ulster delegates present was James Godkin, a writer of great authority on Church and Land questions in Ireland. Catholic priests and Presbyterian ministers were both largely represented. The Tenant League was founded. Such a coalition had not been seen before in Irish history, if we except the more desperate one of the United Irishmen in 1798. Few of the existing Irish members of Parliament were in the League. During the prostration of the Famine period the men who had secured return at the General Election of 1847 were mere placehunters. The League declared for "Independent Opposition" to Whigs and Tories both as long as neither would make tenant-right the law of the land.

This excellent alliance was unfortunately dissolved by a notorious letter written by the Prime Minister to Dr. Maltby, Bishop of Durham. Pope Pius IX. in the summer of 1850 had, in consideration of the increase of Catholicity in England, due principally to Irish immigration, and, in a lesser degree, to the Oxford movement, restored the diocesan organization of the Catholic Church in England. He appointed Dr. Wiseman a Cardinal and first Archbishop of Westminster. The Pope did not institute a Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury or York, and, indeed, showed no intention of offending English or Protestant susceptibilities. But "No Popery" has always been a cry founded on unreason. A violent anti-Catholic agitation set in, and Lord John Russell, on the day before the absurd 5th of November anniversary, wrote

his public letter to fan the flame. Guy Fawkes Day, 1850, in London was such a day as had not been witnessed there since the Titus Oates plot or the excesses of Lord George Gordon's No Popery mobs of 1780. It is likely that Lord John Russell, who did not disdain thus to act the part of a Shaftesbury in putting himself at the head of a No Popery alarm, in which he probably did not believe, had in his mind the condition of things in Ireland. If so, he did the mischief he intended. From that day the Ulster non-Catholic members withdrew, and the movement was left practically in the hands of the Irish Nationalist party. The Ulster Catholics were still included in it. It is a fact, often ignored, that Catholics form almost half the population of Ulster. But the League of North and South was at an end.

CHAPTER II.

From the Disruption of the Tenant League to the end of the Century.

THE Catholic Tenant Leaguers of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught went on with their agitation for Tenant Right notwithstanding Lord John Russell's threat to introduce legislation against the assumption of titles by Catholic prelates. The Tenant Leaguers demanded what have since been known as the three F's—Fixity of Tenure, Free Sale, and Fair Rents. But many of the place-hunting members returned by Irish constituencies at the last General Election in 1847, though forced by the pressure of Irish public opinion to join the Tenant League and advocate its principles, took no interest whatever in Tenant Right and abhorred Independent Opposition. They had entered Parliament in order to advance themselves by getting appointed to places by some English Ministry. How were they to do this if they pledged themselves to support no Government which failed to grant Tenant Right? These men welcomed Lord John Russell's letter and his threat of legislation as affording the pretext for a new agitation which should swamp the Tenant Right movement.

When Parliament met for the Session of the new year, 1851, Lord John Russell, the Whig Prime Minister, introduced the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, making it penal for a Catholic prelate to assume the title of Bishop of a diocese in the United Kingdom. Although this Bill was supported by the Government Whig party, it received only a half-hearted support from Disraeli and the Protectionist wing of the Tory party. They did not care much about it. After all it was not their Bill. The Peelites or Free Trade section were actually opposed to the Bill. The principal members of this group since the death of Sir Robert Peel, in 1850, were the Earl of Aberdeen, William Ewart Gladstone, Sidney Herbert, and Sir James Graham. The last-named gentleman had been a member of Earl Grey's Liberal Reform Ministry of 1832. Gladstone and Herbert were afterwards members of a Liberal Cabinet, and the former was destined to be the most successful leader the Liberal party had in the nineteenth century. But the Irish place-hunters of the General Election of 1847 were the most active opponents of the measure. They exhausted every effort and fought it clause by clause. In this course they were applauded and admired by all the Irish Bishops and clergy and most of the Catholic laity. Only the heads of the Tenant League, Duffy, Moore, and Lucas, and a few of their followers distrusted their zeal. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill applied to Ireland as well as to England, a very ridiculous application when we consider that the titles of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland had

never been changed, that they had been officially recognized by the Government over and over again, and that there was no allegation, even by Irish Orangemen or English No Popery men, of recent "Papal Aggression" in Ireland. Still the Established Protestant Churches of England and Ireland had been made one by the Act of Union in 1800, and Lord John Russell had to include Ireland. It seemed to many Irishmen that the work of Emancipation was about to be undone, and that the new liberties of Catholics, granted little more than a score of years before, were to be taken away. Of course the Bill was passed by Parliament in a foolish fit of panic, as many anti-Catholic Bills have been since the days of Henry VIII. But the openly heroic and secretly self-seeking Irish members who opposed it became endeared to Irishmen by the self-assumed title of the Irish Brigade. They impudently borrowed the name of that famous group of regiments of Irish exiles in the service of France who, in the hundred years from the Siege of Limerick to the French Revolution, had made all Europe and America ring with their prowess. English politicians and journalists, some of whom no doubt shrewdly disbelieved in the disinterestedness of the fervour of this group of Irish members, called them the Pope's Brass Band.

The most brazen member of this band was William Keogh. He had been called to the Irish Bar, but had not distinguished himself in his profession, though not for want of talent. He was needy and unscrupulous, and having become involved in a sea of debt, saw that the only sure expedient for extricating himself from his difficulties was the profession of patriotism, the last resource in those days of an Irish barrister who wished to obtain a seat on the Bench. Political services have always counted very largely in the appointments to judgeships in Ireland. Keogh managed to secure election for Athlone in 1847 by a majority of half a dozen votes. He stood as a Peelite, the English party which did not join the No Popery agitation three years later. Athlone was one of many small boroughs in Ireland which were open to corrupt influences in elections. They were all abolished as constituencies by the Reform Act of 1884. Keogh was a most eloquent agitator, but his name has become quite notorious in Ireland owing to the unprincipled audacity of his tergiversation.

At the General Election of 1847 John Sadleir, the other great leader of the Brass Band, had been returned for Carlow, a borough even smaller than Athlone. Sadleir, originally a solicitor, had gone to London and adopted the calling of Parliamentary agent. He thus became acquainted with the financial condition of Ireland, and ultimately became a professional financier. He helped the Tipperary Joint Stock Bank, started by his brother James in his native county, an enterprise largely availed of by the farmers of the south of Ireland. He invested the deposits of this in English and foreign speculations, the East Kent Railway, the Rome and Frascati Railway, and a Swiss railway, and was appointed chairman of the London and County Joint Stock Bank. "The repute of his wealth, the extent of his influence, above all,

the worship of his success was on every lip. Whatever he took in hand succeeded; whatever he touched turned into gold."* He was a man of reserved and taciturn character and poor health, quite unlike the convivial and audacious Keogh. He had managed to have two of his cousins elected for Irish constituencies. His party consisted of about eight or nine members, some of whom were indebted to him for pecuniary assistance.

On Tuesday, the 19th of August, 1851, a great meeting was held in the Rotunda, Dublin, to protest against the Titles Act, which had just been passed, and to inaugurate a Catholic Defence Association. The chairman was the Most Rev. Paul Cullen, who had in the previous year been appointed Archbishop of Armagh; he had passed the greater part of his life in Rome as President and Professor in the Irish College. On the 2nd of April, 1852, he was elected Archbishop of Dublin by the clergy on the decease of Dr. Murray, and he was also appointed Papal Legate by Pius IX. Fourteen years later he was appointed Cardinal. His appointment as Papal Legate gave him great authority over the clergy and the Catholic Church in Ireland. At the Rotunda meeting Keogh was the principal speaker, and he made a great point by addressing Dr. Cullen as Archbishop of Armagh in spite of the Act. On the 28th of October Keogh was entertained at a banquet by his constituents in Athlone, where he extravagantly flattered Dr. M'Hale, Archbishop of Tuam, who was present. At this banquet he solemnly declared that he would support no English party—Whig, Tory, or Peelite—which did not undertake to repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Act and to grant Tenant Right. About this time Sadleir, with a part of the enormous fortune he then possessed, started a Catholic weekly paper in Dublin, to be sold at half the price of the existing Catholic weeklies, the *Nation* and the *Tablet*, which still preached distrust and disbelief in the banker and Keogh and their party. The new journal was called the *Weekly Telegraph*, and was entrusted to the editorship of William Bernard MacCabe, a Dublin journalist and author of pre-eminent ability.

In February 1852 Lord John Russell and the Whig Ministry resigned, having been defeated on a Militia Bill by a combination of some of their own party under Lord Palmerston with the Conservatives. The latter party took office with the Earl of Derby as Premier. He announced that Parliament would be dissolved in the summer. Dr. Maurice Power, a Sadleirite, who had succeeded to the vacancy in the representation of County Cork caused by the death of O'Connell, was offered and accepted office as Governor of St. Lucia. Duffy, Lucas, and the other Tenant Leaguers declared that the appointment of Power to office was but an ominous prelude to the appointment of his leaders. A

* A. M. Sullivan, *New Ireland*, p. 157. Readers of Dickens's *Little Dorrit*, in which John Sadleir figures as Mr. Merdle, will note the close resemblance of the above description to that of Mr. Merdle by Dickens. John Sadleir has also appeared in fiction as Davenport Dunn in Lever's novel bearing that title.

cousin of John Sadleir presented himself as a candidate for the vacant seat. Keogh went down to support him with his ready and fluent tongue. But the occasion of this election had filled the Cork people with doubt of the Sadleirite party. At a meeting in Cork City on the 8th of March, McCarthy Downing, afterwards Member for Cork, openly accused Keogh and his fellows of not being genuine advocates of Tenant Right. Keogh replied with extraordinary vehemence, not scrupling to finish the repetition of his pledges with the words, "So help me God!" the usual termination of the oath in a court of justice. But his was the vehemence of insincerity. His audience was naturally unwilling to believe this, and they applauded him enthusiastically.

The General Election took place in July. In Ireland the Catholic Defenders, as the Sadleirite party called themselves, were all obliged to take the Tenant Right pledge. Of this party John Sadleir and his three relatives were re-elected. So was Keogh in Athlone. John Sadleir's brother James was elected in Tipperary. Of the genuine Tenant Leaguers of 1850 it may be said that they were victorious everywhere except in Monaghan where Dr., afterwards Sir John Gray of the *Freeman's Journal* was defeated. Frederick Lucas was elected for Meath, Duffy of the *Nation* for New Ross, John Francis Maguire, the able and honest editor of the *Cork Examiner*, for Dungarvan, and George Henry Moore was re-elected for Mayo. Lucas, the founder of the *Tablet*, was an Englishman. Originally a Quaker, he had become a Catholic, and with the religion of the Irish people he had adopted a sincere sympathy for them and a desire to right their wrongs. He fought harder for Tenant Right than many a born Irish Nationalist. George Henry Moore, of Moore Hall, Co. Mayo, was a man of the greatest ability and eloquence. Although a landlord he was a sincere advocate of Tenant Right. It was a tradition in his family to support the popular cause, for his uncle had been appointed head of the short-lived republican government established in Connaught by the French after their success at Castlebar on the 27th of August, 1798. When this government fell a fortnight later, owing to the defeat and surrender of General Humbert to the Lord Lieutenant, Cornwallis, Moore's life was spared on condition of his perpetual banishment. In the General Election of 1852 Isaac Butt was returned for Youghal as a Liberal Conservative. It was the first time he sat for an Irish constituency. He had previously represented Harwich for a few months.

In the County of Westmeath Captain William Henry Magan, who stood as a Sadleirite, was opposed by Sir Richard Levinge, a Conservative landlord. Westmeath was a county where landlord oppression had been exceptionally severe, and where the Ribbon organisation, that terrible Vehmgericht for righting the wrongs of tenants was proportionately strong. So violent was this secret retaliatory war even twenty years later that in 1871 a special Coercion Act was passed for the benefit of Westmeath alone. The town of Moate, once a prosperous Quaker settlement, on the road from Dublin to Galway, is situated on the border of Westmeath and the King's County,

another county noted for the strength of the Ribbon society. Keogh made a speech in Moate, which is only a few miles from Athlone, his own constituency. The speech, which was on behalf of Captain Magan, has become historic. He reminded his hearers that in the coming winter the days would be short and the nights long. "And then," said he, "let every one remember who voted for Sir Richard Levinge!"

On the 8th of September, a few weeks after the General Election, a conference of Irish members in favour of Tenant Right was held in Dublin. There were forty members present. A resolution was adopted, with a single dissentient, that the members returned as Tenant Righters should hold themselves independent of and opposed to all governments which did not make Tenant Right a cabinet question. The one dissentient was Edmund Burke Roche, afterwards Lord Fermoy, who shared the representation of Cork County with Sadleir's cousin.

None of the three existing English parties, Whigs, Peelites, and Conservatives, had been returned by the English electors in sufficient strength to form a government. A Coalition Cabinet could alone be formed—one consisting of Peelites and Whigs. The Irish members pledged to Tenant Right were between forty and fifty in number. They had the fate of the Ministry and the fate of Ireland in their hands. If they held firmly to their pledges the new Government would be obliged, in return for their support, by which alone it could hold office, to concede Tenant Right, and repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

On the 4th of November Parliament met. On the 17th of December the Conservative Government was defeated by nineteen votes in the Commons. On the 20th Lord Derby resigned, and the Queen sent for Lord Aberdeen, a leading Peelite, to form a Government. This he did in the only manner possible, namely, by a Cabinet composed of Whigs and Peelites. Of the latter party the Cabinet included the Premier himself, Gladstone, and Sir James Graham. They had been opposed to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and had never denied the justice of Tenant Right. As regards Gladstone at least this attitude will be no surprise to readers of Irish history.

Early in January 1853 sad tidings from London became known in Ireland. Keogh and Sadleir had betrayed their trust. Keogh was made Solicitor-General for Ireland, Sadleir a Junior Lord of the Treasury. Worse still, their immediate followers, their newspaper, and even some of the clergy, defended their action. That it was altogether indefensible will, perhaps, be best shown by pointing out how extremely improbable it was that this Government would either legalize Tenant Right or repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Act without pressure from the Irish Party. One member of the Cabinet, Lord Palmerston, the Home Secretary, himself an Irish landlord, was the author of the famous maxim, "Tenant Right is Landlord Wrong." Another Cabinet Minister, the Foreign Secretary, was no less a person than Lord John Russell, the author of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. It is true that Lord John had never had the

courage to enforce the Act; but it was certain that he would be no party to its repeal, a measure to which Keogh had pledged himself over and over again. Russell's action in this matter was admirably satirised by *Punch* which caricatured him as "the boy who chalked up 'No Popery,' and then ran away."

The blow of the Keogh-Sadleir betrayal fell most heavily on the unfortunate tenants who had displeased their landlords in the preceding summer (for this was before the Ballot Act) by voting for the Tenant Right candidates. Now that there was no hope of redress for the tenant or fear of interference for the landlord, some of the latter began wholesale evictions, a most cruel political weapon, which has never been heard of in any country but Ireland.

Duffy, Lucas, and Moore appealed to the Bishops and clergy to condemn the dishonourable conduct of the once loudly protesting Catholic Defenders. Dr. MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Cantwell, Bishop of Meath, and the Bishop of Killala spoke out at once in strong condemnation of Keogh and Sadleir. But the other Bishops did not think it their duty to speak. Some of the priests took the same view. A few defended the *Weekly Telegraph's* idols, but it is probable that most of the Irish clergy nevertheless disapproved of such a brazen change of front as Keogh had just executed.

Unfortunately Keogh easily secured re-election in Athlone on accepting office. He received the support of the local Bishop, and besides this powerful aid he had a valuable auxiliary in the poverty of his constituents, whom he gratified by his lavish use of his power of nomination to Government clerkships. The sons and nephews of the Athlone voters were appointed to places in the Civil Service, tidewaiterships in the Customs and other places of this kind. Keogh made them as far as possible his allies in acceptance of office.

Sadleir was not at first so fortunate as Keogh. Although he, too, had the support of the local Bishop and some of the clergy, who resented as an intrusion a visit of Lucas and Moore to Carlow to oppose their candidate, he was defeated by John Alexander, a Conservative, by a bare half-dozen of votes. But he went to Sligo, which was vacant, as the last member returned had just been unseated for bribery. This showed that it was an ideal seat for the great capitalist, who indeed secured election by a majority of four, as afterwards appeared, by such means as appraising the suffrage of some of his supporters at the high figure of £25. But the Parliamentary Committee which established this decided also that the banker, not so wise as they, could not possibly have known of such trivial expenditures of his enormous revenue. The revelations of the Sligo Election Committee must, therefore, have burst upon him with shocking force. The borough was disfranchised with Cashel in 1870.

The Catholic Bishops believed, like O'Connell, that the appointment of Catholics to high office was most important. As for the Titles Act, there was no attempt to enforce it. All further mention of it may be dismissed by stating here that it was quietly repealed in 1871, during Gladstone's first

Premiership, by Parliament, which was probably heartily ashamed by that time that it had ever passed it. The Bishops thought, too, that Lord Aberdeen's Government would be more favourable to the Irish tenants than any other then likely to be formed. But all this does not undo the benumbing effect on the people of Ireland of the Keogh-Sadleir betrayal and its tacit approval by some of the clergy. It discouraged all hope in an Irish Parliamentary party as an effective weapon for Ireland. It made many men take to Fenianism, the last thing the clergy would have wished. The Papal Legate, Dr. Cullen, was blamed personally by Duffy, Lucas, Moore, and their followers for restraining the priests, not only of his own diocese of Dublin, but of every diocese in Ireland, from supporting the Tenant Right movement. Dr. Cullen had a not unnatural distrust of Duffy and the *Nation*, even before he returned from Rome to Ireland, which he had left as a mere boy. We know now that Duffy did not deserve this distrust. But it is not surprising that Dr. Cullen should have entertained it when we remember that Young Ireland had at one time sympathized with Young Italy, not to speak of the French Republic of Louis Blanc and of Victor Hugo. The *Nation* had at one time warmly praised Mazzini and the Carbonari, from whose spoliation during the "Roman Republic" of the Triumvirate in 1849, after Pius IX. had fled from the city to Gaeta, Dr. Cullen had been able to save the College of the Propaganda only by the timely assistance of the United States Minister. It is true that Duffy, as soon as he saw the anti-Catholic spirit of Mazzini and his associates, publicly and emphatically abandoned all support of him; but it was most unfortunate that he had ever commended him. It is not very surprising, therefore, that the honest Frederick Lucas, who was deputed by his brother Tenant Leaguers, Duffy, Moore, and the rest to go to Rome and appeal against the Legate, Dr. Cullen, should have met with little encouragement. Lucas, without receiving any decisive answer, returned to England, and died at Staines, on the 22nd of October, 1855. Duffy took an active part in the Session of 1854, in the framing of an Act conferring autonomy on the Australian colonies. On the 6th of November, 1855, a fortnight after Lucas's death, he sailed for Australia. In this new land of his adoption, for which he had abandoned Ireland, he took a prominent part in administering the Act he had helped to pass, and afterwards became Prime Minister of Victoria.

The honest Tenant League leaders had done their best. They were betrayed and they failed. It is now necessary to trace the careers of the two leading pledge-breakers subsequent to their re-election. The Irish Conservative press denounced Keogh's appointment as Solicitor-General on the ground of his notorious speech at Moate. The Dublin *Evening Mail* declared that to name him one of the Queen's Law Officers was an insult to Her Majesty. On the 10th of June the Marquess of Westmeath drew attention to the speech in the House of Lords. He quoted the incitement to murder those who voted for Sir Richard Levinge. The Ministerial speakers tried to

make light of it, but the ex-Prime Minister, Lord Derby, observed that the appointment as a Law Officer of the man who spoke such words ought not to be treated lightly, and the Earl of Eglintoun, the Viceroy of the late Conservative Government, who was Lord Lieutenant when Keogh made the speech said that he had "openly recommended assassination."

On that day week there was another debate in the Lords on the same subject. Several persons of position had written in the meantime declaring that they heard the words complained of spoken by Keogh. It was known that a constabulary reporter had been sent to the meeting. Lord Westmeath declared his absolute certainty that the report of that constable would be found on the table of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of St. Germans, if he liked to look for it. The Government representative, the Duke of Newcastle, merely produced a letter from Keogh in which he said he had no recollection of having used the words. Keogh sent also a letter from a friend, who said that he attended the meeting. Keogh's friend's convenient memory enabled him to assert, in the teeth of the evidence of all others who were present, that no such words had been used. Still the Lords were not convinced. Lord Eglintoun produced a letter from a magistrate stating that "twenty gentlemen of independence and station," who were present on the occasion, were ready to testify "on oath" to the use of the words. Lord Eglintoun summed up his speech by saying that when Mr. Keogh's speech was brought under his notice as Lord Lieutenant he little expected that the speaker would so soon have become Solicitor-General for Ireland. His last words were: "But I confess that during the whole time I was in Ireland, no words were brought to me which, in my opinion, so distinctly recommended assassination."

Keogh attempted a counterstroke to this debate by asserting that the Conservative leaders had offered him office. This was at once denied by Lord Naas, who had been Chief Secretary in the late Conservative Government, as he was twice afterwards. He is better known in history as the Earl of Mayo, who was unfortunately assassinated in 1872 in India, where he had been an unusually able and successful Governor-General. When Lord Naas demanded that Keogh should produce some proof of his statement, the latter brought forward the timely testimony of another friend of his, one Edmund O'Flaherty, whose name must soon be mentioned again. Keogh said O'Flaherty was "a gentleman of honour, veracity, and high character." But posterity will probably believe that the testimony of Lord Naas outweighs the united evidence of Keogh and O'Flaherty. Keogh's next public act would seem to show that if the Tories had really made overtures to him he would have met them more than half way. Whether they ever offered office to him or not, he proved that he was superior to subtle distinctions of political parties. When the Peelite Premier, Lord Aberdeen, resigned office early in 1855, to be replaced by the Whig, Lord Palmerston, the same course was adopted by the other members of the Government who were Peelites, the party to which Keogh avowedly belonged and which had appointed him first to office.

Amongst others Brewster, the Irish Attorney-General, thought it necessary to resign his office. Not so Keogh. He at once stepped into the Attorney-Generalship.*

Sadleir weathered the storm successfully in Sligo, where he was elected. But disaster came to him from Carlow, where he was defeated. Sadleir, like other candidates of that day, was the creditor of many a voter. The advantages of such a custom are obvious. If an insolvent voter showed any ill-timed independence on the polling day he could be sent to the Marshalsea in Dublin. Sadleir's Tipperary Bank had a branch in Carlow, through which such loans to voters were made. One Edward Dowling, who was suspected of intending to vote for Sadleir's opponent, Clayton Browne, at the General Election of 1852, had been arrested for debt on the morning of the 12th of July, the nomination day, and confined for fourteen months in the Marshalsea. In November 1853 he took an action for false imprisonment. It was proved that he had been unlawfully arrested. Sadleir was a witness, and so conflicting was the evidence that the jury had to take his word or Dowling's. They took Dowling's. After this verdict Sadleir was obliged to resign his lordship of the Treasury in January 1854. He had held it barely a year.

In the following June the public learned with dismay that Edmund O'Flaherty had just fled from imminent exposure of his dishonesty. At the time of Keogh and Sadleir's betrayal of the Tenant Right cause in January 1853 this gentleman, who was a prominent member of their party, though not a member of Parliament, received the appointment of Commissioner of Income Tax on its extension to Ireland by Gladstone, Lord Aberdeen's Chancellor of the Exchequer.† It was pretty generally known, too, that O'Flaherty had conducted the actual negotiation of the betrayal between his leaders and the Peelite chiefs. Afterwards, as we have seen, he was a useful and timely witness for Keogh in his contradiction of Lord Naas's denial that the Tories had offered office to that versatile party office-holder. Now he was gone, leaving bills in circulation, some bearing forged signatures (amongst them Keogh's), amounting altogether to about £15,000. There was no doubt that the signatures were forged. At least Keogh said his was.

When Lucas died and Duffy left Ireland Sadleir's triumph seemed complete. But he was even then on the verge of ruin. He was connected with many ventures. Not only was he directing a bank in Ireland and another in London, but he speculated largely in iron and was interested in the importation of sugar. He got up a company to exploit the sale of Irish land, the great, almost the sole asset of his native country. He found this more attractive than pleading for Tenant Right. He invested in

* A good account of Keogh's political career may be found in *A Record of Treachery, or the Political Life and Adventures of Mr. Justice Keogh*. By Mr. T. D. Sullivan.

† Ireland was relieved at the same time of £4,500,000, due to the Consolidated Fund since the time of the Famine. Gladstone made this relief his plea for imposing the Income Tax on Ireland.

English, American, and Continental railways. Many of his speculations turned out badly. Money was necessary for his schemes. At last he took to wholesale forgery of title-deeds, conveyances, and bills. Fraud, as often happens, necessitated more fraud. He was allowed to overdraw his account with the Tipperary Bank by £200,000. In the middle of February 1856 some of the drafts of that bank were dishonoured at Glyn's. This brought on the crisis at once. The news spread and there was a run on some of the branches. Next day there was an announcement that there had been a mistake, and the drafts were met. If a little money could be raised for the emergency, the difficulty might be tided over. James Sadleir telegraphed to John that all would be safe if twenty or thirty thousand pounds were sent over by Monday. This was received on a Saturday. Sadleir went to one Wilkinson to apply for money. Not only did Wilkinson refuse to advance it, but, struck by the desperation of Sadleir's manner, he sent his partner, Stevens, to Dublin to inquire about the security on which he had already lent him money. The security was one of the forged title deeds. It is evident that this start of Stevens for Dublin was a part of the news Sadleir heard from his friend Norris, a solicitor, who visited him at half-past ten that Saturday evening. They both agreed that the crash must come. On Monday the Tipperary Bank must stop payment. Norris left at half-past ten. Sadleir spent half-an-hour writing a few last letters to his friends, took a small silver tankard and placed it in his pocket with some poison he had bought early on that day. When passing through his hall he met his butler, and told him not to stay up for his return. He went out and closed the door. At that moment all the clocks of London were proclaiming the hour of midnight. It was Sunday morning. When the day began to dawn the passers-by on Hampstead Heath, the great natural terrace which looks down upon London from the north, noticed a gentleman who was apparently lying asleep. Beside him was a silver tankard, which had contained the essential oil of almonds. It was the corpse of John Sadleir, who had taken his own life.

The letters he wrote on the fatal night, as well as some words which fell from him when Wilkinson refused him the advance, showed the dreadful plight to which he had brought those who trusted him, and announced his intention of committing suicide. They disclosed to an astonished public much of the tragic history of his desperate expedients of forgery and fraud. They exhibit great remorse. But it was the tardy contrition that comes too late to the reckless gambler in speculation, whose failure involves the ruin of thousands of victims. Tipperary people, who had never previously invested in a bank, but were persuaded to try his, were ruined in hundreds. Some of them were so primitive and unsophisticated as to think their investments were actually within the buildings of the branch banks in Thurles, Tipperary, and other towns. When disabused of this idea they only realized that they were ruined; they did not know how. The large number of those ruined shareholders in the banks, railway, insurance, and other companies

with which he was connected, may be estimated when it is stated that his known defalcations two months after his death amounted to £1,250,000. By that time thousands regretted that he had ever existed, rather than that he was dead.

Twelve months, almost to the day, after the suicide of Sadleir, his brother James, who was probably as much victim as accomplice, was expelled the House of Commons for having fled before charges of fraud.

O'Flaherty absconded, Sadleir died by his own hand, but Keogh, the intimate friend of both, a greater traitor than either, was made a judge. This was only six weeks after Sadleir's death. On the 2nd of April, 1856, the day after the death of an Irish judge, Keogh was advanced to the vacant seat on the Bench. This ill-timed and much-criticized appointment was made by Lord Palmerston's Whig Government, on whose inauguration Keogh had unscrupulously secured the Attorney-Generalship when his own party, the Peelites, and their Irish Attorney-General resigned.

All this painful episode of the Brass Band, their betrayal of Ireland, the shameless success of Keogh, of whom we shall hear again in his judicial capacity, the tragic fate of his fellows, may appear to occupy a disproportionate space in this sketch. But their treachery gave a fatal set-back for a generation to Irish Parliamentary effort. The attempt of Duffy, Lucas, and Moore was the first serious endeavour to help Ireland by a pledge-bound Parliamentary party in independent opposition. When this failed a dull apathy came over the Irish people, eviction and emigration went on apace, and their offspring, Fenianism, made many converts amongst Irishmen at home, and even more amongst the millions whom misgovernment had driven to the United States.

It is a relief to turn aside from the painful history of this sad epoch to draw attention to the literary career of Thomas Moore, which had just closed with his life on the 26th of February, 1852. His *Irish Melodies*, his satirical political poems, his *Irish History*, his *Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, his *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, his *Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion*, all related to Ireland. It may be truly said that the works of Moore made the people of Ireland, their faith, their legends, their character, and their national history and aspirations, known to the world, just as the works of Goethe and Schiller about the same time were making Germany known. As to the literary merit of his poetry, it is enough to mention the opinion of Edgar Poe, a critic who was fastidiousness itself. He says Moore is not sufficiently appreciated on account of the wonderful and almost perfect workmanship of his poems. The standard of excellence is so high and so uniform as to blunt its perception by the reader.

Mention has already been made of the Queen's Colleges. These were three colleges for university teaching, situated in Belfast, Cork, and Galway, founded in 1845 by the Government of Sir Robert Peel, which resigned in the following year. Their original cost was £100,000. They began to

teach in 1849. As these colleges were constituted on the principle of no education but secular and no recognition of religion, the Irish people, under the leadership of O'Connell and their Bishops and clergy, refused to avail themselves of them. They were also disapproved of by Pope Pius IX. soon after their institution. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the Belfast College, which for the last half century has been practically the University of the Ulster Presbyterians, was the only one which attained a fair measure of success. The people of Munster and Connaught, who are almost exclusively Catholic, never resorted to the others, but the Government, from that day to this, has persisted in supporting them generously with funds, thus maintaining the traditional British policy in Irish education, to give Irishmen anything but what they want. The Irish Protestants have Dublin University, but the Irish Catholics, who are four-fifths of the population, are expected to resort to that or other institutions where, as Cardinal Newman has said, at least two branches of knowledge, theology and history, will be taught erroneously, as Catholics believe. In 1850 the three Queen's Colleges were formed into a University, the Queen's University, to which a charter was granted. The degrees, exhibitions, prizes, and examinations of this University were open to none but students of the three Queen's Colleges. This regulation was not calculated to ensure great academic efficiency even in an examining University.

Owing to the temptations held out to brilliant young Catholic Irishmen by the prizes of the Queen's Colleges, the Bishops determined that an effort must be made by Catholics themselves to provide a University since the State would provide none. In 1852, therefore, Pope Pius IX., at the suggestion of Archbishop Cullen, created the Catholic University of Ireland. It was opened at Stephen's Green, Dublin, on the 3rd of November, 1854. It was placed under the Rectorship of the most distinguished English-speaking Catholic then living, Dr., afterwards Cardinal, Newman, who some nine years before had been received into the Catholic Church, having spent all his life in Oxford. A staff of Professors, including many famous names, was appointed. For thirty years it was frequented by Catholic students, some of them the ablest men of their time. But it was crippled for want of funds, and subsisted on the generous offerings made by the heroic and sometimes pathetic efforts of the Irish people to provide out of their poverty an institution of higher education. In 1866 an attempt was made to obtain a Supplemental Charter for the Queen's University, allowing it to examine students like those of the Catholic University outside the Queen's Colleges. The Senate agreed to it, but it was prevented by an injunction of the Law Courts obtained by some graduates.* The Catholic University, however, went bravely on in spite of difficulties until a somewhat better state of things was created by the foundation in 1880 of the Royal University.

* *The Irish University Question. The Catholic Case.* By the Most Rev. William J. Walsh, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. 1897. Pp. 36 and 37.

The political condition of Ireland from the treason of Keogh and Sadleir to the outbreak of the Fenian movement in 1865 was very hopeless as regards any attempt at improving the state of the country. Most of the members of Parliament sought personal advancement only, usually not in vain. The *Nation* alone still maintained that Ireland was a separate nationality, that Irish tenants ought to be in a more secure position than that of virtual slavery, and that both these objects could only be secured by independent Irish members. Shortly after Duffy left Ireland in despair the *Nation* came under the control of Alexander Martin Sullivan, one of the most able, honourable, and eloquent Irishmen of that generation. He had become connected with the journal a few years before, and was editor until 1876, when it passed into the hands of his brother, Mr. Timothy Daniel Sullivan, the laureate of the Irish national movement. From the departure of Duffy to the rise of Butt the brothers Sullivan and the *Nation* almost alone kept up some hope in the Irish people that Parliamentary and constitutional agitation might yet effect something for Ireland. This secured for them the hostility not only of the British Government, whom the existing state of apathy, despair, eviction, and emigration suited, but also of a section of their fellow-countrymen, who never doubted their sincerity, but who believed that such opinions might deter the people from following the only road to improvement possible in their eyes, that of revolution.

The ideas of the British Government in Ireland at this time may be gathered by describing those of the most favourable specimen of its Viceroys, the Earl of Carlisle, who was Lord Lieutenant from 1855 to 1858, and again in the second Whig Government of Lord Palmerston from 1859 to 1864. Lord Carlisle had, as Lord Morpeth, been Chief Secretary from 1835 to 1841 in the friendly Melbourne Government, when Drummond was Under Secretary. He was well acquainted, therefore, with Ireland when her population numbered eight millions. He was an amiable and cultured man, a good speaker and writer, with a decided bent towards literature. He had won the Newdigate Prize for English poetry at Oxford in his youth. But his poetry took a strange turn when, as Viceroy of Ireland, in a phrase worthy of Homer, he said that Ireland was destined by nature to be "the mother of flocks and herds," and that emigration was the best thing for the country. He did not explain how flocks and herds could compensate for the wholesale disappearance of men and women and the imminent extinction of a brave and courageous nation, a calamitous process, which might have been expected to appeal to the sympathies of a man of poetical sentiment. Yet the same idea runs through all his speeches delivered during both his terms of office.*

At the end of the eighteenth century Irish Nationalists were divided into two sections, the constitutional, who regarded Henry Grattan as their

* See the Speeches, Lectures, and Poems of the Earl of Carlisle. Collected and edited by James J. Gaskin, his enthusiastic admirer.

leader, and the revolutionary, or followers of Tone. Since the debate in the Irish Confederation early in 1848, when Mitchel advocated revolution and the other leaders opposed it, Nationalists had been similarly divided. By far the larger number supported open, constitutional, and Parliamentary agitation. But there was a minority which still hoped to right Ireland by insurrection. The despair which ensued after the treacherous acceptance of office by the chiefs of the Keogh-Sadleir party gave the extreme men their chance. Two of the insurgents of 1848, whose names have been already mentioned, James Stephens and John O'Mahony, took refuge in Paris when that attempt failed. There they became acquainted with Continental revolutionists and their methods. They learned that conspiring was an essential to an insurrection, and that a start should be made by means of a secret society. O'Mahony went to America; Stephens returned to Ireland, and led an apparently quiet life in Kerry. But he was already engaged in the very serious responsibility of attempting to redress his country's wrongs by introducing into Ireland the plan of a secret and oath-bound association, a weapon which was very powerful for evil although intended for good. The Crimean War in 1854-6 and the Indian Mutiny in 1857-8 had caused Ireland to be comparatively free from the large military force usually kept there. Stephens thought the moment propitious for his purpose. He began by founding in Skibbereen the first branch of his new secret association, the Phoenix Society. In this town he found a young man at the head of the existing Phoenix Literary Society, one Jeremiah Donovan, whose name has become known everywhere since as O'Donovan Rossa, who was an eager and zealous proselyte and promoter of the Stephens policy. Many young men were sworn in in this town and in those of Bantry, Kenmare, and Killarney. The Phoenix Society did not extend beyond the south-west angle of Ireland, portions of the counties of Cork and Kerry. Strange to say, it did not meet with the approval of John Mitchel, who was then residing in the United States. As a matter of course it was opposed by the Catholic clergy, like its successor, the more formidable Fenian Brotherhood, a few years later, for the Catholic Church disapproves on principle of all secret oath-bound associations, however laudable the political object for which they are formed may appear. The *Nation*, as might have been expected, was also hostile. But in truth the Phoenix Society perished early, nipped in the bud by the usual fate of Irish political conspiracy, its betrayal by spies and informers. In December 1858 the Government made a swoop on the conspirators. There were wholesale arrests in the towns mentioned. But in the ensuing trials only one prisoner was convicted and sentenced. This was Daniel O'Sullivan, a National School teacher, who was convicted as usual by a "carefully-selected" jury in the Kerry Spring Assizes of 1858, and sentenced to ten years' penal servitude, a sentence subsequently remitted. At the first trial in Tralee, March 1858, the jury, which was not so thoroughly packed, had disagreed. It is noteworthy that the informer in this case, on whose evidence

he was convicted, bore the same name as the prisoner. This was Daniel Sullivan, called Goula, a process-server. By the advice of their friends the other prisoners pleaded guilty, on the fulfilment of certain conditions by the Government, and were liberated. Stephens, who was referred to in Gaelic in the evidence as the Hawk, was well known to have been the founder of the Phoenix Society. Its history is interesting principally because it was the beginning of Fenianism in Ireland.

In 1859 an incident occurred which brought the minds of Irishmen back to the times of the Siege of Limerick and of the Irish Brigade in the service of France. This was the victory of Magenta in Italy, gained on the 4th of June over the Austrian forces by the Franco-Irish General, Patrice Maurice de MacMahon, who was created by Napoleon III. on the field Duke of Magenta and Marshal of France. His great-grandfather was a member of an old family in the County of Clare, where the surname M'Mahon is to this day more numerous than any other. This Patrick MacMahon, who resided in Limerick and fought in the Jacobite War ending in the second siege of that city, took refuge in France like so many other Irishmen after the Treaty of Limerick. His great-grandson, the Marshal Duke of Magenta, had already been honourably distinguished in the Crimean War, where he took the Malakhoff, and in reply to the request of his chief, Pélissier, to leave it, returned the famous answer, "J'y suis, j'y reste." The Emperor upheld him in this decision, but created Pélissier Duc de Malakhoff. At Magenta MacMahon's turn came. His admirers in Ireland,* who were proud of this success of the descendant of an Irish soldier of the Siege of Limerick, subscribed a large sum of money and presented him with a sword of honour, which he accepted from the Irish deputies, Mr. T. D. Sullivan and Dr. George Sigerson, having requested the permission of the Emperor, which was given, says A. M. Sullivan, "in a very marked manner." The Franco-Irish Marshal's subsequent career is well known. He was Governor of Algiers for some years. He fought bravely but against overwhelming odds in the Franco-German War of 1870-1. Finally, in the Republic which was founded after the fall of the Empire in 1870, he was elected to the high and honourable office of President in 1873, which he filled until 1879. He died on the 17th of October, 1893.

But another warlike movement in Italy in the following year attracted more attention in Ireland. This was the threatened invasion of the Papal States from the north by the armies of King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia. His Prime Minister, Count Cavour, continued his schemes for a United Italy with his master at its head. Napoleon III. with his army had driven the Austrians from Lombardy at Magenta and Solferino. France received Nice and Savoy as the price of this, but Sardinia received the

* See *New Ireland*, p. 206. Sullivan tells us that after Magenta "bonfires blazed on the hills of Clare, the ancient home of his ancestors. His name became a popular watchword all over the island."

much larger territory of Lombardy. Venetia was surrendered by Austria to Napoleon III., who instantly handed it over to Sardinia. But Sardinia did not gain Venetia until 1866, when the Austrians sustained the crushing defeat of Sadowa at the hands of the Prussians, although at the same time the Austrians repulsed the Italians at Custozza. The annexation of Venetia in 1866 was the last step in the Sardinian King's progress to the sovereignty of all Italy except the altogether indefensible one of annexing the Pope's territory and Rome itself in 1870, on the 20th of September, when for the first time for years it might safely be done without fear of interference from France, where, on the 2nd of September, Napoleon III. had surrendered to the King of Prussia at Sedan, and on the 4th the present Republic had been established at Paris. A previous attempt to seize Rome was defeated on the 3rd of November, 1867, at Mentana, by French troops sent by the Emperor, just as Pius IX. had been restored to Rome in 1850 by the army of Marshal Oudinot sent by Louis Napoleon, then President, who became Emperor two years later.

In 1860 all the other annexations of independent States in Italy took place except the two detailed in the last paragraph, Venetia and the remnant of the Papal States, for a portion of the latter was seized in this year. This it was which brought Irishmen into the struggle. They were comparatively indifferent to the Austrian loss of territory or to the annexation of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, or Parma, or Modena, or even to Garibaldi's famous raid, which in this year abolished the ancient Kingdom of Naples, or, as it was called, of the Two Sicilies. But when it came to attacking the Pope's territories, Irishmen sent not only addresses and money to his assistance, but men also. England had for some time been sending all three to the Pope's opponents. Ireland stood out then among the nations of the earth, as she does still, for the fervour and genuineness of her devotion to the Catholic Church and its Head. Alone among the peoples of the north of Europe she remained firmly attached to the Roman Church when others fell away in the sixteenth century. She had never wavered in her Catholicity from that time, and now was the time to give practical proof of it. About two thousand Irishmen sailed to join the little army of ten thousand which the brave Frenchman, de Lamoricière, had assembled to defend the northern frontier of the Papal States. They fought unsuccessfully but bravely. The Sardinian General, Brignone, who commanded at the capture of Spoleto on the 17th of September, may be cited as one of the eulogists of their courage and determination, as well as their own commander, Lamoricière, who testifies to the bravery of the Irish at Perugia, at the decisive battle of Castelfidardo, on the 18th of September, and during the siege of Ancona, which fell on the 29th. His praise of the Irish is in striking contrast to his censure of some of the other troops under his command. The Irish soldiers of the Pope received a very warm welcome home when they landed at Cork on the 3rd of November, 1860.

The English, as has been mentioned already, were conspicuous for their sympathy with the anti-Papal Italians. The Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, was in sympathy with most European revolutionists. In 1845 Sir James Graham was severely taken to task for opening certain letters which passed through the English Post Office from Italians named Bandiera to Giuseppe Mazzini, the principal leader of the Italian Revolution. Englishmen did not show the least indignation when it was acknowledged on the same occasion that the private letters of O'Connell and other Irish leaders had been opened for years in the Irish Post Office by direction of the Government. Besides Lord Palmerston, another English public man who was quite notorious for his advocacy of Italian revolution was Earl, formerly Lord John, Russell, who offered Pius IX. a residence in Malta in 1862, which was declined as a matter of course. Earl Russell's motives for doing this may be guessed when one remembers his patronage of the No Popery cry in 1850 and his Ecclesiastical Titles Act. Gladstone became famous for his denunciations of King Bomba, as Ferdinand II. the last King of Naples but one was called. Another Liberal Minister, James Stansfeld, was even more violent as a pro-Italian, and was obliged to resign his office in the Government because of his connection with Italian revolutionists who, in 1864, conspired against the life of Napoleon III. The Earl of Ellenborough was prominent in raising active assistance for the Sardinians. Much of this feeling in England was probably a genuine sympathy with alleged oppressed nationality, which, not being Irish, might safely create a generous enthusiasm in Englishmen, but a good deal of it in regard to the Papal States was certainly dictated by Protestant prejudice of the type found in ignorant Orangemen. Mr. Justin M'Carthy notices this when speaking of the more than royal reception given to Garibaldi in London in April, 1864. The root of the tremendous enthusiasm of this ovation lay, as Mr. M'Carthy acutely points out,* in the belief that Garibaldi was in some kind of rebellion against the Pope's authority. Hence the Irish were all the more driven to adopt a diametrically opposite attitude of ardent fidelity to Rome and opposition to the allies of England. It was very hard too for Irishmen to endure the contempt and hatred expressed by English public men and journalists for the brave and generous Fenian leaders when these same Englishmen took under their enthusiastic patronage all other European revolutionists. Some of the appeals of English statesmen and journalists for Italian revolutionists were actually used by Fenian organizers as an argument for the justice and expediency of an Irish revolution against England. Readers of the works of English poets and novelists of this time, the Brownings, Dickens, the Trollopes, Wilkie Collins, and many others, will find that whenever Italy or Italians enter into the story, an ardent *Italianissimo* is a kind of demigod. He is the hero, while the villain, if not a Catholic ecclesiastic, is at least a

* *History of Our Own Times*, Vol. II., p. 214.

Catholic lay reactionary, or better still, one who has abandoned the ranks of the Italian secret revolutionary societies to become an agent of European governments. The English journalists continued to assert the right of every nation to select its own government, and the right to determine why, how, and when such selection should be made. But this was meant to apply to Italians or any continental or foreign nation oppressed by some power other than England, in fact to any nation but the Irish. They were understood to be a race apart, and to live under some quite different dispensation.

The changes of Ministry and of English parties in the ten years 1855-65, did not arouse much interest in Ireland. They meant nothing save that the Lords Lieutenant and some other high officials were changed. In 1855-8 Palmerston was Premier, the Whigs were in office, and Carlisle was Viceroy. In 1858-9 the Tories ruled with Derby as Premier and Eglintoun as Viceroy, both for the second time. In 1859-66 the Whigs were in once more, with Palmerston as Premier again until his death on the 18th of October, 1865, when he was succeeded in the Premiership by Earl Russell who went out with his party in the following year. Under this Government the first Viceroy was Carlisle again from 1859 until the close of 1864, when he retired owing to ill-health, and died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by Lord Wodehouse who on leaving office with his party in 1866, was created Earl of Kimberley, and was long a prominent member of the Liberal party. In 1861-5 the Chief Secretary was Sir Robert Peel, eldest son and successor of the Prime Minister of that name. This Chief Secretary became quite famous for his boisterous indiscretion.

Stephens's Phoenix Society appeared to all to be dead, but soon exhibited the property of the fabled Phoenix by rising again from its ashes. This was chiefly owing to the fact that it could be managed from the United States where the British Government could not reach it. Now was seen the bitter fruit of the Famine and the consequent evictions and emigrations. In America the chief was John O'Mahony, who was an Irish scholar and had translated into English the History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating, a Tipperary priest who lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth. It was O'Mahony who called the organization Fenians after the famous military force so called in ancient Ireland from their leader Fionn. Stephens, who, for the first few years, was in supreme authority over the Irish Fenians, preferred to designate the home section in Ireland the Irish Republican Brotherhood or I.R.B. The Fenians in America, who a few years later, were making raids on Canada and fitting out privateers, confined themselves at first to supplying their Irish brethren with officers, money, and arms. The supply of the last was so insufficient that the want of them may be said to have been the chief drawback all through the attempted Fenian insurrection. The Irish Bishops and priests, too, considered it their duty to oppose the spread of Fenianism, as it came under the head of those secret societies for subverting established authority which are all condemned by the Catholic Church. It was on account of its

being a secret society that the Irish clergy were antagonistic to Fenianism; for the bishops and priests of Ireland have over and over again given the most practical support by influence, speech, and subscription, to all open movements for the independence or good of their country. Besides the clergy the majority of Irish lay Catholic Nationalists refused to take part in the Fenian movement. They were unable to approve of its methods, and many who would have welcomed total separation from England, the avowed object of the Fenians, did not believe it to be practicable. Englishmen should take note that the force which kept Fenianism alive was the bitter hostility to England of the Irish in America who had been driven thither by British misgovernment, and the bitterer hostility of their children who had been born there. Exiled Irishmen and their sons were the most anti-English of all Irishmen. 1847 produced 1867.

But a greater danger to the Fenian Brotherhood than the want of arms or the opposition of the clergy or of the *Nation*, or of John Martin, Smith O'Brien, John Blake Dillon, or any constitutional Nationalist, was the presence of spies and informers. There were not only weak men in the organisation, who, to save their own lives or liberties, betrayed their associates through timidity or cowardice on the first word of danger or Government interference; there were also base men, of whom the world can supply a sufficiency for every such emergency, who deliberately adopted the calling of spies, men who were insensible to the dishonour of such a calling and only alive to its easily earned emoluments. Readers of the works of Madden and Fitzpatrick will remember how the industry and research of those writers have unearthed the secret records of the Government in 1798, and published to an astonished posterity the details of the treason not only of known and open informers, but also of some who went to their graves unsuspected and were regarded to the last as staunch patriots. Such a one was Leonard M'Nally, and in the history of Fenianism such a one plainly would have been the English spy, Thomas Miller Beach, who, as Major Le Caron, was high in the confidence of the Fenian leaders in America for a quarter of a century and also in that of his own native Government's Secret Service. He chose to avow himself at the *Times* Commission of 1888-9, but would apparently have remained undetected by his associates but for this avowal. As the honest and patriotic men in the United Irish Society were victims who had all along been at the mercy of such men as M'Nally, Samuel Turner, Magan, Reynolds, Armstrong, M'Gucken, Cockayne, and informers of a lower grade like Jemmy O'Brien; so the honest and patriotic members of the Fenian Brotherhood—and the great majority were honest and patriotic—were all along at the mercy of Pierce Nagle, Talbot, Beach, Corydon, Keogh, M'Gough, and several others. Talbot was a head constable in the Irish Constabulary, who of set purpose became a spy. In this capacity he became involved in, and doubtless stimulated, a conspiracy amongst some Irish soldiers who were Fenians to deliver up to that body an

arsenal at Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary. Talbot in due time disclosed the plot to his official superiors and paymasters, and appeared in the witness-box against his former associates, whom of course he had intended all along to betray. They were convicted and sentenced. It was regarded by the Irish people as a very heinous feature in Talbot's conduct that he pretended to be a Catholic, which he was not, to obtain the confidence of his victims, who were. It was even asserted that he had approached the sacraments of the Catholic Church, a great profanation for one who did not believe in them. He admitted in the witness-box that he had struck out the prayer for the Queen from the Catholic prayer-book he was using in order to show the others the extremity of his republican sentiments. He was mortally wounded by a shot in North Frederick Street, Dublin, on the night of the 11th of July, 1871, meeting at last with that fate which day and night must haunt the thoughts of every man who has become publicly known to have followed his ignoble calling. His death probably caused as little real regret to his employers as did that of Jemmy O'Brien, the informer of 1798, who was hanged for murder, and found that the authorities whom he had so often obliged would not lift a finger to avert his doom, but were almost undisguisedly gratified at his disappearance. When such men cease to be useful they become troublesome, as the Whig Government of Ireland in 1848 discovered when Birch, the infamous journalistic black-mailer, having extracted from them as much as they were willing to give, exposed to all the world their secret connection with him in an action to recover more hush-money. But the number of spies and informers who have fallen victims to the vengeance of their former associates is small when compared to those who have not, and the undetected and unsuspected traitors, the ablest and most dangerous class, need evidently have no fear of such a fate. We know now that such men existed in 1798, and we may presume that they did in 1865-7. It is also an obvious but essential defect in all conspiracies that those who are erroneously suspected or believed to be traitors, are quite as likely to perish by the vengeance of their fellows as those who are really so.

But the ardent and enthusiastic Fenians, most of whom were young men, went on with their designs undeterred by such considerations. These designs received a most powerful impetus from the outbreak of the great Civil War in the United States. In November, 1860, Abraham Lincoln, an avowed advocate of the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, was elected President by the Republican Party, which had been long out of office. The retiring President, James Buchanan, belonged to the Democratic Party, which was strong in the South. In consequence of Lincoln's election, and before his inauguration as President on the 4th of March, 1861, eleven of the Southern States seceded from the Union in rapid succession and set up a separate republic. These eleven were South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia (except the western

portion), Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina. The new republic was called the Confederate States of America, and they elected Jefferson Davis as their President. This act at once brought about the great war, which raged for the four years 1861-5 with varying fortunes, but ended in the defeat of the South, the abolition of slavery, and the reunion of all the States. The large Irish population in America took a prominent part in the war. One of the ablest of the Northern generals, Philip Sheridan, was son of a Cavan emigrant. In later years he became Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army. The Irish, like the rest of the population, usually went with their States. As most of the Irish were settled in New York and other Northern States, they were principally found on the side of the victorious North. There was an Irish Brigade under the command of Thomas Francis Meagher, the '48 leader, which distinguished itself in the Federal or Northern Army in many battles, particularly in the capture of Fredericksburgh. But there was also a famous Irish Brigade led by Patrick Cleburne in the service of the Southern States, which made so long and so brave a struggle against overwhelming odds. John Mitchel, who had settled in Tennessee, also supported the South, and two of his sons were killed fighting for it. He was perfectly sincere in this, as in all his actions, though it seemed strange to many of his countrymen that a man of his principles should be found on the side of negro slavery. But the great importance of the war, in connection with Fenianism, was that it familiarized so many of the exiled Irish to the use of arms, to a soldier's life, and to the experience of real warfare. Thousands of these exiled Irishmen only waited the close of the Civil War to strike a blow for Ireland. Consequently O'Mahony's and Stephens's project of enrolling Irish-Americans as Fenians met with an altogether unexpected success.

Another circumstance proved a great accidental aid to the Fenian leaders. Terence Bellew M'Manus, the '48 leader, had, as already mentioned, escaped in 1851 from imprisonment in Tasmania and settled in San Francisco. He died there early in 1861, and some months later the proposal was made that his remains should be brought back across America and the Atlantic and reinterred in Ireland. The project was enthusiastically taken up, especially by the Fenian leaders, who made this demonstration an occasion for enrolling many Irishmen both in America and at home. The body reached Ireland on the 30th of October, and was interred in Glasnevin, Dublin, on Sunday, the 10th of November, attended by an immense procession which traversed the principal streets of Dublin. One reason for this great demonstration was that Archbishop Cullen, who knew what was going on secretly with reference to the use of this funeral as an opportunity for recruiting for Fenianism, had refused to allow the use of any church in his diocese for the lying in state of the body. His experiences of the Mazzinians in Italy as well as the principles of his Church had created in him a profound distrust of all secret societies and revolutionary movements.

In November 1863, Stephens, the chief of the Fenians at home, established the *Irish People* as the Fenian organ in the Irish press. It seems strange that an avowedly secret movement should have courted such a public development. As will be seen, the staff of this newspaper was, as a matter of course, utilized by the Government as a place for planting at least one prominent spy. While the *Irish People* lasted it was a good indicator of the exact strength of the movement and of the districts where the movement was most powerful. The south of Ireland was its chief home, as it had been its cradle. There were many reasons for this. Munster had suffered very largely by the famine and the evictions, and had contributed most largely to the emigration. Besides this the Munster people are physically the finest in Ireland, and are moreover naturally disposed to come to the front in any active or military movement. In general the Fenian movement was stronger in the large cities like Dublin and Cork than in the rural districts. All large country towns, especially those which were, even in a small way, industrial centres, contained many Fenians. The great majority of the Fenians were young men. The Government was not likely to be uninformed on these points, and the Fenian organ must have unintentionally furnished it with valuable information. As a literary exponent of revolution in Ireland the *Irish People* was conducted with great ability, and Stephens had secured the services of some men whose talents were a great help to his propaganda. Mr. John O'Leary, who is still happily amongst us, and whose ability and sincerity are acknowledged and admired by all Irish Nationalists, was the editor-in-chief of the *Irish People*. Mr. O'Leary is a native of Tipperary town, was qualified as a physician, and had resided in both France and America before this time. His principal colleagues were Luby and Kickham.

Thomas Clarke Luby, also a native of Tipperary, was a Protestant and nephew of a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. He had been a follower of Mitchel in 1848, and had been engaged since that time in journalism and teaching. Like Tone, Emmett, Davis, Smith O'Brien, and many others, he had left the ranks of the Ascendency and practically renounced his early connections, to devote himself to what seemed to him the best course for securing the independence of his country.

Charles Kickham was, perhaps, the ablest writer amongst the Fenians, and is certainly the most famous. A native of Mullinahone, Co. Tipperary, he was originally intended for the medical profession. But this intention had to be relinquished owing to an unfortunate accident which he met with in his youth, an explosion of the gunpowder in his flask, which seriously affected both his hearing and his sight. He then took to literature, which was his proper calling. He was perhaps the ablest writer who has ever appeared in Ireland of peasant ballads, of that class which by their exquisite simplicity go direct to the hearts of the people. He was no less felicitous as a novelist and story-teller, and his *Knocknagow*, with its masterly delineation

tion of the people of his native county, his infinitely pathetic *Sally Cavanagh*, or the *Untenanted Graves*, and his *For the Old Land*, with other shorter stories in magazines, not all of which have been republished, may be pointed to as a proof that he was one of the most truthful and dramatic writers who ever described Irish life. Sir Charles Duffy rightly classes him with Gerald Griffin, Banim, and Carleton, and he had some qualities not to be found in any of these. Kickham was a man of most amiable character, and was generally esteemed and beloved, even by those of his countrymen who did not approve of his political opinions. The unmerited suffering which he, with other Fenian prisoners, underwent in English prisons excited more indignation in his case probably than in any other.

Another brilliant writer who was a Fenian was John Boyle O'Reilly. He was born in 1844 at Dowth Castle on the Boyne, Co. Meath, where his father was a National School teacher. While still very young he became a journalist at Preston, Lancashire. In 1863 he enlisted in a cavalry regiment quartered at Dublin with the object of gaining over its members to Fenianism. So extensively and successfully was this part of the Fenian propaganda carried on that in 1866 most of the regiments quartered in Ireland were found to be affected by it, and were hastily transferred to England. O'Reilly was arrested on the 13th of February, 1866, tried by court-martial for mutiny, convicted, and sentenced on the 9th of July to be shot, which sentence was afterwards commuted to twenty years' penal servitude. When he had served about three years of his sentence O'Reilly escaped, by the help of an Irish priest, the Rev. Patrick M'Cabe, from the convict settlement in West Australia, and, after many adventures, succeeded in reaching America. A few years later he went with others on the ship *Catalpa* on a successful expedition to rescue other Irish Fenian prisoners in West Australia. His volume of poems entitled *Songs from Southern Seas* appeared in 1873, and his powerful romance *Moondyne*, describing West Australia, in 1879. In the United States O'Reilly's sentiments towards the Catholic Church underwent a great change. Originally like many Fenians he had been, although a Catholic, partially hostile to it on account of its condemnation of secret societies and opposition to revolution, but afterwards became, as editor of the *Boston Pilot*, a lay defender of the faith. Twenty years earlier Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee had undergone a similar metamorphosis. Having succeeded in making his escape from arrest when the Government made its swoop on the Young Ireland leaders, M'Gee, who had been engaged in attempting to raise an insurrection amongst the Irish in Scotland, continued after he reached the United States to use his rare gifts as a writer and speaker in a rather unfriendly manner to the Catholic Church, of which he was a member. This was but a continuation of the attitude of some of the Young Ireland leaders, who, impatient of O'Connell's ardent and militant Catholicism, had actually gone so far as to eulogize Sir Robert Peel's new scheme of the Queen's Colleges. But M'Gee, after some

experience of life in the United States and of the Know-Nothing movement of 1853-4, came to the conclusion that the Catholic Church was the greatest force for good in the world, and determined ever after loyally to support it. This determination he firmly adhered to until his untimely death. Life in the United States made as earnest a Catholic of O'Reilly as of M'Gee. As a poet and essayist O'Reilly's works exhibit the greatest literary power, and in his case too, like M'Gee's, a promising literary career was cut short by a premature death.*

Having given this account of the literary side of Fenianism it now becomes necessary to give an account of it as an active insurrectionary movement.

The most prominent Irishmen of that larger body of Nationalists, which did not wish to employ revolutionary methods, at the time of the beginning of the Fenian movement, were Smith O'Brien, John Martin, and John Blake Dillon, who had been leaders of Young Ireland, A. M. Sullivan, who conducted the *Nation*, George Henry Moore, of the Tenant Right movement, and The O'Donoghue, then a young man, lately elected to fill the place in the representation of Tipperary caused by the expulsion of Sadleir's brother. The O'Donoghue was grandnephew of the Liberator and representative of an ancient clan in Kerry; he was eloquent, talented, of a fine presence, and a great popular favourite. Stephens did not like the influence wielded by those leaders. He thought constitutional Nationalism a weakness and a danger to his plans. Consequently, in the first few years of Fenianism the leaders showed more hostility to the men who followed O'Connell's political doctrine of moral force than to the Government, the common enemy of both. After the failure of the Fenian attempts in 1865 and 1867 many Fenians adopted a very different course, and, having grown older and presumably wiser, were glad to throw in their lot with the majority of their countrymen. Thus Michael Davitt became the founder of the Land League; Patrick Egan and Thomas Brennan its treasurer and secretary respectively. Thus many ex-Fenians such as James O'Kelly, James Francis Xavier O'Brien, James O'Connor, James Lysaght Finegan, John O'Connor Power, John Barry, Keyes O'Clery, Matthew Harris, Joseph Nolan and others afterwards became Members of Parliament and identified themselves with open agitation.

* The manner of his death bore a singular resemblance to that of the other able Irish writer, Halpine, who had died in New York twenty-two years earlier. O'Reilly died at Boston in 1890 of an overdose of chloral which he was taking as medicine. Charles Graham Halpine was son of a Protestant rector in Meath, where he was born in 1829. His father was also editor of the *Dublin Evening Mail*. The younger Halpine settled in the United States, served in the Civil War with distinction, and afterwards became a journalist in New York. He wrote many humorous poems of great ability, which he gave to the world as the work of Private Miles O'Reilly, an Irish soldier of the Federal Army. He died in 1868 of an overdose of chloroform, which he was in the habit of taking as an opiate.

The Government had information of the spread of Fenianism, but did not think that the moment for arresting the leaders had arrived. The fullness of time was brought about by the close of the war in America and the consequences of this to Fenianism as well as by an accidental piece of information which it acquired through the efforts of one of its spies. On the 9th of April, 1865, the Southern Commander-in-Chief, General Lee, surrendered to the Northern, General Grant, at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia. Shortly afterwards the Southern, Johnston, surrendered to the Northern, Sherman, who had completed his devastating march through Georgia, and the great War was practically over. The regiments were disbanded in June. Many were largely composed of Irishmen, and one famous regiment was practically altogether Irish and strongly Fenian too, the Sixty-ninth New York, whose colonel, Michael Corcoran, was one of the most prominent Fenian leaders in America. Many brave and intelligent officers, eager to strike a blow for their own country, hastened to Ireland. One of these, Brigadier-General Millen, came to Dublin to act as Commander-in-Chief. From France came Cluseret, afterwards a Paris Communist in 1871, and from Italy arrived Fariola. There was little real secrecy in all these movements. Besides, as will be seen presently, one of Stephens's trusted subordinates, and not the only one, as was shown in 1867, was supplying the Government with information about the really secret business in return for Secret Service money, which he had been receiving for over a year. This was Pierce Nagle, who was employed as a folder in the *Irish People* office, and often sent by Stephens on confidential missions.

On Friday, the 8th of September, 1865, Nagle took from the pocket of an envoy of the South Tipperary Fenian Head Centres, who had fallen asleep in the newspaper office, a letter addressed to those chiefs by Stephens, which the messenger was to bring back to Clonmel. Of course, it never reached its destination, for Nagle handed it to the police. Nagle's treacherous act had momentous consequences. On the evening of Friday, the 15th of September, the Government of Lord Wodehouse struck its blow against the Fenians. On that day a Privy Council was held at the Castle. The police reports as to the arrival of Irish-American officers, of remittances of money, of nocturnal drilling, especially in Dublin, were laid before it, but above all Stephens's letter to the Tipperary Fenians which Nagle had abstracted. The letter declared that "this year must be the year of action," and that the "flag of the Irish republic must this year be raised." A post-script from "J. Power" (Stephens) declared that the letter was to be read for the working Bs. only and afterwards burned.

When the letter had been read Lord Wodehouse and the Council determined to strike at once. The authorities all over Ireland were instructed by telegraph to make a simultaneous swoop on all known Fenians, particularly the chiefs, at ten that night. This was done. In less than twenty-four hours all prominent Fenians were in custody. In Dublin the police, besides seizing

the type and current number of the *Irish People* in a raid on the office, No. 12 Parliament Street, at half-past nine at night, arrested Luby, John O'Leary, O'Donovan Rossa, and nearly all the chiefs of the movement. But Stephens was not yet in custody. On that night he was at the house of one Denneffe in Denzille Street, giving interviews to his followers and actively promoting the business of the conspiracy. Mr. James O'Connor, now M.P. for West Wicklow, then manager of the *Irish People*, came there, waited his turn for entering the Central Organizer's room, and told of the seizure of the paper and the arrests. Stephens rushed out and told the news to the other Fenians in the house. Of course Nagle, who was present, seemed the most astounded and the most deeply grieved.

For nearly two months Stephens remained at large. He was living at Fairfield House, Sandymount, near Dublin. The house is a quiet suburban residence near a retired and picturesque bridge over the River Dodder. The road beside the house is called Herbert Road, from the surname of the Earl of Pembroke, who is proprietor of the district. Stephens affected no disguise, but lived there as Mr. Herbert, borrowing the name, no doubt, either from the road or the noble owner. But on the 9th of November his wife was traced home to the house from the city by female spies, and on the next evening Stephens was arrested along with Kickham, Brophy, and Duffy, the last being the chief of the Connaught Fenians. The police found in the house a large sum of money and a good stock of provisions. The place was plainly a refuge. The Fenian chiefs had evidently intended to remain there some time.

Nagle had been arrested after he left Denzille Street on the 15th of September. The farce of treating him as a rebel and a prisoner was kept up for a few days; but when one day he appeared in the witness-box instead of in the dock and told all he knew of his associates, who had trusted him, everybody saw what a hopeless position they were in. Nagle appeared against Stephens, too, but, as will be seen, all the legal proceedings against Stephens, who was committed for trial on the 15th of November, were destined to be futile. On the night of the 24th of November he escaped from Richmond Bridewell, Dublin, once the prison of O'Connell, now a barrack. He was confined along with his associates, Luby, O'Leary, Kickham, and Rossa, in a separate row of cells, but his door was unlocked at midnight, and he was brought out and helped to scale the wall by two of the prison officials, Breslin and Byrne, who were sworn members of the Fenian Brotherhood. A duplicate key from a wax impression had been manufactured by Michael Lambert, a Dublin Fenian. The escape caused the Government great consternation. After three months Stephens, who had been concealed in a house in Kildare Street, and also in that of a poor widow named Butler in Summer Hill, both in Dublin, escaped from near Skerries in a lugger, which brought him to France, just as Hamilton Rowan, the United Irishman, had done about seventy years earlier. A

reward of £1,000 had been offered by the Government for the recapture of Stephens.

A Special Commission for the trials of the Fenians sat at Dublin from the 27th of November, 1865, to the 2nd of February, 1866. At this Commission thirty-six persons were convicted or pleaded guilty. Thomas Clarke Luby was tried first, and on the 1st of December convicted and sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude. He was defended by Isaac Butt, but no forensic skill availed against the evidence of the two *Irish People* office informers, Pierce Nagle and Patrick Power, and of a commission from Stephens found in Luby's house. This document appointed Luby, O'Leary, and Kickham a triumvirate to govern the Irish Fenians during Stephens's absence. On the 6th John O'Leary was convicted and also sentenced for twenty years. On the 7th Michael Moore, who had manufactured pikes for the Brotherhood, received ten years. On the 9th John Haltigan, the printer of their newspaper, and also very active in the drilling, received seven. On the 12th O'Donovan Rossa was sentenced to penal servitude for life, as he had been concerned also in the Phoenix Conspiracy. Mr. James O'Connor, now M.P. for West Wicklow, was sentenced for seven years. These sentences were subsequently remitted after a few years and the prisoners released owing to the exertions of Irishmen in the Amnesty movement. One of the most painful circumstances about those sentences was that most of them were inflicted by Mr. Justice Keogh, who had, extraordinary as it may seem, been selected by the Government to preside at trials for political conspiracy, although he had become quite notorious for his historic incitement of the Westmeath Ribbonmen to midnight assassination. Since he had been raised to the bench he had lost no opportunity of being as offensive as he could to all who held the opinions, the vehement profession of which had made him worth buying. It was hard for Irishmen, however much they disagreed with Fenian methods, to see brave, honourable, and patriotic men sent to prison by this unprincipled ex-demagogue. So many Irishmen would never have adopted Fenian principles if his treachery had not created in them a despair of Parliamentary and open political struggle. Keogh exhibited a personal animus against some of the prisoners, for the *Irish People* had often held him up to the scorn which he deserved.

Stephens gave out that 1866 was to be the year of action, yet it passed by without any attempt at insurrection. After this time the Fenians lost confidence in him and the control of the movement passed from his hands and O'Mahony's into those of others.

In the summer of 1866 Earl Russell's Whig Government resigned and was succeeded by a Conservative Government which held office for two years. For the first year and a half Lord Derby was Premier, this being his third tenure of the office, but during the rest of this Ministry's term of office the Premier was Benjamin Disraeli, the clever Jewish politician who had become by sheer unaided ability the leader of the Conservative party. The Lord Lieutenant

was the Marquess of Abercorn, a great Ulster landlord who, on leaving office in 1868, was created a duke. This Government passed a Reform of the Franchise Act for England in 1867, and one for Ireland in 1868. By this Act the franchise was conferred in boroughs on the occupiers of all houses rated for relief of the poor, and on lodgers who paid £10 a year or more. In counties holders and occupiers, whose holding was at least £5 a year in value and £12 a year in rent, received the franchise.

Early in 1867 the Fenians in Ireland determined to make an attempt at insurrection by their own efforts. At a secret council held in Dublin the 12th of February was fixed for the rising. A day or two before this date it was decided to postpone it to the 5th of March. But the countermand failed to reach in time the distant district of West Kerry, once the home of O'Connell. The Fenians of Cahirciveen marched out on the night of the 12th, but found that no others were assembling at Killarney, and so dispersed to their homes. But the incident caused great alarm for a time. On the same day a much more daring attempt was planned by the Dublin and Liverpool Fenians. The exiled Irish in England had many Fenians in their ranks. It was decided by M'Cafferty and Flood to attack Chester Castle, which was said to contain 20,000 stand of arms, and to be held by a mere handful of soldiers. The day fixed was Monday, the 11th of February. The plan was the extremity of audacity. It was to seize the arms, cut the telegraph wires, seize the trains also, and send on men and arms to Holyhead. When there they were to capture all the steamers in port and sail into Dublin before the news of this daring feat could have reached it. Numbers of Fenians from the Lancashire towns were seen to come into Chester by the trains that day. But the authorities had received information from one of five Fenian chiefs, who were alone cognizant of all the details of the rising in Ireland and England. This spy bore the classic name of Corydon. He was not, however, a faithful shepherd, having been long a Secret Service hireling. This fact was so little suspected by the Fenians that he was, as has been said, one of their chiefs and thoroughly acquainted with all their plans. Like the spy Nagle, who was, however, of much inferior standing in the Fenian ranks, Corydon was most implicitly trusted by Stephens and by all the other Fenian chiefs. He had served in the American Civil War. According to his own account at the trials in 1867 he began his career of treachery in September, 1866. He used to carry dispatches between Stephens in Ireland and O'Mahony in America. He held a high place at the secret council at which the details of the attack on Chester Castle were arranged. He instantly brought the news to the Chief Constable of Liverpool. The guards on Chester Castle were doubled. Troops arrived in special trains. The Fenians, seeing that some leader had betrayed them, abandoned the attempt. Those from Lancashire returned by the trains. The Dublin contingent, a large one, took train and boat. The moment they reached the North Wall they were arrested and brought to Kilmainham Gaol.

On the morning of the 5th of March the projected rising took place, but only in a few districts of Ireland. In Kerry, as we have seen, it had been premature. But in all the other counties of Munster, in Dublin, and in Drogheda, attempts at insurrection were made. The projected details of this rising, believed by those who took part in it to be a profound secret, were all well known to the Government through Corydon, who knew and told everything. When the insurgents saw all too plainly that their betrayal must have been the work of one of their own leaders, they became utterly disheartened. No display of military force could have been more effective than this discovery, for the Fenians did not want for courage, as the rising showed, although their supply of arms was woefully deficient. Many of the Fenians of Munster were to have assembled at Limerick Junction Station on the Great Southern Railway, a short distance from the town of Tipperary. Brigadier-General Godfrey Massey, whose real name was Patrick Condou, and who had served with distinction in the American Civil War, and was then in Cork, was to take the command. But when he reached Limerick Junction at midnight before the 5th of March, he was instantly seized by four detectives with loaded revolvers. The platform was occupied by soldiers. Massey fainted. He was brought a prisoner to Dublin. At the trials a month or six weeks later he appeared as an approver. His explanation of this very unexpected step on his part was that he perceived that some one of the most trusted chiefs of the insurrection must have been a traitor. Of course, this was Corydon, but Massey did not yet know he was a spy. Massey said that he formed the opinion then that it was better to reveal all, and so stop an insurrection in which he and many others were merely the victims of the Government and its spies.

The Junction was occupied by troops and Massey was a prisoner. So ran the news through the South of Ireland on the morning of the day fixed for the insurrection. This news practically prevented any organized and united rising of the Munster Fenians, as it was evidently intended that it should. Yet there were conflicts in several districts of that province and outside it. In Dublin, in Drogheda, in Cork, in Kilmallock, in Tipperary attempts were made in which great bravery was displayed against overwhelming odds, but there was a poor supply of arms and the result was a foregone conclusion. In Dublin hundreds of Fenians left the city to meet at Tallaght, at the foot of the mountains a few miles south of the metropolis. But the Government, apprised by Corydon of their intention, had already sent soldiers and police thither. The first Fenians to arrive attacked the police barrack. The police fired. Two were killed, many were wounded, and the Fenians dispersed. The only success they had was gained by a party of Fenians marching from Rathmines, commanded by Patrick Lennon, who captured two police barracks at the foot of the mountains, Stepside and Glencullen. They disarmed the police but did not injure them. Some of the Fenians cut the telegraph wires, too, in South County Dublin. When the members of the I. R. B. saw that their plan had been betrayed many tried to escape through the Wicklow Mountains or

the county of Kildare, but were pursued and captured by parties of cavalry sent there by Lord Strathnairn, who was then Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. He is said to have advised the authorities to allow the Fenians to leave the city, as it was better to deal with the insurrection in the country than in Dublin. But the great majority of the Fenians attempted to return to Dublin, which could only be done by crossing the Grand Canal, which separates Dublin from the southern suburbs. On the bridges hundreds were arrested, as also were many in the country. One reason why so many sought to re-enter the city was that the weather was abnormally severe. A snowstorm of phenomenal violence set in that night all over Ireland, and continued for five days until the snow lay in some places, such as the hills and mountains near Tallaght, as much as four feet deep. Many of the unfortunate insurgents fell victims to the severity of the weather in the Tallaght hills; the troops, of course, suffered too, but they were better provided with shelter.

The most serious attempt at insurrection was made in the city and county of Cork. In some places the rails of the Great Southern Railway were torn up. At Midleton Daly, the Fenian leader, was killed in the conflict with the police. Many Fenians, one of the leaders of whom was the late James Francis Xavier O'Brien, left Cork to attempt an insurrection at a place outside the city. They displayed great courage but were poorly provided with arms, and ultimately had to desist. In spite of the Limerick Junction failure many attacks were made on police barracks in the south. There was a sharp conflict at Castlemartyr, Co. Cork. The police were worsted in some places and their barracks captured, although in the majority of cases they defended themselves successfully. One Fenian leader in Cork, Lomasney, who was called Captain Mackay, attained great celebrity for his courage and determination. He captured the police barrack at Ballyknockane, near Cork, and treated his prisoners honourably and humanely. Even after the failure of the insurrection he remained at large with some of his followers for many months, and on the 27th of December, 1867, a daring exploit of his band made a great noise. This was nothing less than the seizure of arms in a Martello tower at Fota. He was arrested on the 7th of February, 1868, and sentenced on the 20th of March to twelve years' imprisonment, but was released after a shorter period owing to the efforts of the Irish Amnesty Association.

The most serious individual conflict in the attempted Fenian rising in 1867 occurred at Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick. On the evening of the 4th of March, the eve of the day fixed for the projected insurrection, the police arrested William Henry O'Sullivan, afterwards member for Co. Limerick, one of the most popular and respected gentlemen in that district. As Mr. O'Sullivan was not a member of the Fenian Brotherhood, this arrest was regarded as an act of wanton injustice and excited great indignation. This resentment took a very practical form when two hundred Fenians, early on the morning of the 5th, took possession of the town. The police, fourteen in number, retreated to their barracks. The Fenians, al-

though aware that Limerick Junction was held by troops and that Massey was a prisoner, forthwith commenced a siege and a vigorous fusillade on the barracks. Many of them went through the town searching the houses for arms. The honourable character of the Fenian insurgents was strikingly displayed on this occasion. The most rigorous respect was shown for private property. The search for arms included, amongst other houses, two banks, each containing a large sum of money. Not a penny of this was interfered with. A sum of £10, however, found in a letter on a captured police orderly by a contingent from Bruree, was at once confiscated, for this money was regarded as the property of the Government, and, therefore, lawful prize. The conflict went on for three hours until, at ten o'clock, a party of armed police from Kilfinane arrived on the scene and raised the siege by attacking the besiegers from behind. In this severe encounter several of the Fenians were killed, including one who was quite unknown in Kilmallock. The police escaped almost without any loss, as they fought under cover.

There were some attempts in Tipperary also. But there was no adequate preparation and there was a great insufficiency of arms. Many were arrested, including the leader, Thomas Francis Burke, also one of Corydon's numerous victims. In this county as in all the others the Fenians displayed the greatest courage and endurance, as was acknowledged by Lord Strathnairn, who was principally responsible for the military movements necessary to meet the attempts at insurrection.

A Special Commission to try the Fenian prisoners opened at Dublin on the 9th of April. At this Commission Corydon appeared in his true colours as the principal Crown witness against his long-destined victims. He showed the most complete acquaintance with all the ramifications of the conspiracy both in England and Ireland. This was not to be wondered at considering his exalted position in the Fenian organisation and the confidence his associates had reposed in him. With the assistance of the minor informers, Keogh and M'Gough, he succeeded in handing over the brave and unfortunate men who had trusted him to the rigours of penal servitude in English prisons, where they were treated in many cases with an exceptional severity and even cruelty never bestowed on the murderer and the burglar.

At this Commission Burke, the Tipperary leader, and Doran were convicted of high treason, and were, on the 1st of May, sentenced to death. So were six others. This sentence was commuted on the 26th to one of penal servitude for life; but the prisoners were released, like most of the Fenians, owing to the exertions of the Amnesty Association. Amongst the other Fenian prisoners sentenced to death for high treason were James Francis Xavier O'Brien, and by court-martial John Boyle O'Reilly; but the capital sentence was not carried out in the case of any Fenians sentenced except those who were tried in connection with the Manchester rescue and

the Clerkenwell explosion. There were as many as two hundred and thirty Fenians indicted at the Dublin Commission opening on the 9th of April, 1867, of whom some, like Captain John M'Cafferty and M'Clure, were convicted of treason and sentenced to death, and many others of treason felony, the majority on Corydon's evidence. In Limerick the trial of another party of Fenians began on the 11th of June. Many were convicted and sentenced in July and August.

On the 12th of April, 1867, a party of Irish-American Fenians left New York for Ireland to assist the insurrection. They sailed in the *Jacknell*, which was laden with arms. The principal leaders were Warren and Costello, who had served as officers on the Federal side in the American Civil War. On Easter Sunday, the 29th of April, they renamed their vessel the *Erin's Hope*. They reached Sligo Bay on the 20th of May, and soon were informed of the failure of the insurrection, but were advised by their friends to try to land the arms on the southern coast. After evading for a long time the Government gunboats, the officers of which had heard of their arrival, they were at length obliged to land in the middle of June at Helvick Head, near Dungarvan, owing to want of food and water. A coastguard lookout observed their landing, and they were arrested. The Government authorities did not for a long time know with certainty what their object was, but when they had been some weeks in Kilmainham Gaol, Dublin, one of their number named Buckley revealed all to the authorities, and they were tried at the Dublin November Commission, 1867, along with some other prisoners who had been engaged in the attempt in March. An important legal point was raised on these trials. An American citizen, Nagle, was released. Colonel John Warren, although a native of Cork, was a naturalized American citizen. Captain Augustine Costello was in the same position. As citizens of another country they demanded a mixed jury of British and American citizens; but this was refused to them, as the British law then maintained that no British subject can divest himself of his allegiance. Although the American Government refused to assist the prisoners, it was obliged to maintain their contention, for the citizens of the United States are very largely composed of former subjects of Great Britain and other European countries. Ultimately Great Britain had to alter the law in this matter by an Act passed in 1870, which provides that a subject may divest himself of his allegiance. This "Warren and Costello Act" was passed owing to the contention of these prisoners at their trial three years earlier. But the contention did them little good at the time, for Colonel Warren and Captain Costello were both convicted of treason felony and sentenced, the former to fifteen and the latter to twelve years' penal servitude. At the same Commission Halpin, who had been leader in the attempt at Tallaght, near Dublin, was also sentenced for fifteen years. Corydon, when cross-examined by Halpin, admitted that he expected a reward of two thousand pounds for his treachery. But in these cases also the prisoners were released in a few

years owing to the exertions of the Amnesty Association. It was evidently only just that some distinction should be drawn between the cases of men of good character, whose only offence was that they had done the best, as they believed, for their country, and that of men of bad character, whose crimes admitted no such excuse.

It has been mentioned that there were many Fenians amongst the Irish in England. The two most startling incidents of Fenianism occurred in that country—the Clerkenwell explosion and the Manchester rescue. The first-mentioned was the second in order of occurrence. On the 13th of December, 1867, some Fenians who did not know much of the effects of an explosion, placed a barrel of gunpowder in a narrow street beside the outer wall of Clerkenwell Prison, London, near that portion of the prison in which they believed Richard Burke, a Fenian leader, to be then exercising. Another Fenian leader, Theobald Casey, was also incarcerated here. It was about a quarter to four o'clock when the barrel was fired. The object was, as confessed on the subsequent trials, to rescue Burke by "driving a hole through the boundary wall." The consequences of the explosion were appalling. Some tenement houses on the opposite side of the street, inhabited by very poor people, were demolished. Twelve persons were killed and one hundred and twenty injured. The whole wall for sixty yards was blown in. It is certain that if Burke, on whose behalf this was done, had happened to be exercising at the time he would have been blown to atoms. It is equally certain that the ignorant perpetrators had not the remotest intention of bringing about such a dreadful result, but the incident naturally caused the greatest indignation in England. Several persons were arrested on suspicion, and on the following 28th of January, one of the prisoners, Patrick Mullany, turned informer and accused another named Michael Barrett of firing the barrel. At the trial in April Barrett was convicted of murder. His execution took place on the 26th of May, 1868, the last public execution in England.

The Manchester rescue excited indignation in England but admiration in Ireland. It is impossible not to admire the courage of the mere handful of Irishmen who, in the heart of a hostile English city, generously risked their lives to rescue their leader. The success of this rescue had a large share in inflaming English indignation. It happened in this way. Early in the morning of the 11th September, 1867, Colonel Thomas Kelly, one of the most prominent of the Fenian leaders, who had planned the successful escape of Stephens, was, together with another Fenian named Deasy, arrested in Manchester on suspicion of loitering. The two prisoners were remanded for a week; the authorities were ignorant of their identity, but one of the detectives suspected them of being Fenians. Before that day was over the authorities received information which made this suspicion a certainty.

There were many Fenians amongst the Irish in Manchester. Some of them formed the desperate determination of rescuing the prisoners from the prison van as it passed through the streets after the next sitting of the court.

When that day arrived, Wednesday, the 18th of September, the prisoners were brought before the court, identified as Kelly and Deasy, and remanded for another week. But that day was destined to be their last as prisoners. Before they were removed from the court telegrams reached the Manchester police authorities from the Government, both in Dublin and in London, warning them that they had received secret information that the Fenians in Manchester had held a council and decided to attempt the rescue of the prisoners. But the Manchester magistrates did not give full credence to the warning, and so neglected to arm the police guard in charge of the van. They thought that sufficient precaution was taken when they had increased the number of the guard from three, the usual number, to twelve policemen. Kelly and Deasy were placed in two locked compartments. There were also four ordinary prisoners in the van, three women and a young boy. The dozen of constables were disposed in this way. Five sat in front on the box, two behind, and four in a cab which followed the van. One, a sergeant named Charles Brett, sat inside and kept the keys. At half past three the van left the court and was driven towards Salford Gaol.

At a point where the road runs under the railway at Bellevue a man with a pistol rushed forward and ordered the drivers to stop. Then about thirty men, armed with revolvers, appeared from behind a wall, surrounded the van and stopped the horses, shooting one of them. The police fled. The rescuers tried in vain to break the van with hatchets and crowbars; and in the meantime the police returned and a large crowd began to assemble—a crowd very hostile to the Fenians. About a score of the latter stood around the van and, with revolvers pointed, kept off the crowd, occasionally firing shots over their heads. The rest of the rescuing party continued their efforts to effect their purpose. They asked Brett, through a ventilator over the door, to give up the keys to them if he had them. This he courageously refused to do. As he wished to see the assailants of the van he looked out through the keyhole; this movement was not known to those outside. Just then one of the party outside was heard to give the order, "Blow it open; put your pistol to the keyhole and blow it open." One of the would-be rescuers attempted to do so, but instead of blowing open the lock he shot Brett dead. It was a most unfortunate occurrence, but plainly the result of mischance. It would indeed have been a most impolitic act on the part of the rescuers to murder Brett, while it is evident that the desperate expedient of blowing open the lock by a shot was the only way left to effect their purpose. After the fatal shot, and the cries of "he's killed" from the women prisoners within, one of the rescuers asked the latter to hand out the keys. The keys were handed out. A young man went into the van and with the keys released Kelly and Deasy. They were brought away by a few of the Fenians, the others preventing pursuit. The rescuers had, with great courage, effected their purpose, but they had not quite calculated the serious consequences to themselves of their daring exploit. The huge hostile crowd seized the few Fenians and treated them with

the utmost violence. When the mob had beaten them the police arrested them. Manchester was aflame with excitement. The police, infuriated at having been thus braved and put to flight by a few Irishmen, arrested apparently every Irishman they could lay their hands on. To be Irish was to be guilty. In a day or two all England was as eager for vengeance as Manchester, and the readiest way to obtain it was clearly to indict all the Irish in Manchester for the wilful murder of Brett.

The many poor Irishmen living in English cities were made feel the indignation of the more powerful nation. In Manchester a Special Commission was issued to try the prisoners. It was too plain that no fair trial could be obtained until passion had cooled down. When the prisoners were being sent for trial they were actually placed in the dock handcuffed, a practice long obsolete in English courts. Their chief counsel, an Englishman, protested and threw up his brief in the case when his protest was disregarded. The passion with which these prosecutions were conducted will be perhaps best apprehended when it is mentioned that as many as twenty-three men were committed for trial for wilful murder in a case which was not even manslaughter, but a death resulting from an unfortunate accident. The real crime of the accused was the successful rescue of the prisoners.

On the 28th of October William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin, Thomas Maguire, Michael O'Brien, and Edward Condon were arraigned for the murder of Charles Brett. Allen, a very young man, a native of Tipperary, was originally a Protestant, but had become a Catholic. Several witnesses swore that it was he who had released Kelly and Deasy. The Crown theory of the incident was that Brett had been purposely shot dead through the ventilator for refusing to surrender his keys. The only witness relied on to support this theory was a female thief then about to undergo her third term of imprisonment for robbery. After this trial her terms of imprisonment became almost innumerable. But the rescuers all maintained that Brett's death occurred as has been already stated. The identification of some of the prisoners was palpably erroneous, to put it charitably. The five prisoners were indicted, convicted, and sentenced together. All addressed the court before sentence, and united in expressing sorrow for Brett's death. But they pointed out the passion of their prosecutors and denied the truth of the evidence. One of the prisoners, Condon, concluded his speech with the words, "God save Ireland!" which were repeated by all the others, and have since become a national watchword.

The English reporters who had attended the trial sent a memorial to the Home Secretary, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, now Lord Cranbrook, declaring their belief that the evidence and verdict were certainly erroneous as regarded Maguire. After some investigation the Home Secretary was satisfied that Maguire, who belonged to the Royal Marines, was not present at all at the rescue. He was granted a "free pardon" for a crime of which he was not guilty, this being the usual British course, and restored to

the force to which he belonged. A minority of Englishmen began to grow ashamed of this trial. They said it would be monstrous to take human life on such evidence. Soon it was announced that Condon was reprieved, pending consideration of his case. He was an American citizen and was unarmed when arrested. The death sentence on him was ultimately commuted. It was generally believed in Ireland that the three others, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, would be treated similarly. But a large party in England clamoured for blood. After all, Kelly and Deasy had been rescued and British authority defied by a few Irishmen. That was the real crime, not the death of Brett. This execution, one of the last public executions in England, took place on Saturday morning, the 23rd of November, 1867. The demeanour of the Manchester mob towards the "Fenian murderers" ought to have been one of the most powerful arguments in favour of the new Act passed a few months later, which directed that executions should take place within the walls of prisons. Triumphant shouting and singing was the least reprehensible part of their behaviour. Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien died bravely and like good Catholics.

The indignation of Ireland at this execution was greater than that of England at the rescue. At no time in the nineteenth century was there such a storm of international passion between the two countries. Irishmen could hardly believe that such an outrage had been committed. When it was given out that "the bodies of the three murderers were buried in quicklime in unconsecrated ground within the gaol," it was plain that Irish nationality was meant to be attacked.

It was determined to hold memorial funeral processions in every place where Irishmen were to be found. On the day after the execution, a Sunday, the souls of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien were prayed for in the Masses wherever Irishmen worshipped. On that day the Irish in London held the first funeral procession. A very large one was held in Cork on the 1st of December. On the 8th processions took place in Dublin and Limerick. The former was the largest held. About a hundred and fifty thousand persons were present. Nationalists who had been most opposed to the Fenians and their methods, John Martin and A. M. Sullivan, headed the procession. All Irish Nationalists felt the insult of the execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien. A short time after that disgraceful act of tyranny Mr. T. D. Sullivan wrote the song with the chorus of "God Save Ireland!" Condon's words. It was taken up at once by Irishmen, and became the anthem of Irish Nationalists.*

A. M. Sullivan and Martin were prosecuted for heading the procession, but the jury disagreed. Sullivan, however, was sent to prison for six months for severe comments on the execution in the *Weekly News*, of which he was proprietor. A much less honourable and patriotic man was also sent to prison for twelve

* It appeared in the *Nation* of the 7th of December. On the next day Mr. Sullivan heard the song and chorus sung in a railway carriage at Howth.

months for comments in the *Irishman*, the extreme Nationalist or Fenian organ, of which he was editor. This was Richard Pigott, whose name must be mentioned in a very different connection twenty years later. It is remarkable, considering the reference in the last sentence, that Charles Stewart Parnell, then a young man of twenty-one, a Protestant and a landlord, holding a commission in the Wicklow Militia, was induced to change his political views by the execution of the three Irishmen in Manchester. It was perhaps this event which inspired him with that hatred of England which characterized him.

Gladstone was greatly censured for asserting, in a speech at Dalkeith in 1879, that it was the Manchester rescue and the Clerkenwell explosion which finally determined him to undertake the Disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland in 1869. It was rightly pointed out that Englishmen thus admitted that they would not redress Irish wrongs for the sake of justice but only when roused to do so by violence.

The Amnesty movement has been mentioned already. This was an effort to effect the release of the Fenian prisoners, and was generally successful. These men occupied much the same place in the admiration of the Irish people as the Italian revolutionists did in that of the English. Their unmerited sufferings under excessively severe prison treatment excited indignation in Ireland. Non-Fenian and even anti-Fenian Nationalists were united with Fenians in this movement. The Amnesty Association had a very active secretary, John Nolan. But the tower of strength in this movement was Isaac Butt. Butt had defended the Young Ireland leaders in 1848. He did the same for the Fenians in 1867. He sacrificed a lucrative practice at the bar to make a splendid effort for years for the Fenian prisoners. Never had clients a more able and zealous advocate. His consistent support of the Amnesty movement won its chief successes. O'Donovan Rossa, released in March, 1869, was elected member for Tipperary on the 25th of November in that year. Of course, the election was set aside as he was declared to be ineligible, having been convicted of treason-felony.

After 1867 the Fenian movement ceased to occupy the public attention to such a large extent, and Parliamentary affairs began again, for the first time since the Keogh-Sadler betrayal, to claim recognition from the Irish people. They had been indifferent to the General Elections of 1857, 1859, and 1865, and only paid a little more attention to that of 1868 because Gladstone had already begun to attack the Established Protestant Church in Ireland. Gladstone himself has told how powerfully the Fenian outbreak contributed to his course on this occasion. But in truth, the Establishment was doomed as a hopeless abuse. Macaulay described it twenty or thirty years earlier as "the most utterly absurd and indefensible of all the institutions now existing in the civilized world." In Ulster alone of the four Irish provinces does the non-Catholic population exceed the Catholic. The percentages are approximately, Catholics 44, non-Catholics 56. Yet in the non-Catholic population of Ulster the Presbyterians, descended from the Scottish settlers, who never belonged to

the Established Church, largely predominate. In relation to the general population of Ireland in 1869 the members of the Established Church formed about one-tenth of the whole, the Catholics formed three-fourths.

It will be remembered that the Irish anti-tithes agitation of 1831-4 was ended by the sorry compromise of making the Catholic tenant pay the landlord instead of the Protestant clergyman. The actual Tithe War was stopped by Thomas Drummond's refusal to allow the forces of the Crown to assist in the collection of tithes. Besides this the number of Protestant bishoprics in Ireland was reduced. But the abuse and anomaly of the Establishment continued. When England left the Church of Rome Ireland showed that she was quite determined to remain in it. She has been always consistent in rejecting what Mr. Healy has called "the new religion—made in Germany." The Normans, who came to Ireland with Henry II. and Strongbow, went with their Celtic neighbours in their determined adherence to the Catholic Church, and in general their descendants have been ever since that time as good Irishmen and as good Catholics as the old Milesians themselves. But the absurd Protestant Church Establishment was only the church of all the English adventurers who came to Ireland in the days of the Tudors and of Cromwell. The largest, most intolerant and most predatory section of these adventurers was that which followed Oliver. He was the most merciless of all the enemies of Ireland, and believed in no policy but extermination of the Irish race and the Catholic faith. Massacre, depopulation and deportation were leading items in his Irish policy, but confiscation was its mainstay. An immense extent of the land of Ireland passed out of the possession of the Irish nation to enrich his soldiers, who, militantly democratic in England, immediately transformed themselves into a landed aristocracy in Ireland. There are more Irish landlords and more members of the Irish peerage of Cromwellian extraction than are descended from any other British invasion of Ireland; although there is no circumstance in the history of their families which is more sedulously obscured or more reluctantly acknowledged. These Puritans leavened their Establishment with the most Low Church views, their religion indeed being nothing more than opposition to the Catholic Church.

When Henry VIII. first attempted to force Protestantism on Ireland he could find few or no unworthy Irishmen to become renegades, and the first Protestant bishops, such as Browne of Dublin, Bale of Ossory, and Staples of Meath, were Englishmen who had abandoned the Church of their baptism and ordination. This tradition was continued up to the very time of Disestablishment, the last Protestant Archbishop of Dublin who died before that event being Richard Whately, an imported Englishman like his earliest predecessor, George Browne. The wealthy revenues of some of the sees formed a powerful inducement with British Governments to provide for their English clerical supporters; and one of the best results of Disestablishment for Protestants in Ireland is that they can at least exercise an independent choice of their bishops, unfettered by English interference. Sometimes, but rarely, Irish

Protestant Bishops supported the rights of the nation, like Lord Bristol, Bishop of Derry, the Volunteer, and Drs. Dickson of Down and Connor, and Marlay of Limerick, who manfully opposed the Union. But in the majority of cases they were politically as members of the House of Lords, English or Irish, the merest tools of the Government which appointed them. Sometimes they were scholars, and individually worthy men, like Bedell of Kilmore, and Berkeley of Cloyne, but there were others whose very names are best left unmentioned. The Irish Protestant Church was practically treated as inferior and subordinate to that of England, and readers of the life of Swift, the most illustrious of Irish-born Protestant clerics, will remember how bitterly he lamented his loss of an English episcopal career, the great object of his ambition, and how disappointed he felt when he realised that he would never rise above a Dublin deanery. Condemned to the career of an Irish Protestant clergyman, he attacked England with his wonderful vigour and bitterness, inflicting deeper wounds than many an indignant patriot. And most Irish Protestant clergymen knew, like Swift, that for them there was very little prospect of ever attaining a higher position.

Through all the years of the Tudor despotism; of the Parliamentary struggle in England; of the terrible Cromwellian usurpation, the worst tyranny of all for the Irish Catholic Church, when we are assured that only two priests, "disguised as hawkers and pedlars,"* dared to remain in the city of Dublin; of the new usurpation of William of Orange; of the degrading century and more of Penal Laws, which were a consequence of his triumph, the Irish Catholics had remained steadfast in their faith and their support of the Roman Church. Their many long and cruel persecutions have been admirably recorded by Cardinal Moran, and even now the process of canonization of their many martyrs is in progress at Rome. Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, warmly advocated the Disestablishment of that Church which had been to the Irish people a foreign and insulting glorification of ascendancy, a mere official department of the British Government which was supported by the forced contributions of Catholics. Its clergymen, in some instances, were not contented with doing the only good thing they could have done in their radically false position towards the Irish people, namely, leaving them alone and attending to the care of their own small flocks, but insisted on taking a leading part in that contemptible system of proselytism which has so long disgraced Protestantism; forcing the poorest of the poor, out of their very poverty, to sacrifice for some wretched material bribe that faith which they believed in their hearts to be the one thing needful for themselves and their children. That apotheosis of dishonesty and meanness is the only thing which has ever made the Irish Catholic an enemy of the Irish Protestant as such.

All Irish Protestants who have placed Ireland before England, and remembered that they were Irishmen first, have held a high place in the

* Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Canea. Introduction to *Roman Catholic Chapels in Dublin*, A.D. 1749, p. 8. (Catholic Truth Society of Ireland.)

honour and affection of the Catholic people of Ireland. When Swift and Molyneux attacked England they became popular idols in Ireland. The strongest proof of this feeling is the regard in which the memory even of such men as Charles Lucas and Foster is held, men who, though strongly attached to the cause of Ireland, were yet unwilling to bestow civil rights on their Catholic fellow-countrymen. The latter has been forgiven and forgotten to them by Irish Catholics, who have chosen only to remember that they stood up for Ireland. Well may Irish Catholics be called the most tolerant and least bigoted of all men. But such exclusive Protestant patriots as those just named were exceptions. For it is remarkable that, as long as the Irish Protestant Parliament was subservient to that of England, it was intolerant and persecuting towards the Catholic majority. But as soon as the Volunteers arose, when Grattan, Flood, Charlemont, and Hussey Burgh, with their fellows, declared that Ireland was independent of England, a new spirit of friendship towards Catholics animated Irish Protestants. The greatest champion of Irish freedom, Henry Grattan, was also the foremost advocate of Catholic Emancipation. The members of the Irish Parliament who, for selfish motives, advocated the Union, did so to preserve their religious ascendancy. In all the nineteenth century Irish Protestants have shown the greatest ability, but have given it all to the service of the British Empire. It is a pity that the abilities of the Wellingtons, the Dufferins, the Wolseleys, and many others were lost to their own country. For every man who left the ranks of the Unionists to join those of his own fellow-countrymen has been welcomed with open arms. William Smith O'Brien, John Mitchel, John Martin, Thomas Davis, Thomas Clarke Luby in 1848 and 1867, Isaac Butt and Charles Stewart Parnell in later days, are instances in point. Besides these many Protestant Home Rulers have been elected to Parliament since the Home Rule Party was first formed. There are at present about a dozen Protestant members of the Irish Party, all of them elected by Catholic constituencies. But it must be said that the like liberality and tolerance have never yet been shown by Protestant constituencies, none of which has ever yet elected a Catholic member, even a Unionist. These seats are confined to the Orange north-east corner of Ireland, and the Orangeman is still of the same mind as his grandfather in 1848, who, being supplied with arms to help the Government against the rebels, decided to shoot the Under-Secretary first because he was a Catholic. It is true that the Protestants of the rest of Ireland are not so benightedly bigoted, but tolerance and liberality in Irish politics are almost exclusively Catholic virtues.

The agitation for the Disestablishment of the Protestant State Church in Ireland was conducted by Irish Catholics, especially Cardinal Cullen and the other Catholic Bishops, in conjunction with English Liberals. The latter, with their Liberation Society, would have wished also to disestablish the English Protestant State Church, but Irish Catholics had no grievance to charge upon it. It was, no doubt, sad from a Catholic point of view that

England should have left the Catholic faith. Still, England had left it, whereas Ireland had not. The disendowment of the Irish State Church was not likely to benefit the Irish Catholic except in so far as it made its revenues available for the use of all Ireland. If the Protestant landlord had still to support his clergyman it was certain that he would do so, even after Disestablishment, at the expense of his Catholic tenant. But it was hard that the funds of the State Church, once Catholic, should now be to some extent employed in proselytism or unprincipled attempts to make the Catholic renounce his faith. It was hard, too, that the ancient cathedrals and churches in every diocese of Ireland, built originally for the Catholic worship, and so used for centuries, should now be devoted to Protestant worship. The latter change had also taken place in England; but there the nation had acquiesced in it; not so here.

The Irish Catholic Bishops re-opened communication with the English Liberals on this question in the end of 1864. John Blake Dillon, who had returned to Ireland in 1856, on the one side, John Bright, the famous Liberal orator, on the other, started the movement. But the historical writings of William Joseph O'Neill Daunt, a county Cork gentleman, had for some years been paving the way. His long life, like that of the O'Gorman Mahon, was almost contemporaneous with the nineteenth century. He was elected member for Mallow as a Repealer in the first Parliament after the Reform Act. When his leader, O'Connell, died, he retired into private life, and after some time he exchanged the writing of Irish novels, of which he produced several, for that of Irish history, and especially Irish controversial church history. His *Catechism of Irish History* is an excellent manual.

But the man who did most to bring about Disestablishment was Sir John Gray, editor and proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, the great daily Nationalist organ of Ireland. Sir John Gray was a Protestant. Born at Claremorris, Co. Mayo, in 1815, he became qualified as a physician, but early in life abandoned his profession to devote himself to journalism and politics. In 1839 he became joint proprietor of the *Freeman*, even then a valuable property, and in 1850 sole proprietor. Under his management it rapidly outdistanced all competitors. As already mentioned, he was a fellow-prisoner of O'Connell in 1844, and a leader of the Tenant Right party in 1852. He did not, however, enter Parliament until the General Election of 1865, when he was elected for the city of Kilkenny, which he continued to represent as a Home Ruler until his death ten years later. For the succeeding thirteen years his position was ably filled by his eldest son, Edmund Dwyer Gray. Both the Grays, father and son, were men of unusual talent, great experience in public life, and untiring energy. Sir John Gray was the most active and useful member of the Dublin Corporation for many years. He procured for that city the splendid water supply from the River Vartry in Wicklow, and was, in recognition of this, knighted by Lord Carlisle in

1863. Gray, who was brought up a Conservative, but had become a Nationalist, probably knew more of the Irish State Church question than any other Irishman then living. His *Irish Church Commission*, an exhaustive account of that Church in all its branches, appeared in his newspaper, the *Freeman's Journal*. It was very ably written, and became a kind of text-book with advocates of Disestablishment. Gray's industry and energy secured in the course of three or four years the success of the cause he had at heart.

The Irish people and their clergy would scarcely have consented to form an alliance with any Liberal leader except Bright, who had always shown himself conspicuously friendly towards Ireland. But Gladstone had never shown himself unfriendly, and it was plain that he would soon lead his party. Palmerston, the Premier, was disliked by Irish Catholics as the friend of anti-Papal revolutionists in Italy, but he was very old, and in fact he died Prime Minister at the age of eighty-one on the 18th of October, 1865. He was succeeded by Earl Russell, who was still more odious to Irish Catholics as the author of the malignant yet impotent Ecclesiastical Titles Act. But he too was well over seventy, and, after his resignation in 1866, he retired from the leadership of the Liberals and left it to Gladstone. The Conservatives held office until 1868. They had not a majority, but the Liberals were too disunited to oust them from power.

For years there had been an annual motion in Parliament for the abolition of the Irish State Church. But this was moved by English or Welsh Liberationists like Miall or Llewellyn Dillwyn, and excited little public interest. On the 28th of March, 1865, the first such occasion since the formation of the alliance between Bright and the Irish Catholics, Dillwyn proposed the annual motion. It was observed that Gladstone, then Palmerston's Chancellor of the Exchequer, spoke of Disestablishment as a thing which might come in the future. This was a great step forward for a Cabinet Minister. On the 10th of April, 1866, Sir John Gray proposed the motion. This time Chichester Fortescue, afterwards Lord Carlingford, then Chief Secretary for Ireland since November 1865 (when he succeeded the irresponsible Sir Robert Peel), wished God speed to the Irish anti-State Church movement. The Liberal Ministry was obliged to resign two months afterwards.

The Liberals had actually a majority, but they were baffled by the great ability of the new Conservative leader, Benjamin Disraeli. The Liberals raised the Reform question, but Disraeli adroitly made his own of it, and in 1867, as has been mentioned already, granted a most radical extension of the franchise. Unlike some of his successors nearly forty years later, he was not mean enough to attempt to reduce the Irish representation on the plea that the population had diminished, a diminution brought about by the Union which this party supported. The most Disraeli dared to do in the Irish State Church question was to appoint a Commission of Inquiry on the 30th of October, 1867, under the presidency of Earl Stanhope, a Conservative peer

of great literary ability.* The Manchester rescue came on the 18th of September, 1867. The great uprising of anti-English feeling in Ireland followed on the execution (Nov. 23) of the brave young Irishmen who had effected it. The lamentable Clerkenwell explosion took place on the 13th of December. These tragic events happening in their midst induced Englishmen to think that after all there must be many things radically wrong in Ireland. Gladstone, as he afterwards publicly declared, participated in this feeling.

On the 10th of March, 1868, a debate on the condition of Ireland began on the motion of John Francis Maguire. On the 16th Gladstone, taking part in this debate, said that the Irish State Church must be abolished. On the 23rd he introduced resolutions on the subject. On the 1st of May the first resolution was carried. Disraeli could not venture to appropriate this question as he had that of Reform, for his party would not follow him in such a course. He tendered his resignation, but said that the Queen wished him to remain in office "until the state of public business would admit of a dissolution." This could not take place until autumn. It is well known that of the many Prime Ministers of Victoria's long reign Disraeli was personally the greatest favourite with his sovereign. On the 16th of May Lord Stanhope's Commission reported, recommending sundry reforms in the Irish State Church. But events had moved rapidly, and the question had got far beyond such a solution. Gladstone's Suspensory Bill to prevent new interests being created pending Disestablishment passed the Commons on the 22nd of May, but was rejected by the Lords on the 25th of June. Between that time and the enactment of Disestablishment, about twelve months, new interests were largely created, numbers of young Protestants in Ireland securing ordination in their Church in order to become entitled to compensation on its abolition, an event now inevitable and soon to come. The Liberal party had become reunited and powerful on the Church question. It only remained to secure victory at the polls, of which there could be little doubt.

On the 11th of November Parliament was dissolved. This General Election of 1868 was the last fought in Ireland between Liberals and Conservatives. It was also the last fought on the old system of open voting before the introduction of the ballot. The Irish Protestants fought hard against Disestablishment, for it is not in human nature to part easily with privilege. Already they had seen a great change in the spirit of the times. In March, 1868, when their own Conservative Government, Disraeli's Ministry, was in office, William Johnston of Ballykilbeg, Co. Down, a prominent Orange leader, was imprisoned for defiantly breaking the Party Processions Act. No wonder the Orange clergyman, Flanagan, reminded the Queen, when Disestablishment was seriously spoken of as enacted and about to receive the

* His sound historical works are to be commended for their honesty and impartiality. He gives the Irish Brigade due credit for its share in obtaining the success of the French arms at Fontenoy, a credit withheld by most English and many French historians.

royal assent, that the Ulstermen had already "kicked a crown into the Boyne." But the more enlightened Irish Protestants and Conservatives fought the proposed change on the ground that it was a distinct violation of the Union, as it undoubtedly was. This alteration of the Union was easily defended on the ground that it was made with the assent of the majority of the Irish people. The Irish Protestants were now to learn that the Union, to which they had agreed in order to preserve their own ascendancy, was now to be broken to deprive them of it. The mess of pottage for which they had sold their birth-right was to be at least reduced if not altogether withheld. It will be seen presently that the effect of this was to make many Irish Protestants think it the better policy to throw in their fortunes with the Irish nation rather than continue to be an outlying garrison of Great Britain.

The Liberals triumphed in both England and Ireland. Disraeli resigned and Gladstone became Premier for the first time. Earl Spencer was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland until Gladstone resigned in 1874. The Chief Secretaryship was held first by Fortescue again until 1871, and afterwards by the Marquess of Hartington, now Duke of Devonshire. The Irish Lord Chancellor was Thomas O'Hagan, created Lord O'Hagan in 1870, the first Catholic who held that office since the reign of James II. The clause of the Emancipation Act forbidding Catholics to hold that office had just been repealed.

On the 1st of March, 1869, Gladstone introduced his Bill to Disestablish the Irish State Church. On the 23rd it passed the second reading by 368 votes to 250. On the 31st it passed the third reading by 361 to 247. It was believed that the House of Lords would throw out the Bill. They did no more, however, than propose certain amendments which the Commons rejected. But a settlement was effected between the two Houses by the good offices of Earl Granville on the part of the Liberals, and Earl Cairns on that of the Conservatives. The third reading took place on a significant date, the 12th of July, and the royal assent was given on the 26th. This Act disestablished the Irish Protestant Church; its bishops ceased to sit in the House of Lords from the 1st of January, 1871; the annual grant to Maynooth College and the *Regium Donum* to the Ulster Presbyterians also ceased from that date. Generous compensation was made; and the surplus of the State Church revenue was set apart for the relief of unavoidable calamity in Ireland.

Irish Protestantism has lost in some measure its anti-Catholic character since it ceased to be a State Church, and there are not wanting signs that some of its adherents are moving in the direction of the Catholic Church. As for the great measure which disestablished the State Church its effects can hardly yet be estimated. It was the first genuine effort made by Parliament to ameliorate the condition of Ireland since the Emancipation Act of 1829, and Gladstone at least deserves credit for bringing in such a measure without that amount of pressure from Ireland which was exercised in O'Connell's time. Yet Gladstone confessed that his generous impulses, too,

were quickened into action when the conviction was forced on him that the gravest discontent existed in Ireland.

A General Convention of Irish Protestants was held at Dublin in 1870 to make arrangements for the government of their Church. Since that time it has been in the hands of a General Synod, composed* of 208 clergymen and 416 laymen. The absentee Protestant landlords have always been the worst supporters of their Church and clergy.

After the Church Act came Gladstone's first Land Act. The land question has always been the life and death question in Ireland. The Irish tenant represented the old Irish nation, the conquered Milesian population. It is curious to think now that Gladstone should have supposed that he had settled the Irish Land Question by the Act of 1870, but we have his own admission that he did suppose so. Like the Church Act the Land Act was more or less forced from Gladstone by incidents which occurred shortly before. William Scully, a Tipperary landlord of most violent character, a cousin of John Sadleir, the banker of 1856, was the man more responsible than any other for the Act of 1870. Twice before he had come prominently before the public on account of his illegal violence in carrying out evictions. In 1849 he was tried for shooting two sons of a Tipperary tenant whom he was evicting. He was acquitted of the charge. But in 1865 he was convicted of wounding the wife of one of his Kilkenny tenants and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. In 1868 he framed a most oppressive lease for his tenants at Ballycohey, a place near the town of Tipperary. Anybody who objected to sign the lease was to be evicted, for that and no other reason. Whether he paid his rent or not he would be evicted all the same. Nobody would sign. On the 14th of August Scully, in an attempt to carry out an eviction, was severely wounded, as were many others, and three were killed. This lamentable conflict aroused attention in England, and had much to do with the introduction of the Land Act of 1870. The Ballycohey difficulty was settled by the purchase of Scully's property by Charles Moore of Mooresfort, originally an Antrim Protestant. His son, the late Count Moore, a Catholic and a Papal Count, was the last member for Clonmel as a Home Ruler, and afterwards represented Derry City.

A tenant-right agitation was begun all over Ireland as in 1852. Again the three F's were demanded, that is, Fixity of Tenure, Free Sale, and Fair Rents. Sir John Gray led this agitation with his usual energy. But Isaac Butt, already prominent as leader of the Amnesty movement, warned the farmers that Gladstone and Parliament would not grant their demands. He proved a true prophet. It is true that the Act of 1870 did some good, but it was a mere small instalment of reform. It legalized the Ulster custom in that province, and attempted to introduce something like it in the other provinces, by giving the tenant a legal right to compensation for improvements effected by him. Hitherto the landlord usually raised the rent if the tenant made his holding more valuable. If the tenant would not pay the increased

rent the landlord evicted him. The Act of 1870 tried also to restrain capricious evictions, but in this particular it must be pronounced a failure.

The new spirit of understanding which was growing up in England regarding the condition of Ireland cannot be better illustrated than by the following comment of the *Saturday Review*, the well-written Conservative organ, on William Scully's oppressive conduct towards his tenants: "Landlords are not a divine institution any more than the Irish Church. They exist for Ireland, not Ireland for them; and where the genius and circumstances of a country are so widely different from ours, its laws and institutions without any want of reason might well differ too." In Ireland the tenant was the Catholic Celt, the landlord the representative of the foreign conqueror, in most cases of the Cromwellian conqueror.

A larger question even than that of the relations of landlords and tenants was now to come to the front. This was the question of the government of Ireland. Irish Catholics had never accepted the Union of 1800. They had had no part in passing it. Now, as in the time of O'Connell, they would undo it if they could. Protestants had been set thinking of the Union by the disestablishment of their Church, which was undeniably a breach of it. They began to think that it would be better to trust their own Catholic fellow-countrymen than the British Government, which, they now saw, could no longer be relied upon to preserve them in their monopoly of privilege. Protestants, and even Orangemen, were the chief opponents of the Union in 1800, and in 1810 at the Dublin meeting in which O'Connell took part. That great man is said to have regretted that he did not begin his Repeal agitation before the Emancipation movement. He would then have secured the support of the Irish Protestants. The latter did not and do not in their hearts believe that Irish affairs can be better managed from London than from Dublin, but many of them have always been afraid of the Catholic Church and the great political influence of the clergy.

To this section the Longford Election of January, 1870, came as a great surprise. The clergy of that county put forward the Hon. Reginald Greville-Nugent, son of Lord Greville, a popular landlord, as their candidate. He was a Gladstonian Liberal. Some Nationalists, led by that typically good Catholic, A. M. Sullivan, opposed their own clergy and put forward John Martin, the Young Ireland leader, a consistent and honourable advocate of Irish nationality in unfavourable times. Both candidates were Protestants. The clerical candidate won by a very large majority. But the possibility of such independence seems to have reassured that section of Protestants who appear to think that Catholics are as bigoted as Orangemen. As has been already noticed, Irish Catholics in civil and political affairs are liberal and tolerant in the extreme as regards the religious belief of any genuine supporter of Irish nationality. The Longford contest was the result of a misunderstanding. Had the Martinites known, as they did not, that the clergy were irrevocably committed to support Greville-Nugent, they would not have started John Martin. Had the priests

known, as they did not, that some of the Catholic lay electors wished to start John Martin, they would not have committed themselves to support Greville-Nugent.

On the 19th of May, 1870, a remarkable meeting was held at the Bilton Hotel, Dublin. It was a very unusual kind of political meeting in Ireland. The Protestant Conservative, the staunch Catholic, the Gladstonian Liberal, the ex-Repealer, and the ex-Fenian were all present. It was the outcome of that new spirit in Irish Protestants urging them to emulate their ancestors who had opposed the Union. There were such Conservatives at this conference, for such it really was, as the Lord Mayor Edward Purdon, Edward Hudson-Kinahan, Joseph Allen Galbraith, Fellow of Trinity, Major Knox, proprietor of the Conservative *Irish Times*, and Dr. Maunsell, editor of the Conservative *Evening Mail*. There was also Colonel King-Harman, afterwards prominent in opposition to the Home Rule party. But the opposition or secession subsequently of many Conservative Home Rulers like him must be ascribed to their natural dislike as landlords to the Land League agitation and to its head and front—the leader who succeeded Butt.

By this time Isaac Butt had become the most prominent man in Ireland. He was born at Glenfin, Co. Donegal, on the 6th of September, 1813, being son of the Rev. Robert Butt, Protestant rector of Stranorlar, in that county. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was distinguished as a classical scholar, and was appointed Professor of Political Economy. He was also editor for some years of the *Dublin University Magazine*, to which he contributed many tales and sketches. One of his successors in this position a few years later was Charles Lever, then living at Templeogue House, near Dublin. Butt was called to the Irish bar in 1838, and became Queen's Counsel in 1844, earning his silk gown in the almost unprecedentedly short period of six years. During the forty years of his career at the Irish bar there was scarcely a famous trial, civil, political, or criminal, in which he was not engaged. But the great ability of Butt was shown in the field of politics even more than in that of law or literature. As a political orator or writer he was in the first rank. Born and educated amongst Irish Conservatives who supported the Union, he was in his youth the ablest champion of that party in Ireland. He was elected an alderman on the Conservative side in the reformed Dublin Corporation. He was selected by his party to reply to Daniel O'Connell, also a member of the Corporation, when the Liberator initiated a great debate on Repeal of the Union. Butt replied with the greatest ingenuity, but it is noteworthy that he confined himself to arguing that the experiment of Parliamentary Union with England had not been fully tried. O'Connell prophesied that Butt would yet be found in the ranks of the great majority of Irishmen in opposition to the Union. In 1870 that prophecy was fulfilled, and Butt became the leader of his countrymen on this question. His splendid defence of the Fenian prisoners, his generous advocacy of Amnesty, his intimate knowledge of Irish Protestants and of their feelings when their Church was dis-

established, at once marked him out for this position. Above all, his understanding of his Catholic fellow-countrymen, whom he trusted and by whom he was trusted, placed him immeasurably above any of the other Protestant advocates of Irish nationality. Butt is said to have been the author of the phrase "Home Rule," as he was certainly the first who revived organized opposition to the Union since the death of O'Connell, or public confidence in a National Parliamentary Party since the betrayal of 1852. He was far too large-minded a man to entertain any distrust of the Irish Catholic clergy. Again, he realised thoroughly how much the Land question stood in need of settlement, and how little was effected by the Act of 1870. He was in Parliament, as has been mentioned, from 1852 to 1865, representing Harwich for a few months and Youghal for thirteen years as a Liberal Conservative.

As a result of the Bilton Hotel conference the Home Government Association of Ireland was founded. At that conference there were two men also present who had hitherto been Fenians, and who, when that movement failed, were willing, like many of their fellows, to give Parliamentary agitation a chance. They were Mr. James O'Kelly and Mr. James O'Connor, both now Members of Parliament. The Association produced a scheme of Home Rule by which the Irish Parliament was to manage Irish affairs and the British those of the Empire. O'Connell's Repeal scheme had failed to secure Irish Protestant support, partly at least because he had made no mention in it of any arrangement as to imperial affairs. This omission was suggestive of total separation from England. O'Connell forgot to provide for a responsible Irish Cabinet, the want of which had been sadly felt in the Irish Parliament before 1800, in which ministers were altogether independent of any control by the majority in Parliament. This defect culminated, as is well known, in ministers purchasing a majority and abolishing the Parliament. That catastrophe had also been brought about by Pitt's settled resolve to force a Union since 1789, when the Irish Parliament opposed the British on the Regency question. What was even worse in Pitt's eyes was the power the Irish Parliament then possessed of voting supplies for Imperial purposes altogether unconnected with Ireland. Butt saw that the British Parliament would never consent to grant Home Rule if that power of Imperial control were claimed by Ireland. He also saw the intrinsically faulty character of a Parliamentary system without a responsible Cabinet, and framed his Home Rule scheme accordingly.

The Home Rule agitation of Butt at once became a success. The great body of the Catholic people of Ireland welcomed it with acclamation, and supported it as they had supported O'Connell's Repeal movement. Most of the Protestant Conservatives remained Conservatives, and the Whig Catholics who had had things their own way since O'Connell's time, were unfriendly to it at first. The Catholic Bishops, who were grateful to Gladstone for his great act of justice in 1869, and who hoped also, unavailingly as it proved, that he would settle the perennial grievance of Irish Catholic University Education, were at first disposed to treat the Home Rule demand as inopportune. But a remarkable series of bye-

elections in 1871-2 showed clearly the strong feeling of the country in favour of Home Rule. On the 5th of January, 1871, John Martin was elected in Meath by a majority of two to one over the Hon. George Plunkett, an estimable Catholic Whig, brother of Lord Fingall, who was supported by the Catholic clergy. It is admitted, however, that the priests of Meath did not attempt to influence their people to vote against John Martin. On the 21st of February Mr. Mitchell Henry, a wealthy and popular gentleman, whose father, an Ulsterman of Scotch extraction, had been a successful merchant in Manchester, was returned unopposed as a Protestant Home Ruler for the Catholic county of Galway, just as John Martin, another Protestant, had been returned for Meath. On the 17th of June Patrick James Smyth, who had been a Young Ireland rebel in 1848, and had afterwards assisted his leaders in successive escapes from Tasmania, was returned unopposed for Westmeath. Lastly, on the 20th of September Isaac Butt was returned unopposed for the city of Limerick.

In the month of February of the following year the Home Rulers were triumphant in two important election contests. The last of these was a typical fight. In Kerry there was a vacancy caused by the succession of Viscount Castlerosse to the Earldom of Kenmare on the death of his father. For thirty years the seat had been regarded as a Catholic Whig seat, the property of Lord Kenmare. The new earl selected his cousin, James Arthur Dease, a worthy Catholic gentleman. But the Home Rulers determined to oppose him. They selected another candidate, Mr. Rowland Ponsonby Blennerhassett, a young Protestant landlord. The Kerry landlords as a body supported Dease, a serious consideration, for this was the last contested election fought in Ireland on open voting before the introduction of the ballot. The Whig had also the powerful support of the Catholic Bishop, Dr. Moriarty, a man of exceptional ability and a consistent supporter of the Whigs. But the Home Rule candidate won. The day of Catholic Whigs was over. It was plain that in two-thirds of the constituencies of Ireland no candidate would be returned unless he supported the Home Rule movement.

In the county of Galway there was an equally momentous contest on the 7th of February, 1872. Captain, now Colonel, John Philip Nolan, until recently the senior Irish Nationalist member, sought the representation as a Home Ruler. He was opposed by Major the Hon. William Le Poer Trench, a son of the Earl of Clancarty, as a Liberal Conservative. Major Trench was supported by all the Galway landlords, Catholic and Protestant, Whig and Tory. As the open voting system was still in force they thought they could defeat the Home Ruler, for whom, as they believed, their tenants would be afraid to vote. On the other hand, the Catholic Bishops and clergy supported the Home Ruler. After a violent and embittered contest the figures were—Nolan, 2,578; Trench, 658.

The defeated party petitioned. The judge who tried the petition was no other than Mr. Justice Keogh. Captain Nolan was unseated on the ground

of clerical intimidation. This decision was most absurd, for the figures show that the Home Ruler was the choice of the overwhelming majority of the electors. Although Major Trench was thus awarded the seat, it need scarcely be said that in the next General Election, two years later, Captain Nolan headed the poll for the county of Galway, a division of which he represented until lately. But the manner of announcing this decision, on the 27th of May, 1872, caused Judge Keogh's long and deep unpopularity to reach its zenith. He reviled the bishops and priests concerned in the most offensive manner.* He seemed to take a positive pleasure in insulting the clergy of that Church, of which he still professed to be a member, and of which he had formerly posed as the principal lay defender. Keogh's language on this occasion appeared doubly odious when men reflected that he had had the support of the local bishop in securing re-election at Athlone after his betrayal of the Irish cause, and that but for the support of Irish bishops and priests, he would never have become a judge or had an opportunity of making them the victims of his unique vituperative powers. His whole public career was consistent in its audacity. After this judgment he was burned in effigy in Ireland, and £14,000 was speedily subscribed to defray the now enormous election expenses of Captain Nolan. Keogh visited London afterwards and was made much of by some prominent men in England, where his slanderous attack on the Irish clergy was read with the greatest gratification. In this case the truth was made manifest of Moore's line about Ireland :—

Unprized are her sons till they learn to betray.

A few years later Keogh went abroad for the benefit of his health. On the Continent he became insane and tried to kill his attendant. He died at Bingen on the Rhine on the 30th of September, 1878. An Englishman, who again unconsciously illustrated the truth of the line quoted above, erected a monument to him bearing the words of Horace, *Justum et tenacem propositi virum*.

Shortly after the Home Rule victories in Kerry and Galway secret voting became law in the United Kingdom. The Ballot Act, passed by the Commons but rejected by the Lords in 1871, was in 1872 read a third time in the Commons on the 30th of May, in the Lords on the 25th of June, and received the royal assent on the 13th of July. It was a charter of independence in Ireland where tenant-voters were always in danger of electoral intimidation by their landlords, although, as we have seen, they bravely defied it on many historic occasions in the nineteenth century, as when O'Connell was returned

* The popular opinion of this episode in Keogh's career may be gathered from the following lines of a ballad of the day :—

Lord Norbury of old was something in the style of him,
If you heard him slanging clergymen in Galway and Mayo;
But Norbury himself lacked the venom and the guile of him,
And neither he nor Jeffreys was a patch on Billy Keogh.

for Clare in 1828, when the Tenant Leaguers were elected in 1852, and in Kerry and Galway just before the passing of the Ballot Act. In 1853, after the Sadleirite party had betrayed their political trust, many landlords retaliated by evicting tenants who had voted for the Tenant Leaguers. That could no longer be done after the Ballot Act, and this was the chief benefit that important measure brought to Irish voters.

Gladstone dissolved Parliament on the 24th of January, 1874. This was not expected by anybody, and the General Election thus suddenly precipitated found Butt and the Home Rule party almost totally unprepared. There was a sad deficiency in funds, and, what was even more serious, in suitable candidates. Notwithstanding all this, sixty members were returned pledged to support Home Rule. Many of these were Liberals who adopted Home Rule to secure re-election. The names of no fewer than twenty-two may be enumerated who sat as Liberals for Irish seats before the General Election and as Home Rulers after it.* The Kerry Election had placed Whig principles at a discount. But it is plain that such men were not likely to form an earnest Nationalist party. They might perhaps be relied upon to support the annual academic debate on Home Rule initiated by Butt, which was always voted down by the huge English majority. Of Ireland's support of the principle of Home Rule the General Election of 1874 left no further doubt. In the last Parliament just before the General Election Ireland had been represented by fifty-five Liberals, thirty-eight Conservatives, and ten Home Rulers. In the General Election there were returned twelve Liberals, thirty-one Conservatives, and, as has been mentioned, sixty Home Rulers. Cavan, the Ulster county which has the largest Catholic population, returned two Home Rulers, one of them Joseph Gillis Biggar who will be mentioned again presently. The defeated candidate was the gentleman who had represented Cavan as a Liberal before the General Election, Colonel Saunderson, who has since become a Conservative. Many of the Liberals sat for Ulster seats, for before the rise of Parnell and the Franchise Act of 1884 the Ulster Catholics could do no more than return Liberals. But when a broader franchise was granted, and when all Ireland supported with enthusiasm the Parnell movement and the Parnell leadership, even the most unexpected seats in Ulster were captured by the Nationalists.

The Louth Election of 1874 was a great victory for Home Rule. A. M. Sullivan, one of the most earnest and brilliant of the Home Rulers, headed the poll in that county, while Chichester Fortescue, a Gladstonian Cabinet Minister who had been twice Chief Secretary and twenty-seven years member for Louth, was defeated. Nearly all the Home Rule members were pledged to support amendment of the Land Act of 1870, a better provision by the State for the education of Irish Catholics, and Amnesty for the Fenian prisoners. Eleven of the Home Rulers returned were Protestants, who had as usual in tolerant Catholic Ireland, been elected by the most Catholic constituencies.

* Thom's Directory, 1875.

In England there was an immense Conservative majority. After the General Election there were about three hundred and sixty Conservative members and about two hundred and forty Liberals. The Home Rulers determined to act as a separate party in the House of Commons. Disraeli became Premier once more, and held that office until the next dissolution and General Election in 1880. In 1876, when two years Premier, he was raised to the peerage as Earl of Beaconsfield, and sat thenceforth in the House of Lords. The Lords Lieutenant of Ireland during the Beaconsfield administration were the Duke of Abercorn once more for the first two years, 1874-6, and from 1876 to 1880 the Duke of Marlborough, whose brilliant son, Lord Randolph Churchill, acquired a considerable knowledge of the condition of Ireland during his father's Viceroyalty. The Chief Secretaries were Sir Michael Hicks-Beach for the first time from 1874 to 1878, and James Lowther from 1878 to 1880.

Some of the Home Rulers first elected in 1874 were genuinely attached to the cause of Irish nationality, such as A. M. Sullivan, Biggar, Richard Power, and Edward Sheil. Some who had been elected also to the preceding Parliament might be numbered in the same category, as John Martin, Sir John Gray, Joseph Philip Ronayne, and Captain Nolan. But when these names and a few others have been mentioned the list of sound Nationalist members is exhausted. Most of the others were really Liberals or Conservatives who had adopted Home Rule in order to be returned. They expected places from English Ministers, and in many instances ultimately succeeded in obtaining them.

Nor was Isaac Butt the man to lead as strenuously as was necessary a small party in a hostile House of Commons. He could hardly have done so with the heterogeneous party of which he was the titular leader. He was sixty-one years of age. He had lived hard and worked hard. In the end his leadership showed extreme weakness. Both his mental and physical powers were decaying. It is said that he was arrested for debt on the morning when he was making his arrangements for the General Election of 1874, and was thus prevented for some time from personally attending to that important struggle. It is well known that he was more than once confined in the Dublin Marshalsea, which, by the irony of fate, ceased to be used as a debtor's prison in the very year of the General Election, as imprisonment for debt in Ireland was then abolished. Butt's long career as a Conservative and Protectionist member prevented the active exercise of his profession in Dublin, and made his debts heavier. He was even more willing to lend than to borrow, and it is likely that his liabilities barred his promotion to legal office by his party. As leader of the first Home Rule party he was for some time intensely popular in Ireland. It was however impossible for him both to attend Parliament constantly and at the same time to look after his professional duties, an absolute necessity as he was always in debt and had to support his family. His health was not good. Another drawback to his leadership was that he was a very

kindly man, too indulgent to himself and to others. Such a temperament did not suit the necessarily strenuous position of leader of the Home Rule party. It should always be remembered to his credit that he tried as hard as he could to obtain some redress for Irish tenants. He wrote and spoke with the greatest energy in their favour. Between Gladstone's two Land Acts, 1870 and 1881, there were no fewer than twenty-eight Land Bills proposed by Irish members.* They were all voted down, or else dropped or withdrawn because they would have been voted down. So was the annual Home Rule motion. So were many other Irish Bills relating to municipal franchise, registration, Grand Jury reform, railways, fisheries, and other Irish business.†

Butt could do nothing against all this. A new leader soon arose, however, the greatest Parliamentary leader of the nineteenth century, and the greatest leader of the Irish people since the days of O'Connell. As a Parliamentary leader he was far beyond O'Connell, and as a popular leader outside Parliament he had a much more difficult position, as every Irish leader of our days must have. For the Irish in America, England, Australia, and other English-speaking countries are a larger factor in public life than in O'Connell's time, when emigration was only in its beginning. Above all, O'Connell had no such difficulty to deal with as the Fenians or the American Clan-na-Gael, extreme Nationalists, who believed in nothing but revolution and complete separation from England, and were prepared to oppose any leader who advocated a more moderate system of reform for Irish affairs such as Home Rule, particularly if he was successful, as Parnell was, in gaining the confidence of the country.

The new leader's was a name to conjure with in Ireland. He came of a family whose members had been distinguished for many generations. The Parnells were originally settled at Congleton in Cheshire, from which town the ennobled branch of this family takes the title of Baron. Several members of the family held the office of mayor of the town in the late Tudor and early Stuart days. In the Civil War the Parnells were strong supporters of the Parliament, and were on terms of intimacy with the famous Speaker Bradshaw. Thomas Parnell, one of the family, settled in Ireland in the reign of Charles II. His son, Thomas, was the poet, the friend of Pope, the author of many excellent poems in the style of that age, including the well-known *Hermit*, a tale exemplifying the doctrine of Providence. Parnell, the poet, died vicar of Finglas, near Dublin. His brother, John, was a judge of the King's Bench in Ireland. The judge's son, Sir John Parnell, was created a baronet and died member for Maryborough, near to which town, at Rathleague, the senior branch of the family still resides. The first baronet's son, the famous Sir John Parnell, immediately succeeded his father in the representation of Maryborough in the

* Mr. T. M. Healy's *Why there is an Irish Land Question*, p. 67.

† The only measure beneficial to Ireland which was passed at this time was the Municipal Privileges Act, by which Irish corporations were enabled to confer the freedom of their cities and to appoint sheriffs.

Irish Parliament. Sir John was made Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland in 1787, and filled the office with the greatest distinction until he was deprived of it for refusing to support the Union, when it was conferred on Isaac Corry, with whom it will be remembered that Henry Grattan fought a duel. Sir John Parnell continued his consistent opposition to the measure which was to abolish his country's liberties, and in the observations of Sir Jonah Barrington on his Red List of those who opposed the Union, the single word Incorruptible stands opposite Parnell's name. Had there been more Sir John Parnells the Union could never have been carried. Sir John was elected for the Queen's County amongst the first members returned by Ireland to the Imperial Parliament, but he died in 1801. His son, Sir Henry, who had also been a member of the Irish Parliament, and a steady opponent of the Union, succeeded his father as member for the Queen's County. Sir Henry was famous for his generous advocacy of Catholic Emancipation, and wrote a *History of the Penal Laws*. In Imperial politics he was an advanced Liberal, and advocated the abolition of the Corn Laws, extension of the franchise, vote by ballot, and the abolition of flogging in the army and navy. It was his distinguished grand-nephew who procured the abolition of flogging in the army in 1880. Sir Henry was created Lord Congleton in 1841, and died in the following year.

The estate of Avondale, in one of the most beautiful districts of Wicklow, was left in 1796 to Sir John Parnell. On his death it passed to his younger son, William, who was well known as an author. Although a Protestant, he had a great respect for the Irish Catholic clergy, as he showed in the *Priest of Rahery*, a tale published in 1819. He died in 1821, and was succeeded at Avondale by his only son, John Henry Parnell. This gentleman married Delia, daughter of Admiral Charles Stewart of the United States Navy, and, dying in 1859, was succeeded by his second son, the future Irish leader.

Charles Stewart Parnell was born at Avondale on the 27th of June, 1846. Of his distinguished paternal ancestry enough has been said. But his American mother, who survived to the great age of eighty-six, dying in 1898, was a remarkable woman and daughter of a famous man. Charles Stewart was born in Philadelphia in 1778. His father had emigrated from Ulster, being a descendant of Scottish settlers. Charles Stewart was one of the most distinguished naval commanders of the American War of 1812-14, and was victorious in many sea-fights. His greatest victory was gained after the peace was signed. He knew it was signed, but his British enemy did not. When Stewart was attacked, however, on this occasion he felt bound to fight, and in the end captured two British vessels. Old Ironsides, as he was called, died at Bordentown, New Jersey, in 1869, aged ninety-one. His famous grand-son was said to resemble him in character.

It is singular that Parnell, who was so intensely anti-English, should have been brought up almost altogether in England. When only six years old he was placed at a school in Yeovil, Somersetshire, and afterwards with the Rev. Mr. Barton, at Kirk Langley, Derbyshire, and the Rev. Mr. Wishaw, at

Chipping Norton, in Oxfordshire. Parnell then lived with his family who resided at 14 Upper Temple Street, Dublin, from 1862 to 1867. In 1865 he matriculated at Cambridge University, and was, like his father, a student of Magdalen College. He does not appear to have been distinguished here, and left it in 1869 without a degree. He came home to Avondale and lived quietly there for some years. He was captain of a Wicklow county cricket eleven, and held a commission in the Wicklow militia. He took much interest all his life in mechanics and engineering, and established saw-mills and made experiments in mining. In 1871-2 he travelled in America. In these early years he was elected a member of the Synod of the disestablished Protestant Church to which he belonged.

It was, as has been already observed, the execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien which first determined him to devote himself to the cause of Irish nationality, and which perhaps inspired him with that hatred of English domination in Ireland which was so marked a trait in his character. He always admired the Fenians, and, if he did not think their methods practicable, he at least always tried to gain them over to his views, regarding them as most earnest and patriotic Irishmen. It was probably the victory of Mr. Blennerhassett, a young Protestant gentleman like himself, in Kerry which finally decided him to try to enter Parliament. When the General Election of 1874 suddenly ensued upon Gladstone's unexpected dissolution of Parliament, Parnell was High Sheriff of Wicklow. He wished to represent his native county, but a sheriff cannot be a candidate in his own shire without the permission of the Government to resign. This permission was refused. Parnell's elder brother, Mr. John Howard Parnell, contested Wicklow, but polled only a few votes.

An opportunity soon came to Parnell to contest a seat as a Home Ruler, but it was a forlorn hope. Colonel Taylor, many years Conservative member for the county of Dublin, was appointed to a position in the Cabinet in Disraeli's new Administration, the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, which he had held previously in the last Conservative Government. This necessitated his seeking re-election, and the Home Rule League thought it right to contest the seat, although it would be a very expensive contest and quite hopeless. For the county of Dublin before the Franchise Act of 1884 was as sure a Conservative seat as the county of Antrim. At the last contest before that Act, which took place in 1883, Colonel King-Harman was returned as a Conservative by a large majority over a Nationalist.* Parnell came forward, quite an unknown young man; and undertook to fight this thankless electoral battle at his own expense. He introduced himself to Butt one day in March 1874. Butt at once conceived a favourable opinion of him, and the

* Some of King-Harman's previous electoral experiences had been strange. He was defeated in Longford as a Conservative in 1870, and in Dublin as a Home Ruler later in the same year. He was elected for Sligo as a Home Ruler in 1877, and defeated by Mr. Thomas Sexton in 1880.

Home Rule League gladly accepted him as a candidate. A public meeting was held in the Rotunda, and here Parnell made his first political speech. It was a complete failure. He broke down. He never became an orator, but he was afterwards complimented by Gladstone on possessing a rare faculty which Gladstone did not claim for himself. The great orator acknowledged that Parnell was one of the very few men who could say what they meant to say. In spite of his want of success in speaking at the Rotunda meeting, other prominent members of the Home Rule League, John Martin and A. M. Sullivan, agreed with Butt in thinking favourably of him. But many regarded him as a young aristocrat and landlord who had no great ability and whose only object in entering Parliament must be social distinction. As a matter of course he was badly beaten in the Dublin County election (18th March), and Colonel Taylor went in triumphantly, as he did for more than forty years.

A better opportunity occurred about twelve months later when there was a vacancy in Meath owing to the death of the honest and patriotic John Martin, which occurred under circumstances deserving some notice in a sketch of Irish history. John Mitchel, having escaped from Van Diemen's Land, had settled, as has been said, in America. He remained to the last a consistent advocate of rebellion and an irreconcilable enemy of the British connection. His lifelong friend and brother-in-law, John Martin, returned to Ireland, and when Butt began the Home Rule movement, accepted its programme. But this made no difference in their friendship. In the General Election of 1874 Mitchel was proposed as a candidate for Cork City and for Tipperary. Neither attempt was in earnest, and he was defeated in both. He returned to Ireland later in that year for the first time since he was brought away as a felon in 1848, and having gone back to America for a few months, he returned to Ireland finally early in 1875, to die, as it turned out. There was a vacancy in Tipperary for one of the Parliamentary seats. Mitchel was proposed, and on the 16th of February elected unopposed. The House of Commons of course declared him disqualified, and a second election took place. At this election, on the 11th of March, Mitchel was returned by an immense majority over the Conservative candidate, Stephen Moore of Barne, a local landlord. The Court of Common Pleas decided on the 25th of May that Mitchel's election was void, and that Moore was elected, so that the latter actually sat for Tipperary for five years, a seat to which he would not have had the most remote chance of being elected. But a higher court had already given judgment as regarded Mitchel, for he died at the home of his boyhood in the County Down on the 20th of March. His old friend, Martin, then very ill, had, against the advice of friends, hurried from London to see the last of his beloved leader and friend. Martin died on the 29th of March. There is something dramatic in the completeness of the lives and deaths of these two sincere and patriotic Irishmen.

The election to the seat vacant in Meath by the death of John Martin took place on the 19th of April, 1875. Parnell was elected by a large

majority, his principal opponent being James Lenox Naper of Lougherew, a Conservative landlord, one of whose family in the eighteenth century is said to have been the man whose eviction clearances are portrayed and lamented by Goldsmith in the *Deserted Village*. Parnell took his seat on the 22nd of April.* When he took it Parliament was engaged in a manner of almost prophetic significance as regarded the new member. Biggar was making a four hours' speech against time to obstruct an Irish Coercion Bill. Butt asked Biggar to speak against the Bill, and the latter more than fulfilled his leader's instructions. The numerous Coercion Bills passed for Ireland in the nineteenth century, like the useful measures rejected, could not be done justice to in the limits of the present historical sketch. Parnell spoke several times that session, but attracted attention on the 30th of June in the following year, 1876, by replying to the Irish Secretary, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who, speaking of the case of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, said he hoped no member of that house would defend murder. Parnell said "I do not believe, and I never shall believe that a murder was committed in Manchester on that occasion." This bold defence of the Fenians, whom Parnell always liked, made him popular with that body. In the same year he joined the Amnesty Association.† He was quite willing to accept the Fenian solution of the Irish problem, but he did not think it practicable. He was determined to conciliate the extreme men, but he was equally determined on doing first a work which lay nearer to his hand. This was to force the British Parliament to grant Home Rule. He determined, as a step to this, to make the transaction of British business impossible in Parliament by obstructing it. He was disgusted at the contempt shown for the Home Rule Party and Irish business. This was caused partly by the intrinsic worthlessness of many members of the Party and partly by the weakness of Butt's leadership.

Obstruction had been counselled by Joseph Philip Ronayne, a sincere Nationalist who died member for Cork City in 1876. It had been occasionally practised by Biggar who, like Parnell, was disgusted with the treatment accorded by the House of Commons to Irish members. Biggar was born in Belfast in 1828. He was a Presbyterian like the other members of his family, which was of Scotch extraction. Always inclined to be liberal in his sentiments, he became a Home Ruler, and, having prospered in business, he devoted himself to public life. Before he was elected for Cavan in 1874 he had been a candidate in Derry City in 1872, the first election in Ireland which took place under the Ballot Act. The vacancy had been caused by the promotion

* He was introduced by Colonel Nolan and Nicholas Ennis, the senior member for Meath.

† In October 1876 Parnell and Mr. O'Connor Power were deputed by the Fenians who met at Harold's Cross, Dublin, to present an address to President Grant congratulating the American people on the centenary of their independence. They met Grant at New York, but declined to present the address through the British Ambassador, the usual channel. Parnell returned in November. The Legislative Assembly afterwards accepted the address.

to the Bench of Richard Dowse, a Protestant Whig lawyer. A Catholic Whig lawyer, Mr. Christopher Palles, now Lord Chief Baron, became a candidate for the vacancy. He was opposed by a Protestant Conservative, Mr., afterwards Sir Charles, Lewis, an Englishman. Biggar stood as a Home Ruler only to keep out the Whig by diverting some votes from him, but, as the figures show, his intervention was quite needless. Lewis received 696 votes, Palles, 522, and Biggar, 61. It is true that Dowse, also a Whig lawyer, had already been twice elected in Derry, but then Dowse was a Protestant, whereas Mr. Palles was a good Catholic, which makes all the difference in the world in an Ulster Protestant constituency. If a candidate there is a Conservative or a Liberal Unionist, the strongest anti-Home Ruler conceivable, but at the same time a Catholic, he is doomed. No such candidate was ever yet elected by Protestant Ulstermen. But among the "obscurantist" Papists of Catholic Ulster, or in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, if a candidate is a good Nationalist nobody asks what his religion is.

Parnell found in Biggar the most useful auxiliary in obstruction. Parnell said truly that he had learned the rules of the House of Commons by breaking them. It had hitherto been the custom that Irish members should not speak on English business. Parnell soon abolished this custom. He and Biggar became quite obnoxious to the House and immensely popular in Ireland for talking against time, keeping the House sitting all night, adjourning the debate, moving a count, and other obstructive tactics. On the Army and Navy Mutiny Bills, the Prisons Bill, the South Africa Bill, and other measures in 1877 there were exciting scenes, Parnell and Biggar being in conflict with all the British members, Government and Opposition. On the 2nd of July there was one memorable scene, the House having been kept sitting for many hours by Parnell's methods. The majority of Butt's party held aloof from him. Some openly censured him, including Butt himself. It soon became clear that Ireland was with Parnell and not with Butt. The public opinion of Dublin went unmistakably with the new leader at a meeting on the 21st of August, 1877, and at a conference in 1878. Some of the more earnest of Butt's party helped him sometimes. Amongst those who did so may be mentioned Colonel Nolan, Richard Power, A. M. Sullivan, Edmund Dwyer Gray, John O'Connor Power, Edward Sheil, George Harley Kirk, F. H. O'Donnell, and Major O'Gorman. Although the amendments of the obstructionists were primarily intended to waste Government time it is admitted that they often did much good. But Parnell's peculiar manner contributed to alienate the majority of the House of Commons. It was openly contemptuous. In his exterior the greatest Irish leader of his day was intensely un-Irish. He was unexcitable and unimpassioned, distant towards the other members of his Party, and apparently without intimate friends. With him conviction and determination seemed to be everything, and feeling counted for nothing. He told the Government in 1877, when obstructing their South Africa Bill for annexing the Transvaal, that as an Irishman he

felt a special satisfaction in thwarting them on that Bill. He was ordered to withdraw while his conduct in saying so was considered. He withdrew to a gallery, and watched the debate which ended, as he knew it would, in the discovery that he was perfectly in order. He stood up and resumed his speech at the point where he was interrupted. On the 31st of July Parnell kept the House sitting from a quarter to four until ten minutes past two the next afternoon. The sitting had lasted twenty-six hours. One of the spectators was Parnell's sister, Miss Fanny Parnell, well known in those days for her patriotic lyrics and the help given by her pen to the cause her brother led. She died young in 1882.

In the end of 1877 Parnell was elected President of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain, which was the association of the Irish in England, always the most extreme Nationalists. After this Butt practically retired. Notwithstanding their differences of opinion on the merits of the policy of obstruction, Butt and Parnell always treated each other personally with the greatest consideration and politeness. On the 5th of May, 1879, Butt died at Roebuck Cottage, Clonskeagh, near Dublin. He had done good service to Ireland, although his career ended in eclipse owing to the success of the more active young leader. With all its faults Butt's Irish Party made Parnell's Irish Party possible. William Shaw was elected Chairman of the Party after Butt's death, but, as will be seen, he and his followers were destined to disappear completely in a few years before the great and growing power of Parnell.

Beaconsfield's Government, as has been shown, steadily voted down measures useful to Ireland while Butt's policy prevailed. Parnell's active policy induced it to change its ways in this respect and bring in some legislation for Ireland's benefit. Two of these measures related to education, and are of such importance as to deserve some notice.

By the Intermediate Education Act passed in 1878 one million sterling was set aside from the surplus of the Disestablished Church to assist secondary education in Ireland. The students were paid in money and books, and their teachers received results fees. Public examinations were held every summer. The first took place in June 1879. The system continues in force still with a few modifications. Before it was instituted it was generally supposed that Catholic schools were altogether inferior in merit to their Protestant competitors, from which Trinity College derived the bulk of its students. But the success of the Catholic schools in these examinations was remarkable, and greater than might have been expected from the percentage of Catholic candidates.

The Royal University was established by an Act passed in 1879. Its charter was granted in April 1880, and its first examination held in 1881. The Queen's University was abolished, and the degrees, exhibitions, and honours of the new University were granted not to the students of the three Queen's Colleges only, although these continued to receive their very large grants from the public funds, but to all persons who passed the appointed

examinations. It was only an examining University, but throwing open the examinations to all comers at least secured efficiency. The Royal University was of some advantage to Irish Catholics, as it was the first such institution in Ireland where they might receive degrees without attending colleges like Trinity or the Queen's Colleges, which were disapproved by the authorities of their Church. Half the members of the Senate, or governing body, are Catholics and half the fellowships are allotted to the Catholic College. The Fellows must teach and examine.

The Catholic University, St. Stephen's Green, founded by the Irish Bishops in 1852, after the establishment of the Queen's University, began a new career of usefulness on the foundation of the Royal University. As University College, Dublin, it was entrusted by the Bishops to the care of the Jesuit Fathers, who rent the buildings of the Catholic University. Under its new constitution it surpasses every year for many years past all other Colleges which compete in the Royal University examinations. In the number and distinction of the degrees, exhibitions, honours, and prizes which it gains yearly it is easily first. Yet it receives no direct endowment. The only one of the Queen's Colleges which is fairly efficient, that at Belfast, is always second to it in the examinations, while those of Cork and Galway are excelled by many other unendowed Catholic colleges, and secure no place worth mentioning in the lists. Yet large sums of public money are voted yearly to those two colleges, while the college of the Catholic people of Ireland receives not one penny of direct endowment. The Catholic University grievance, its long standing and hopelessness of redress, are enough to make every Irish Catholic a Home Ruler; for an Irish Parliament would not allow such a state of things to continue one week. Apparently the Imperial Parliament cannot, or will not, rectify it. Ireland contributes immense sums to the Imperial revenue, and might fairly expect in return such a University as she wishes. Now, above all, when the Local Government Act of 1898 has thrown all the power formerly deposited with the Grand Juries into the hands of the people, an adequate provision for University education is indispensable. The record of University College in the Royal University examinations shows what Irish Catholics can do. The Archbishop of Dublin and others have recently established several scholarships in the College as some slight contribution to the need which exists and which it is the duty of the State to supply.

Parnell continued his obstruction campaign in 1878 and 1879. On the 12th of April in the former year there was a debate on the murder of the Earl of Leitrim, which occurred some ten days earlier. He was perhaps as bad a specimen of the oppressive Irish landlord as the nineteenth century could show. On account of some observations made by Parnell in this debate some of Butt's followers charged him a second time with defending murder.

In 1878 a Committee was appointed to consider the question of obstruction. Parnell was one of its members. As the object of the Committee was to find the means of suppressing obstruction, Parnell, in his skilful cross-

examination of the Speaker and Conservative Ministers, asked them what obstruction was and made them define it exactly. He showed them, out of their own mouths, that it was impossible to abolish it without altogether abolishing the rights of members.

In the following session he showed the truth of his contention by obstructing with more vigour than ever some clauses of the Army Discipline Bill. He advocated the abolition of flogging in the army, a course in which he was followed first by Mr. Chamberlain and the Radicals and afterwards by Lord Hartington and the official Liberals. The reform was carried in the following year. On this Bill Parnell brought about by his obstruction one memorable all-night sitting on the 5th of July, 1879. In the same year Parnell's first Parliamentary supporter was elected, James Lysaght Finegan, who was returned for Ennis, defeating William O'Brien, a Whig lawyer, afterwards a judge.

In the meantime Parnell continued his efforts to secure the support of the extreme Nationalists or Fenians. On the 19th of December, 1877, one notable Irishman, who had been a Fenian, was released from prison in company with three military Fenians—Mr. Michael Davitt and Charles Mc'Carthy, Chambers and Bryan. On the 15th of January, 1878, Mc'Carthy died suddenly at Morrisson's Hotel, Dublin, to which he had been invited to breakfast by Parnell along with the three others. It was well known that his death had been accelerated by the severity of the treatment he had received in prison. His funeral in Dublin was a great demonstration of sympathy.

Having mentioned this tragic incident attending his release, it will be well to give some account of Mr. Davitt, as he immediately became one of the most prominent figures in Ireland. Mr. Michael Davitt was born at Straide, Co. Mayo, on the 25th of March, 1846. In 1852, when he was six years old, his father, Martin Davitt, was evicted, all the family sharing in his fate, and their home was razed to the ground. Martin Davitt went with his family to England, and settled at Haslingden, in Lancashire. Michael went to work in 1856 in a mill, and in the following year lost his right arm by an accident. Thus "physically disabled for life," as he has said himself, he has nevertheless succeeded in attaining a prominent position in the world. The ability of the evicted tenant's son as a writer and speaker is universally recognised. His accident was the means of his obtaining some addition to the slight education he had received, but the greater part of his education he owes to his own efforts. Such an able and energetic young man, with such a family history, and living amongst the exiled Irish in England, was sure to find his way into the ranks of the Fenians. He was one of those Lancashire Fenians who went to Chester to seize the Castle, as already described. Mr. John Devoy tells us of Davitt:—"Unable to shoulder a rifle with his single arm, he carried a small store of cartridges in a bag made from a pocket-hankerchief." On the 14th of May, 1870, he

was arrested along with John Wilson, and both were, on the following 18th of July, convicted of treason-felony, mainly on the evidence of the spy Corydon. They had been engaged for some time in buying arms and secretly transmitting them to Ireland. Mr. Davitt was sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude, and, as we have seen, had served more than seven years, when he was amnestied, a process which meant the same to a political prisoner as a ticket-of-leave does to an ordinary convict. Like other Fenian prisoners, he was subjected to the greatest severities of prison treatment. Dartmoor was the Siberia of England. Mr. Davitt was one of the last of the Fenians to be released, for, according to a Parliamentary return of the 3rd of March, 1878, there were then only eight Fenians in prison, and the last of them, Edward O'Kelly, of Dublin, was released early in 1879.

After the sad death of his comrade M'Carthy, Mr. Davitt went to America, where his mother and sister resided. He met the chief men amongst the Clan-na-Gael, as the Irish-American revolutionary society had come to be called. With some of these, notably with Mr. John Devoy, he began a new era in the relations of moderate and revolutionary Nationalists. Mr. Davitt, as we have seen, had met Parnell and been impressed by his remarkable character and by the work he had been doing in Parliament. He knew that Parnell thought, like him, that the unwise feud between extreme and moderate Nationalists ought to be ended. With this view he organised the New Departure, whose outlines were published in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 11th of December, 1878. The two sections were to co-operate heartily. Parnell's Parliamentary policy was to be supported. Above all, and this was what Mr. Davitt principally had at heart, both sections were to unite in a vigorous effort to improve the condition of Irish tenants and to root the Irish people in the soil of Ireland. Mr. Davitt's own remedy for land tyranny would have been the total abolition of landlordism. When he returned to Ireland he found that some of the Irish Republican Brotherhood at home were not so willing to co-operate with other Nationalists as were most of their brethren in America. It is significant that Richard Pigott, editor of the *Irishman*, then supposed to be the organ of physical force, was one of those who denounced most strenuously the New Departure as treason to Fenianism. It was really a movement honourable alike to the Fenians and to Parnell and Davitt.

The time was ripe for such a great agitation of the Land question as Mr. Davitt had conceived. The Land Act of 1870 had been tried and found wanting. The seasons of 1877, 1878, and 1879 were exceptionally bad, and the bad harvest soon brought about great distress, especially in the western counties. It seemed as if the horrors of 1847 were about to be repeated. Evictions increased in number with the increase of distress. Many men, like Davitt, thought there was no remedy for arbitrary eviction and the exaction of exorbitant rents except the compulsory expropriation of landlords. They contemplated some such remedy as had been applied by Parliament in the

abolition of slavery in Jamaica and other West Indian colonies in 1833, when the slave-owners had been granted £20,000,000. To show clearly the importance of the Land question in a country like Ireland, which is almost exclusively agricultural and without industries, the following words may be quoted from *A Plea for the Celtic Race*, published in 1866 by Isaac Butt, who always declared the Act of 1870 to be comparatively worthless as a remedy: "To say that the Land question is the most important part of all Irish public questions but feebly expresses its magnitude. It would be nearer the truth to say that it forms the whole." This question of land tenure has been the most powerful factor in keeping asunder those classes in Ireland who, after all, have one common country. The condition of Irish tenants was a standing badge of conquest.

A tenants' protection society had existed for some years at Ballinasloe, Co. Galway, under the direction of Matthew Harris, who afterwards represented a division of that county in Parliament. But it was in the neighbouring county of Mayo, Mr. Davitt's native county, that the first historic meeting of the Irish Land war was held, for the state of Ireland for the next three years was little short of a state of war. The meeting was held at Irishtown, in Mayo, within sight of the spot where Mr. Davitt had been born, and from which his family had been evicted. The Mayo Land League was formed. Soon the West was very much awake. Another bad harvest would mean ruin. Parnell and some other Irish members saw the strength of the movement. It was Parnell's obstruction in Parliament which inspired Irish tenants to talk at last of resistance rather than of dying without hope, as in 1847. The only way to avert the violence of the movement was, if possible, to induce the Government to do something to relieve the existing distress. On the 27th of May, 1879, an effort was made by Parnell, A. M. Sullivan, and other Irish members to induce the Chief Secretary, James Lowther, to do this. But Lowther coolly replied that the depression in Ireland "was neither so prevalent nor so acute as the depression existing in other parts of the United Kingdom." After such a reply from the Chief Secretary, Parnell saw that there was no hope for the tenants but in agitation. It may be mentioned that amongst the Irish members who supported Parnell on this occasion was Mr. Justin M'Carthy, who had just entered Parliament as member for Longford. He was already well known in England as a most able and successful author and journalist. Parnell at once determined to join the western land movement. He had always been in favour of peasant proprietorship as the solution of the difficulty, but was reluctant, until thus forced by circumstances, to allow the Land question or any other to be taken up before that of Home Rule. On the 7th of June he took the decisive step by appearing and speaking at a meeting in Westport. Already the most popular man in Ireland, he put himself at the head of the movement. Along with Mr. Davitt he took a most active part in the agitation. At the Westport meeting he used a phrase which became historic. He advised the tenants in these terms: "You must show the landlords that you intend to hold a firm grip of your homesteads."

On the 21st of October, 1879, the Irish National Land League was founded at a meeting in Dublin, Mr. Andrew J. Kettle presiding. This was probably the most powerful and successful political organization ever founded in Ireland. Its object was to reduce rackrents and to obtain the ownership of the soil for the occupiers. The circular summoning the meeting was issued by Parnell. He was elected president of the Land League; Mr. Kettle, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. Thomas Brennan were elected secretaries; Mr. Patrick Egan, and Messrs. Biggar and W. H. O'Sullivan, M.P.'s, were elected treasurers. Mr. Brennan was acting secretary, and Mr. Egan acting treasurer, and it was to the strenuous exertions and great organizing ability of the last-named gentleman that much of the marvellous success of the Land League was due. Another cause of this success was the active co-operation of the Catholic clergy, who knew well that such a movement was necessary and even inevitable.

At the meeting founding the Land League a resolution was passed calling on Parnell to go to America to collect funds on behalf of the tenants, and on Mr. John Dillon to accompany him. Mr. Dillon is a son of John Blake Dillon, the Young Ireland leader, and has followed in his father's footsteps as an upholder of the gospel of Irish nationality. Parnell's mission to America had a two-fold purpose, to collect money for the relief of distress, which had now become acute, and to arouse sympathy for the Land League programme. He sailed with Mr. Dillon on the 21st of December, 1879, and was joined after a time by his private secretary, Mr. T. M. Healy, a name destined soon to become famous. Parnell, like Mr. Davitt two years previously, had interviews with the leading men and also with the rank and file of the Clan-na-Gael, or extreme Nationalists; and they were impressed by his remarkable personality and evidently earnest exertions to serve Ireland. His visit made the New Departure more popular than ever with the Irish in America.

But he attended above all to the object of his journey, and that with such success that a sum of about 250,000 dollars was subscribed altogether for the relief of distress in Ireland, as well as a very large sum in support of the Land League. From this time forward the Irish in America have subscribed most generously and steadily for the furtherance of the Home Rule movement in Ireland. With the failure of the harvest of 1879 famine re-appeared in the West, but, unlike 1847, eviction clearances were resisted. On the 2nd of January, 1880, and the few days following, bailiffs and police attempted to serve processes for rent at Carraroe in Connemara, but the tenants resisted successfully. Parnell's tour and the Carraroe struggle convinced even the Government that distress existed. Notwithstanding the famous denial of its existence by Chief Secretary Lowther, it was remembered that he was not a very capable man, and that his appointment to the post was even considered by some to have been a characteristic joke of Lord Beaconsfield's. The Government passed a Relief of Distress Bill, which unfortunately was so

framed as to relieve the distress of landlords, then a negligible quantity, while doing very little for the distress of tenants, which was real enough. A much better thing was done by the Duchess of Marlborough, the kind-hearted wife of the Lord Lieutenant, who initiated a successful fund for the relief of distress. Great political rivalry existed in this relief of distress movement, for the largest sum was collected for another fund, that inaugurated by Edmund Dwyer Gray, M.P., proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, and Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1880. Thanks to this generous emulation another 1847 was averted in Connaught.

Parnell's tour in America was a great success. He was received everywhere with the greatest honour. His distinguished American ancestry and connection with that country had something to do with this, but his earnest pleading for Irish nationality, and the emancipation of Irish tenants from famine and oppression, was the chief cause. Such men as Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher appeared on his platforms. He was even invited to address the House of Representatives on the Irish cause. Such an honour had been accorded only twice previously, to Louis Kossuth, the veteran Hungarian patriot, and to Dr. John England, the distinguished Irishman who was Catholic Archbishop of Charleston. From the States Parnell went to Canada and was equally successful there; when he was obliged to return owing to a startling piece of news which reached him when he was speaking at Montreal on the 8th of March. He sailed at once for Ireland and landed on the 21st.

The news was that Lord Beaconsfield intended to dissolve Parliament immediately. The dissolution took place on the 24th of March, and Lord Beaconsfield's election watchword was that Gladstone and the Liberals were friendly to Home Rule, or "a policy of decomposition."

The General Election of 1880 was the last in Ireland on the old restricted franchise before Household Suffrage was conferred. It was also the last before the Redistribution Act, so that many an Irish borough returned its last member on this occasion. Parnell's activity was seriously crippled in this General Election by two circumstances. One, of course, was his absence in America at the time when preparations for the struggle ought to have been made. Another was want of funds. Parnell fought the elections with a sum of £1,250, £1,000 which was lent to him personally, £100 sent him from Liverpool, and £150 which his secretary, Mr. Healy, had actually contrived to obtain from political opponents. Parnell, accompanied by his energetic secretary, Mr. Healy, contested the elections with the greatest determination. He was prevented by the causes mentioned from starting candidates for many seats which he might have won, for even in 1880, and on the old franchise, nearly every seat returning any kind of Home Ruler could have been captured by him. He was more determined to fight Whigs or worthless so-called Home Rulers than Tories. Almost all the candidates nominated under his auspices were successful. The only notable defeat was that of Mr.

Kettle in Cork County. Sixty-two avowed Home Rulers were elected in Ireland.* Parnell was nominated in three seats, Meath, which he had represented since he had first entered Parliament as its member in 1875, Mayo, and Cork City. He elected to sit for the latter constituency, and was member for Cork for all the rest of his extraordinary political career until his death. His victory in Cork was the most notable in this General Election. He succeeded, against the expectation of all, in defeating Nicholas Daniel Murphy, a respected member of a respected family, but a Whig, and therefore politically most distasteful to Parnell. Parnell's contest was regarded as utterly hopeless, and only two of the Catholic clergy of Cork supported him. Of the Home Rulers elected in Ireland only a few were avowed adherents of Parnell. A larger number were known to favour Shaw, who had been made Chairman on Butt's death a year previously. Many of those elected had not definitely decided which leader they should support.

In England and Scotland the General Election resulted in an overwhelming Liberal majority. In Parnell's absence the Home Rule leaders had advised the Irish voters of Great Britain to support the Liberals, which they did; and the Liberal Party owed between thirty and forty seats to this cause. When Parnell returned it was too late to countermand this advice to Irish voters, but he would have done so if he could. He thought it would have been better policy for the Irish to vote Tory, notwithstanding Beaconsfield's anti-Irish manifesto, as the Liberals were certain to have a majority in any case; and he judged wisely that it would be better for Ireland's interests that the two British parties should be more evenly balanced. The events of the next five years showed that he was right.

Beaconsfield resigned as a result of his defeat at the polls and Gladstone became Prime Minister a second time. His Cabinet contained such a member of the old Radical party as John Bright, and such members of the new as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and from 1882 to the end, Sir Charles Dilke. All three were supposed to be friendly to Ireland. Earl Cowper was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and William Edward Forster Chief Secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet, which the Lord Lieutenant had not. Forster was not unknown in Ireland. He had visited it with his father during the famine in 1847, and had afterwards been engaged in the collection and distribution of the relief fund subscribed by the English members of the Society of Friends, to which he belonged. On this account he was rather popular in Ireland, and this was, in some measure, the cause of his subsequent great failure.

It has been mentioned that some of the extreme Nationalists did not agree to the New Departure. Parnell met with serious opposition from them at Enniscorthy on the 28th of March, and at Dublin on the 30th of April. A meeting of Home Rule members elected was held on the 17th of May in

* Mr. T. P. O'Connor says 68 (*Parnell Movement*, p. 313) and A. M. Sullivan says 65 (*New Ireland*, p. 448). I have followed *Thom's Directory*, 1881, which is probably accurate.

the City Hall, Dublin. Parnell, Shaw, and forty-one others attended. The names of both were proposed for the position of Chairman of the Party. Parnell received 23 votes and Shaw 18. Most of the Irish members afterwards prominent as supporters of Parnell voted for him, although two who did so were supporters of the Liberal Ministry afterwards, James Carlisle M'Coan and Captain William Henry O'Shea, whose name must be mentioned again. The majority of those who supported Shaw were, like M'Coan and O'Shea, thick and thin members of the Gladstone Whig party in the fierce struggle of the next five years. But a few of them were good Nationalists who afterwards supported Parnell most loyally. Such were Richard Power, John Aloysius Blake, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, and Gray of the *Freeman's Journal*. When Parliament assembled Shaw and his supporters sat and voted, as has been said, with the Liberal Government, but Parnell at once adopted and maintained an attitude of independent opposition of both English parties. Many of Shaw's party obtained places from Gladstone, and their seats, thus vacated, were filled by supporters of Parnell. The rest of them, almost to a man, disappeared from public life at the next dissolution of Parliament, as none of them dared to face the Irish constituencies. Gladstone described them by a felicitous name which was generally adopted. He called them "the nominal Home Rulers."

Some well-known Irish public men were first returned to Parliament in 1880. Amongst them was Mr. Thomas Sexton, who defeated Colonel King-Harman in Sligo, and who soon upheld in Parliament the best traditions of Irish eloquence, and at the same time showed a very dissimilar talent, a mastery of facts, figures and statistics. Mr. T. D. Sullivan, the bard of the Nationalist Party, first entered Parliament as member for Westmeath with Henry Joseph Gill. Mr. Arthur O'Connor, the keen critic of the estimates, was elected for Queen's County. Mr. James O'Kelly, an ex-Fenian, a daring and adventurous journalist, was elected for Roscommon, defeating the O'Connor Don, a Catholic Whig and a most able man. Mr. John Dillon was returned for Tipperary. He might easily have entered Parliament earlier had he wished. Richard Lalor, also elected for the Queen's County with Mr. Arthur O'Connor, was brother of James Fintan Lalor, the Young Ireland writer. Another brother, Peter Lalor, lost his arm in a famous conflict at Eureka Stockade near Ballarat in the early fifties, shortly after the discovery of gold. He afterwards became Speaker of the Victorian Parliament. The only Irish Nationalist member who has sat in Parliament continuously since the General Election of 1880 was not the least distinguished of the new recruits. This was Mr. Thomas Power O'Connor, a brilliant author and journalist, whose pen has done so much in the *Parnell Movement* and other works to make the Irish national cause known to the world. Yet when Mr. T. P. O'Connor was elected for Galway City by a majority of only half a dozen votes over Alderman Hugh Tarpey of Dublin, he was a comparatively unknown young man.

Parnell's name was proposed for the Chairmanship by the O'Gorman Mahon, whose eventful life unites the Emancipation agitation of O'Connell with the Home Rule agitation of Parnell. It was he who had proposed O'Connell in the memorable Clare election of 1828, which gained Catholic Emancipation. He succeeded O'Connell as member for Clare, his native county, in 1830. With the exception of the five years, 1847-52, when he had represented his native town of Ennis, he was out of Parliament until 1879, when he was again elected for Clare. He was re-elected in 1880 at the General Election, and, retiring in 1885, he re-entered Parliament in 1887 as member for Carlow, and died in 1891. As he had been born on the 17th of March, 1800, his life was almost contemporary with the century. In his youth a well-known duellist, a familiar figure in the Ireland of that day, much of his later life was taken up with the wildest adventures in almost every part of the world. In countries as far apart as could be on the surface of the globe he had served with distinction on both land and sea. He was the patriarch of Irish Nationalism, as he had been its defender with his duelling-pistol in early youth.

When Parnell had been elected Chairman he had to be reckoned with more than ever by British statesmen and parties. All the farmers and peasantry of Ireland were at his back. The Irish clergy, too, from this time forward supported him strongly. Many of the bishops, most of the priests were even now his adherents, and it may be said of him that he received stronger support from this powerful factor in Irish public life than any leader in history except O'Connell. In return for this he always advocated support from the Government for Catholic education, primary, intermediate, and university, and, although a Protestant, became the champion of Irish Catholic interests.*

Although the Irish Land question had now reached a crisis unexampled in history, the new Ministry, as Gladstone confessed in 1884, did not realize this fact. Some of its members were hostile to land reform, others indifferent. The Queen's speech contained no allusion to it. Tenants might still be arbitrarily evicted, rackrented, and reduced to starvation; but the Land

* In August 1879, when the Royal University Bill was passing through Parliament, Parnell supported the extreme Catholic policy of a University for Catholics, but Edmund Dwyer Gray and other Catholic members favoured some such compromise as the Royal University. Gray in his newspaper incorrectly ascribed the expression "Papists rats" to Parnell. It was in fact used by a Catholic member at a meeting of Irish members on the Royal University Bill. Gray was hostile to Parnell both before and after this occasion, but Archbishop Croke effected a reconciliation between them. Parnell gave a true account of the incident to Mr. W. J. Corbet, M.P., declaring that he never used the expression, that nothing could be more foolish than for a Protestant Nationalist to insult the Irish Catholics, and concluded by saying, "No, I would not insult the priests." —Barry O'Brien, *Life of Parnell*, vol. i., p. 192. On a previous occasion he replied to one of his supporters in England, who wished him to attack some of the Catholic clergy in that country who supported the Conservatives for the sake of Catholic education, "I'm not going to fight the Church."—*Idem*. vol. i. p. 172.

League was stronger and more determined than ever. The Irish party proposed an amendment to the Queen's speech. Parnell pointed out to the Government the imminence of the crisis, and said he trembled to think what would happen if the soldiers and police were sent to assist evictions. The Irish party brought in a Suspension of Evictions Bill, for it was certain that the landlords would evict the famine-stricken tenants who had been unable to pay rent. The Irish managed that the second reading should come on at two in the morning; and Gladstone, under this pressure, announced that the Government would bring in a Bill on the same lines as Parnell's. This was the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, brought in by Forster, and so called because it enabled an evicted tenant to sue for compensation if he was evicted for non-payment of rent, which eviction was to be made a disturbance of tenure under the Land Act of 1870. It soon came to be understood that Gladstone meditated bringing in a much greater Land Bill in the following year. It was during the debate on this Bill of 1880 that Gladstone declared a sentence of eviction as "coming very near to a sentence of death." This Bill was violently opposed by the Conservatives in the Commons, but passed there by large majorities. It was thrown out by the Lords on the 3rd of August. There was a very large muster of peers who were Irish landlords; and this was probably the worst service they ever did to their cause. For it roused the tenants to the point of fury. The motive of the landlords in securing the rejection of this Bill was generally believed to be the desire to be free to carry out wholesale evictions of the tenants in arrear with the rents of the last three years of bad harvests, before Gladstone should introduce his great Land Bill in the following year. The action of many of them shows too plainly that this was their motive.

When the Irish party saw that the Government intended to acquiesce in the rejection of this Bill, and to do nothing more for the tenants, they perceived that no policy was left but to advise the people to defend themselves and to resist unjust eviction by every means in their power. Gladstone had admitted that about 15,000 tenants were to receive "sentence of death" in 1880 alone. There had been distress for two or three years, the tenants were rackrented, as the Land Courts afterwards proved, very many were in arrear, as the Arrears Act applications of landlords showed, and a revolutionary remedy was needed for a great evil, such a remedy as next year's Land Act. But that remedy had not yet been supplied. A Commission of Inquiry was appointed, but that could not help the heavily-pressed tenants. It was the violence of the Land League, and the outbreak of lawlessness which must accompany a period of disturbance in any country, that extorted the Land Act of 1881 from the Government.

Parnell in this crisis advised the people to rely upon themselves and their organization. In a famous speech at Ennis on the 19th of September he advocated the system which some six weeks later became known as "boy-cotting." The conditions of Irish land tenure resembled those of capital and

labour in some of the great industries of England. It must always be borne in mind that the population of Ireland is three-fourths rural and agricultural, while that of England is, almost in the same proportion, urban and industrial. Such isolation and ostracism as Parnell proposed of those whose action prevented the redress of their fellows' wrongs had often been practised in English strikes. Now a great strike against the oppressive Land system had at last occurred in Ireland. It must, however, be admitted that boycotting, although a much better remedy than crime, was sometimes abused. It sometimes led to crime, it was sometimes practised to gratify private resentment. It was a violent remedy for a desperate evil.

This new word "boycott" was derived from the surname of the first person who was subjected to this process after Parnell's speech. In the month of November, 1880, Captain Charles Cunningham Boycott of Loughmask House, Mayo, an Englishman, agent for the Earl of Erne's Mayo estate, was thus isolated. Tradesmen refused to supply him, and his work was done by imported Protestant labourers from Cavan, called emergencymen. It is pleasant to add that Captain Boycott, a worthy man, was afterwards on friendly terms with his neighbours. Although he returned to his native country some years afterwards to reside there permanently, it was his habit to spend his vacations in Ireland.

In the meantime a great change had taken place in Forster. The few crimes—they were as yet but a few—that had been committed were magnified by the English and landlord press, and the Chief Secretary was accused of sympathy with lawlessness. He was determined to show that this was not the case, and from this to the end of his term of office he was an advocate of coercion. The outcry in England for coercion became greater each day, and Parnell, speaking at Galway on the 24th of October, fixed upon Forster the nickname of Buckshot, as the Constabulary, who carried out his behests were required to use that kind of shot. But John Bright, still true to his old principles as regarded Ireland, declared on the 16th of November that "Force is no remedy." Mr. Chamberlain spoke to the same purpose.

Nevertheless Forster persisted. On the 27th of October Mr. Healy was arrested on a charge of justifying an attempt to murder, but was acquitted on his trial. On the 2nd of November an information was filed against Messrs. Parnell, Biggar, Dillon, T. D. Sullivan, and Sexton, M.P.'s, members of the Land League Executive, Mr. Egan, the treasurer, Mr. Brennan, the secretary, five organizers, and two others, not officials. These fourteen traversers were charged with seditious conspiracy to impoverish landlords, and to induce tenants not to pay rent. The trial, which began on the 28th of December, 1880, was held at Bar in the Queen's Bench Division. As the Lord Chief Justice of that Court had publicly spoken against the traversers he retired, and the trial was held before the puisne Judges, Fitzgerald, afterwards a Lord of Appeal, and Barry. There was never the least expectation

that Parnell and his fellows would be convicted by any impartial jury, and the trial concluded on the 25th of January, 1881, by a disagreement of the Dublin jury empanelled. Ten were for acquittal, two for conviction. Amongst the ten were Conservatives and Protestants. On the 24th of November, 1880, Mr. T. M. Healy, then awaiting trial on the charge made by Forster, was elected member for the town of Wexford without opposition. The vacancy was created by the death of William Archer Redmond, father of Messrs. John and William Redmond.

The next great phase of the Land League struggle took place within the walls of Parliament. Forster in December showed his colleagues a long list, which must be spoken of afterwards, of alleged outrages in October and November. Up to this it is said that John Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Charles Dilke had held out against the employment of coercion, but after this they yielded to the majority of the Government. The English press still clamoured, and Gladstone decided to bring in first a Coercion Bill, and then a Land Bill. It was this unfortunate coercion policy which brought about the crimes of 1881 and 1882 and the dynamite outrages in London and other parts of Great Britain in the next few years. For coercion in Ireland always means renewed activity of the secret societies. Parnell determined to obstruct as much as possible. Parliament met on the 6th of January, 1881. Every member of the Irish party was to speak, and to speak as long as he could. On the 12th Shaw and the other "nominal Home Rulers" formally abandoned the Home Rule party, and joined the Liberal party. The passage of the Bill was marked by scenes of the wildest excitement. It was English passion against Irish. Parnell's action was endorsed by Irish opinion both at home and in America. He was in a very different position now from that of two years before, when, assisted by Biggar alone, and occasionally by two or three others, he had often defied Parliament. Now he was at the head of a party, small it is true, but consisting of earnest and energetic men, many of them of first-class ability. By amendments from Parnell, Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Charles Dawson, Mr. O'Kelly, and others, the Queen's Speech debate was protracted to the 20th of January. On the 24th Forster introduced the Coercion Bill. It soon appeared that more than half of his list of alleged outrages consisted exclusively of threatening letters. Both Forster and Lord Hartington admitted that there were very few cases of murder. Unfortunately there is a different story to tell of Ireland under the Coercion Act they were engaged in passing. On the 25th of January the Irish party kept the House sitting for forty-one hours consecutively by their obstructive methods. It was a struggle of all of both English parties against Parnell's small party. Mr. Labouchere showed the absurdity of Forster's list of outrages. All admitted that outrages were diminishing in number, and yet they went on with the Bill. The Radicals with one or two exceptions supported the Government, although they had professed great sympathy for the Irish people, and many of them owed their seats to the Irish

vote. At length Speaker Brand summarily closed the debate. A new bitterness was infused into the Irish party by the news of the arrest of Mr. Davitt, which took place on the 2nd of February, when he was sent to Portland Prison. On the day after this Parnell and thirty-five other Irish members were suspended for persistent obstruction. The Coercion Bill was read a third time on the 25th of February, and received the royal assent on the 2nd of March. An Arms Bill was next introduced. It was also obstructed, but passed the third reading on the 11th of March, and received the royal assent on the 21st.

The Land Bill was introduced by Gladstone on the 7th of April. It was at once seen that it was the best measure for Irish tenants ever hitherto brought into Parliament although it had many faults. The Houses adjourned for Easter, a Convention of the Land League was held in Dublin, and it was evident that there was an extreme party, a minority who would have nothing but complete abolition of landlordism. It was decided that Irish members should be free to support the Bill or not according as they should choose. In the meantime Forster began to exercise the free hand Gladstone had given him with regard to the Coercion Act. Some of his subordinate officials were very violent. The most notorious perhaps was Clifford Lloyd who exercised great tyranny at Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, and at last secured the arrest of Father Sheehy, a popular priest, a step which exasperated the people greatly. Forster justified all such acts in Parliament. Evictions and coercion both increased, but so did the power of the Land League. The City of Dublin was proclaimed under the new Act, although it was admitted that no agrarian crime was or indeed could be committed there. Forster explained that this was done to prevent the Dublin meetings of the Land League. On the 2nd of May Mr. John Dillon was arrested, and the Irish party accordingly, on Parnell's proposal, decided to abstain from supporting the second reading of the Land Bill. That Bill, as has been said, did much good by recognizing tenant-right, and setting up Land Courts to fix fair rents, which in most cases substantially reduced them. But it left untouched the question of arrears, and this had to be dealt with a year later, as the Irish party warned Gladstone. Gladstone's Bill gave the tenant the right to sell his interest in the open market. Gladstone's ablest coadjutor in managing this Bill was the Irish Attorney-General, Hugh Law, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The landlord opposition was ably led by Mr. Edward Gibson, now Lord Ashbourne, who also became subsequently Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Although Parnell's ideal of peasant proprietorship was not attained by the Bill, he proposed some useful amendments; so did Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen, a very able Irishman, who was Liberal member for Dundalk. But the best clause for the tenants was the famous one proposed by Mr. T. M. Healy that no rent should in future be chargeable on tenants' improvements. Mr. Healy showed the most wonderful acquaintance with every detail of the Bill, as Gladstone

acknowledged, and has been regarded ever since as perhaps the greatest authority on Irish land law. Whatever may be thought of the Bill as a settlement, it was not a final settlement, for there were Bills in 1885, 1887, 1896, and 1903. But it is an imperishable monument to the genius of Gladstone. Unfortunately the impatience of the Land League leaders and their slighting references to his great measure early began to manifest themselves as Mr. Dillon had been arrested for telling the tenants on the day before his arrest to depend on the Land League.

The Bill passed its second reading in the Commons on the 20th of May by 352 votes to 176, a majority exactly twice the number of the minority. It was read a third time on the 29th of July. The Conservative peers who threw out the Disturbance Bill a year earlier had acted under the leadership of Lord Beaconsfield. He died on the 19th of April, 1881. Shortly before his death he described Gladstone's Land Bill as "legalized confiscation." The Marquess of Salisbury succeeded him as leader of the Conservative party. Owing to the violence of the League the Lords had now to accept this revolutionary measure. So little service had Irish landlords done their class in rejecting the Disturbance Bill! The third reading in the Lords with amendments in Committee passed on the 8th of August. The Commons rejected some amendments on the 12th, the Lords resisted on the next day. The Commons modified some amendments on the 15th. The Lords yielded the next day; and the royal assent was given on the 22nd. Short of abolishing landlordism, it was really a good and even a great measure, but the accompanying Coercion Act damaged its popularity in Ireland.

While the Land Act was passing through Parliament Parnell decided to establish a weekly newspaper. With the funds of the League, of which he was trustee, Richard Pigott's two papers, the *Irishman* and *Flag of Ireland* and the *Shamrock* magazine were purchased. The *Flag of Ireland* ceased, the *Irishman* was carried on for four years longer, dying in August 1885. Along with it was published the new organ, *United Ireland*, which first appeared on the 13th of August, 1881. Parnell placed it under the editorship of Mr. William O'Brien, a brilliant journalist, whose name has since become so widely known. Under his direction it achieved great success and maintained a position of great political prosperity as long as Parnell himself did.

Another Land League Convention was held in Dublin on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September. The extreme party, pointing out that Forster's coercion was in full swing, were for boycotting the Land Act and the Land Courts. Why, they asked, should not landlordism be completely abolished when Mr. Davitt and Father Sheehy were in prison? Parnell saw that some tenants would resort to the Courts in any case, and, by his advice, a middle policy was adopted, of bringing test cases to the Courts, and cases of no extreme rackrenting. This annoyed Gladstone exceedingly, who thought his Land Act was not getting fair play in Ireland owing to Parnell's

intervention, forgetting that Parnell, and not he, was the leader of the Irish people, who, besides, could not forgive him for the Coercion Act.

Gladstone attacked Parnell violently in a speech delivered at Leeds on the 7th of October. He significantly added, "the resources of civilization are not yet exhausted." Parnell replied at Wexford on the 9th of October. He had a most enthusiastic reception. Crowds came in special trains from great distances. Parnell described Gladstone's attack as unscrupulous and dishonest, and called him a masquerading knight-errant. On the next day at a banquet he prophesied that more stringent coercion than ever was coming. On Wednesday, the 12th, he reached Morrisson's Hotel, Dublin, where he usually stayed while in that city, intending to attend the Kildare County Convention at Naas the next day. Another event of Wednesday the 12th, was the holding of a Cabinet Council in London at which Forster was given authority to have Parnell arrested. On the next morning Parnell was arrested at his hotel and conveyed to Kilmainham Gaol, where he remained over six months. On the same evening Gladstone attended at the Guildhall, London, to receive the freedom of the city. This was the scene of a piece of histrionic display. Although everybody there was aware that Parnell had reached Kilmainham, from a telegram received before Gladstone was handed the city address, and although that gentleman must have authorized the arrest eighteen hours earlier; before he rose to reply a Treasury messenger came forward and presented him with a dispatch formally announcing the news. Gladstone in his speech said he had just been informed of "the arrest of the man"—Here there was a wild outburst of cheering for several minutes. Gladstone went on to describe Parnell as most prominent in imposing anarchical oppression on the people of Ireland, which was certainly the climax of absurdity. The arrest was almost universally approved in Great Britain. It was, of course, deplored in Ireland. On the 27th of October Gladstone described Parnell as "marching through rapine to the disintegration and dismemberment of the empire." Gladstone thought his Land Act was a panacea for Ireland, and he felt its want of success more keenly because it had already cost him one old and valued Cabinet colleague, the Duke of Argyll, who resigned rather than approve of it, being himself a great landlord in the Scottish Highlands.

Parnell, on the day of his arrest, said to a representative of the *Freeman's Journal*, "If I am speedily released I shall take it as an evidence that the Irish people did not do their duty." His arrest was soon followed by others. Mr. Sexton was arrested the next day, Mr. Dillon on the 16th (he had been released on the 7th of August), and Mr. O'Kelly and others soon after. There was some rioting in Dublin, very cruelly repressed, on the occasion of these arrests. Messrs. Healy, Arthur O'Connor, and Biggar were directed by Parnell to remain in England and thus avoid arrest. Mr. Egan, the League treasurer, wisely withdrew to Paris, bringing the account-books, but Mr. Brennan, the secretary, was arrested. So were all prominent persons con-

nected with the Land League throughout Ireland. At last, on the 20th of October, the Land League was suppressed.

On the 18th the No Rent manifesto was issued. This step had been counselled by the extremists at the September Convention, but Parnell had successfully opposed it. Gladstone and Forster had now imprisoned him and the other leaders, and thus those statesmen had played into the hands of the extremists. The manifesto was the result. Forster's Coercion Act allowed the arrest of any person "reasonably suspected" by the Chief Secretary, and the extremists resolved now to pay no rent, at least until the suspects were released.

Forster now ruled by coercion alone. This Liberal statesman was the most violent coercionist of the nineteenth century. Instead of the "village ruffians" he had mentioned in Parliament, he arrested representative men and filled the prisons with them, leaving at large the really dangerous men, to whom, indeed, he practically delivered over the rule of the country. It appeared subsequently that Forster, during the next six months of violent coercion, was in the greatest personal danger of assassination. It is instructive to note that in November, 1881, the month after the arrest of the leaders and the suppression of the League, the Invincibles were founded.

There was a Ladies' Land League, and its members were sent to prison under a statute of Edward III., raked up for the purpose. It was at a meeting of this body in Dublin on the 2nd of January, 1882, that Parnell was styled, as O'Connell had been, "the uncrowned king of Ireland," an epithet which was generally taken up, for he was never more respected than when in prison. On the following day the Dublin Corporation resolved to confer the freedom of the city on him and on Mr. Dillon. Evictions became so numerous that Land League huts were erected for the victims. Forster's deputies ruled country districts with an iron rod. Troops were employed, marines as well as land-forces, in carrying out evictions. The natural result of all this repression followed. Murders increased alarmingly in number. It was now war, thinly veiled as agrarian outrage and murder, and no longer agitation. In 1880 there were eight agrarian murders, in 1881 seventeen, in the first half alone of 1882 fifteen. Where coercion was fiercest crime became worst. Clare reached an appalling total as long as Clifford Lloyd was there. The historic crime that closed the Forster period was the best proof of the stimulus coercion had given to secret societies in Dublin.

At last the people of England began to see plainly that the coercion policy was a failure, and was becoming a public calamity. It was hard to see where crime would stop if coercion were continued. The Irish party continued to show up Forster's government. The suspects were elected everywhere to public positions. But the coercion policy received its finishing stroke in Parliament when Mr. Sexton produced a circular issued to the police of Clare by the County Inspector, telling them that it was likely some attempts would be made to murder Clifford Lloyd, and that if any constable should by mistake

shoot some wrong person on suspicion of his being about to make such an attempt, the County Inspector would exonerate him by producing this circular. Such a document damaged Forster in the House of Commons irretrievably. The Conservative Opposition now joined the Nationalists in the attack on Forster. It was evident that his repressive system was unpopular in England. The Conservatives pointed out also that the Land Act had failed so far in abolishing agrarian trouble. The Opposition tactics alarmed the Government, and the Kilmainham Treaty, of which Mr. Chamberlain took the initiative, was the result. Parnell was willing to make the Treaty, for he knew the arrears of rent question would have to be dealt with immediately, he saw evictions on the increase, and was aware that the Land League funds would not suffice to carry on war for the tenants.

The intermediary between Parnell and Gladstone was Captain William Henry O'Shea. He it was who negotiated and concluded the Treaty of Kilmainham. The son of an eminent solicitor of Limerick, he was for some years an officer in the cavalry. Leaving the army he married a lady of a wealthy family, the daughter of a baronet who was also a clergyman. O'Shea was engaged in commerce with Spain, having some family connection with that country. He was returned for Clare as colleague to the O'Gorman Mahon at the General Election of 1880. Although a professed Home Ruler he was politically rather a Gladstonian Liberal than a Nationalist. O'Shea wrote to the Premier and to Mr. Chamberlain, and the first result of the correspondence was that Parnell was, on the 10th of April, released on parole to attend the funeral of his nephew, James Henry Livingstone Thomson, who had died in Paris. The parole lasted a fortnight. Parnell did not interfere in politics while on parole. Mr. John Edward Redmond introduced the Arrears Bill on the 26th of April. Mr. Redmond had been elected for the first time to Parliament on the 31st of January, 1881, being returned unopposed for New Ross, replacing a member of the Shaw party who resigned.

After some correspondence between Messrs. Gladstone, Chamberlain and O'Shea, the Kilmainham Treaty was concluded. Gladstone was to pass an Arrears Act, and Parnell to use his great influence to stop the outrages coercion had occasioned. On the 2nd of May Messrs. Parnell, Dillon and O'Kelly were released from Kilmainham. On the same day Forster resigned his office, as he would not give up coercion. He paid a great tribute to the power of Parnell. He quoted the words of Henry VII. about the Earl of Kildare—"If all Ireland cannot govern this earl, this earl shall govern all Ireland." "If," said Forster, "all England cannot govern the hon. member for Cork, then let us acknowledge that he is the greatest power in Ireland to-day."

The good effects of the abandonment of coercion may be seen from the statistics of agrarian outrages. In the first half of 1882 the number of agrarian outrages in Ireland was 1,010, in the second half 365. In Clare especially where the Land War reached its extremest development—for the most violent

coercion, the largest number of evictions, and the greatest outbreak of retaliatory crime were to be found there—the improvement was most manifest.

Earl Cowper resigned with Forster. He was succeeded by Earl Spencer, already a Cabinet Minister, who had been Viceroy during all Gladstone's last term of office, from 1868 to 1874, and who was now to retain his seat in the Cabinet. Forster's place was taken by Lord Frederick Cavendish, son of the Duke of Devonshire and brother of Lord Hartington. He had already occupied some minor places in Liberal Governments, and was known as an amiable man and a painstaking official. It was understood that Gladstone, turning to courses which must have been more congenial to his principles and traditions, had determined to try a policy of conciliation. In one hour all this was changed. A great crime was committed and conciliation and treaties became forgotten.

On Saturday, the 6th of May, Mr. Davitt was released from Portland Prison after an imprisonment of a year and a quarter. Parnell met him at the prison, and they both went to London. On the next day appalling news reached them from Ireland. On Saturday the new Viceroy made the usual State entry into Dublin. The new Chief Secretary, having taken the oath in Dublin Castle, walked out to the Phoenix Park, the large and beautiful pleasure-ground north-west of the city, near whose main road the official residences of the Lord Lieutenant, Chief Secretary, and Under Secretary are situated. The way was familiar to Lord Frederick Cavendish, for he had visited the Chief Secretary's Lodge often when his elder brother, Lord Hartington, occupied it ten years before. At about a quarter past seven that evening, while it was still daylight, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke, the permanent Under Secretary, were murdered. They were stabbed to death with long sharp knives by two men, who then jumped upon a car on which two others and a driver were seated. The assassination took place on the main road within sight of the Lord Lieutenant's official residence. Lord Spencer, who had entered the house but a few moments before, actually heard the dying shriek of one of the victims. The car was very rapidly driven off by a side road, and all that the authorities could discover of its subsequent movements was that it left the Park, crossed the Liffey at Chapelizod, and appeared to have been driven into the city when night was closing in. Several persons who were passing through the Park as usual noticed a party of nearly a dozen men lounging about for about two hours previously. A reward of ten thousand pounds was offered for information on the 9th of May, but, as far as the public knew, no solution of the mystery was arrived at until eight months afterwards. An inquest was held, but no fact of importance was elicited save the statement that Burke got upon a car at the gate of the Park and dismissed it when he overtook the Chief Secretary,* with whom he walked on to the spot where both were murdered. The bodies were first discovered

* Mr. Morley states in his *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. III., p. 67, that Burke learned at the gate that the new Chief Secretary had passed into the Park, and took the car to overtake him.

by two tricyclists, Burke on the footpath, Cavendish on the carriage-way. The authorities, nevertheless, had obtained some information as to the attacking party, and were certain of the cardriver's identity. It afterwards appeared that quite a large number of persons had witnessed the crime or seen some of the assailing party, and that these had at once given private information. But they feared to appear publicly, and no arrests were made, as there was not enough of evidence to convict. It is true that two months afterwards several men, who were afterwards proved to be connected with the conspiracy, were arrested on suspicion, but this was after another murder of one John Kenny in Dublin with which they had had nothing to do. The three Dublin morning papers of that time, in their accounts of the crime, purposely omitted one item of information. This was that on the fatal Saturday night a card had been dropped into the letter-box of each on which was written words stating that the crime had been committed "by the Irish Invincibles." But until the new year the Phoenix Park murders remained a complete mystery.

The effect of this crime was very great. Irishmen everywhere were plunged in grief and shame. Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, and Davitt issued on the next day a manifesto denouncing the murder and expressing the indignation of Irishmen that a man who landed in Ireland that very day on a mission of conciliation should have been so cruelly assassinated. Parnell told Gladstone that if the latter wished he would retire from public life. This Gladstone would not consent to. But the passion which was shown when the news reached England convinced the Premier that conciliation and the treaty must be given up. On Monday, the 8th of May, Gladstone said all arrangements for the government of Ireland must be recast. In accordance with a furious cry from the indignant country it was announced that the Government meant to bring in another Coercion Act more stringent than that in force. The editors of some English newspapers lost their heads completely, accused all Irishmen of complicity in the crime, and for some time Irish residents in English towns had a hard life.

Lord Frederick Cavendish had been on terms of the most intimate friendship, personal as well as political, with Gladstone, for his wife was a niece of Mrs. Gladstone. When the perpetrators were discovered in the following year, this lady, thus tragically left a widow, wrote a letter breathing the most forgiving spirit towards her husband's assassins. Lord Frederick was buried at Edensor, near Chatsworth, in Derbyshire, on the 11th of May; more than three hundred members of the House of Commons attended his funeral. Burke's funeral at Glasnevin, Dublin, was also very largely attended. He was a Catholic, grandnephew of Cardinal Wiseman, and paternally of an old Galway family which enjoyed a baronetcy, to which he was heir at the time of his death. After long service in the Chief Secretary's Department he was appointed Under Secretary in 1869 by Gladstone's first Government. Cavendish's place was filled by Mr., now

Sir George, Trevelyan, distinguished in the literary world as author of a life of his uncle, Lord Macaulay, and other works. Sir Robert Hamilton was appointed Under Secretary. It is worth noting that he and his two immediate successors in the office, General Sir Redvers Buller and Sir West Ridgeway, all became convinced that the present system of governing Ireland was radically wrong and that Home Rule ought to be conceded.

The Phoenix Park Murders Coercion Act brought back the feelings of intense hostility between Irishmen and the Ministry. It was introduced on Thursday, the 11th of May, by Sir William Harcourt, the Home Secretary, then very unpopular with Nationalists. There were some violent scenes on its discussion, as it was stubbornly resisted by the Irish Party. On the 1st of July Parnell and twenty-four other Irish members were suspended, although some of them had actually been absent from the sitting. It was strange that many Englishmen believed Forster and his policy to have been vindicated by the great crime that had been committed, although it afterwards appeared that it was the outcome of that policy. The new Coercion Act passed its third reading in the House of Commons on the 11th of July, and went through its final stages in a short time. It was to last for three years.

In those three years the fight went on between the Liberals and the Irish Party in Parliament. But it raged more fiercely in Ireland. Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan became intensely unpopular. The new Act was put in force in some respects with great rigour. Although crime diminished greatly after the dismissal of Forster and the release of Parnell and the popular leaders, the Phoenix Park murders seem to have provoked the most drastic reprisals on the part of the Government. Jury-packing became common again, and the men charged with agrarian crimes in the West and South, when tried by selected Dublin juries, were almost invariably found guilty. Those charged with murder were, of course, sentenced to death when convicted, and most of them were executed. There is no doubt that some at least of those executed and imprisoned were innocent of the crimes of which they were accused.

The Arrears Act was introduced by Mr. Redmond on the 15th of May. Its final stage, the royal assent, was reached on the 18th of August. This excellent measure which Parnell had assured Gladstone a year before to be absolutely necessary, was drafted, every clause and every line, by the Irish leader in his cell in Kilmainham. It wiped away all arrears of rent incurred before the Land Act was passed. Gladstone and Forster spoke in its favour. So did Mr. Trevelyan who had to administer it. Captain O'Shea admitted that the settlement of this question was a greater anxiety to Parnell, when he interviewed him in prison in connection with the Kilmainham Treaty, than his own release or that of the other suspects. The Lords had to pass the Bill in 1882, although they had rejected such a demand in 1881. There was a contest between the Houses, it is true, but the Commons triumphed.

Notwithstanding the gloomy character of the time a great demonstration of a threefold significance was held in Dublin on the 15th of August, 1882. It was the commemoration of the centenary of the historic Declaration of Independence of the Irish Volunteers, as well as the occasion of the unveiling of a statue of O'Connell on the most conspicuous site in Dublin, and of the opening of an exhibition in Dublin of Irish Arts and Manufactures by Mr. Charles Dawson, M.P., Lord Mayor.

On the day after this great display Edmund Dwyer Gray was sent to prison by Mr. Justice Lawson for contempt of court. The contempt consisted of some comments in his newspaper, the *Freeman's Journal*, founded on a letter from Mr. William O'Brien, detailing the uproariously convivial conduct of a Crown jury the night before they convicted one Francis Hynes of an agrarian murder in Clare. Judge Lawson, who presided at the trial, sentenced Hynes to death and sent Gray to prison, where he remained until the 30th of September, when he and many other prisoners of the Coercion suspect period were released. Mr. O'Brien had been a suspect, too, for he was arrested the day after Parnell's arrest. His paper was often suppressed in these days.

On the 17th of October, 1882, Parnell founded the Irish National League as a successor of the Land League. Its objects were declared to be Home Rule, land reform, local self-government, extension of the franchise, parliamentary and municipal, improvement of the condition of the labourers, and promotion of Irish industries. This organization was almost as successful as its predecessor had been.

It has been said that agrarian crime diminished on the dismissal of Forster. Unfortunately the activity of the secret societies in cities and towns did not. In January, 1883, occurred the first of a series of dynamite explosions in Great Britain which went on for more than two years, the most serious being the attempts on the Houses of Parliament and the Tower on the 24th of January, 1885.

In Dublin, too, there were still some crimes in the latter half of 1882 committed by secret societies. Some of them had no connection with the historic crime of the year, the Phoenix Park murders, but two of them had; and it was these two outrages, committed six months later, which ultimately led to the arrest of those who had perpetrated that deed. The first of these was an attempt, or rather a pretended attempt, to assassinate Mr. Justice Lawson, who had become very unpopular, outside the Kildare Street Club, Dublin, on the 11th of November. The four men specially protecting the judge, seized one Patrick Delany, who was armed with a revolver. He was convicted on the 3rd of January and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. It will be afterwards seen that there was a group of men in Dublin to whom the arrest and conviction of this man were necessarily a source of the keenest anxiety.

The second such incident was a desperate attempt to murder a man named

Denis Joseph Field outside his house in North Frederick Street, Dublin, on the evening of the 27th of November. Field had served on one of the Crown juries which tried and convicted, two months before, one Michael Walsh for the murder of a policeman in Galway. Lord Spencer commuted the death sentence on Walsh. Special attention had been directed to Field in the public press during the course of this trial. It was pointed out that, although forbidden as a juror in a capital case to communicate with the public, he had sent a note to a gentleman in court, who was prevented by the sub-sheriff from sending a reply. It was explained at the time that the note related to his business, and the recipient of it had his office over Field's stationery shop. As Field had been stabbed by two men with long sharp knives, who afterwards escaped on a car, the authorities believed, with good reason as it turned out, that the men engaged in it were the same who had perpetrated the Phoenix Park murders. Field ultimately recovered, and left Ireland. He received a large sum of money as compensation. Information as to the crime was soon forthcoming.

A few days after the attack on Field one of the Dublin police magistrates was appointed by the Government to hold a special secret inquiry which continued for two or three weeks. All persons believed to know anything of the recent events, whether as members of the conspiracy or as independent outsiders who could give evidence as to facts, were summoned before this tribunal, and there is no doubt that here the web of the mystery first began to be unravelled. One man, Robert Farrell, who seems to have believed erroneously that he was not the first informer, disclosed all he knew. It was not very much, compared to the knowledge of some of his associates, but he was able to give the names of all the chief members of the conspiracy. It is believed, too, that Patrick Delany, after his conviction, told something at least of what he knew. This belief receives strong confirmation from his subsequent conduct and career.

In consequence of the evidence at the secret inquiry, and chiefly of that of Farrell, the authorities at last took a bold step which convinced the public that the Phoenix Park tragedy was not forgotten. Sixteen men were seized at their houses in the night and charged on Saturday, the 13th of January, 1883, with conspiracy to murder certain Government officials. They were remanded for a week to Kilmainham after some formal evidence had been given. Amongst them was Robert Farrell who was thus treated as a prisoner, just as Pierce Nagle, the spy, who informed upon the Fenians, had been in 1865, although he had already secretly turned Queen's evidence and told all he knew against his associates. In the course of the week five others were arrested. On that day week, the second sitting held in the case, Farrell appeared in the witness-box instead of in the dock. He deposed that he had joined a secret society to which all the prisoners belonged, and some other persons, the total of members being little more than thirty. He detailed various attempts to shoot Forster, who, as long as he remained in Dublin, seems to have been the

principal object of the vengeance of the society. As Farrell was not present at the Phoenix Park murders or the attack on Field, the two crimes of which the authorities believed the prisoners to be guilty, he did not, after all, implicate the others very deeply. But he was the first informer. He told when he had no very powerful motive for telling, for his life was not in danger from the scaffold, like the lives of all those who had been in the Park on the occasion of the crime. He received £1,000, the only very large reward granted to any witness. Farrell admitted in cross-examination that he had already, before the arrests, given his information to the magistrate at the secret inquiry and to the able police officer who was investigating the case. He assigned as the reason why he was so ready to turn approver his disgust when he found that the society he had joined existed only for assassination of unpopular Government officials, unlike the old Fenians, to whom he had also belonged, and who murdered nobody except informers. He gave one piece of information which turned out to be important. This was that he had been told that one Michael Kavanagh was the cardriver who accompanied the assailants of Field. Kavanagh was at once arrested and appeared with the others in the dock at the next three sittings.

The remaining sittings of the court were held in the Courthouse, Kilmainham, immediately adjoining the prison. At the next three sittings, 27 Jan., 3 Feb., and 5 Feb., the most important evidence was that of three independent witnesses, two on the 27th of January and one on the 5th of February, who identified Kavanagh as having been present when Field was attacked. The last witness had even spoken to him several times on the occasion. This showed Kavanagh that he might be convicted of that offence at least, and he had been present at a much greater crime for which his life would be forfeited. Although after the 6th of May, and also at the secret inquiry, after the Field attack, he had strenuously denied all knowledge of these crimes, his constancy was now shaken by the testimony produced. On the 8th of February he told the authorities, privately, all he knew and at the next sitting of the court, Saturday, the 10th of February, he appeared in the witness-box. As regarded the prisoners this was the beginning of the end.

Interest in the Field case was altogether superseded when Kavanagh told all he knew of the Phoenix Park murders. He deposed that he too was a member of the society, that on the fatal evening he had driven several of the prisoners to the Park, that he was not allowed to know much of what was to be done, that he had waited at a certain point, a little beyond the Gough statue, that one of the prisoners, James Carey, along with another man, had got upon his car when the two gentlemen who were murdered walked past, and that he had driven Carey and the other to where the rest of the group were standing, awaiting the approach of their victim. He said that Carey, and also the other man and himself, by Carey's directions, all three gave a signal, by displaying their handkerchiefs, that the victim was approaching. He identified several of the prisoners as present on the occasion. There were three who left

in a cab. The driver of the cab was arrested on Kavanagh's information. Kavanagh said he was then ordered to wait for the others, sitting on his car with his back to them. He did so; and, hearing a groan, turned round and saw Burke lying dead on the footpath. Four of them then jumped upon his car and he drove them rapidly by a long roundabout route of several miles, re-entering the city on the south-east at a point distant from the Phoenix Park. The man who acted as guide on this route, one of the four on his car, was Patrick Delany, who had been convicted only ten days before the arrest of the prisoners in the dock, of the attempt to murder Judge Lawson. After this information Delany, in his convict dress, was placed on a chair in front of the dock, and charged with the Phoenix Park murders along with the rest of the prisoners whom Kavanagh swore to have been in the Park. Kavanagh, when he first turned Queen's evidence, drove the investigating police officer early in the morning over the roads they had traversed in their escape, a route comprising roads to the south-west, south and south-east of Dublin. The men he drove were Brady, Kelly, Delany and a fourth man, Thomas Caffrey, not then in custody but arrested on Kavanagh's information. Kelly left the car earlier than the others and, taking a tramcar they passed, reached his home comparatively early. On the night of the attack on Field he also drove Brady and Kelly to and from the spot. He identified two others as having been present. The knives used then were thrown into the Grand Canal Dock at Ringsend. The Crown was able to produce an independent witness, another cardriver, who deposed that he saw Kavanagh in the Park at the time of the murders. It will be seen that Kavanagh's evidence seriously implicated several of the prisoners. After his evidence the only witness worth securing by the Crown would be plainly one who was present in the Park and thus competent to corroborate Kavanagh, and also high in authority in the society and capable of giving an account of its origin, organization and history, as that informer was not. There were only two such men amongst the prisoners, and, a week after Kavanagh appeared as an approver, one of them succeeded him in the witness-box.

The reader will have noticed that Kavanagh's evidence gravely compromised James Carey. This man, a master builder, was in rather a more prosperous worldly condition than most of the prisoners. He had contrived, about two months before his arrest, to have himself elected a member of the Dublin Corporation, defeating a Protestant Conservative and a Catholic Liberal. Like Kavanagh he had long strenuously denied all knowledge of the crime, but that informer's evidence showed him that he was in the greatest danger of death. Even then he was still unwilling to come forward; but the magistrates, on the 15th of February, a few days after Kavanagh's appearance, held another sitting of the court at which an independent witness was produced, an acquaintance of Carey's, who swore to having met him in the Park that evening. That seems to have decided Carey. On the next day he gave his information; and on the day after (Sat., 17 Feb.)

he entered the witness-box to give evidence against his former associates, who were now lost indeed. His story, which Mr. T. D. Sullivan is probably right in thinking was not all that he could have told if he would,* ran as follows :—

He was for many years a member of the Fenian Brotherhood, and treasurer, but he left it about two or three years earlier. When, however, in November, 1881, one of the prisoners brought a certain man to his house who invited him to join the new secret society, he did so. This man and three or four others whose names he mentioned, high in authority in secret societies, were the real founders of the new body which was called the Irish Invincibles. They fled to America when the others were arrested in Dublin. There did not appear ever to have been more than about thirty members. One of the members alluded to paid the prisoners from time to time, but Carey did not know where he got the money, nor was this ever established. The society was governed by a committee of four, one of whom was chairman. All the committeemen were amongst the prisoners. The chairman first elected was imprisoned as a suspect in March; and at the time of the murder Daniel Curley was chairman, and was present in that capacity in the Park. The other committeemen at that time were Carey himself, Brady and another prisoner who was not in the Park. Carey corroborated in general the evidence of Farrell and Kavanagh. For many months, as both of them had said, Forster was the object of attack; but when he resigned and left Ireland the Invincibles decided, on account of an article in a Dublin paper of the 2nd of May, which merely said that the Under Secretaryship ought to be changed with each change of Government, to murder Burke, the Under Secretary. This decision was arrived at on the 3rd of May, three days before the murder. The actual time of the murder was the fourth occasion of their going to the Park to murder Burke. They were there on the morning and evening of the day before and on the morning of that day, but were unable to carry out their dreadful purpose until the evening, when Lord Frederick Cavendish accompanied him. Burke escaped on the first three occasions by the accident of his walking through the polo ground instead of by the road. On the 6th of May, the fatal evening there were eleven of the prisoners, including Carey himself and Kavanagh, in the Park. All were Invincibles except the cabdriver. It seems to have been understood that Joseph Brady and Timothy Kelly, both very young men, were to be the actual perpetrators. Carey admitted that it was he who had originally suggested the use of knives. The knives used were surgeons' amputating knives, purchased from a London firm. Brady and Kelly were also to have acted as principals against Forster, according to Farrell's evidence, and other witnesses swore that it was they who stabbed Field. Carey was to give the signal that the victim was approaching. He watched a game at polo until Curley recalled him to his post on the main road. There he watched with one Joseph Smith for

* *Recollections of Troubled Times in Irish Politics*, p. 204.

the approach of Burke from Dublin. Smith was a workman at the Castle. One of the prisoners had brought him to the Invincibles, and he was sworn in because he alone of all the society knew the appearances of Forster, Burke and other officials. His duty on this occasion was to point out Burke to Carey. Burke dismissed his carman, as had been mentioned at the inquest, and joined Lord Frederick Cavendish. The meeting was fatal to both; for had Burke driven past the conspirators on a car they would scarcely have attacked him, and they had no design against Cavendish. The only fact that relieves the gloomy story is that the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish was not premeditated. They were ignorant of his identity, and he was murdered because he was in Burke's company. It may be parenthetically mentioned here that Mr. John Morley, who, as Chief Secretary some three years later, had exceptionally reliable sources of information, assures us, in a footnote to his *Life of Gladstone*,* that Burke was unattended by a police guard on this occasion only because he left them behind him on engaging the car. Carey went on to say that Smith pointed out Burke to him. Then Carey, Smith and Kavanagh gave the signal as Kavanagh described, and Carey told those waiting which of the two gentlemen was Burke. Smith was sent away. Carey walked away, too, but looked back and saw the two gentlemen meet a group of seven of the party. Next he saw Brady stab Burke. He walked away, saw no more, and joined Smith. Both went to Inchicore and from that back to Dublin by tram. On that evening Carey met first Curley and then Brady, and both described the crime to him. On the next evening Brady made his report to Tynan, or "Number One," the man who acted as paymaster of the Invincibles. Carey heard him describe the tragedy. It appeared that Lord Frederick Cavendish, on seeing Burke attacked, attempted to defend him and struck Brady. The latter, being infuriated, murdered Cavendish while Kelly completed the murder of Burke. Then they drove off, as described by Kavanagh. Curley, the chairman, and two others drove away in the cab. It was not until a few hours later, when the dreadful tidings began to be spread throughout the city, that the Invincibles learned that they had committed a much greater crime than they had intended, and that the gentleman in Burke's company was no other than the new Chief Secretary. Carey left the Invincibles in June and knew nothing of the Field affair.

It need scarcely be said that the astounding revelations of Carey created a great sensation. He was universally condemned for betraying his associates in order that he might save his own life. This he did not succeed in doing. After his evidence the prisoners were committed for trial. The Commission which tried them opened on the 9th of April and sat for nearly six weeks. Besides Farrell, Kavanagh, and Carey, there were three additional informers at the trials, transferred like, the first three,

* Vol. III., p. 67. All the other facts elicited at the magistrate's investigation and the trials are taken from the sworn evidence as reported in the *Freeman's Journal*, 1883.

from the dock to the witness-box. These were Joseph Smith, who pointed out Burke, Peter Carey, a brother of James, and Joseph Hanlon. The last was one of those who left the Park in the cab with the chairman, Curley. His life was spared on condition of his appearing as a witness against the prisoner Kelly. As the latter was one of the actual perpetrators the Government seem to have been determined to have him convicted. He was a mere lad, however, and he had really returned to the city on the 6th of May, earlier than the others, so that two juries that tried him disagreed. On the third trial Hanlon appeared to corroborate Carey and Kavanagh, and Kelly was convicted and sentenced. Hanlon and Fagan had left the Park in the cab with Curley. Concerning this journey a sensational story had already been mentioned by Carey as told to him by Curley. This was that the two in the cab along with Curley had, on Curley's orders, drawn their revolvers and covered two cyclists who had witnessed the murder and passed and repassed the cab. Curley gave orders that, if they attempted to follow the cab, they were to be shot, but they did not attempt to do so. It was Curley also who had written the cards and dropped them into the letter-boxes of the newspaper offices.

Another device had been employed to secure the conviction of Kelly. Patrick Delany pleaded guilty to the murder and said that Kelly was one of the perpetrators. This was after the two juries had disagreed, but before Kelly's third trial. Another prisoner, Thomas Caffrey, pleaded guilty along with Delany, but did not incriminate any of his associates. Both were, of course, sentenced to death, but Delany's sentence was commuted, being the only death sentence of this Commission commuted. Caffrey was hanged. It did not, therefore, excite much surprise when Delany, in his convict garb, was publicly produced as an informer on the trial of a Fenian named Patrick N. Fitzgerald, in 1884, or when still as a convict, although not so clothed, he appeared as one of the chief witnesses for the *Times* before the Commission which tried its accusations against Parnell and the other Irish leaders, in 1888-9. It was said that Delany's life sentence was reduced to one of ten years, and he was speedily released.

There was a very large number of independent witnesses at these trials, whose evidence told against the prisoners more strongly than that of the informers. The Phoenix Park murders had long been regarded as an impenetrable mystery, but, when the trials came on, it was evident that a great many people knew something about them. It appeared, when the bills were presented to the Grand Jury, that there was some independent witness to identify every one of the eleven who formed the party in the Phoenix Park. The trials showed that many of the prisoners had been seen by several persons. Five of the prisoners who received capital sentences were executed, with intervals of a few days between each. These five were Brady and Kelly, the actual perpetrators, Curley, the chairman, and Fagan and Caffrey, who were amongst those present but had taken

no active part. There were also three prisoners sentenced to penal servitude for life, one for aiding and abetting after the murders, and two others for the attempt to murder Field. These three were released in 1900. Five others pleaded guilty to a charge of conspiracy to murder, and all received sentences of ten years. These were prisoners who had not been present in the Phoenix Park on the 6th of May. For all who had there was no mercy.

The gradual manner in which the mystery was unravelled until it reached the climax of Carey's appearance in the witness-box, caused the eyes of the public to be turned with great interest to this inquiry. But the sad spectacle of half a dozen men in rapid succession purchasing safety at the price of the lives of their associates, of five of the latter sent to an early grave, and many others to long terms of imprisonment, all for the same great crime, seems to constitute one of the most impressive lessons that can be conceived of the awful consequences that may be incurred by those who become connected with conspiracies. Apart from their connection with the Invincibles the prisoners were all men of good character. It was stated that Curley, Fagan, and Caffrey, at their deaths, said they hoped it would be a warning to others against entering secret societies.

There was a sequel to the Phoenix Park trials. The authorities, having kept James Carey for some weeks in Kilmainham for his own safety, at last sent him away with his wife and family on board a ship bound for Natal. He assumed the name of Power and adopted the slight disguise of shaving off his beard. There was another Irish passenger on the same ship, named Patrick O'Donnell, whose passage was to have terminated in Cape Town, and had been arranged for long before the Government in Ireland had decided to what colony they should send their inconvenient auxiliary, of whose safety they had undertaken the troublesome burden. As far as Cape Town the two were on not unfriendly terms. But in that city another passenger, an Englishman named Robert Cubitt, showed O'Donnell a portrait of Carey in a weekly newspaper, and pointed out its remarkable resemblance to their fellow-passenger Power. O'Donnell agreed with Cubitt, and, having made some inquiries of the younger children, was convinced that Power was Carey. He then booked his passage on the ship for Natal, and on Sunday, the 29th of July, when a few miles off Port Elizabeth, he shot Carey dead on board the *Melrose Castle*. As this was done at some distance from land the law considered it "murder on the high seas." Accordingly O'Donnell was not tried in Natal, but brought back to London where he was tried, convicted, and finally executed on the 17th of December. It was the last act in the tragedy of the Phoenix Park.

Strong reference was made in Parliament to the Kilmainham inquiry. On the 22nd of February, a few days after Carey's evidence was first given, Forster, whose policy some people perversely regarded as vindicated by the revelations, made a violent attack on Parnell and accused him

of fomenting crime and outrage. At the time Parnell merely interjected: "It is a lie." But on the next day he answered Forster and pointed out that his coercion of Ireland was mainly responsible for the foundation of the Invincibles. This was plain from the evidence of Carey himself when under cross-examination. He was being questioned about the condition of Ireland when he joined the Invincibles:—

"The Coercion Bill was in force and the popular leaders were in prison? Yes."

"And was it because you despaired of any constitutional means of serving Ireland that you joined the Society of Invincibles? I believe so." *

The enemies of Parnell and the Irish Party hoped that it might be possible to prove some connection between them and the Invincibles. They were altogether disappointed in this. But the subject was revived in a very striking manner some four years later by the Pigott forgeries, when Parnell had a signal triumph and his enemies a signal discomfiture. In Ireland he was as popular as ever and the results of several bye-elections at this time were strongly in his favour. On the 24th of January, 1883, Mr. William O'Brien, editor of *United Ireland*, who was then being prosecuted for attacking the Government in his paper, was elected for his native town of Mallow by the considerable majority of 72, in a total poll of 250, over John Naish, the Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The last member was also a Whig Attorney-General who had been raised to the Bench. Mr. O'Brien soon showed in the House of Commons that he could speak as well as he could write. The Mallow Election heralded a great change in Ireland. From that time it has become well-nigh impossible for a Catholic Law Officer of the Crown to be elected to Parliament in Ireland. A Protestant Law Officer may of course still be sure of return in Dublin University or in one of the Protestant seats in Ulster. A few weeks after the Mallow Election, on the resignation of Mr. H. J. Gill, Mr. Harrington was returned unopposed for Westmeath, being at the time a Coercion prisoner in the County Gaol at Mullingar, charged with intimidating the farmers because he urged them to do their duty to the labourers. The Labourers (Ireland) Act was passed this year. It empowered Boards of Guardians to build cottages for labourers.

One of the most remarkable Irish elections of the nineteenth century was that in Monaghan on the 2nd of July, 1883, occasioned by the acceptance by the Whig member of a Government position. Mr. Healy resigned his seat for Wexford to become the Nationalist candidate, John Monroe, afterwards a judge, was the Conservative, Mr. Henry Pringle, the Liberal. The author of the Healy clause of the Land Act of 1881 received 2,376 votes, the Conservative 2,011, the Whig 274. Mr. Healy's popularity as a tenants' advocate had much to say to this. To appreciate the signifi-

* *Freeman's Journal*, 20 Feb., 1883.

cance of this victory it should be mentioned that this was the only time, before the new Franchise became law, when any Ulster county, except Cavan, ever returned a Nationalist; and that Isaac Butt had, in 1871, been defeated by a large majority in this county of Monaghan, by a Conservative.

The seat left vacant in Wexford by Mr. Healy's resignation was contested by the O'Connor Don, one of the most able members of the Catholic Whig party in Ireland. He was defeated by Mr. William Redmond, then a very young man, absent in Australia. Mr. Redmond received 307 votes, the O'Connor Don 126. On the 12th of June, 1884, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy was returned unopposed for Athlone as a Nationalist, the vacancy having been created by the death of Sir John Ennis, a Catholic Whig.

A stronger proof than any bye-election of the attachment of the Irish people to Parnell at this date was the Parnell Testimonial. After Forster attacked Parnell the subscriptions for this began by a letter from the Most Rev. Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel. Parnell was not wealthy. He had inherited liabilities and his generosity to his tenants even before the days of the Land League, had made his resources still more slender. The Parnell Tribute reached a total of about £38,000, subscribed by Irishmen all over the world. It was presented to him at a banquet in the Rotunda, Dublin, on the 11th of December, 1883.

Ireland was included in the benefits of Gladstone's great Franchise Act of 1884, which conferred Household Suffrage. As this change was certain to increase the number of Nationalist members the Hon. William Brodrick who, though sitting for an English constituency, was eldest son of an Irish peer, Viscount Midleton, proposed an amendment that Ireland should be excluded from the Act. But he received very little support even from his own party, the Conservatives. A hundred members of that party refused to vote for the amendment, some of its most prominent members even voted against it and for the rights of Ireland. It was rejected by 332 to 137. Thus the Irish masses first came to be represented. The Irish labourer and artisan were now electors.

In December, 1884, the House of Lords accepted the Franchise Bill on condition that it should be accompanied by a Redistribution Bill. Gladstone brought forward such a Bill. The Cabinet Minister in charge of it was Sir Charles Dilke, who showed the most minute acquaintance with its complex details; it was said, however, that a member of the Irish Party, Mr. Thomas Sexton, was scarcely less conversant with it. Gladstone announced that the number of the Irish members, one hundred and three, was to remain unchanged. There were a few attempts by private members to upset this arrangement, but they were voted down by overwhelming majorities. It is said that Lord Salisbury, the Conservative leader, discountenanced such attempts by members of his party. Their arguments were

based on the unfair hypothesis that Ireland's representation should be reduced because of the reduction in her population, a reduction due to the Union system of government. These theorists did not take into account the clause in the treaty of Union, which treaty they professed to be the corner-stone of their Irish policy, which forbade any such reduction of the number of Irish seats. They also conveniently neglected to remember the period before the Famine when the number of Ireland's representatives was greatly inferior to that which she might fairly claim on the basis of population.

The Redistribution Act of 1885 effected, nevertheless, a radical change in the Irish constituencies. Under the old system all the Irish counties, and six of the cities, were two-member constituencies. Under the new, the only such constituencies left in Ireland were Cork City and Dublin University. All the rest are now single-member constituencies, divisions of counties or cities. The old representation was as follows:—64 members representing the thirty-two counties, 2 representing Dublin University, 12 representing the boroughs of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Galway, which had two members each; and 25 representing the boroughs of Derry, Newry, Kilkenny, Armagh, Athlone, Bandon, Carlow, Carrickfergus, Clonmel, Coleraine, Downpatrick, Drogheda, Dundalk, Dungannon, Dungarvan, Ennis, Enniskillen, Kinsale, Lisburn, Mallow, New Ross, Portarlington, Tralee, Wexford, and Youghal, which had one member each. The representation of the one-member boroughs, except those of Derry, Newry and Kilkenny, whose population exceeded 15,000, was abolished. There were twenty-two such boroughs abolished. Limerick, Waterford and Galway each lost one member, while the representation of Dublin and Belfast was increased from two to four. Under the new Act there were nine borough constituencies in Ireland. The representation of Dublin University remained unchanged, but an attempt to secure a representative for the Royal University failed, Gladstone stating that, while he would not abolish the representation of any University, he would add no new University members. London University, an examining body like the Royal, had been granted a member of Parliament by Disraeli's Reform Act of 1867.

Under the old system every county in Ireland had two members, whatever its population or extent. Under the new, Cork County has seven members, the following counties, naming them in the order of their extent, have four each:—Galway, Mayo, Donegal, Kerry, Tipperary, Tyrone, Antrim and Down. Armagh has three and the following counties have two each:—Cavan, Clare, Dublin, Fermanagh, Kildare, Kilkenny, King's County, Leitrim, Limerick, Londonderry, Longford, Louth, Meath, Monaghan, Queen's County, Roscommon, Sligo, Waterford, Westmeath, Wexford and Wicklow. Carlow has one member. The representation of Ireland is now distributed as follows:—Counties, 85 members, Dublin University 2, and Boroughs 16 members.

In the Session of 1885, the Irish Party, by voting against the Government in several critical divisions, had brought the Ministerial majority down considerably. This was notably the case in the division of the 27th of February, 1885, when a vote of censure on the Government was proposed for its conduct with regard to General Gordon, who had been despatched to Khartoum, then deserted, and finally killed by the Soudanese. The defection of many Liberals and the hostile Irish vote left the Government a majority of only fourteen. But in a few months more it was to be shown more strikingly what even Parnell's small party could do because it was well disciplined and attending regularly.

On the 15th of May Gladstone announced the intention of the Government to re-enact some clauses of the violent Coercion Act which had been passed in the passion created by the Phoenix Park Murders. It had been passed for three years and would have expired three months after Gladstone's announcement, but he said he would not allow it to expire. Parnell and the Irish Party replied to this by uniting with the Conservatives to defeat the Government on the 8th of June. On that day the second reading was taken of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. As the beer and spirit duties were to be increased the Conservatives opposed the Bill. The Government was defeated by twelve votes, the figures being 264 to 252. Parnell with his party, numbering 39, had effected the defeat of the strongest Liberal Government of the century. This the Irish Party did as a protest against the coercion policy.

The Government resigned and the Conservatives re-entered office with Lord Salisbury as Premier for the first time. Lord Spencer was succeeded as Viceroy by the Earl of Carnarvon, and Mr., now Sir Henry, Campbell-Bannerman, who in October, 1884, had replaced Mr. Trevelyan, as Chief Secretary, was succeeded by Sir William Hart Dyke. The Conservative Government showed itself conciliatory. The Coercion Act was allowed to expire on the 14th of August. An inquiry was granted into the case of Myles Joyce, wrongfully executed by the late Government. An excellent Land Purchase Act was passed at the instance of Lord Ashbourne, the Irish Lord Chancellor. Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August on the understanding that there would be a General Election in November. In the end of July Parnell met Lord Carnarvon, the Conservative Viceroy, on the invitation of the latter, in an empty house in London. Parnell stated subsequently that Lord Carnarvon promised at this interview that the Conservative Government would, if successful, grant Ireland a Parliament, protection of Irish industries, and a liberal scheme of land purchase. Lord Carnarvon said that he had sought this interview on his own responsibility and not on behalf of his Government, but, although his recollection of the details did not agree with Parnell's, he did not deny that some such proposals had been made. Thus Parnell was most successful in his policy of playing

off the British parties against each other, and getting the Conservatives to make the running for the Liberals.

In Ireland he formulated his demands. At a great meeting in Dublin on the 24th of August he declared for Grattan's Parliament. Three days earlier at Arklow he said there should be legislative protection of Irish industries against British competition. Although Parnell demanded Grattan's Parliament as something that might be granted, he preserved his hatred of British domination of Ireland, and had shown his sympathy with complete separation from England in January, 1885, when he said at Cork, speaking of himself and the Irish Party, "We have never attempted to fix *ne plus ultra* to the progress of Ireland's nationhood."

The cold shade of opposition had its usual effect of making the Liberals more liberal. Mr. Chamberlain said he was in favour of a large measure of local self-government for Ireland. Mr. Morley, with more sincerity, for he was even then a Home Ruler of many years' standing, said he was in favour of granting Home Rule as in Canada. Hugh Childers, another member of Gladstone's Cabinet, who had begun his political life in Australia, also declared himself a Home Ruler. In addition to all this Lord Salisbury, the Conservative Premier, delivered a speech at Newport on the 7th of October, which was certainly not that of an uncompromising opponent of Home Rule.

The General Election began in November. Gladstone in Midlothian called upon the electors of Great Britain to give him such a majority as should render him independent of the Irish vote. When Parnell asked Gladstone to state formally his views on Home Rule, the latter replied that the Irish constituencies had not yet spoken on the question by their votes. Parnell retorted by issuing directions, published on the 21st of November, to the Irish voters in Great Britain, to vote against the Liberals. This was no idle menace, but had an immense effect on the result. The Irish vote in English and Scotch towns had been organized since about two years previously in the most energetic manner by the Irish National League of Great Britain, of which Mr. T. P. O'Connor was then, and has been now many years, President. Some Liberals, recognizing this potent force, had descended to the most abject appeals for support from it. But only five Liberal candidates in England, men who had been consistent supporters of Ireland's rights against their party, were excepted from the Irish decree against Liberals.* The borough elections came first, and, under the new Franchise and Redistribution, the Irish vote told heavily against the Liberals. Several Coercionist Liberals of great mark in their party were rejected. Of the nine Liverpool members not one was a Liberal, of the six Manchester members but one. In several London constituencies the small majority by which

* The five excepted were Messrs. Labouchere, Joseph Cowen, T. C. Thompson, Lloyd Jones and Samuel Storey.

the Liberals were defeated was the Irish vote of the district. Speaking of the Liberal defeats in the boroughs, Gladstone said:—"The main cause is the Irish vote." He said, too, that Lancashire had spoken, but that her accents were tinged strongly with the Irish brogue. Writing to Midlothian about the Conservatives he said:—"They know that, but for the imperative orders, issued on their behalf by Mr. Parnell and his friends, whom they were never tired of denouncing as disloyal men, the Liberal majority of forty-eight would at this moment have been near a hundred."

In Ireland the result of this General Election, the first on the extended franchise and in the new one-member constituencies of redistribution, was overwhelmingly in favour of Home Rule. 85 Nationalists were returned, and only 18 Unionists. There was also a Nationalist returned in Great Britain, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who was elected for the Scotland Division of Liverpool, where there is a large Irish population. In Leinster, Munster and Connaught Nationalists were elected by enormous majorities, while their Unionist opponents polled in some cases an absurdly low number of votes. Thus in North Kilkenny, Mid-Cork, South Mayo and East Kerry the totals of votes recorded for Nationalist and Unionist candidates respectively, were: 4,084 and 174, 5,033 and 106, 4,900 and 75, and 3,169 and 30. These are merely instances of what went on in all the elections in these provinces. Dr. Kevin Izod O'Doherty, the Young Ireland editor of '48, was elected for North Meath. In Ulster alone were there close contests. But here, too, the Nationalists generally triumphed. Only in two considerable contests were they defeated, and the majority in each was very small. Mr. Justin M'Carthy was defeated in Derry City by a majority of 29 in a total poll of 3,619, and Mr. Sexton in West Belfast by 35 in a poll of 7,523. But these were counterbalanced by the capture of South Derry and South Tyrone. Mr. Healy won South Derry by a majority of 565 over Whig and Tory combined, although Catholics are in a minority in the division. Mr. William O'Brien defeated the landlord nominee in South Tyrone by 52. Like Mr. Healy he had a majority partly composed of non-Catholic voters. The old fiction that Ulster belonged entirely to the Unionists was exploded. It should be remembered that, on the old franchise, of all the Ulster constituencies only Cavan twice and Monaghan once, had ever returned Nationalists. Now of the 33 Ulster seats 17 were won by Nationalists. In only one constituency outside Ulster were Unionists returned, that of Dublin University. In only two did they make any serious fight. These were Stephen's Green, one of the new divisions of the City of Dublin, where there was a Nationalist majority of nearly 2,000, and South County Dublin, where the Nationalist majority was 1,378. On the old franchise Parnell was defeated by a large Unionist majority in his first election fight in 1874, in the

County of Dublin, then as safe a Tory seat as Antrim. Parnell headed the poll as a matter of course in Cork City. Four of his lieutenants were elected now for two constituencies. His party numbered eighty-six. Owing to the Irish vote in Great Britain the Liberals had not that majority, independent of the Irish, which Gladstone had called for.

When the General Election was over the numbers stood thus:—Liberals 335, Conservatives 249, Nationalists 86. The Nationalist total evenly balanced the majority of Liberals over Conservatives, while Liberals and Nationalists combined had a majority of 172 over Conservatives. Parnell's strategy had triumphed. He was universally recognized by Tory and Whig newspapers in England as master of the situation.

Events moved rapidly towards the adoption of Home Rule by a British Party. On the 17th of December an inspired paragraph appeared simultaneously in the *Standard* and the *Leeds Mercury*, stating that Gladstone had determined to concede Home Rule. He denied the report guardedly, but the manner of his denial was proof that there was some ground for it. Lord Salisbury and the Conservatives abandoned their attitude of opportunism and began to declare decidedly against Home Rule. On the 11th of January the newly-elected Irish Party met in Dublin, and, although Parnell was absent, he was unanimously elected Chairman. On the following day Lord Carnarvon, the Viceroy, resigned, and so did the Chief Secretary. Lord Carnarvon was personally disposed towards a policy of conciliation if not of Home Rule. William Henry Smith was appointed Chief Secretary, but, as will be seen, he was a very short time in office.

On the 21st of January, 1886, Parliament assembled. On the 26th a Coercion Bill was promised early in the day. On that very evening Parnell united his party with the Liberals and turned the Government out. The vote was on the amendment to the Address by Mr. Jesse Collings. The figures were 329 to 250. It was universally understood by this time that Gladstone had become a convert to Home Rule. Gladstone became Premier for the third time. It need scarcely be said that his Government was very popular in Ireland. The Earl of Aberdeen became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. John Morley, Chief Secretary.

About this time there was a painful interlude in Nationalist politics which seemed to foreshadow other events which came nearly five years later. Captain O'Shea, the negotiator of the Kilmainham Treaty of 1882, being a Gladstonian Liberal rather than a Nationalist, had not sought re-election in Clare but had stood as a Liberal for the Exchange Division of Liverpool, where he had been beaten by a small majority. The seat for Galway City was vacant, as Mr. T. P. O'Connor, its member, had been returned for a division of Liverpool, also, and had elected to sit

for it. The news that Parnell intended to make O'Shea member for Galway, without his being pledged to sit, act and vote with the Irish Party, as all other Nationalist members were, caused Messrs. Biggar and Healy to go to that town and start a candidate to oppose him. But Parnell went there and by appealing to the necessity for unity and obedience to his leadership, quelled the revolt, and O'Shea was elected on the 11th of February, 1886. It need only be added that, when the fateful division on Home Rule came on a few months later, O'Shea voted neither for nor against it but walked out of the House of Commons. That was the end of his Parliamentary career. In the General Election of the next month he did not seek re-election.

On the 8th of April, 1886, Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule Bill. He proposed to establish an Irish Parliament consisting of two chambers and an Irish Executive to manage Irish affairs. The Imperial Parliament was still to control the succession to the crown, peace or war, the army, navy, militia, volunteers, defence, foreign and colonial relations, dignities, titles of honour, treason, trade, post office, coinage. The Irish Parliament was not to make laws as to the endowment of religion, or against educational freedom, or as to customs or excise. The Dublin Metropolitan Police were to remain under Imperial control for two years, and the Royal Irish Constabulary indefinitely; but eventually all Irish police were to be under the control of the Irish Parliament. Constitutional questions as to the powers of the Irish Parliament were to be submitted to the Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council. Ireland's contribution to the Imperial revenue was to be in the proportion of one-fifteenth to the whole. The Irish members were no longer to sit in the Imperial Parliament.

The last clause was vehemently opposed on many sides. Parnell found himself obliged for the present to give up protection of Irish industries in the Bill. He accepted the financial arrangement with reluctance, justly declaring that it was a "hard bargain" for Ireland. It was always his custom to drive the hardest bargain possible in favour of Ireland.

Gladstone succeeded in carrying the bulk of his party with him in his advocacy of Home Rule, but the proposal cost him the support of some of the leading members of that party, notably of Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain and John Bright. They were followed by about ninety others who henceforth became known as the Liberal Unionist Party. When the crucial division on the second reading of the Bill took place on the 7th of June, 1886, it was defeated by a majority of 30 votes, the numbers being 343 to 313, the 343 who voted against it being composed of 250 Conservatives and 93 Liberal Unionists. Gladstone at once dissolved Parliament and the results of the General Election were unfavourable to him. There were 315 Conservatives and 78 Liberal Unionists returned

against 191 Liberals and 86 Nationalists. In Ulster South Derry and South Tyrone were lost by the Nationalists, but Mr. Sexton succeeded in capturing West Belfast,* and Mr. Justin M'Carthy was awarded the seat for Derry City on petition, so that the Nationalist total remained unchanged. The great majority of the Irish people are quite unchangeable in this matter. From this time forward the Liberal Opposition and the Nationalists were in alliance. When Gladstone did take up Home Rule it must be admitted that he advocated it with splendid energy and ability. Sir George Trevelyan was for a time a Unionist, but soon returned to the Liberal fold. If Gladstone had lost John Bright, Mr. Chamberlain and the present Duke of Devonshire, he had retained such old Liberals as Sir William Harcourt, Hugh Childers, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Charles Dilke, Earl Granville, Earl Spencer, the Marquess of Ripon and the Earl of Kimberley. Of all these men Lord Spencer deserved the greatest credit for standing by his old leader in support of Home Rule; for he showed much magnanimity in forgetting the violence with which he had been assailed by both the tongues and the pens of Irish Nationalists, when he was Viceroy of Ireland.

Owing to the Conservative victory at the polls Lord Salisbury became Premier for the second time. The Lords Lieutenant of Ireland during this administration were the Marquess of Londonderry from 1886 to 1889, and the Earl, now Marquess, of Zetland from 1889 to the dissolution of Parliament. The Chief Secretaries were Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, a second time, until March, 1887, Mr. Arthur James Balfour from that date to the close of 1891, and Mr. William Lawies Jackson, now Lord Allerton, from that time until the dissolution of Parliament. The Conservative Government soon showed the truth of Parnell's saying that there was no alternative between granting Home Rule and governing Ireland as a crown colony. This Ministry went as near the latter course as any Government could, in a country which still preserved some semblance of respect for constitutional methods of ruling. This was done rather out of opposition to Gladstone and Home Rule than from principle. Lord Randolph Churchill, one of the most brilliant members of the Government party, told Mr. Justin M'Carthy that, having done all he could for the Nationalists and failed, he now intended to do all he could against them. As there did not seem to be much hope of redress for the grievances of tenants, some of the Nationalist leaders took an extreme step in proposing a system of banking the rents of tenants, which were to be placed in the care of a managing committee of tenants on the estate, when the landlord refused to give the reduction of the half-year's rent which the tenants demanded. This was called the Plan of Campaign. The scheme appeared in *United Ireland* of the 23rd of

* Mr. Sexton's victory in West Belfast so enraged the Orange party that the most violent Orange riots of the century occurred in that city for weeks afterwards.

October, 1886. Parnell stated some months afterwards that this was not done with his sanction or approval.

In the following year, which was the Jubilee or fiftieth anniversary of the succession of Queen Victoria to the throne, the most stringent Coercion Act of the century was introduced. It was to remain in force for an indefinite period. It was, of course, opposed by the Irish Party and the Liberals with energy, but carried through by the huge Government majority. On the 10th of June Parnell and the Irish Party retired as a protest of Ireland's representatives against the proposal of William Henry Smith, who was leader of the House of Commons, that the Committee in charge of the Coercion Bill should report to the House within a week. On the 8th of July the Bill passed its third reading. It was not long in passing through its final stages. Although a Land Act was introduced at the same time which benefited leaseholders, the Irish policy of this Government was unfortunately mainly composed of Coercion. On the 19th of August the National League was suppressed as an illegal association, and soon the Government rivalled Forster in 1881-2 in its drastic application of Coercion. Many Irish members of Parliament were imprisoned under this Act, some of them several times during the next four years.* On the 9th of September the police fired in order to disperse illegally a Nationalist meeting at Mitchelstown, Co. Cork. Three men were killed and many wounded.

In the July of this year Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal, Persico visited Ireland on a special mission from Pope Leo XIII. He was sent to ascertain the state of the country.

At the opening of the session of 1888 the Liberals and the Irish Party, opposing the Government on the Address, were defeated by 319 votes to 229. On the 2nd of February two members of the late Home Rule Cabinet, the Marquess of Ripon and Mr. Morley, received an enthusiastic welcome at a great meeting in Dublin. On the 20th of April a Papal rescript was issued condemning boycotting and the Plan of Campaign. On the 8th of May Parnell, speaking at the Eighty Club, a Gladstonian body, declared that he had never sanctioned or approved of the Plan of Campaign. In June Parnell announced that Cecil Rhodes, the great British potentate of South Africa, had sent him £10,000 as a contribution to the Home Rule Party's funds, but that he had stipulated that Parnell should support the retention of the Irish members in Westminster in any future settlement of the question.

On the 7th of March, 1887, a series of articles entitled *Parnellism and Crime* began to appear in the *Times* newspaper. This series attempted

*Mr. William O'Brien was imprisoned five times; Mr. Condon three times; the following members twice:—Messrs. David Sheehy, Cox, Patrick O'Brien, Gilhooly, John Dillon, Redmond, John O'Connor and Tanner; the following once:—Messrs. O'Kelly, T. D. Sullivan, T. Harrington, Kilbride, Carew, Flynn, E. Harrington, Hooper and Pyne.

to prove that the Irish leader and his colleagues were actively employed in fomenting crime in Ireland. It closed on the 18th of April, which, by a coincidence evidently not accidental, was the day on which the division on the second reading of the Coercion Bill was to be taken in the House of Commons. On that day the facsimile of a letter, alleged to have been written by Parnell, and the handwriting of which certainly bore a close resemblance to his, was published in the newspaper. This letter, dated the 15th of May, 1882, nine days after the Phoenix Park murders, purported to be an apology from Parnell to some unnamed person, apparently in sympathy with the Invincibles, in which Parnell was made to excuse himself for his condemnation of the crime on the plea of necessity. It contained the following sentence, "Though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts." On the following day Parnell, in his place in Parliament, denied the authenticity of the letter. He contented himself with simply asserting that it was an "audacious fabrication" and took no further action about it. Owing to the traditionally high reputation of the *Times* many believed that the letter was authentic, in spite of Parnell's denial.

The subject was not revived until more than a year afterwards when Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, a former member of the Irish Party, took an action against the *Times* for libel, as his name had been mentioned amongst others in the series of articles. The leading counsel for the *Times*, Sir Richard Webster, the English Attorney General, in the course of his address for the defendant, read aloud a whole series of new letters, besides that already published. They purported to have been written by Parnell and sympathized with crime. On the 5th of July, 1888, the jury returned a verdict for the *Times*. This caused a large number of the English public to believe more strongly than ever that the letters were authentic. On the 6th of July Parnell asserted, in the House of Commons, that all the letters quoted at the trial were forgeries. The Irish Party and the Liberals demanded the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons to investigate the authenticity of the letters printed by the *Times*. The Government would not consent to this, but proposed, instead, a Bill appointing a Commission of three judges to investigate the truth or falsehood of all the charges made by the *Times* against Parnell and his colleagues, including the letters. Parnell objected and said that the case of the letters alone should be gone into. The Government, persisting in its own course, introduced a Bill on the 16th of July, which finally passed the House of Lords on the 11th of August. The three judges who constituted the Commission were Sir James, afterwards Lord, Hannen, Mr. Justice Day and Mr. Justice Smith.

The Commission met on the 17th of September to determine its procedure. The actual sittings began on the 22nd of October. Parnell and sixty-four other Irish members were affected by the charges, as well as

Mr. Michael Davitt, who was not then in Parliament. Both sides were represented by counsel, Sir Richard Webster and Sir Henry James being the leading counsel for the *Times*, Sir Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Mr. Asquith for Parnell, and Mr. Reid and others for the other Nationalists. All the Nationalists were represented by counsel except Mr. Davitt and Joseph Gillis Biggar, who appeared for themselves. The general charges were first gone into and the *Times* produced many witnesses, including Patrick De'any, the Invincible, who was brought from prison to give evidence. His evidence did not connect any of the accused Nationalists with the Invincible conspiracy.

The only remarkable witness for the *Times* was the spy Thomas Miller Beach, who was known as Major Le Caron. This man, an Englishman, had served in the Northern army in the great American Civil War of 1861-5. He had also entered the Fenian Brotherhood, of which he had been a highly-placed and trusted member, until he appeared in the witness-box. He had all along been betraying the secrets of the Fenians and Clann-na-Gael to the British Government, in whose pay he had been for a quarter of a century. He swore that he had had a conversation with Parnell in 1881, in the House of Commons, in which the feasibility of uniting the open and revolutionary Irish movements was discussed. His evidence did not compromise Parnell, for the latter, even on Beach's admission, did not say much, and the spy had to admit that the interview was of his own seeking. But his history shows how much a clever spy can do in betraying the affairs of a secret society. Apparently his treachery would never have been detected if he had chosen to play his double part until his death.

After Beach's evidence was given the solicitor and manager of the *Times* were examined, and it turned out that they had purchased the alleged Parnell letters from Mr. Edward Caulfield Houston, secretary of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, a Unionist association of that day. Mr. Houston had not revealed to the *Times* conductors from whom the letters had been purchased by him until long after their publication. He told them he was obliged not to divulge the name. Mr. Houston, who was the next witness, stated that he had purchased the letters from Richard Pigott.* As soon as

* The money was supplied by some extreme Unionists, one of whom, Dr. Maguire, of Trinity College, Dublin, died in London on the day Pigott failed to appear. Pigott told Mr. Houston a story, and told it again in court, as to how he had obtained the letters. He said two men named Murphy and Brown had given them to him in Paris, after several mysterious interviews. They had lain there a long time in a black box left behind by Frank Byrne. On the strength of such lies Pigott had long been in receipt of a guinea a day and travelling expenses from some Unionist sympathizers with the I. L. P. U., commissioned to discover and supply documents compromising Parnell and his party. He actually visited Paris, Lausanne and other places, when he was thus almost incredibly engaged in deceiving his employers and the *Times*!

matters had reached this point most Nationalists began to see how the case really stood. Pigott's name has been mentioned already. He was a native of Ratoath, Co. Meath, and, like his father, he had originally occupied minor positions in newspaper offices. In 1858 Denis Holland transferred his revolutionary Nationalist paper, the *Ulsterman*, from Belfast (where Mr., afterwards Sir Charles, Russell was one of its contributors) to Dublin, where he re-named it the *Irishman*. Pigott was employed in the office in both cities. It was soon purchased by Patrick James Smyth, the Young Ireland orator, who had helped his leaders to escape from Australia. Smyth appointed Pigott editor, and, after a few years of ownership, made him a present of the paper. This was in 1865 and Pigott soon established another paper, the *Flag of Ireland*, and a magazine, the *Shamrock*. The *Irishman* had all along advocated Fenian views, and, on the suppression of the official organ of Fenianism, the *Irish People*, in 1865, it suddenly became prominent. Its conductor, Pigott, was, however, a man of much inferior calibre, mental and moral, to the able and honest men who conducted the *Irish People*. He was a bitter opponent of the *Nation* and its high-minded and honourable editor, A. M. Sullivan. As long as the Fenian movement was the chief one in Ireland Pigott's *Irishman* prospered, but as soon as Butt's and Parnell's movements became important, the paper declined. He was glad to sell his newspapers in 1881 to Parnell, who then established *United Ireland*. Pigott had now no means of livelihood, and complete destitution threatened him and his family. He began to write anonymous libels on Nationalist leaders, such as *Parnellism Unmasked*, and lived to some extent by blackmailing Irish public men.

Pigott was the next witness after Mr. Houston. On Thursday and Friday, the 21st and 22nd of February, he was subjected to a most rigorous and searching cross-examination by Sir Charles Russell as to the letters. He was confronted with certain letters he had written to the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, one of them dated the 4th of March, three days before the publication of the first article on *Parnellism and Crime*. He was trying apparently to induce the Archbishop to prevent the publication of the letters he had sold. When questioned as to his correspondence with the Archbishop, he prevaricated grossly and even denied his own handwriting. His evidence left a general impression, at the close of the day's cross-examination, on Friday evening, the 22nd, that he was himself the writer of the facsimile letter and the others.*

His cross-examination was to have been resumed on Tuesday morning, the 26th, but when that day came he could not be found, and had evidently fled. Parnell denied on oath the authenticity of the letters and a confession was read which Pigott had made on Saturday, the 23rd, to Mr. Labouchere

* When asked by Sir Charles Russell to write the words *hesitancy* and *likelihood* he misspelled them *hesitency* and *likehood*. They were so misspelled in the letters. This ominous coincidence was discovered by Mr. Patrick Egan.

in presence of George Augustus Sala, the well-known writer. He confessed that the facsimile letter justifying the Phoenix Park murders, and all the alleged Parnell letters, and others attributed to Messrs. Davitt, O'Kelly and Egan, were forgeries of which he was the author. Sir Richard Webster and the *Times* apologized to Parnell. The police traced Pigott to the Hotel los Embajadores, Madrid, where, on the 1st of March, as he was on the point of being arrested, he committed suicide by shooting himself in the head. The wretched man could not face the disgrace of being brought back and punished. Many will think, with Mr. Labouchere, that Pigott was less to blame than those who purchased and used his forgeries.

Parnell's vindication was complete. In Ireland Nationalists had never believed that he wrote the letters. But in England many persons believed it. They now hastened to show their repentance for this opinion. When he entered the House of Commons, after the flight and confession of Pigott, he received an ovation. *Punch*, in its leading cartoon, depicted the *Times* doing penance with white sheet and candle. On the 8th of March Parnell and his former opponent, Earl Spencer, were entertained as joint guests at the Eighty Club. On the 13th he addressed a great meeting in London along with Mr. Morley. On the 20th of July he was presented by the Town Council of Edinburgh with the freedom of the City.

The Commission had been appointed on account of the forged letters. But as it included other matters in its scope it continued to hold its sittings for some months. Parnell's examination as first witness for the defence began on the 30th of April. He showed considerable dexterity in replying to the questions of Sir Richard Webster, who cross-examined him on the 1st and 2nd of May. He was succeeded in the witness-box on the 8th of May by the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, who showed that agrarian crime in Ireland was really more the outcome of distress than of agitation. Some other Irish ecclesiastics were examined and their evidence supported Dr. Walsh's view. He recommended arbitration as a remedy for the Land difficulty in Ireland, and showed practically in the following year how it might usefully be applied, by settling a strike on the Great Southern Railway which had been referred to him.

On the 15th of July Parnell and the other Nationalists with their counsel, withdrew from the case, because the Court, three days earlier, had refused the application of Sir Charles Russell, that the books of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, which had subsidised Pigott, should be produced. On the 22nd of November the Commission closed its sittings. The last days had been occupied by speeches from Mr. Davitt and Joseph Gillis Biggar in their own defence, and Sir Henry James's reply for the *Times*. On the 3rd of February, 1890, the *Times* paid Parnell £5,000 in settlement of an action he had taken against it. On the 13th the Report of the Commission was laid on the table of the House of Commons. Although the Special Commission held that some of the defendants had palliated

or failed to condemn agrarian outrages, the Report was, on the whole, such a triumph for Parnell and his Party, whom it exonerated from the gravest charges, which were contained in the forged letters, that Gladstone, on the 3rd of March, proposed that the House of Commons should express its reprobation of the false charges made against Parnell. The motion was defeated by 339 to 268, the Liberal Party voting with the Irish. Not even the evidence of the spy Beach, the only strong portion of the *Times* case, could weigh against such tremendous facts as the confession, flight and suicide of Pigott.

It may be mentioned here that Joseph Gillis Biggar, the oldest and most strenuous fighter of Parnell's colleagues, died on the 19th of February. He had become a Catholic in 1877. His death was universally regretted by Irish Nationalists.

Returning from the close of the Special Commission to earlier events it may be noted here that on the 25th of July, 1889, Parnell and the Irish Party voted, with Gladstone and against the Radicals, for the increase of the grant to the family of the Prince of Wales, now King Edward VII., on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter. Gladstone had assured Parnell:—"The Prince of Wales is no enemy of Ireland; he is no enemy to any Irish policy which has the sanction of the masses of the Irish people."* On the 28th of October Mr. William O'Brien established, at Thurles, a Tenants' Defence League, with Parnell's authorization. On the 18th of December Parnell visited Gladstone at the latter's residence, Hawarden, in Wales, and they had an important discussion on the details of the next Home Rule Bill. The particulars of this discussion were the subject of much controversy a year later, when Parnell, under the pressure of unfortunate events, gave his version of it to the world. On the 19th of December Parnell accepted at Liverpool, from admirers, a sum of £3,000, subscribed to defray his heavy expenses in connection with the Special Commission.

On the 28th of June, 1890, Parnell was entertained at dinner by seventy of his Parliamentary colleagues on the occasion of his forty-fourth birthday. He anticipated a speedy settlement of the Home Rule question at the hands of Gladstone.

On the 15th and 17th of November a divorce petition, of which notice had been given on the 28th of December, 1889, was heard in London. It was brought by Captain O'Shea, and Parnell was co-respondent. The verdict was unfavourable to him. He offered no defence and was not represented by counsel. At first it seemed as if this would not affect his political position. On the 20th of November a great meeting was held in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, at which a very large number of the Irish Party were present, including some of its most prominent members. At this meeting it was declared that the recent case should make no change

* R. Barry O'Brien's *Life of Parnell*. Vol. II., p. 363.

in Parnell's position. A cablegram was read, signed by five of the six Irish members then on a mission in America,* which also supported Parnell's leadership. On the 25th of November Parliament met for a winter session and Parnell was unanimously re-elected Chairman of the Irish Party, a very large number taking part in the election. It was afterwards explained by those who had ceased to follow him, that this was done under the impression that he would have retired from public life. But he does not seem to have contemplated such a step, since he issued on Saturday, the 15th of November, the day of the opening of the trial which he must have known would be unfavourable to him, a summons to his Parliamentary colleagues for the session. The Leinster Hall meeting and his re-election would, in any case, have tended rather to dissuade him from retiring had he so intended.

The Party had scarcely re-elected him Chairman when a letter was shown to them and published in the newspapers; it was an open letter from Gladstone to Mr. Morley which the latter was to show to Mr. Justin M'Carthy. It declared that, in Gladstone's opinion, Parnell's retention of the leadership would be fatal to the Home Rule cause, as it would alienate the Nonconformist section of the Liberal Party, who had already begun to show disapproval of Parnell.† To this Parnell replied by a manifesto, dated 29 Nov., in which he said that he and Gladstone had failed to come to an agreement on certain points in the Home Rule scheme discussed by them at Hawarden a year previously. Parnell said that Gladstone's scheme included the following items: Only thirty-two Irish members were to sit at Westminster; the Land question was to be settled by the British Parliament; the Irish police were to remain indefinitely under Imperial control, and the appointment of judges and magistrates for a certain number of years. Gladstone's recollection on these points differed from Parnell's. But by this time a majority of the Irish Party had decided to refuse to follow Parnell. It was, perhaps, to have been expected that this should have happened, for his attendance in Parliament had not been regular for some time, and the bonds of his authority had been loosened, since he had lately exercised it at rare intervals. His health had not been good for some years, and the other members of the Party had done almost all the political work in Ireland in that time. Many of the majority believed, too, that the cause of Home Rule was bound up with the Liberal alliance, and that to loosen that alliance would be to ruin the cause. From that time for the next nine years, the Nationalist Party was divided into two sections, Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, which were for the first few years bitterly hostile to each other.

* The exception was Mr. T. D. Sullivan, who had already, in 1886, publicly protested against O'Shea's candidature for Galway.

† This was shown at a political conference of Nonconformists, attended by Sir William Harcourt, which happened to be held very shortly after the end of the trial. Immediately after that event the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, a leading Nonconformist, declared in the *Methodist Times* against the continuance of Parnell's leadership.

On the 1st of December a meeting of the Irish Party began in Committee Room 15 of the House of Commons, at which the leadership question was discussed. Parnell presided. As he refused to put the question of his deposition, forty-five members left the room on the 6th of December, and, forming a separate party, elected Mr. Justin M'Carthy their chairman. He retained this position until 1896 when he was succeeded by Mr. John Dillon. It was now evident that of the 85 Nationalists, former followers of Parnell, 53 were against his leadership and 32 for it. The latter could not, even under the circumstances, forget his past services. Some of them belonged to the extreme section of Nationalists, or Fenians, who were still with Parnell. But it was soon to be proved that the majority of the Irish people was no longer with him. While the meeting in Committee Room 15 was still proceeding the Bishops of Ireland held a meeting on the 3rd of December, at which they passed a resolution declaring that his leadership should continue no longer, basing their opinion on moral grounds. The majority of the priests in Ireland supported the same view. They could hardly have avoided doing so considering the nature of the issue, and it must not be forgotten that in morality Ireland stands first among the nations of the earth. The secession of the clergy had probably more to do with the secession of the Irish people than any other cause.

When the division in the Party occurred an election was pending in North Kilkenny owing to the death of the late member. Sir John Pope Hennessy, an able Irishman, who had been a Catholic Conservative member for King's County in the Parliament of 1859-65, and had afterwards filled with great distinction the position of governor of several British colonies, was already a candidate under Parnell's auspices, but, when the division occurred, he sided with the majority. Parnell secured a candidate in Mr. Vincent Scully, but, after a contest of great bitterness, Sir John Pope Hennessy was returned. In the following year there were contests in North Sligo and in Carlow, but in both cases Parnell's nominees were defeated. In January and February, 1891, Mr. John Dillon and Mr. William O'Brien, who had returned from America, met Parnell at Boulogne and carried on negotiations with him as to his conditional retirement, which had no successful issue. Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien had been sentenced in their absence, on the 19th of November, under the Coercion Act. Reaching Folkestone on the 13th of February, they were arrested, and when they left Galway Gaol, on the 31st of July, they declared definitely against Parnell's leadership. Parnell, speaking at Newcastle on the 18th of July, said the only Liberal leader he would trust on the Home Rule question was Mr. John Morley.*

* Mr. Morley in his *Life of Gladstone* (Vol. III, p. 459) says that Parnell in his speech stated that there was only one Liberal leader whom he would trust, but modestly suppresses the name of the only Liberal. Mr. Morley shows a just appreciation of Parnell's extraordinary career and treats him with the utmost consideration in the last sad episode of his life.

After the failure of the Boulogne negotiations Parnell held a series of Sunday meetings of his supporters in Ireland, journeying to and from England every week. The strain of this affected his health, which had been bad for years. On Sunday, the 27th of September, he addressed a meeting at Creggs, Co. Galway, and was exposed to the rain for some hours. This brought on an attack of rheumatic fever, and he died of inflammation of the lungs at 9 Walsingham Terrace, Brighton, on Tuesday, the 6th of October, 1891. His funeral, which took place at Dublin on the following Sunday, the 11th, was a great demonstration of grief, and was attended by two hundred thousand persons. He was buried in Glasnevin, but no monument as yet marks the spot. It is intended, however, to erect one soon in Dublin.

The loss of Parnell to the Irish cause was no doubt inevitable. It was nevertheless irreparable. By his iron tenacity of will he succeeded in raising the question of Home Rule from an annual academic discussion in Parliament to the position of the greatest public question of the day. He caused Ireland to be feared and respected by the two British parties. He made and unmade ministries. Most of his early political life consisted of desperate uphill fighting, practically by himself alone against the House of Commons, against both English parties combined. His obstruction policy first made him popular in Ireland, and his genuine hatred of British domination in Ireland brought to his side a section of Irish Nationalists hitherto hostile to all open or Parliamentary agitation. It is his greatest praise that he combined all Irish Nationalists in an effort for independence. He threw himself into the fight for the tenant farmers of Ireland, and his efforts were crowned with the greatest success. Much of that revolution which has taken place in the condition of the Irish tenant is due to his advocacy. He taught the English people that the will of the majority of the Irish people is a force which must be respected. The Irish in America and the British colonies, and many who had no hereditary claim on Ireland, sympathized heartily with his agitation and showed it substantially. In Ireland he was really the uncrowned King, as he was called. The clergy of the Catholic Church, many Irish Protestants, above all the Irish democracy, the artisans and labourers, whose claims he always upheld, were his supporters. Having become the leader of a Catholic people he supported the educational claims of their Church. His interest in harbours, quarries, railways and generally in the industrial development of Ireland was a strong personal note in his character, as his advocacy of protection for Irish industries from British competition shows. Living at a later epoch than O'Connell, his task was more difficult. He had to deal with the Irish revolutionist, who hardly existed in O'Connell's day. With the healing influence of time there is a general disposition amongst all Irishmen to forget the events of the last sad year of his life, and to remember only his splendid services to Ireland.

Although the division in the Nationalist Party had been caused by the dispute as to Parnell's leadership, it continued for some years after his death. Mr. J. E. Redmond was elected chairman of the Parnellite Party. He resigned his seat for North Wexford, as the majority of his constituents there were not in harmony with his views. Although he was not successful in the election for Cork, occasioned by the death of Parnell, he was elected in Waterford a few weeks later and has represented it ever since. The vacancy was occasioned by the death of Richard Power, a most trusted member of the Irish Party, of long standing, who had also sided with Parnell.

The General Election of 1892, caused by the dissolution of Parliament by Lord Salisbury, owing to a vote of want of confidence in an unfriendly House of Commons, was fought with great bitterness in Ireland between the two parties of Nationalists. One unfortunate result of the division was that the total of Nationalists returned was reduced from 86 to 81, consisting of 72 Anti-Parnellites and 9 Parnellites. The five seats gained by the Unionists were West Belfast, Derry City, North Fermanagh, Stephen's Green Division of the City of Dublin, and South County Dublin, where the Hon. Horace Plunkett was returned, a Unionist who has done much to benefit Ireland practically. He became so obnoxious ultimately to the extreme members of his own party that, when he had been eight years member for the seat, they actually proposed a second Unionist candidate. The division of the Unionist vote secured the return of a Nationalist, which was not so unacceptable to the extreme Unionists as Sir Horace Plunkett's success would have been. Some of the Parnellite Party, in the General Election of 1892, unlike their late leader, showed a spirit of extreme hostility to the clergy, as the latter supported the majority of the Irish Party. This was notably the case in the County of Meath. In both divisions of that county Anti-Parnellites were returned by small majorities. The Parnellites petitioned successfully against their return on the ground of undue clerical influence, yet, in the new elections which followed the petitions, Anti-Parnellites were returned once more in both North and South Meath.

The members of each party returned generally in 1892 were 274 Liberals and 81 Nationalists, against 269 Conservatives and 46 Liberal Unionists, so that Liberals and Nationalists combined were in a majority of 40. Lord Salisbury and his Government resigned and the Liberals were once more in office, with Gladstone as Prime Minister for the fourth time. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was Lord Houghton, now Earl of Crewe, and Mr. John Morley was again Chief Secretary. On the 13th of September the perpetual Coercion Act of 1887 was suspended, and the National League once more declared legal.

On the 13th of February, 1893, Gladstone introduced his second Home Rule Bill. It resembled the first, but there were some differences. The

most important was that eighty Irish members were to sit at Westminster. The Irish Parliament was to consist of two chambers, the Legislative Council to consist of forty-eight members to be elected by twenty-pound voters, and the Legislative Assembly to consist of one hundred and three members. The Bill was discussed very fully in the House of Commons where it passed its third reading by a majority of 34 on the 1st of September. It was rejected by the House of Lords on the 8th of September by 419 votes to 41. It is said that Gladstone was in favour of dissolving Parliament on the question, but was overruled by his colleagues in the Cabinet. In March of the following year he resigned his position as Premier, being succeeded by the Earl of Rosebery, and retired from public life. He survived until the 19th of May, 1898, when he died in the 89th year of his age. From the time when he first adopted the cause of Home Rule, in the end of 1885, he never wavered in the earnestness with which he advocated it. If he was not successful it was not for lack of energetic effort. His great age was one reason why he failed. Had he been younger his persistent energy would perhaps have been successful in carrying it as he had carried so many other measures remedial to Ireland. Of all British ministers of the nineteenth century he will be remembered in Ireland as the best. Fox, the great Whig minister, and Canning, the great Tory, of the early part of the nineteenth century, were both disposed to treat the Irish people well, but neither lived to execute his intentions. Lord Melbourne was the only other Premier of the century who can be regarded as conspicuously friendly to Ireland, and he did not do for her one tenth part of what Gladstone did. His treatment of Ireland recognized the rights of the Irish people, although their representatives were but a small minority of the British Parliament. He disestablished the Church of the minority, effected the most sweeping improvements in the condition of Irish tenants, introduced the ballot and extended the franchise. These measures have effected a revolution in the condition of the Irish people.

In 1893 the Gaelic League, for the preservation and restoration of the Irish Language, was founded, under the presidency of Dr. Douglas Hyde. In the course of a few years it had attained a phenomenal success. The study of the language and literature of Ireland was taken up with the greatest enthusiasm even in some quarters where the utmost indifference to it had previously been shown. The League was more powerful in the cities of Dublin, Belfast and Cork, than even in the counties of Galway, Mayo, Donegal, Cork, Kerry and Clare, where the language had never died out. Besides the revival of the language the admirable motto of the League, *Sinn Féin*, *Ourselves Alone*, comprised many other excellent objects. In a self-reliant Ireland it followed, amongst other things, that emigration should be discouraged, temperance promoted, and a check imposed on the spread of many pernicious publications, books and periodicals, which were imported from England.

The resignation of Lord Rosebery's Government was occasioned by

its defeat on the question of the supply of cordite and small-arms ammunition and the next General Election occurred in July, 1895. 82 Nationalists were returned, consisting of 71 Anti-Parnellites and 11 Parnellites. The increase of one in the Nationalist total was due to the recapture of Derry City by Mr. Edmond Francis Vesey Knox. When he resigned in 1898 it was held for the Nationalists, after a close contest, by the late Count Moore. The numbers of all parties returned at this General Election were Conservatives, 339; Liberal Unionists, 72; Liberals, 177; and Nationalists, 82.

The Conservatives resumed office with Lord Salisbury as Premier for the third time. He held office until 1902. He was succeeded by Mr. Balfour and died in 1903. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was Earl Cadogan, whose term of office covered the unprecedentedly long period, in these days, of seven years. To find a Viceroyalty a very little longer it is necessary to go back more than one hundred and sixty years. The Chief Secretary was Mr. Gerald Balfour, who was succeeded after the next General Election by Mr. George Wyndham. The Liberal Unionists had gradually and naturally assumed the position of members of the Conservative Party. In the Salisbury Cabinet of 1886-92 there was only one Liberal Unionist, Mr. Goschen, but in that of 1895 there were, in addition to him, Mr. Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire and Sir Henry, now Lord, James.

Mr. Gerald Balfour introduced still another Land Act, which was passed in the early part of 1896. But the great feature of Irish politics in this year was the agitation, which, unfortunately, was not kept up and effected nothing, against the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland.

The "Financial Relations Commission" was appointed in 1894, under the presidency of Hugh Childers, and, after his death, of the O'Connor Don. Its object was to determine what the fiscal contribution of Ireland to the Imperial Revenue ought to be assessed at under Home Rule. The long-standing injustice of those relations was fully discussed in 1896-7-8.

After some meetings in the end of 1896 the Irish Financial Reform League was formed in Dublin, on the 22nd of April, 1897, to agitate against the unjust overtaxation of Ireland, which then amounted annually to £2,500,000, according to the report of the Financial Relations Commission, in the autumn of 1896. On the 5th of July, 1898, a resolution declaring that Ireland was unfairly treated in her financial relations with Great Britain, was rejected in the House of Commons by 286 votes to 144. The agitation was gradually dropped, which was more to be regretted as it had been carried on by representatives of the whole population of Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, Nationalist and Unionist, landlord and tenant.

The need for such an agitation is as urgent as ever, when we consider the history of the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland at and since the period of the Union. The Irish Public Debt, which was to remain a separate charge on the revenues of Ireland, was £4,000,000 in 1797. In 1800 it had been increased to nearly £27,000,000. Ireland had been made to pay for the provoking and crushing of the Rebellion of 1798, for the heavy Secret Service

expenditure on spies and informers, and for the outrageous bribery which carried the Union and destroyed her national independence. It was decreed by the Union that the debts of Ireland and England should remain separate until the Irish debt was two-fifteenths of the British. Then they were to be consolidated. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer managed the finance after the Union, naturally in the interests of his own country. The curious arithmetical result was that the debt of Ireland increased more than twice as fast as that of England, although the latter was then increasing abnormally owing to the desperate struggle with Napoleon. In sixteen years the Irish Debt was quadrupled, while the British was not quite doubled. In 1801 the Irish Debt had been to the British as one to sixteen and a half. In 1817 it bore the ratio of one to seven and a half, the proportion required by the Union, and the two Exchequers were "consolidated," which meant that Ireland, having been loaded with debt by unfair means, was in the future taxed as highly as Great Britain, and thus made liable for the enormous National Debt of that country which Ireland had had no share or advantage in incurring.

In 1898 the United Irish League was founded in Mayo by Mr. William O'Brien and soon attained a very large membership. Its object was to effect a more equitable distribution of land, especially in the West, where much of it was still in large grass farms.

On the 12th of August, 1898, the Local Government Act was passed by the Conservative Government. It is a remarkable Act and has effected quite a revolution in Ireland. The fiscal jurisdiction of the Grand Juries was abolished. The power formerly in the hands of those bodies has been placed in the hands of the people, who have used it very well, notwithstanding the fact that the Government which gave them Local Government has denied them University Education. If the latter were once granted the Conservatives would have nothing left to grant but Home Rule. The first elections took place under the new Act in April, 1899, and were as overwhelmingly a Nationalist triumph as the Parliamentary elections. The County Councils have taken over the fiscal and administrative duties of the Grand Juries. The Conservative Party seems for the last few years, as this Act shows, to be unconsciously approaching Home Rule, which the new Sovereign, too, is supposed to favour, just as the last Sovereign was known to discountenance it. He has already shown a greater interest in Ireland than his predecessor.

In 1899 a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was founded, under the direction of the Hon. Horace Plunkett. The Irish fisheries were also under its control, and it was to foster these resources of Ireland by every means in its power. It received a grant of £41,850 from the Surplus of the Irish Church Fund.

The South African War was begun in October, 1899, and was still raging a year later when the General Election occurred. As a majority of the British people appeared to think that aggression and annexation

were the highest kind of patriotism, the Government which destroyed by arms the independence of the two Dutch Republics secured a majority once more at the polls. The number of members of each party returned were:—Conservatives, 334; Liberal Unionists, 68; Liberals, 186; and Nationalists, 82.

In Ireland the division in the Nationalist Party which began in the end of 1890 was fortunately brought to a close in 1899. On the 23rd of November in that year there was a conference with the object of restoring unity. On the 10th of February, 1900, a manifesto appeared from Mr. J. E. Redmond, formerly the Parnellite leader, now Chairman of the reunited Party. In the united action of that Party and its assiduous attendance in Parliament, lies the hope of gaining from Great Britain any redress for Ireland's wrongs.

As the Party was re-united at this time it was in a position to offer energetic opposition to the Government's South African policy. In this and many other instances the Irish Party has been more effective than the official or Liberal opposition. The General Election of October, 1900, was fought by a united Nationalist Party. Although Derry was lost by a few votes there were some gains for Home Rule. At the General Election a Catholic Unionist, who was locally very popular, was returned for Galway City, but on his succession to the peerage in the following year, the seat was recaptured by the Nationalists. South County Dublin elected a Nationalist once more after eight years, but this, as has been mentioned, was due to the fact that there were two Unionist candidates. Stephen's Green Division, however, did the same where there was but one. And it was held by the Home Rulers a few years later on the bye-election occasioned by the death of its member. The recapture of this seat was one of the first and best results of the reunion of the Irish Party.

Emigration and overtaxation have been the chief evils of Ireland in the nineteenth century. The hope of redressing these evils seems as remote as that of obtaining a settlement of the Irish University Question from the British Parliament. Although in the nineteenth century such great measures of redress have been obtained from that Parliament as Catholic Emancipation, Disestablishment, Municipal Reform, National Education, Land Reform, extension of the Franchise, Local Government and some others, the greatest of all is yet to come. After the close of the first century of the Union the great majority of the Irish people desires nothing more ardently than its abolition. That is the strongest condemnation of a measure stained at its birth by bloodshed and shameful corruption. And Parnell seems to have discovered the most efficacious means of effecting the abolition of the Union—that, namely, of making Ireland's difficulty the difficulty of the British Parliament.

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