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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE AT WORK.

(THE TIMES, APRIL 12, 1887.)

The declared object of the Parnellites for some months past has been to trample upon the law. Where the League is powerful, it substitutes its own code and its own procedure for those ordained by Parliament. Where the League is weak, it is satisfied to create a "social chaos." The purpose of this policy has been fully and frankly avowed by prominent members of the League. In December Mr. John Redmond explained that Mr. Gladstone had prophesied that England's choice lay between Home Rule and coercion. England had rejected Home Rule, and the League was bound in common loyalty and honour to see that the Tory Government did not "give the lie direct to the prophecy of Mr. Gladstone" by maintaining social order. "We have achieved," said the Chicago emissary, "this victory—that we have been able to force the Government to give up the ordinary law and to fall back once more on coercion." (Speech at Glenbrian, county Wexford, *Freeman's Journal*, December 6.) Six weeks later Mr. William O'Brien stated that, as Parliament had rejected Mr. Parnell's Bill, the business of the League was to show that "the Irish people have the strength and the courage to enact that legislation for themselves, in spite of the Government and Parliament, and, so, to convince the British people that there is only one way out of all this miserable and eternal heart-burnings (sic) of this Irish struggle, and that is to make the Irish people in form and in a regular way what I claim they are already in substance and in fact, the owners of their own homes and the masters of their own destinies and the rulers of their own land." (Speech at the Central League, *Freeman's Journal*, January 12.) In its immediate objects the conspiracy has been largely successful. Over extensive districts in the west, south-west, and south-east of Ireland the law has ceased to exist; in many of them the "unwritten code" of the League reigns supreme. The agents of the American conspiracy have fulfilled Mr. Gladstone's prophecy to the letter. They have deliberately "forced the Government to fall back on coercion." We propose to examine the means by which these triumphs have been won, and we are quite content to let "the British people" decide whether the right place for those who habitually employ them is the Irish Cabinet or the dock. Ample materials for the investigation may be found in the evidence taken before Lord Cowper's Commission, and in the collection of National League resolutions lately published by the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union.

Although the number of outrages is higher now than in any year under the ordinary law since 1845, with the solitary exception of the unfortunate "force is no remedy" period in 1880, outrages are no longer the primary weapon of the conspirators. Boycotting has long been the immediate penalty for offences against the popular code. The nature of that terrible instrument of oppression and its indissoluble and necessary connexion with murder have been familiar to the public since Mr. Gladstone's celebrated exposition in the debate on the Crimes Act of 1882. Boycotting he described as "combined intimidation made use of for the purpose of destroying the private liberty of choice by the fear of ruin and starvation," and "the sanction," he added, "of boycotting is murder." The system has undergone no change since Mr. Gladstone grappled with it by making the law against murder a reality. "The people," say the Commissioners, "are more afraid of boycotting, which depends for its success on the probability of outrage, than they are of the judgments of the Courts of justice. This unwritten law in some districts is supreme." These statements, as we shall see, are established by abundant testimony. Nevertheless, the Commissioners expressly say that "they could have taken a much larger amount of evidence to prove the existence of severe boycotting in very many districts" had they desired to do so. The local distribution of the "unwritten law" has been roughly indicated by the Chief Secretary. Among the mixed populations of Ulster "boycotting" is obviously impossible, and social order continues to flourish undisturbed. In parts of Mayo and Connemara, where the old Land League despotism was absolute, the agitation has "more or less burned itself out." The improvement is attributed by the resident magistrates to the convictions for murder and conspiracy to murder, obtained under the Crimes Act. (Brady, 1,232 seq.; Henn, 1,303 seq.) Further south the domination of the League is in many districts complete. In Bantry the resident magistrate "thinks the combination is just as much now as ever it was—very nearly as bad as ever it was." (Worburton, 1,120, 1,124.) One of his colleagues in Kerry states that "the League and the whole system down there is so well organized that no one offends against it, and so there is no necessity for active intimidation." (Conside, 1,367.) "There is no occasion now to murder," says an experienced land agent; "they can quietly ruin a man." (Townshend, 2,683-6.) "I have seen miles and miles in one district," says a Sub-Commissioner, "with farms of this class" (derelict through boycotting).

(Haughton, 851.) General Buller had jurisdiction over Kerry, Clare, and part of Cork. In his district he unhesitatingly declares that "the people are coerced, and in fear of the intimidation that is rampant;" that "the intimidation is but little lessened;" that the speeches of Mr. Dillon and other M.P.'s "have demoralized the districts that he (General Buller) thought were settling down;" that "there are a good many districts there where a man could not be seen speaking to a policeman on the road, they dare not do so;" that, "owing to the organization of the League, the enforcement of legal obligations in his district has become an impossibility;" and that the moonlighters and marauders "help to support the authority of the League by their midnight raids." (16,454, 60, 61, 78, 79; 16,503, 7, 8.) "The National League practically is the government in my part of the country," says a loyal shopkeeper of Millstreet. (Hegarty, 18,922.) Captain Plunkett, the divisional magistrate for the southern counties, admits as much. "There is no doubt," he owns, "that it is in some places—that is to say, many offences can be committed with impunity because they are only triable by juries." "It is a more serious danger for a man to offend against the law of the Land League than against the law of the country. In one case he is sure of conviction and punishment; in the other case he is practically exempt from any danger." (19,011-13.) Boycotting, says the same witness, "is not as stringent as it was. In some places it is, and in others it is not. The fact is that in the great majority of cases the people succumb and do not like to run the risk of being boycotted." (18,990.) "Intimidation," says the District Inspector of Castleisland, "is quite as bad, if not worse," than six or four years ago. "The practical result is that there is now a court of law there which has superseded the law of the land and is supreme." (Davis, 21,442, 21,550.) In Galway, Mr. Frank Joyce "thinks the combination considerably more powerful" than in 1882. "I think it is much more powerful at the present moment than ever it has been before." The state of the country "seems to indicate a total absence of any civilized government." "The law is obsolete. There is no doubt at all about it." (20,836, 92, 93.) Some of the very cruellest examples of boycotting come from Wexford. In that county, says a resident landowner, there have been some "petty annoyances. There has been no crime or outrages there. Not one man has been shot. A few houses have been burned and such things, but that is nothing." (Richards, 24,503.)

So much for the existence and the power of the conspiracy in the regions mentioned by Mr. Balfour. Mr. Timothy Harrington "has been one of the chief officers of the organization for five years." Last year he denied that the branches held courts; this year he denies that "any effort has been made to force the League on the Irish people." The Blue-book, the reports in the provincial organs of the League, and the reports

in Mr. Parnell's own newspaper, *United Ireland*, conclusively demonstrate that upon both points Mr. Harrington is singularly misinformed. On February 12 *United Ireland* reported that the Aughamore (county Mayo) branch had resolved "that we approve of and adopt the resolution put forward by the Began branch—viz., 'That no tradesman work for any person not producing his card of membership.'" In March the Strokestown (county Roscommon) branch resolved that "merchants and others in Strokestown who are not members of the National League for this year are requested to send in their subscriptions for membership at next meeting, after which the names of all persons enrolled in that town will be published in the National Press, and the people called on to support their business." The Portlannington (Queen's county) branch announced "that the names of all the members of this branch will be published in the *Leinster Leader* after next meeting, and we hope the members of the neighbouring branches will take pains to read them, take note of absences, and act accordingly." Both these typical resolutions are from *United Ireland* of March 12. Those reported in the provincial Press are naturally of a "robuster" tone. The *Midland Tribune* of January 20 records the proceedings of the Birr (King's county) League:—

The man who hangs fire this year is in secret alliance with the people's enemies, and the people will know how to deal with him when their ranks are closed in. We will take care that no man can plead ignorance for not joining the League. The duty of the warden is to see that every man in his district is scheduled, and that he is called upon and asked if he intends to join the League. By this means a plain "yes" or "no" must be given. . . . We trust that the committee when elected will take steps to let the people of the country know who are their friends and who are their enemies.

On March 6 the *Sligo Champion* announces that the Easkey branch had fixed the 25th for payment, and had resolved that "any farmers not enrolled before that date would be looked upon as enemies to the cause." The names will also be published." On March 20 the secretary of the Ardee (county Louth) branch was instructed "to prepare a list of those farmers, traders, and shopkeepers who have and who have not joined the branch; the latter to be hung up in the League office, and the former to be placarded through the neighbourhood." (*Dundalk Democrat*, March 26.) The object of these lists is clear from the resolution of the Banagher (King's county) branch, passed on February 27, and subsequently modified:—

That we the members of this branch pledge ourselves to support those shopkeepers who are members of the I. N. L., and that we deem those shopkeepers who have kept aloof from our ranks enemies of our cause, supporters of Orangeism and landlordism. (*Midland Tribune*, March 10, 1887.)

A regular rate is struck in some places by the *de facto* government. The *Tipperary Advocate* of February 5 and the *Enniscorthy Guardian* of February 12 announce that the levy for certain

branches will be 1s. for every £5 valuation. The Butlerstown branch exacts a contribution to the Parliamentary fund as a condition of membership, and the Gurteen branch ordered a collection for the defence of Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien, with a *minimum* subscription of 6d. (*Munster Express*, January 22, *Sligo Champion*, March 5.) Mere black mail, however, will not always command the privileges of membership. On March 6 the Ballygar (county Galway) branch resolved—"That we cannot admit as members of the branch persons who may subscribe to the National League funds and at the same time are not fully prepared to accept the rules formulated to guide the action of members." (*United Ireland*, March 12.)

The poor wretches who are thus driven by "combined intimidation" and "the fear of ruin and starvation" into joining Mr. Harrington's organization, and subscribing to his funds, naturally desire to recover their "private liberty of choice." "I believe," says Mr. Considine, "there is among the respectable portion of the farmers a great wish to have this system of intimidation and terrorism put down." (1,489.) "Ah, my lord," cried a parish priest in the same county (Kerry) "the people are anxious for law and order; the people are anxious for it. They are tired of agitation." "It is not sympathy," he adds, that prevents the detection of crime; "it is a state of terror, of dread of having any physical injury done to themselves; whether, in the case of a farmer, his hay-yard would be burnt down, or his house burnt down while he and his family are asleep." "I do not believe there is a particle of sympathy among the older members of the family." (O'Leary, 16,207, 16,215-16.) James Sullivan, a tenant farmer in Kerry, said—"The respectable classes in the country would be glad to see the country returning to law and order." (17,282.) Another tenant-witness from the same place, who grumbled a great deal at the inadequate reductions of the Sub-Commissioners, owned that "the people are got very tired of this kind of lawlessness." (17,619.) "The tenant farmers," says a strong shopkeeper of Millstreet, "are sick of the whole thing. It is only the people of the villages and towns, who have no interest in land, who are doing all the mischief. . . . It is gone into the hands of people who have no responsibility at all, such as town artisans, labourers, and broken-down farmers." (Hegarty, 18,938.) "The farmers of any position in the district," says District-Inspector Davis, of Castleisland, "would look on the destruction of the tyranny with delight." (21,508.) But the reality and the intensity of the terror is proved by better evidence than the general assertions of witnesses, however capable and well informed. In many instances the tenants pay their rents secretly, and even by night. "I have known tenants' wives come at night to the agents and give money," says Mr. Warburton, R.M., "and they would not even take a receipt, for fear the receipt would be seen with them."

(1,086.) The O'Connor Don mentions a case of nocturnal rent-paying at Ballyhaunis, county Mayo—"the tenants coming in one by one after nightfall;" and Captain Hamilton another at Mullinavat, in Waterford, where tenants "came in to him after dark and paid their rents." (24,095, 24,483.) Colonel Crosbie, of Ballyheigue, "has as good and industrious a set of tenants as any in the world." In December, 1885, 15 or 16 of them dared to pay without the abatement ordained by the local league. They told Colonel Crosbie they "were quite satisfied to pay their rent." They were, of course, boycotted. Other tenants paid secretly, and begged to have legal proceedings taken against them. But the League is well served. These "traitors" were discovered and fined 15 per cent. of their rents, and to escape "the ban of boycotting" the fines were duly paid. (16,530-40.) Mr. Leonard, Lord Kenmare's agent, read to the Commissioners several letters from tenants. One man, writing at Christmas, 1885, thanks the agent for "the writ you kindly sent by post," but "has another favour to request of him, and that is to sell his (the writer's) farm by sheriff's sale," if certain other farms are so sold. He arranges for private communication with the agent through his daughter, who is in service. "I will only be too happy," he continues, "to pay all the expenses incurred by the law proceedings," and he adds that his life "would be in the greatest danger" if it were known that he had paid his rent. On February 21, 1886, the same tenant writes:—

You have kindly sent me writ and notice of sale as I requested, but I see you have mistaken to order judgment to be marked against me in Dublin as if I paid nothing, and consequently my name is not in the sheriff's list. . . . Now, Sir, I have again to request and beseech you in the most earnest manner to send an order at once to the Dublin Court and get judgment marked against my case, if it is not already done, and get my farm legally sold, if at all possible. . . . in the same manner in every respect as all the other farms have been sold. . . . I paid no rent for the present gale to save me in these terrible times from violence, or, worse still, from boycotting.

Mr. Sanders, of Charleville, county Cork, who is also an agent, read a letter from a tenant to his landlord, stating that he had banked his rent from fear of murder, but that he would, nevertheless, pay a second rent to the landlord. He kept his word, and another tenant on the same estate took the same course. (20,133.) Mr. Frank Joyce mentions cases in Loughrea, county Galway, where tenants paid privately last year, and then asked to be served with writs. (20,903 seq.) After Mr. Dillon's crusade these men "were afraid to come near the office to get back a rebate, lest it might be said or supposed they were going to pay the rent which they had already in fact paid." They told Mr. Joyce "they were afraid that the houses would be burnt over their heads." (20,841-2.) Men who complain that their rents are excessive will incur and pay heavy costs, amounting sometimes to 30 per cent. of their rent, rather than disobey the League and settle peaceably with the landlord. The tenant thinks it "better to pay

costs than have his house burnt over his head." (Joyce, 20,844-55; Kavanagh, 23,504.)

Boycotting was originally devised to punish "land-grabbing." It has gradually become the recognized sanction of every portion of the "unwritten law." To pay too high a rent for non-evicted land, to purchase under Lord Ashbourne's Act without the approbation of the local branch, to exercise the right of "free sale" conferred by the Land Act of 1881, for the purpose of settling with a landlord—all these are high crimes and misdemeanours in the eyes of the real rulers of Ireland, and all are punishable by the severest boycotting. But the Parnellite system of coercion is not restricted to agrarian crimes. It is regularly used to control the Poor Law elections, and even to gratify trade jealousies and private spite. The worst boycotting in Millstreet and in Dingle has nothing to do with land. Canon Griffen, of Millstreet, gives an instructive history of the process in his parish. A shopkeeper was boycotted by his trade rivals. The village schoolmaster gave evidence against them, and "the school was immediately boycotted simply because he told the truth." The persecuted trader "wrote to Davitt and several of them, and he wrote to the executive of the League" (which Mr Harrington manages), "and they did not even answer his letters." "Of course it went on to crime," says the Canon. In due course the boycotted man was fired at, and "in the end two of the gang were murdered by their own companions." The boycotting is carried on by "those who have no stake in the country, and a few of them small artisans, such as shoemakers and servant boys and people like that; in fact, there are at present about a half-dozen of that class who rule the whole place, and every one is afraid to do an independent act in consequence of the terrorism." (16,799-808, seq., 16,843.) The boycotted shopkeeper himself confirmed the evidence of his parish priest, and roundly attributed "the present state of anarchy in the country" to "both Governments in England." "I am very much afraid," he says, "that they used us in Ireland for their own party purposes, and I must add . . . that they have treated very badly the law-abiding people in Ireland." (18,947, 18,959.) Even such powerful corporations as the Irish banks become intimidated. "The shopkeepers," says Mr Townsend Trench, "have now found it practically impossible, and so have the banks, to recover their debts;" and he relates a conversation he had with a bank manager, in which the latter declared that he could not recover on his bills. (15,795-7.) Mr Hussey says the tenants pay neither shops nor banks (17,907-9), and General Buller that, "owing to the organization of the League, you cannot collect a shop debt hardly. There was a man murdered the other day," he adds, "on account of a shop debt on the other side of Tralee." (16,503.) A great outcry has been raised against the "priest-hunters," who sacrilegiously put the civil law in motion against contumacious ecclesiastics. But the authors of the "unwritten code" show little

respect for the cloth, when its wearers dare to disagree with the people. The Chief Secretary quoted the proposal of a well-known Woodford patriot named Tully to "pay the Easter dues to the campaign fund, and let the old boy, Father Calligy, go and eat the turkeys in the big house. You can speak to him if you like, but there is no law to compel you." Canon Griffen relates his own case to the Commissioners. When the Millstreet Leaguers found that he would not join in the persecution of his "obnoxious" parishioner, they tried to boycott him, and "did all they could to prevent the people paying their dues." (16,811-12.) In Clare the League arrogated to themselves a recognized prerogative of the Crown. They closed a fair in one place, and opened it in another. The grantee got an injunction from the Court of Chancery, and had it confirmed by the "decree" of 12 local priests. A notice was at once posted up advising the people to disobey both Church and State, and "stand the National fair," "paying no custom." It began as follows:—"Farmers of West Clare, you are all aware the tyrant Stacpoole has bought the Holy Oil from the priests of West Clare to restore him to life and full vigour again," &c. (Stacpoole, 14,927-8.) A most explicit and comprehensive declaration of the "unwritten law" of tithe is contained in a resolution of the Ballyneen branch, passed on January 30. It begins by stating that "Catholics are bound by commandment to pay dues to their pastors," it recites that two priests had aided a "grabber," and then formally records the opinion of the branch that the parishioners "are not bound by the commandments of their Church," until the "grabbed" farm is surrendered. One of the incriminated priests attempted a defence. The secretary wrote to ask a neighbouring branch "would the people be expected to swallow all this mushroom sauce?" (Munster Express, February 5 and March 5.)

The cruelty of the social excommunication is inconceivable. Perhaps the worst instances of all are those reported by Mr Richards of his own knowledge in Wexford, which is not a disturbed county. It was on his authority that Mr Goschen related in the House how the local midwife would not help the wife of a boycotted man named Burke in her labour, and how the people refused him the food that might have saved his sick infant's life. Mr. Richards gives another story nearly as bad, but we prefer to take our account of boycotting from the lips of the victims themselves. An anonymous Kerry witness tells how his father was boycotted for purchasing under Lord Ashbourne's Act. His stock was boycotted at the fairs, his grazing was boycotted, his friends were boycotted, his labourers were boycotted. The League fined persons who dared to sell cattle to the witness. Men are "forced into being members of the League at the point of starvation." (16,060—16,130.) Mr. George Collier, of Dingle, a Roman Catholic farmer, who also manages some

small estates, was himself boycotted for refusing to boycott a firm of shopkeepers, and for being on friendly terms with Mr Hussey. He has to draw his supplies from Cork and even from Liverpool, he has had to drive 32 miles to get his horse shod, he can hire no labour, his domestic servants were warned off by "the League police." Mr Collier has four island farms. They are stocked with several hundred sheep. The League has forbidden the boatmen to serve Mr. Collier. For two years in succession a considerable number of his ewes have died on these islands for want of care. Last year the inhabitants of another island, "incited by the neighbouring branch of the League," took forcible possession of one of Mr. Collier's farms, and held it against him. No wonder that he declares the law to be "utterly helpless" in his part of the country (18,482-522.) Eugene McCarthy has taken an evicted farm near Bantry. He is boycotted and under police protection. His cattle have been mutilated and his hay scattered; he cannot get his horses shod or his cattle sold; he cannot send his children to school or to mass, and one of them was set upon and badly beaten in the village solely because he was the son of a "grabber" (19,573-83.) From Wicklow we have the case of Benjamin Horan. His original offence, by his own showing, appears to have been a refusal to join his fellow tenants in subornation of perjury. Thereupon his farm buildings and implements were burned. He was forced to migrate, and he committed the unpardonable sin of taking an evicted farm as his new home. He is boycotted; six policemen protect him; he came before the Commissioners under escort; he cannot get his horses shod or his corn ground except by travelling great distances; his pigs have been put out of a fair 15 miles off; he can buy only where he is unknown; he has sold nothing in fair or market these two years; he cannot even get a feed for his horses on the road; his family "was almost in want of food only for a lady that sold us provisions when we could not get them for any money." Above all he can get no labour. Men will work with him sometimes for a week, but when they go to mass on the Sunday they are warned and do not return. (27,709-25.) William Kinsella is another farmer in a quiet county. He comes from King's County, and his offences are that he voted for a Conservative Poor Law guardian, that he "publicly paid his rent" against orders, and that he "speaks his mind too plainly." He was boycotted, could hire no labour, and had to get an "emergency" threshing-machine. He is a Roman Catholic, and Roman Catholic loyalists are looked upon as "renegades," and treated with peculiar rigour. He has a police patrol, but has refused further protection. "I have a thatched house," he says, "that was the only thing that annoyed me. If I had a slate house I would not care a fig for them. I have two or three sons." (26,589-96.)

But the most striking case of all is that of two brothers near Shandrum. They bought a farm in

1878, and got into litigation with the vendor. They got judgment from the Recorder of Cork, and this judgment was confirmed on appeal by the Master of the Rolls. The witnesses allege that the League provided funds for the appeal. They lost £200 in costs, but they had their land. Just at this time the Crimes Act lapsed, and thereupon the local Land League Court tried the whole case over again, and reversed the Master of the Rolls. The Court ordered the purchasers to surrender the farm. They were ready to do so on payment of their purchase money. But "the treasurer of the League told them they would get no compensation, and asked, 'How can you expect to do what the Government of England cannot do?' 'What is that?' I said. 'To stand up,' says he, 'in defiance of public opinion and good boycotting.'" (19,435.) Boycotted accordingly they were. Their land and crops went waste, a valuable horse was poisoned, their cattle went dry, "we could not go out but at night," "we could not get a bit to eat for any money," men were posted near them in the chapel, and the clothes were torn off their sisters' backs in the chapel yard; their servants were "banished;" the town rowdies were given drink to jeer them in the streets. Their position was intolerable. One of them at last appeared before the Land League Court and pleaded hard for mercy "They said that I should give up the land, that I was in an iron cage, and that they would squeeze it on me." (19,464.) The Queen's Government gave them "no help, and in 1885 they surrendered to the conspiracy, and quitted their farm. "We lost all our honest earnings," they say, "and honest industry in it." (19,453.) But the Shandrum Court is not done with these men yet. They have committed the high contempt of appearing before the Royal Commission. The League has detected the culprits, and by resolution, duly published in *United Ireland* of April 2, has condemned these "upholders of landlordism and crime" for their "base and cowardly act."

We shall conclude with a sample of the fashion in which trial by jury is regarded by the patriots. Two butter-merchants named Cronin and M'Mahon acted as jurors at the Cork winter assizes. The juries on which they served convicted certain prisoners. Thereupon, "Captain Moonlight" issued a proclamation. He ordered the offenders to be boycotted. "If you do not do as requested," the assassin admonishes the farmers, "and boycott these tools of the Crown, you will be coerced into doing so." The ruffian himself admits the guilt of the convicts, for he warns his readers that "there are plenty of men still in Kerry prepared to follow in the footsteps of those whom Cronin and M'Mahon have helped to send to a convict cell, and who will not stick at trifles to obtain revenge." (*Kerry Evening Post*, January 29.)

"To cast away shame and dishonour," says Mr Gladstone, "is the first business of a great nation." Can there be a deeper infamy than to tolerate tyranny such as this?

MR. PARNELL AND THE PHOENIX PARK MURDERS.

(THE TIMES, APRIL 18, 1887.)

In concluding our series of articles on "Parnellism and Crime" we intimated that, besides the damning facts which we there recorded, unpublished evidence existed which would bind still closer the links between the "constitutional" chiefs and the contrivers of murder and outrage. In view of the unblushing denials of Mr. Sexton and Mr. Healy on Friday night, we do not think it right to withhold any longer from public knowledge the fact that we possess and have had in our custody for some time documentary evidence which has a most serious bearing on the Parnellite conspiracy, and which, after a most careful and minute scrutiny, is, we are satisfied, quite authentic. We produce one document in facsimile to-day by a process the accuracy of which cannot be impugned, and we invite Mr. Parnell to explain how his signature has become attached to such a letter.

It is requisite to point out that the body of the manuscript is apparently not in Mr. Parnell's handwriting, but the signature and the "Yours very truly" unquestionably are so; and if any member of Parliament doubts the fact, he can easily satisfy himself on the matter by comparing the handwriting with that of Mr. Parnell in the book containing the signatures of members when they first take their seats in the House of Commons.

We particularly direct attention to the erasure in the manuscript as undesigned evidence of authenticity, and should any questions be raised as to the body of the letter being in another handwriting, we shall be prepared to adduce proof that this peculiarity is quite consistent with its genuine character.

The body of the letter occupies the whole of the first page of an ordinary sheet of stout white note-paper, leaving no room in the same page for the signature, which is placed on the fourth page near

the top right-hand corner. It was an obvious precaution to sign upon the back instead of upon the second page, so that the half-sheet might if necessary be torn off, and the letter disclaimed.

It is right and necessary to explain that the "Dear Sir" is believed to be Egan and that the letter was addressed to him in order to pacify the wrath of his subordinate instruments in the Phoenix Park murders—then (on May 15, nine days after the tragedy) still at large and undetected. The anxiety of the writer to keep his address unknown will be noted, and is curious in connexion with a belief prevailing at the time that Mr. Parnell was so impressed by the danger he had incurred by denouncing the assassinations as to have applied for the protection of the police on the plea that his life was in peril.

Mr. Parnell in this letter describes Lord F. Cavendish's death as an "accident," but he "cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts." That is his language to the "Inner Circle," but before Parliament, yielding to what he considered "the only course," or as it stands amended in the text "our best policy," he spoke on Monday, May 8, two days after the murders, as follows:—

Mr. PARNELL said he wished to be permitted to express, on the part of his hon. friends, on his own part, and, he believed, on the part of every Irishman in whatever portion of the world he might live, their most unqualified detestation of the horrible crime which had been committed in Ireland. (Hear, hear.) He could not now refer to the steps which the Government proposed to take. He did not deny that it might be impossible for the Government to resist taking measures such as had been mentioned by the Prime Minister. But he wished to express his belief that the crime had been committed by men who absolutely detested the cause with which he had been associated (hear, hear), and who had devised that crime and carried it out as the deadliest blow in their power against his hopes and the new course which the Government had resolved upon.

Particular attention may now be drawn to the wicked suggestion here made that the Phoenix Park crimes had been the work of the enemies of Parnellism and the League, "devised and carried out as the deadliest blow in their power against his hopes and the new course which the Government had resolved upon." Has that infamous accusation ever been recalled or even qualified, and to what benevolent construction of motives is a public man now entitled who made such a charge at the very time when he was smoothing down the "anger" of Egan's "friends" for denouncing them as murderers in Parliament?

To the country at large Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Davitt addressed on the day after the murder the following manifesto:—

To the People of Ireland.—On the eve of what seemed a bright future for our country, that evil destiny which has apparently pursued us for centuries has struck another blow at our hopes, which cannot be exaggerated in its disastrous consequences. In this hour of sorrowful gloom we venture to give an expression of our profoundest sympathy with the people of Ireland in the calamity that has befallen our cause, through a horrible deed, and to those who had determined at the last hour that a policy of conciliation should supplant that of terrorism and national distrust. We earnestly hope that the attitude and action of the whole Irish people will show the world that assassination such as has startled us almost to the abandonment of hope for our country's future is deeply and religiously abhorrent to their every feeling and instinct. We appeal to you to show by every manner of expression that almost universal feeling of horror which this assassination has excited. No people feels so intense a detestation of its atrocity, or so deep a sympathy for those whose hearts must be seared by it, as the nation upon whose prospects and reviving hopes it may entail consequences more ruinous than have fallen to the lot of unhappy Ireland during the present generation. We feel that no act has ever been perpetrated in our country

during the exciting struggles for social and political rights of the past 50 years that has so stained the name of hospitable Ireland as this cowardly and unprovoked assassination of a friendly stranger, and that until the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke are brought to justice that stain will sully our country's name.

(Signed)

{ CHARLES S. PARNELL.
JOHN DILLON.
MICHAEL DAVITT.

Here again the peculiar language employed will be noted. It is "the evil destiny which has apparently pursued us for centuries" which "has struck another blow at our hopes," &c.

Only a fortnight ago, on the first reading of the Crimes Bill, Mr. Parnell took occasion to refer to this manifesto in the House of Commons in the following remarkable terms:—

I do not believe you would ever have broken up that [the Invincible] conspiracy if it had not been for the denunciation of Mr. Michael Davitt, the member for East Mayo, and myself, issued after the crime in the Phoenix Park. It was the denunciation that shook that conspiracy and enabled the officers of the law in Ireland, by means of their secret inquiries and other agencies, to get under it and finally to break it up.

An interval of more than half a year elapsed between the Phoenix Park murders and the discovery of the perpetrators. In that interval, while "the stain on the name of hospitable Ireland," in spite of "the appeal" made in the manifesto, still adhered to it, Ireland's uncrowned king actually addressed to his trusted subordinate, the Treasurer of the Land League, Patrick Egan, the extraordinary letter on pages 10 and 11 which tells its own significant tale.

In the facsimile which we place before our readers the paper lies open, the first page being to the right, and the fourth to the left.

(READING ROOM, APRIL 12, 1857.)

15/5/52

Dear Sir,

I am not surprised at your friend's
anger but he and you should know
that to denounce the murders was
the only course open to us. To do
that promptly was plainly ~~the only~~
our best policy.

But you can tell him and all
others concerned that though I regret
the accident of Lord J Cavendish's
death I cannot refuse to admit
that Burke got no more than his
deserts

You are at liberty to show
^{this} him, and others whom you can trust
also, but let not my address be
known. You can write to House of Commons

THE PHOENIX PARK MURDERS.

Particular attention may now be drawn to
the fact that the names of the
murderers have been the work of the
enemies of Parliament and the League, "de-
vised and carried out as the deadliest blow
their power against the hopes and the new course
which the Government had resolved upon." This
fact is a revelation ever been made or
even qualified by any of the friends of the
League, and it is a fact which has struck
a blow at our hopes, &c.

Yours truly
Chas. S. Parnell

(Signed)
John Dillon
Michael D. Witt

How again the peculiar language employed will
be noted. It is "the evil destiny which has appa-
rently haunted us for centuries" which "has struck
another blow at our hopes, &c."

On a fortnight ago, on the first reading of the
Bill, Mr. Parnell took occasion to refer to
this sentence in the House of Commons in the
following remarkable terms—
"I do not believe you would ever be broken up that
the Liverpool company it had not been for the
murder of Mr. Michael Davitt, the murder for which
I have and myself named a few names in the Phoenix
Park. It was the declaration that took that con-
spiracy and caused the officers of the law in Ireland, by
means of their secret inquiries and other agencies, to get
rid of it and finally to break it up."

An interval of more than half a year elapsed
before the Phoenix Park murders and the dis-
covery of the perpetrators in that interval,
while "the stain on the name of respectable
Ireland" in spite of "the appeal" made in the
House, still adhered to the friends and
enemies, actually addressed to his trusted and
valued friend, the President of the Lord League,
Michael Davitt, the extract of my letter on pages
10 and 11 which tells its own significant tale.

In the forenoon which we place before our
readers the paper lies open the first page being to
the right, and the fourth to the left.

(LEADING ARTICLE, APRIL 18, 1887.)

We place before our readers to-day a document the grave importance of which it would be difficult to over-estimate. It is a facsimile of a letter from MR. PARNELL, written a week after the Phoenix Park murders, excusing his public condemnation of the crime, and distinctly condoning, if not approving, the murder of MR. BURKE. It needs no further words to recommend this document to the serious consideration of the public, and especially of members of the House of Commons. At the close of to-night's sitting—if the arrangements made by the Whips hold good—the division will be taken in the House on the second reading of the Crimes Bill. That the amendment moved at MR. GLADSTONE'S instance and in the interests of his Parnellite allies will be defeated by a great majority is beyond doubt. There is, however, a preliminary question of great significance to be settled. No graver danger has ever threatened public life in England than the "demoralization in politics" against which MR. GOSCHEN in his speech on Saturday at Edinburgh adjured all honest men to make a stand. The disgraceful scene for which COLONEL SAUNDERSON'S statements on Friday night furnished a pretext cannot be allowed to pass without further explanation. It is bad enough that the House of Commons should be degraded by the use of language which would not be permitted in any decently conducted music-hall, but that is a matter which must be left in the hands of members themselves until the time comes when the country will have to pass judgment upon the offenders and those who instigate and encourage them. Something more serious than a question of Parliamentary manners is involved in the charges brought by COLONEL SAUNDERSON against the principal members of MR. PARNELL'S party and met by MR. HEALY and MR. SEXTON, not with any attempt at disproof, but with the lie direct. MR. HEALY'S breach of order was punished by suspension from the service of the House, but the decision will be challenged to-day on the motion of his fellow-offender, MR. SEXTON. As for MR. SEXTON himself, he escaped punishment because COLONEL SAUNDERSON had placed himself—technically at least—in the wrong by one or two inaccuracies in his citations from the evidence collected in our articles on "Parnellism" and "Crime." Those inaccuracies, however, do not in the smallest degree affect the cumulative force of the evidence in question. MR. HEALY and MR. SEXTON fastened upon the possibly indiscreet statement that members of MR. PARNELL'S party "had been associating with men they knew 'to be murderers.'" It is impossible to prove that the Parliamentary members of the Executive Committee of the Land League, in the historic days when MR. GLADSTONE denounced the crime that dogged its footsteps, and when MR. PARNELL and MR. SEXTON sat in secret council with EGAN, BRENNAN, BOYTON, and SHERIDAN, were aware of

the character of their associates. As Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER in his letter to us to-day observes, "There is no proof; there is only presumption." On this point every man must form his opinion for himself, giving such weight as he may think proper to Mr. SEXTON's "passionate" denials, and arriving at a judgment according to the reasonable probabilities of the case. It is not wise to state a probability, however overwhelming its strength may appear, as a fact. But, after all, the allegation, which COLONEL SAUNDERSON withdrew so far as the proceedings of the Executive Committee of the League were concerned, remains strictly true with respect to the subsequent conduct of Mr. PARNELL's party as a body and of the principal members of it individually.

We have publicly stated, and we repeat this statement, that the present allies of the Gladstonians, the men whom Mr. GLADSTONE and his colleagues are assisting to paralyze law and render government impossible in Ireland, have been, and are, associated, closely and continuously, with the worst of criminals, with the agents and instruments of murder-conspiracies, with the planners and paymasters of cowardly and inhuman outrage, with the preachers of the "gospel of dynamite," who are at the same time the financiers that furnish the funds on which the "Parliamentary party" subsist. These charges have been for weeks before the country; they are protected by no privilege of Parliament or other artificial shelter, and it is open to those persons who are so indignant at their repetition in the House of Commons that they cannot observe the common decencies of civilized speech, to refute them as they can, and recover damages in a Court of law. Yet neither Mr. PARNELL himself nor any one of his subordinates has taken a single step to prove that they have been maligned in the extracts which have been published from the *Irish World*. While Mr. HEALY, speaking to a Sheffield audience, demanded to be placed on his trial at the Old Bailey for the crime of which he has never been accused, he and his colleagues in the House of Commons leave the real, the crushing, charge against them unanswered or answered only with brutal insult unsupported by any evidence except that of their word. In the whole body of testimony we have published only one insignificant error has been detected turning upon a mistaken identification of Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., with another person bearing the same surname and having the same initials. The rest of the story is told, so far as the facts are concerned, in the columns of Ford's newspaper, the organ of the dynamite party and the channel through which, as DAVITT has gratefully testified, "enormous sums of money" have passed into the hands of the League. From this trustworthy source we learn that Mr. PARNELL's party have been associated not only before, but since the detection of the Phoenix Park murderers and the disclosure of the origin of the "Invincible" conspiracy with Ford himself, who "stands by all he

has ever said on this doctrine of dynamite," th EGAN, who hinted to the "Invincibles" that talk "will never get the suspects out of Kilmaham, with SHERIDAN, BRENNAN, WALSH, BYTON, and BYRNE, all implicated by CAREY's evidence, all fugitives to the United States, and conspicuous members up to that time of the staff of Mr. PARNELL's "constitutional agitation." These men, together with O'DONOVAN, DESSA, FINNERTY, FEELY, DEVOY, and other advocates of "physical force" in its various forms, Mr. PARNELL has always treated as his allies for American purposes, though he has occasionally savoured some of them on this side of the Atlantic when he deemed it convenient to conciliate English opinion. He has never rejected their money, he has sent congratulatory telegrams to their conventions, his lieutenants of high and low degree, from Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR and Mr. JUSTIN M'CAETHY down to Mr. REDMOND and Mr. O'BRIEN, have been entertained and chaperoned by EGAN and the FORDS, by the very persons who presented "that brave little woman," MRS. FRANK BYRNE, with a well-filled purse at a banquet commemorative of the victory in the Phoenix Park. Finally, as the *Irish World* shows, the proceedings which led up to the Chicago Convention, and at which the Plan of Campaign was hatched, brought together, both in a secret conclave and on public platform, FORD and EGAN, MR. REDMOND and MR. DEASY, BRENNAN, DAVITT, and MR. O'BRIEN, SULLIVAN, KERWIN, FEELY, and DEVOY of the Clana-Gael murder-club, and FINNERTY, described by Mr. PARNELL himself as a "dynamiter." This confederacy, the ramifications of which we have said bare, has now been brought distinctly under the notice of the House of Commons, and the country has a right to know whether the Gladstonian Liberals are going to content themselves with a general denial by Mr. HEALY, Mr. SEXTON, or Mr. PARNELL himself of facts attested by the impartial evidence of the *Irish World*.

The remarkable document which we publish to-day has no unimportant bearing upon the value of such contradictions. The letter from Mr. PARNELL apologizing for the

course which he took, as he explains, under compulsion, when he denounced the Phoenix Park assassination is produced, for reasons set forth elsewhere, in facsimile. MR. PARNELL's statement that though LORD FREDERICK CAVENTISH's death was "an accident," he "cannot refuse to admit that BURKE got no more than "his deserts," is too significantly in harmon with the language of some of his allies beyond the Atlantic. In 1883, FINNERTY, at a "Martyrs' meeting" at Chicago, in which he announced MR. HEALY's return for Monaghan as "a piece of good news," said :— "As regards CAVENTISH, it (the murder) was not premeditated ; as regarded BURKE, they said nothing. . . . He (LORD F. CAVENTISH) died because he was in bad company—was with THOMAS H. BURKE, the FOUCHÉ of Ireland." But MR. PARNELL, as we show elsewhere, did not consider it prudent to use this sort of plain speaking in the House of Commons. Not only did he express his detestation for the crime, but he attempted to cast the infamy of it upon the enemies of his "cause," and he has never to this hour withdrawn the charge. What, then, is the estimate to be formed of the value of disclaimers and denials, when we have before us proof not to be easily rejected that they represent no more than the convenience of the moment ? SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT finds it becoming to treat the grave charges which have been brought against members of the House of Commons now associated with him in Opposition as "rubbish," but the country will not share this newly acquired indifference to the contamination of crime. MR. PARNELL must understand the gravity of the question raised by the accusations we have formulated and supported with evidence, but he cannot expect that his simple repudiation of the letter we publish this morning will have any weight with public opinion. He must be prepared with some more solid proofs, if he is to annul the effect of a disclosure which reduces the passionate denials with which his party encounter unpleasant truths to even a lower value than MR. ARNOLD FORSTER assigns to them.

(FROM MR. PARNELL'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON MONDAY,
APRIL 18, 1887.)

Mr. PARNELL.—The right hon. gentleman refused from replying to a speech that I made on the first reading of this Bill, and the Government refused to allow the adjournment of the debate in order that some other member of the Government should have an opportunity of answering it on the next day. And now on the second reading of the Bill he goes back to that speech and attempts to answer to it at a time of the night when he knows perfectly well that no reply can be made. (hear, hear.) And with characteristic unfairness—unfairness which I suppose we may expect to be

continued in the future—he has refused to me the ten or 12 minutes that I should have craved to refer to a villainous and barefaced forgery (loud Home Rule cheers) which appeared in *The Times* of this morning, obviously for the purpose of influencing the division (renewed cheers) and for no other purpose. I got up after the right hon. member for Mid Lothian had sat down. I had not intended to make a speech on the second reading stage at all. I should not have said more than a very few words in reference to a special matter; but I think that I was entitled from the

right hon. gentleman to have had an opportunity of exposing this deliberate attempt to blacken my character and at some time when there would have been some chance of what I said reaching the outside world. (Hear.) I say there is no such chance now ("Oh" from the Ministerialists, and Home Rule cheers), and I cannot suppose that the right hon. gentleman in refusing me the ten minutes I craved had not in his eye the design of practically preventing my denial of this unblushing calumny having that effect on public opinion which it would otherwise have had if spoken at a reasonable hour of the evening. It appears that in addition to the passage of this Coercion Act, the dice are to be loaded (cheers), that your great organs of public opinion in this country are to be permitted to pay miserable creatures for the purpose of producing these calumnies. Who will be safe in such circumstances and under such conditions? (Cheers.) I do not envy the Chief Secretary for Ireland this commencement of suppression of defence, this commencement of calumny and perjury which has been made by his supporters. We have heard of the misdeeds of Mr. Ford, the editor of the *Irish World*; he never did anything half so bad. When I first heard of this precious concoction—for I heard of it before I saw it; I do not read *The Times* usually (Ministerial laughter)—when I heard that a letter of this description, bearing my signature, had been published in *The Times*, I supposed that my autograph had fallen into the hands of some person for whom it had not been intended, and that it had been made use of in this way. I supposed that some blank sheet containing my signature—all members are at various times asked for their autographs (Ministerial laughter and Home Rule cheers)—I supposed that such a blank sheet had fallen into hands for which it had not been intended, and that it had been misused in this fashion, or that something of that kind had happened. But when I saw what purported to be my signature, I saw plainly that it was an audacious fabrication. (Cheers.) Many members of this House have seen my signature, and if they will compare it with what purports to be my signature in *The Times* they will see that there are only two letters in the whole name which bear any resemblance to letters in my own signature. I cannot understand how the conductors of a responsible, and what used to be a respectable, journal (laughter and Irish cheers) could have been so hoodwinked, so hoaxed, so bamboozled, and that is the most charitable interpretation which I can place on it, as to publish such a production as that as my signature. (Cheers.) My signature—its whole character—is entirely different. I unfortunately write a very cramped hand; my letters run and huddle into each other, and I write with difficulty and slowness. It is, in fact, a labour and a toil to me to write anything at all. But the signature in

question is written by a ready penman, who has evidently covered as many leagues of letter paper in his life as I have yards. (Laughter.) This is not the time, as I have said, to enter into full details, the minutiae as to handwriting, but if the House could see my signature and the forged signature they would see that except as regards the letters the whole signature bears no resemblance to mine. The same remark applies to the letter. The letter does not purport to be in my handwriting. We are not informed who has written it. It is not alleged even that it was written by any one who was ever associated with me. The name of this anonymous letter writer is not mentioned. I do not know who he can be. The writing is strange to me. I think I shall insult myself—I ought to say, perhaps, the House—in order that my denial may be complete and perfect. I certainly never heard the letter. (Cheers.) I never directed such a letter to be written. (Cheers.) I never saw a letter before I saw it in *The Times* this morning. (Loud Irish cheers.) The subject matter of the letter is preposterous on the surface. (Hear, hear.) The phraseology is absurd—as absurd as phraseology could possibly be. In every part of it bears evidence, absolute and irrefutable evidence, of want of genuineness and want of authenticity. (Hear, hear.) Politics come to a pretty pass in this country when a leader of a party of 86 members has to stand at ten minutes past 1 in the House of Commons in order to defend himself from an anonymous fabrication of this kind—(cheers)—which is contained in *The Times* of this morning. I have always held with regard to the late Mr. Ford that his treatment of his political prisoners was humane treatment and a fair treatment, and I think for that reason alone, if for no other, should have been shielded from such an attack as was made on his life by the *Invincibles* association. I never had the slightest notion in the world that the life of the late Mr. Forster was in danger, or that any conspiracy was on foot against him or other official in Ireland or elsewhere. I have no more notion than an unborn child of a conspiracy as that of the *Invincibles*, and one was more astonished than I was when a bolt from the blue fell upon us in the Phoenix Park murders. I knew not in what direction to look for this calamity. It is no exaggeration to say that if I had been in the park that day I would gladly have stood between Lord Frederick Cavendish and the daggers of the assassins (cheers) and for the matter of that (cries of "Burke") between their daggers and Mr. Burke. Now I leave this subject. I have suffered more from any other man from that terrible deed in Phoenix Park, and the Irish nation has suffered more than any other nation.

MR. PARNELL'S EXPLANATIONS.

(THE TIMES, APRIL 20, 1887.)

The public have now before them Mr. Parnell's answer to the invitation we addressed to him on Monday. We asked Mr. Parnell to explain how his signature had become attached to such a document as the remarkable letter we published that morning. After some hesitation he has abandoned the theory that a spurious letter had been written upon a sheet of paper which he had signed in blank, and he elects to treat the document as "an audacious fabrication." Before announcing this conclusion, Mr. Parnell naturally made a minute and careful study of the signature he reproduces, and he has hastened to communicate the results of his investigation to the Press. We readily admit the justice of many of Mr. Parnell's criticisms. It is the fact that the signature we have published differs in several details from that now ordinarily employed by the writer. But, in the first place, it must be remembered that the letter published on Monday was dated five years ago, and that the handwriting of most men undergoes considerable modification in a period of time. The existence of minute differences between the autographs of to-day and the autograph of May, 1882, is natural, and serves only to confirm the authenticity of the document impugned. Mr. Parnell is said to have produced a large bundle of cheques bearing his signature for comparison with the signature attached to the "clumsy forgery." Mr. Parnell's cheques and business papers about the date of the letter would, no doubt, be of great service in elucidating the issue we have raised. But comparisons between the signature reproduced and the signatures of five years afterwards can in no case be conclusive and may only be misleading. Not only does handwriting usually suffer considerable change in the course of years, but the common experience of every business man demonstrates, the writing, and even the nature of the same individual, present enormous slight discrepancies from day to day, owing to mechanical conditions of pen, ink, and paper, to health, the physical and the mental state of the writer, all exercise their influence over his handwriting and produce greater or less variations in its details. An examination of the numerous inconsistencies pointed out by Mr. Parnell and his friends between the forms of the letters in our facsimile and those in acknowledged autographs will show that many of them are of the kind usually found in different signatures by the same hand. In our case, however, does not rest, as the *ellipses* seem somewhat rashly to have assumed, on a single specimen of Mr. Parnell's autograph. We possess several samples of the member for

Cork's undoubted handwriting and signature, many of them written about the date of the disputed document, and from those authentic autographs we are able to parallel every one of the peculiarities in the signature of May, 1882. Mr. Parnell points out that his ordinary signature slopes upwards, while that in the facsimile slopes downwards. Mr. Parnell is right; but we hold an autograph undoubtedly genuine in which the last letters fall lower than the first. Mr. Parnell tells the reporters that he places a full point after the S, while our signature contains no such point. Mr. Parnell again states his ordinary practice correctly. But we possess an unquestionably genuine specimen of his signature without the point. Mr. Parnell declares that the "r" in Parnell and the "C" in Charles are "quite different from anything he has written." They do differ from his usual manner of shaping those letters. We can match them both. We have just such other "r's" and just such another "Ch" in "Charles." Again, Mr. Parnell says that in the "a" in "Charles" in the facsimile the pen has been taken off the paper, while he "invariably writes 'Chas,' without any break." A careful scrutiny of the actual signature of the letter shows that the pen has not been taken off in this instance, though we admit that in the facsimile there was room for doubt. We can show several "a's" undoubtedly formed by Mr. Parnell which are curved at the bottom like the "a's" in the facsimile, and not pointed, as it is declared he habitually points them. We have also signatures of Mr. Parnell's without either the sharp, straight end of the final "l" or the scroll or dash, neither of which appear in the facsimile, and both of which Mr. Parnell's associates declare to be "absolutely invariable characteristics" of his autograph. We should also observe that Mr. Parnell's practice appears to be to form his "r's" like the "r's" in the facsimile, and usually but by no means invariably, to add afterwards the loop at the top.

As for Mr. Parnell's criticism of the general character of the letter we have published, we can only say that it seems as unhappy as his laboured observations on the shape of particular letters. "I unfortunately write," he says, "a very cramped hand; my letters run and huddle into each other, and I write with difficulty and slowness. . . . But the signature in question is written by a ready penman." Our readers can judge with their own eyes whether the facsimile signature is not "cramped," whether the letters do not "run and huddle into each other," and whether it does look like the work of a "ready penman." Mr. Parnell wound up his remarks in the House of Commons upon the form of the letter by declaring that "the writing was strange to him." A few hours previously he is alleged to have informed the representative of a Press agency that

"he fancied he saw in the handwriting a resemblance to that of a person with whom he was in correspondence about 18 months ago," and that he had actually telegraphed for letters he had received from that person in order to compare them with the "clumsy forgery."

But Mr. Parnell's treatment of the substance of the letter is even more damaging to himself than his feeble efforts to discredit his own handwriting. The subject matter, he asserts, is "preposterous on the surface." The sentiments it conveys tally strangely with those expressed by some of Mr. Parnell's American admirers. Did not Patrick Ford himself repudiate the murders and impute them to the landlords in May, 1882, and nevertheless explain a year later that "from an Irish standpoint" the deed "was an execution, not a murder?" Does Mr. Parnell deny his intimacy with Patrick Egan? Does he deny that Egan inaugurated the "Martyrs' Fund" for the families of the Phoenix Park assassins, and that that fund was started, as Ford states, "as an incentive to other men to dare and do likewise for Ireland?" Is it unnatural that Egan, the prime author of this fund, should have felt angry at Mr. Parnell's denunciation of the daring feat of the "modern Coriolanus, Joe Brady?" Is it preposterous to suppose that Mr. Parnell, whose ambassadors sat in conclave with Ford and Egan last August, and publicly appeared with a crew of dynamiters at the Convention, should have written secretly to Egan in May, 1882? Mr. Parnell's letter of May 15, 1882, corresponds exactly with Mr. Finerty's statement at Chicago in July, 1883. "As regards Cavendish," said this personage, who was permitted to take part in last August's proceedings at Chicago, "it (the murder) was not premeditated; as regarded Burke they said nothing. He (Lord Frederick Cavendish) died because he was in bad company—was with Thomas

H. Burke, the Fouché of Ireland." And even in the House of Commons, even in the course of his defence, it is not a little remarkable to note that Mr. Parnell seemed instinctively disposed to confine his expressions of regret to the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish. It was only when directly challenged in the House by cries of "Burke" that he extended those expressions to "the Fouché of Ireland," to the man who "got no more than his deserts."

Indeed, all this part of Mr. Parnell's apology displays a character of feeble inconclusiveness. He, one of the coolest and most logical debaters in Parliament, went out of his way to defend himself from a charge which has not so far been urged against him. He tells us that he "never had the slightest notion in the world that the life of the late Mr. Forster was in danger." Who has accused Mr. Parnell of participation in that plot? He had every cause to thank Mr. Forster for the "humane and fair treatment" that gentleman accorded to "suspects" in his custody. To Mr. Forster's indulgence, indeed, Mr. Parnell owed his famous trip to Paris on parole, with all the opportunities it gave him of communicating with Byrne, Egan, and the rest. Why should Mr. Parnell have dreamt of the diabolic plots concocted by the society to which Byrne belonged against the Chief Secretary's life? The letter we published on Monday contains no hint of such a transaction, although it certainly does make it hard to give full credence to Mr. Parnell's comprehensive assurance that he had no notion that any conspiracy was on foot against Mr. Forster or any other official in Ireland or elsewhere. Why should Mr. Parnell refute a charge which has not been brought against him? Such conduct seems to prove a curious state of demoralization on the part of one ordinarily so reticent and imperturbable as the member for Cork.

(LEADING ARTICLE, APRIL 19, 1887.)

Mr. PARNELL's speech on the second reading of the Crimes Bill was not delivered till 1 o'clock in the morning, too late for detailed comment on the passages referring to the letter we published yesterday. Earlier in the evening, however, Mr. PARNELL—though he has not yet made any communication to us—appears to have imparted his views on the subject to certain news agencies. It would be unfair to look at the present stage for a complete statement of Mr. PARNELL's defence—beyond the fact, which might have been anticipated even before Mr. SEXTON spoke, that he declares the letter in indignant language to be "a forgery." It is, however, somewhat remarkable that he has apparently been in doubt as to the grounds on which he is to impeach the genuineness and authenticity of this document. While repudiating the body of the letter, it was open to him either to deny or to acknowledge the signa-

ture. At first he was, as it seems, disposed to acknowledge it, assuming that it was an autograph or possibly a signature, for the use of his private secretary, which might have fallen in blank into some unscrupulous hands. But a different theory is put forward in the latest version of Mr. PARNELL's views. He now asserts that the signature is not his, and he points out various discrepancies, as they appear to him, between the signature reproduced in our issue of yesterday and his usual signatures. Such discrepancies in small points, if they can be shown to exist, prove extremely little. They constantly occur, even in the case of persons whose handwriting does not materially vary. We have in our possession several undoubted examples of Mr. PARNELL's signature with which that of the letter has been carefully compared; and we repeat that, in our deliberate judgment, there can be no doubt of the genuineness of

latter. We know not whether Mr. PARNELL has made up his mind to adopt the attitude recommended by Mr. SEXTON and to refuse, even after LORD HARTINGTON's pointed challenge, to attempt to vindicate his character in a Court of law. To denounce this letter as a "villainous and barefaced forgery," concocted with the object of influencing the division and of calumniating Mr. PARNELL is easy, but inadequate the occasion. We pay no attention whatever to Mr. PARNELL's big words, and if he should proceed to apply the only test by which the truth can be plainly brought before the world we are quite prepared to meet him. Disclaimers, of which the hue was discounted in LORD HARTINGTON's eighty speech, are not strengthened by violence of language, nor is the assumption—that the public will look upon the substance of Mr. PARNELL's letter as outrageously improbable—safe ground on which to rest the defence of a party now associated with English public opinion. We deeply regret that Mr. GLADSTONE, as the CHIEF SECRETARY observed in his reply, joined in the conspiracy of silence which has at last been partially broken through. The leader of the Opposition cannot afford to ignore grave accusations affecting politicians, whom he has enlisted among his followers and to whom he would hand over the government of Ireland. LORD SPENCER's testimony to a negative which he cannot possibly have had the means of proving or even of conjecturing—his exculpation, drolled in by Mr. SEXTON, of those who for years pursued him with atrocious and abominable slanders—is a pitiable example of the lengths to which party spirit will carry a man of honour. The public will certainly not dismiss the statements affecting Mr. PARNELL as incredible when they see that Gladstonians, not wanting in good sense or good feeling, are capable of expressing such sentiments as those of our Correspondent "NOT A TRANSCENDENTAL." From this frame of mind to Mr. LABOUCHERE's, when he appeals to the secret societies against the judgment of the House of Commons, the distance is not great.

Mr. SEXTON, in resuming the debate on the second reading, was, in point of fact, compelled to deal with the charges advanced in our columns and repeated in the House of Commons by COLONEL SAUNDERSON. He was obviously reluctant to undertake the task, but the publication in our columns yesterday of Mr. PARNELL's letter demanded an immediate answer. The followers of Mr. GLADSTONE have shown much long-suffering since their leader's erratic policy committed them to intimate companionship with the Parnellites, but there is still a point beyond which it would be dangerous to strain their allegiance. They must have at least a semblance of a defence to make before their constituents, and if Mr. PARNELL's following had continued to ignore the statements brought forward in our articles on "Parnellism and Crime" their allies would be reduced to humiliating and disastrous silence. Mr. SEXTON, therefore, was put up to support a general denial of our

charges with something like serious criticism, and his speech stands on record as proof of the absence of any evidence or argument deserving of the name that can be adduced to invalidate the case we have made out. We desire to do full justice to Mr. SEXTON's pleading. We pass over his insulting language as having no greater relevancy to the real issues than his windy and empty rhetoric. The substance of his reply is that COLONEL SAUNDERSON's statements were "false." COLONEL SAUNDERSON had asserted that on the Executive Committee of the Land League Mr. PARNELL, Mr. SEXTON, and Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR had been associated with PATRICK EGAN, BRENNAN, BOYTON, and SHERIDAN, and on this he appeared to found the charge that the leaders of the Parliamentary party had consorted "with men whom 'they knew to be murderers.'" That charge was withdrawn as obviously incapable of proof, though as a presumption it seems to us to have the greatest weight and pertinence. Mr. SEXTON admits that EGAN and BRENNAN were members of the Executive, but he avers that BOYTON and SHERIDAN were not. On this point he is more likely to be well-informed than the public. The work of the Executive Council of the Land League was not done in the light of day, and when EGAN, its leading spirit, fled from Ireland—when, as Mr. SEXTON euphemistically puts it, he "transferred his home 'to America,'" which was, no doubt, a prudential act—he took with him all the records of the League, including the accounts of income and expenditure. But SHERIDAN and BOYTON were among the chief organizers of the League, and Mr. PARNELL specially recommended the former during the brief sunshine of the Kilmainham Treaty as an agent to put down the outrages he had had so large a share in getting up. SHERIDAN was one of the instigators of the Phoenix Park murders; a true bill for murder was found against him by the Grand Jury in Dublin, and he took refuge in the United States, in the friendly shadow of the *Irish World* office, when the plot was discovered. At the same time EGAN, BRENNAN, and BOYTON, as well as WALSH, who introduced SHERIDAN to the Invincibles, and BYRNE, the secretary of the League in this country, sought safety in the same quarter. But neither BRENNAN nor BYRNE, according to Mr. SEXTON, had any "personal relations"—whatever that may mean—with Mr. PARNELL. They were the secretaries of the twin associations which won the uncrowned king his power; but Mr. PARNELL is supposed to have known as little of them as Mr. SEXTON knows of the *Irish World*. For of the subsequent connexions between the Parliamentary party and the fugitives who foregathered in PATRICK FORD's congenial company Mr. SEXTON has nothing to say. Yet that, as LORD HARTINGTON points out with unanswerable force, lies at the root of the matter. Mr. SEXTON contends that the allegations even against SHERIDAN originated in events which happened after the formal suppression of the Land League by Mr. GLADSTONE's *coup d'Etat* in October, 1881,

though he does not hesitate to fix upon COLONEL KING-HARMAN the responsibility for association with the same adventurer in days before the League came into existence and when Home Rule was little more than an academic question. What is the answer, however, to the specific charge, supported by citations from the *Irish World*, showing that all the Parliamentary politicians despatched as MR. PARNELL's emissaries to America since the date of the Phoenix Park murders have been in constant and close intercourse, not only with FORD, the avowed advocate of the dynamite policy, and with his friend EGAN, but with SHERIDAN, WALSH, and BYRNE? Here MR. SEXTON falls back upon his convenient ignorance of what appears in the journal which, according to his colleague DAVITT, has supplied most of the financial resources and of the political energy that have brought MR. GLADSTONE into line with the allies of Irish-American desperadoes. He never heard of the supper on the 6th of May, 1885, at which MRS. BYRNE's services "in connexion with the victory" "in the Phoenix Park" were applauded and rewarded, and EGAN himself, though his name appears in the list of those present, published by his friend FORD, telegraphs that he too knows nothing of this incident. But two of the FORDS were there as well as WALSH and BYRNE; the latter returned thanks on his wife's behalf, and "MR. P. EGAN"—if this is not the Land League treasurer we have another curious and convenient instance of identity of name—moved a vote of thanks to the Editor of the *Irish World* "for his unswerving loyalty to the Irish cause." Some of these men and others even more extreme—as the heads of the Clan-na-Gael, of which, again, MR. SEXTON knows nothing—took part in the Chicago Convention side by side with the delegates from MR. PARNELL's organization. This is MR. SEXTON's method of treating charges which, though he professes to have never read them, he denounces as calumnies. We are, therefore, prepared to find that he brands MR. PARNELL's letter of which we published a facsimile yesterday as a "base, manifest, clumsy, and malignant forgery" and apparently thinks that he, at least, is not required to deal further with the matter.

LORD HARTINGTON's speech, however, draws attention to the significant omissions of MR. SEXTON's harangue. It is well that the House of Commons should be plainly told by a statesman in LORD HARTINGTON's position that to meet

direct charges of the gravest character with "passionate indignation" unsupported by any serious attempt at disproof is not a course that will satisfy the House of Commons or the country. Denials of inconvenient statements, as LORD HARTINGTON quietly observes, have been "not very infrequent" among MR. PARNELL's followers, and they have not generally borne the test of examination. There was MR. PARNELL's repudiation of the "last link" speech at Cincinnati, which has never been apologized for or withdrawn since the original report extracted from the *Irish World* appeared in our columns. There was MR. HEALY's ungrateful declaration that the League and its machine-men owed nothing to FORD and his paper, which drew from DAVITT an indignant rebuke and contradiction. There was MR. HARTINGTON's assurance that only some £4,000 in all has been transmitted from America through the League, while, as CAPTAIN COLOMB showed last night and as DAVITT has stated, the actual contributions have been enormous in amount. It is absurd then, in dealing with issues of so much gravity as those raised by the articles on "Parnellism and Crime," and by the publication of MR. PARNELL's letter, to rest the defence on a simple denial. MR. SEXTON talks in a lofty manner of two alternative remedies—a horsewhip and an action at law. A sense of personal dignity, supplemented, perhaps, by other reasons, restrain him from resorting to the former; and, though he professes to believe that public opinion in this country is surging high in favour of the Irish claims he refuses for his own part to appeal to the public tribunals, because, he says, an Irish politician has no chance of obtaining justice from an English jury. So far as we are concerned, we are perfectly content to leave the question either to the judgment of public opinion or to a court of law. If the charges we have made can be proved to be baseless and calumnious, no doubt, as LORD HARTINGTON reminds the Parnellites, they can be made the ground for criminal as well as civil proceedings. But, inside and out of Parliament, MR. PARNELL's associates prefer to fall back on vague contradictions and insolent abuse, and are even moved to angry protest when, as in MR. T. P. O'CONNOR's case, a candid apology for a comparatively trivial and inadvertent error has shattered the material for a high-flying burst of indignant oratory.

THE PHOENIX PARK MARTYRS.

THEIR ANNIVERSARY PATRIOTICALLY AND PRACTICALLY KEPT IN NEW YORK.

(From the *Irish World*, May 16, 1885.)

One of the happiest Irish National reunions that has taken place in New York in some time was held at the Sinclair House, Broadway and 8th-street, on Wednesday evening, May 6, the Phoenix Park anniversary, and we regret that the hour of our going to press will not allow of an extended report.

The assemblage was composed of well-known Irish Nationalists, and the celebration took the form of a testimonial dinner to one who was an important though most unpretending actor in the event that is marked by the 6th of May.

The Committee of Arrangements was composed of Mr. Edward J. Rowe, Chairman, Prof.

P. E. Tarpey, P. J. Hughes, Colonel J. P. O'Flynn, Captain Michael Foley, P. Egan, P. J. Cody, Captain P. J. Coleman, John Kane, John Walsh, and P. J. Grogan.

The brilliant gathering of ladies and gentlemen filed into the large and beautifully-arranged dining hall at 9 o'clock. Among the many present being: Mr. and Mrs. Frank Byrne, Austin E. Ford, Pres.; Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Forrester, Adjutant James Moran, 69th Regiment, Mr. and Mrs. Col. O'Flynn, Mr. and Mrs. James Bogan, Mr. Molloy, Mr. John Walsh, Mrs. Michael Byrne, Messrs. James Kelly, Manus O'Connor, M. F. Grogan, P. B. Egan, John Mahoney, P. J. Hughes, P. J. Cody, Peter E. Tarpey, Robert E. Ford, Charles Kelly, Mr. Flynn, Edward L. Carey, John Maguire, John F. Wall, Matthew Brady, John Kane and lady, P. J. Coleman and wife, Edward Wall and lady, Edward J. Rowe, James Egan, Rudolph Fitzpatrick, John E. Kaughan, Miles M. O'Brien, James Clifford, Thaddeus Moriarty, Judge J. H. McCarthy, Mrs. McSweeney, Miles Gibbons.

After the company had partaken of the good things laid out,

MR. AUSTIN E. FORD, who was chosen Chairman of the evening, in a short speech formally opened the proceedings. He said they had gathered there to give practical testimony of their love for the men who died for Ireland's liberty. We are assembled here, said he, on the third anniversary of a battle which was won in Dublin by Irishmen over two of the English faction who came to prolong the oppressive tortures which have been inflicted on the Irish people. (Applause.) Gentlemen, we come to do honour to the memory of noble and fearless men who unselfishly offered up their lives to serve their kind, and to pay a tribute, on behalf of the Irish Nationalists of this city, to a brave little woman whose face is perhaps not known to many, but whose memorable courage in connection with the victory in the Phoenix Park three years ago (prolonged applause), whose sacrifice for the Irish cause is known to us all, and can only be properly honored by a free Ireland, can only be fittingly appreciated when an independent Republic is established on Irish soil. (Applause.) In the name of this assembly I commend to your warm reception Mrs. Frank Byrne (applause), and ask you, Mrs. Byrne, to receive this testimonial (handing the lady a well-filled purse) as a token of the esteem that the men of to-day hold you in.

MRS. BYRNE bowed her acknowledgments to the meeting and retired in favour of her husband,

MR. FRANK BYRNE, who was warmly received, thanked the meeting for the honor conferred both upon himself and his wife. The blow inflicted upon England in the Phoenix Park three years ago was the greatest since Brian smote the Dane at Clontarf. (Applause.) It was the first time in the history of the English connection that Eng-

lishmen were taught that if they meant to come to Ireland and continue to oppress the people they would do so at the peril of their lives. (Applause.) Two men of the Irish army met and killed two men of the English army. (Applause.) The doctrine that the rifle alone will free Ireland is dead; the doctrine that the rifle, supplemented by modern improvements, will free Ireland is alive. (Applause.)

COLONEL J. P. O'FLYNN recited with much ability Tim Crowley's poem—"We'll Send the Land-thieves Ten Thousand Miles Away."

The CHAIRMAN said that they could not be sent to Manitoba as Louis Riel was busy founding a new republic there. (Cheers for Riel.)

"Ireland As It Is" was responded to by PROF. TARPEY, who said:—"We must use all weapons at hand in our endeavor to free Ireland. We honor Joe Brady as the modern Coriolanus, who struck a great blow for liberty. (Applause.) By a continued use of these weapons Macaulay's New Zealander will soon sketch the ruins of London."

MR. CHARLES KELLY responded to the toast of "The Irish-American Merchants." "A great misfortune with our people here," said he, "is that many of them when they get rich are ashamed of Ireland, and will do nothing to help her. The millionaire Irishmen sneer at our efforts; but we can afford to do without them, for those who stuck to the flag are still in the front and will carry it to victory." (Applause.) He paid a tribute to the work of women from his own experience in the Land League and other Irish National movements.

MR. JOHN WALSH responded to "The Latest Political Exiles." "How often and often," said he, "has it been dinned into our ears that England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." Yet, gentlemen, alas, when the opportunities came we were broken by dissension. Oh, it would indeed be a blessed consummation if every Irishman should work to the end that common toleration may prevail and if there must be a difference—if this feeling can be made to prevail the best opportunity we have ever had is almost at hand to help to overthrow the English and establish an independent Government in our country. (Applause.)

MR. EDWARD L. CAREY, of the A. O. H., replied to the toast, "The Irish Societies in America."

"I bear, unfortunately, the same name as an informer," said Mr. Carey, "but, gentlemen, none of the blood of that traitor dog runs in my veins. (Applause.) James Carey betrayed heroic men who struck a blow for Irish liberty, but he perished, and so perish all traitors to the immortal cause with which Joe Brady was associated." (Prolonged applause.)

MR. EDWARD J. ROWE made a warm eulogy on the patriotism of Mr. Byrne, and Mr. J. M. WALL responded to the toast, "The Irish Nation in America."

MR. ROBERT E. FORD responded to "The Ladies" in a very neat speech which was frequently applauded. "No assembly," said he, "is complete without the ladies, whether a social or political gathering. History is repeating itself. During the Land League days the women in Ireland as bravely met danger as their heroic sisters in the distant past (applause) and none of those filled the breach with more heroism than Mrs. Frank Byrne. (Renewed applause.) I know a lady hero in Massachusetts by whose unaided efforts alone \$12,000 were raised on behalf of Ireland. With such allies, gentlemen, we're bound eventually to be victorious. (Prolonged applause.)

MR. P. EGAN moved:—"That our best thanks are due to Patrick Ford, of the *Irish World*, for his unswerving loyalty to the Irish cause." This was carried by acclamation.

MR. JOS. FLYNN and **MR. P. J. HUGHES** recited stirring pieces, and **MR. A. M. FORRESTER** sang several patriotic selections, and led in the Irish

National Anthem, "God Save Ireland," in which all the audience joined. The meeting then separated.

The above is an exact reprint in every particular, headlines and all, of the account of the banquet to the Byrnes published in the *Irish World* of May 16, 1885. It may be as well to add that the following names occur in the official list of delegates to the Chicago Convention, published in the *Irish World* of August 28, 1886:—

NEW YORK.—E. J. Rowe, Austin E. Ford, J. S. Mahoney, John McCarthy, M. W. Gibbons, Robert E. Ford, John McGuire.

Among the members of the reception committee who awaited Mr. Justin M'Carthy's arrival by the Britannic on Saturday, September 25, 1886, were Mr. P. B. Egan, and Mr. Robert and Mr. A. E. Ford, representing Mr. Patrick Ford, the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. (*Irish World*, October 2, 1886.)

j'attends donc bientôt de vos
nouvelles et vous prie de me
croire votre tout dévoué

AA.

H. rue du Temple.

Nice 4 Mars. 87.

Colonel.

J'ai été un peu empêché,
comme vous devez le supposer,
par les événements, pour vous
envoyer plus tôt ces réponses que
vous m'avez demandées dans
votre dernière lettre.

Je vous ai envoyé un journal
de Nice pour vous faire voir
que j'étais encore vivant.

Vous comprendrez que dans toutes mes
réponses, je suis franc et sincère
et que je réponds à que S^t John
m'a dit de son vivant.

Je vois que ce pauvre garçon
a été bien trompé par le C.

Je vous prie, Colonel, de
m'excuser réception de ma lettre
pour me tranquilliser.

Le tremblement de terre à Nice
me fait le plus grand tort: tous
les étrangers ou, du moins, une
grande partie ont quitté la ville,
tout ce que je pouvais faire pour
gagner ma vie, m'est enlevé...
plus de leçons, plus rien; je suis
désolé... enfin à la grâce de
Dieu !.

When you would go see
them I hope you
continue quite well I
have had accounts of
you from my Uncle
John Frost.

Very sincerely yours

M J Kenney

Col M O Gorman Mahon
W D L



March 7-87

My dear Colonel

I have to
apologise for not having
been to see you for
so long. If it wd ^{be} ^{to you} inconvenient, I
will do myself the
honour of calling
upon you on Thursday
about 2.30

I have had innumerable
inquiries about you in
Clare every person asking



My dear Sir
I have the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of your letter of the
10th inst. in relation to the
affairs of the
Company
and in reply to inform you
that the same have been
forwarded to the
proper authorities for their
consideration
and that I am
very respectfully,
Yours,
J. W. Phelps

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TELEPHONE NO 15
TELEGRAMS "ASHURST LONDON"



6, Old Jewry London
E C.
9th Decr 1887

The O'Horman Mahon

Dear Sir

We have your letter and are glad to hear of the further important letters of which Mr Hallier has notified you.

With regard to the Defendants they have obtained 3 weeks further time dating from the 2nd instant for filing their Affidavit of documents. In our judgment this is rather to your advantage than otherwise because we are at the present moment without any communication from Messrs Barrington in reply to the questions we asked and until we hear from them in reply to our questions we are not

in a position to advise you finally as to proceeding with the action, and all the time - therefore that can be gained at present is in your favor.

Yours truly

Amiel Morris Crisp

Solicitor on the Lawlist - he
may be dead or disbar'd.
Such a name as Dowse
the Solicitor ~~is~~ named in
the Statement as having
filed the bill in Chancery
on Chapman's instructions, does
appear there being a person
corresponding in name - one
Henry Archibald Dowse - at
6 New Inn. Strand, and
is very probably a person
of the description usually
employed in the kind of
work Chapman engaged in.

Moullin & Co. would be a
good man to lead for you
A man named Mulligan is a
very good junior, so is a
man named Macaskie.
I will see you on Saturday
Very truly
Wm. Henry.



Thursday.
March 10 '87.

My dear Colonel.

I read over very
carefully both the Statement
of facts, and the affidavit
of Messrs. Bather, referred to
in the Statement. There are
some points I shall require
to look into more fully
but on the face of it I can
say it appears a case
of "heartless felony". The
expression very properly
used by the writer of the
Statement.

There is no such person as
Cluckster a Barrister or



^{10 Ely Place,}
Dublin 11 March 1887

Dear Sir - We regret the delay in attending to the matter referred to in your letter but the transactions to which it relates took place a number of years ago, and it took some time to make up the facts. We do not think we would be at liberty to give you any information in the matter without

the authority of Mr Chapman who was one of the parties for whom we acted and against ~~you~~ whom you are, we understand, taking proceedings.

We wrote yesterday to Messrs Ashurst & Co to this effect.

Yours very truly
Barrington Wood
- B.W.

The Gorman Mahon
-

Private
Confidential

Scarriff Co. Clare
March 12. 87

My dear Colonel

The enclosed will give
you but a poor idea ^{how}
much I have suffered in
consequence of the Bankruptcy
of a Brother in Law of mine
Austin Greene. I am still
paying for a large bill
to the National Bank

I am at present in much
difficulty, as the share tide
did not this year bring
in anything. I don't know
if you could in any way

Help me at this critical
period of my life - I know
it is hard for you I ask
a favor from others but
still you might think
of some way of putting
Alvin to an old friend

Fancy I have not been able
in two years to buy a
suit of clothes, and I could
have been able last
year to go to London but
the difficulties brought
upon me by poverty
signing bills which were
not even written on

You once said to me, Will
I speak to Pennell about this and
said no, because I should
not like to make known my
distress except to a friend,

If you can do anything
at all, kindly, I know
you will. In fact my
spirits are much broken
by the trouble caused

I am glad to hear from
Matti that you are so well,

May God bless you
Yr affectionate Niece

M. J. Kerry

C. M. O'Connell

P.O.

March 13.87 Having submitted the contents of
~~On the receipt of your last letter~~
to Council and explained that the
~~I brought the circumstances of the~~
Earthquake ^{has been} ~~which were~~ peculiarly

injurious to you before Council.

They ~~only~~ ^{only} ~~expressed~~ ^{expressed} their sympathies
and ~~regretted~~ ^{regretted} ~~sympathized~~ ^{sympathized} with you & the
body could not permit of ~~no further~~
~~remittance~~ ^{remittance} than the enclosed. — ~~Adding~~
that ~~your~~ ^{your} intelligence would explain the reason
and obtained an order ~~for~~

~~giving him 3 weeks to produce~~ ^{documents}
one which he depends ^{to support his case}
~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the doctor of~~

~~Can you?~~ ^{How many hours by rail is}
required ~~from the place where~~
~~to~~ ^{from} ~~where you & I were~~
residing when he ^{went to} the Dr?

~~Did you see and hear what he~~
~~said?~~ ^{What is the Dr's name?}
Have you discovered the
residence of Chas Bourdon? It is
necessary to find him! He & ^{both the} young ~~one~~ may
have to be prosecuted criminally,



March 15 '87

My dear Colonel

I cannot possibly
sit tonight as I must
be here constantly
watching Clinton rules -
known - yesterday
I can call at 6-30.

Very sincerely
Yours
Wm. McKim

Col. Geo. Forman Mahon
Jr., D.C.,



cette dette qui se monte à 60^t, je crois.
Même sur la prière de St John, T.C. n'a
pas voulu payer. Il a répondu que
cela serait payé après votre mort.

Il nous faut aussi l'attestation de
le pharmacien qui a bien connu
St John et qui pourra attester encore
bien d'autres choses.

donc, Colonel, je vous prie de me
rendre réponse au sujet de ma
demande. ici, à Nice, je n'ai plus
rien à faire : à Paris, j'ai beaucoup
à faire pour nos intérêts communs
et je vous certifie que j'accumulerai
encore des charges contre T.C.

Je comprends à présent, pourquoi cet
homme me détestait tant : je le gênais
pour tous ses vols, et sans moi, on
n'aurait pas su le quart de ses faux

Nice, 16 Mars 87.

Colonel.

J'ai reçu ce matin votre lettre du
13 courant, avec le bon de poste
qu'elle contenait ; je vous en
remercie.

Je ne comprends pas bien tous les
termes de votre lettre et il faut
que je voie un Anglais pour
pouvoir bien m'expliquer tout,
et pour pouvoir vous répondre
exactement.

Une autre considération que je
vous prie de soumettre à votre
conseil : ma présence à Paris
serait absolument nécessaire pour

trouver Ch. Bourdon. Je ne sais pas son adresse actuelle, mais je connais à Paris des gens qui pourront m'indiquer où il est, et je pourrais le voir, si cela est nécessaire.

Je ne sais pas le nom du Docteur chez qui St John a été à Cannes, mais avant de partir pour Paris, je puis m'arrêter à Cannes et faire les démarches pour le trouver.

C'est un médecin Anglais et je crois que si on me présentait son nom écrit, je dirai: c'est lui.

D'un autre côté, ce tremblement de terre sur le littoral, a tellement affolé la ville de Nice qu'il n'y a plus personne et que je suis

privé subitement des ressources que je me créais dans cette ville.

J'ai besoin à Paris autant dans votre propre intérêt, Colonel, que dans le mien. Je vous prie donc de soumettre ces raisons à votre conseil et de lui demander la permission de m'envoyer l'argent nécessaire pour faire le voyage de Paris.

Ce sera toujours autant de fait pour le voyage de Londres que je dois effectuer pour le procès.

J'ai aussi à aller à Eughien les bains... (comme je vous en ai dit il y a longtemps.) Il y a dans ce pays un pharmacien à qui il est dû encore la note des frais de la maladie de Madame Ogormou & de celle de Min Mahou.

F.C. a toujours refusé de payer

et de ses vols inqualifiables.

Je vous ai déjà dit qu'il n'y a rien à craindre pour les témoins de Monte Carlo, mais avant mon départ je veux encore les voir et leur faire donner par écrit la promesse qu'ils n'accepteront d'être payés que par vous et avec mon consentement. Ce sera plus prudent, car ces gens commencent à se fatiguer d'attendre si longtemps.

Je comprends les raisons de votre conseil, Colonel, pour agir ainsi que vous le faites avec moi; mais dans votre for intérieur, vous devez bien penser que j'ai agi avec vous en toute franchise et vous pouvez bien supposer que je suis

tellement honnête que même, si
mon intérêt était de vous tromper,
par honneur, je ne le ferais pas.
Croyez vous pas que C. pourrait
cher pour s'entendre avec moi
aujourd'hui?.

En considération de tous les services que
j'ai rendus à la cause, vous pouvez
influencer votre conseil pour me faire
avancer l'argent nécessaire à ce voyage,
et même, me le faire envoyer d'une
façon détournée.

En attendant votre réponse toujours.
Votre tout dévoué

AA.

P.S. La ville de Cannes n'a pas souffert comme
Nice: Vendredi dernier nous avons encore eu
une forte secousse et on redoute encore?

au mois d'avril 1882, M^r C. refusant
absolument tout argent à S^r John : je
lui dis : « comment tu as à toi, comme
Capital, sept cent mille francs, et M^r C.
ne peut pas te prêter la denus ?...
écris donc à M^r C. que tu trouves en ce
moment un capitaliste qui t'avance 400
cent mille francs, à condition que tu lui
aliènes tout ton Capital à la mort. »

S^r John a écrit cela à F.^r C., alors F.^r C. a
répondu qu'il allait faire l'affaire avec
une société financière. D'après les ordres
de F.^r C. S^r John a été à Cannes chez un
docteur indiqué par F.^r C. ce docteur a
visité et ausculté S^r John et a rendu
compte de la visite à F.^r C.

Huit jours après, F.^r C. écrivait à S^r John
que sa maladie était trop avancée
et que, étant trop près de la mort,
aucune Compagnie financière ne
voulait avancer un sou !!

J'ai même dit à St J. à ce sujet.
 « Mais c'est de la folie ! Ça devrait
 être tout le contraire, M^r C. te
 prend pour un idiot. »

M^r C. ajoutait alors dans sa lettre que
 les Compagnies financières refusant, il
 allait alors lui même faire l'affaire
 et avancer de l'argent. - à condition
 naturellement de signer des papiers
 et des reconnaissances, que St J. m'a
 cachées, parce que j'ai été trop
 franc et que je lui ai dit ma façon
 de penser sur M^r C.

Ce qui a activé encore M^r C. c'est que
 St J. lui a écrit que je lui avançais de
 l'argent. = H. H.



March 19th 1887

Dear O'Gorman Mahon,

In compliance with your wish
Adie and I have carefully read over the
Papers you sent us relative to your Son
and considered all you told me on the
subject besides. We are very strongly
of opinion that you ought to hesitate before
you proceed further in a suit certain to
be protracted and expensive and the chance
of success in our opinion very doubtful.
Your main point is that your son was
not in sane mind when he signed certain
instruments giving Chapman the reversion
of his property. If I was either judge or
jurymen I would be influenced to decide
against you on the fact that for a number
of years he was left a free agent to do
as he liked that beyond drinking too
much and being fond of the other sex



he does not appear to have done anything to mark him particularly as being insane and that you or any other relatives ought to place him under control.

He exercised the right he possessed of appointment I greatly doubt that you will be able to invalidate what he has done. If I was in your position I would be strongly disposed to quietly enjoy what you have come in for - run the risk of having your mind disturbed your means of enjoyment decreased by fighting what seems to me to be a very doubtful case.

Yours truly
John A. Blatto

The Governor Mahon

Private

37 Fitzroy St Fitzroy Sq W C

March 19 1885

Messrs Barrington & Son
Dublin

1887

Dear Sirs Again, referring to my long & intimate acquaintance with the late Sir Matthew I cannot express to you the surprise & disapp't felt on reading your letter of the 11th inst rec'd this morning stating you had ascertained the facts reg'd by Messrs Ashurst & Co but felt not at liberty to give any information in the matter "without the authority of Mr Chapman who was one of the parties for whom you acted."

Allow me to impress on you that this is simply a misapprehension which I have no doubt you will admit if you refer to your correspondence with my son and his letters to you in 1878 authorizing you to pay Chapman the large sums specified in them to be applied by the latter as directed by my poor son who was then mentally incapable of comprehending what he was writing!

The letters he wrote you were dictated by Chapman as I hold his (Chapman's) letter dated 20 April 1878 enclosing the very words my son was to copy and write to you. By this means a very great injury was inflicted on me, and I am advised that as the father and sole next of kin of my poor son I am justly

entitled to the information required to enable me to obtain redress for the previous wrong done.

In Chapman's letter of 20 April 78 he states "that Barringtons had written to him and to Bourdon requiring my son's consent to the payment of the two (alleged) mortgages therein ment'd out of the sum he (my son) was entitled to under his Aunt Maria O'Brien's will stating he (Chapman) had already rec^d £4000 under Bridget O'Brien's will which in that letter he admits in his (Chapman's) hands and was absolutely the property of my poor son.

It appears that Chapman had previously received £2000 out of Kate O'Brien's will fund, and he has never given any account of those large ~~sums~~ amounts having got my poor son who was then absolutely imbecile to copy out a will prepared by Chapman and his Counsel a Mr Chester in his Chapman's favor leaving the latter all his property!!!

I do trust that in these circumstances you will not hesitate to supply me with the information which Counsel advises I am justly entitled to receive at your hands. Yours very truly

The Hon Mr Justice

Short particulars required

- 1st What amount paid to Chapman on the written authority of my son out of Kate O'Brien's will fund & when for what purpose?
- 2 Like as to Miss Bridget O'Brien's will fund
- 3rd Like as to Miss Maria O'Brien's will fund?

re Chapman

Copy letter to Barrington's
19 March 1877

Posted same Eng 1887

1887
Thursday Evg March 24
Dear Colonel

I was greatly pleased
to observe from your letter
that you are firm in
hand & spirit - and
hope you will long continue
so - I do hope Barrington
will give a just response.

Private

I would suggest your sending
a line (if you have not already
done so) to Mr. St. George
not to consent to any further
northward of inspecting up to doct
I mean both Chapman & Combs

You dont say a word about Old Jewry
well - I take it - Means you have not heard
from that quarter - You know my view
of "the inspection of doct's" -

as to myself I have no recollection of
being so doubled up - I can hardly stand up
or breathe - and as to going out I am most anxious
for that effort, & trust I may be able to attempt it
soon in your direction - Love from all here
Yours truly JH

2

appear to you fully on the
subject which engages your
attention

I shall call about 3 P M

Remain

Very sincerely yours.

Matthew J. Kennedy

Col The Governor Mahan
D.D.



March 31 '87

My dear Colonel

I have been in communication with a friend of mine in reference to the matter in which we recently spoke. He replies that it would not be possible to make any arrangement of the nature I submitted. Of course he knew nothing whatever of the parties concerned. That was perfectly secret.

I will call on you on Saturday bringing the papers I have, and will



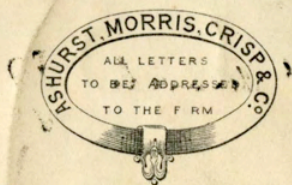
June 21. 77

My dear friend
I have been thinking
of writing to you for some
time but have been so busy
that I could not find time
to do so. I am now in
London and am very well.
I hope you are the same.
I am very much interested
in the progress of the
cause and hope to see
you soon. I am, my dear
friend, very truly yours,
J. B. Stansfeld

My dear friend
I have been thinking
of writing to you for some
time but have been so busy
that I could not find time
to do so. I am now in
London and am very well.
I hope you are the same.
I am very much interested
in the progress of the
cause and hope to see
you soon. I am, my dear
friend, very truly yours,
J. B. Stansfeld

Yours truly
J. B. Stansfeld

TELEPHONE NO 15
TELEGRAMS "ASHURST LONDON"



^{encls}
6, Old Jewry, London
E.C

3rd March 1887

The Old German Market,

Dear Sir,

yourself & Chapman

We have now received a copy
of the defendant's affidavit of documents,
which was filed yesterday.

We should make an appointment
to inspect the deeds in the course
of the next day or two & as we
understand that you are anxious
to inspect the deeds yourself
personally, we shall be obliged
if you will name a day &

hour convenient to yourself, & let
us know -

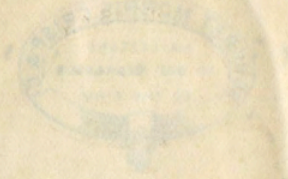
We have received an answer
from Messrs Barrington & they
decline to give us any information

Yours truly

Alfred Morris & Co

As we send a copy of the affidavit
for your perusal.
Mycr

RECEIVED OF THE
TREASURY DEPARTMENT



The Treasurer of the
United States of America
has the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of a check
for the sum of \$100.00
payable to the order of
the Treasurer of the
United States of America
and to certify that the
same has been duly
received and is on hand
for the use of the
United States of America.

From the Treasurer of the
United States of America
to the Treasurer of the
United States of America
for the sum of \$100.00
payable to the order of
the Treasurer of the
United States of America
and to certify that the
same has been duly
received and is on hand
for the use of the
United States of America.

7 S Stephens Green, North.

N^o 17

Mahons Estate Dublin

Received from Mrs. Mahon per Hallam G.
Fiddlers Esquire
the sum of ~~one hundred and thirty one~~ Pounds
~~Eleven~~ Shillings and ~~One~~ Pence sterling
balance due on foot of account furnished
1st December 1886 and Interest thereon to
28th March 1887

Dated the 1st day of April 1887

L 131. 11. 9



Chas. F. Mahan

W French Bump
for bal at foot of
acid to 13 Oct 88

L 131-11-4

4 April 1887

4, Furnibals Inn,

Holborn. E.C.

My dear Colonel.

I enclose your Summons
of Installation Meeting
to be held on the 15th inst.

If you will detail in
length exactly what Masonic
Clothing you propose to
wear I will use my best
efforts to ascertain where it
can be temporarily procured.

You will bear in mind
that in the English Lodges
no clothing or jewels
appertaining to degrees

other than the draft &
Chapter are admissible.

Trusting you are better
& with kind regards

I remain

Yours very truly
Nichilllaughter

Col The O'orman Mahon
37 Fitzroy St
W

27 Fitzroy St April 5. 87
Chapman

Dear Sir,

Let me call your serious
attention to the ^{defts} ~~defts~~ of documents
you have in your hand several
letters of his admitting receipt
from Burroughs of large sums
of money on the order of my
poor son copied from defts
drafts or
distinction - you also have defts
account of Memorandum
~~letters~~ admitting to have in his
hand £3877 odd, "the absolute
property of my poor son" and
his letters also refer to the
Mortgages to his father & Borden
and

and ^{to} the assignment of the latter
mortgage to his young brother
Alfred who was a mere
puppet in his hands. —

Not one of those deeds
is left to in the present affair!

On the contrary he swears
he never had any deed
deed, book of deed, &c. &c.

This seems to me deliberate
perjury, and a prosecution wd
bring the case to a short
termination — I will call on
you Thursday 2.30 —

Yours &c
The OGM

Great Southern and Western Railway

Solicitors Office 10 Ely Place

Dublin. 15th Apr^l 1867

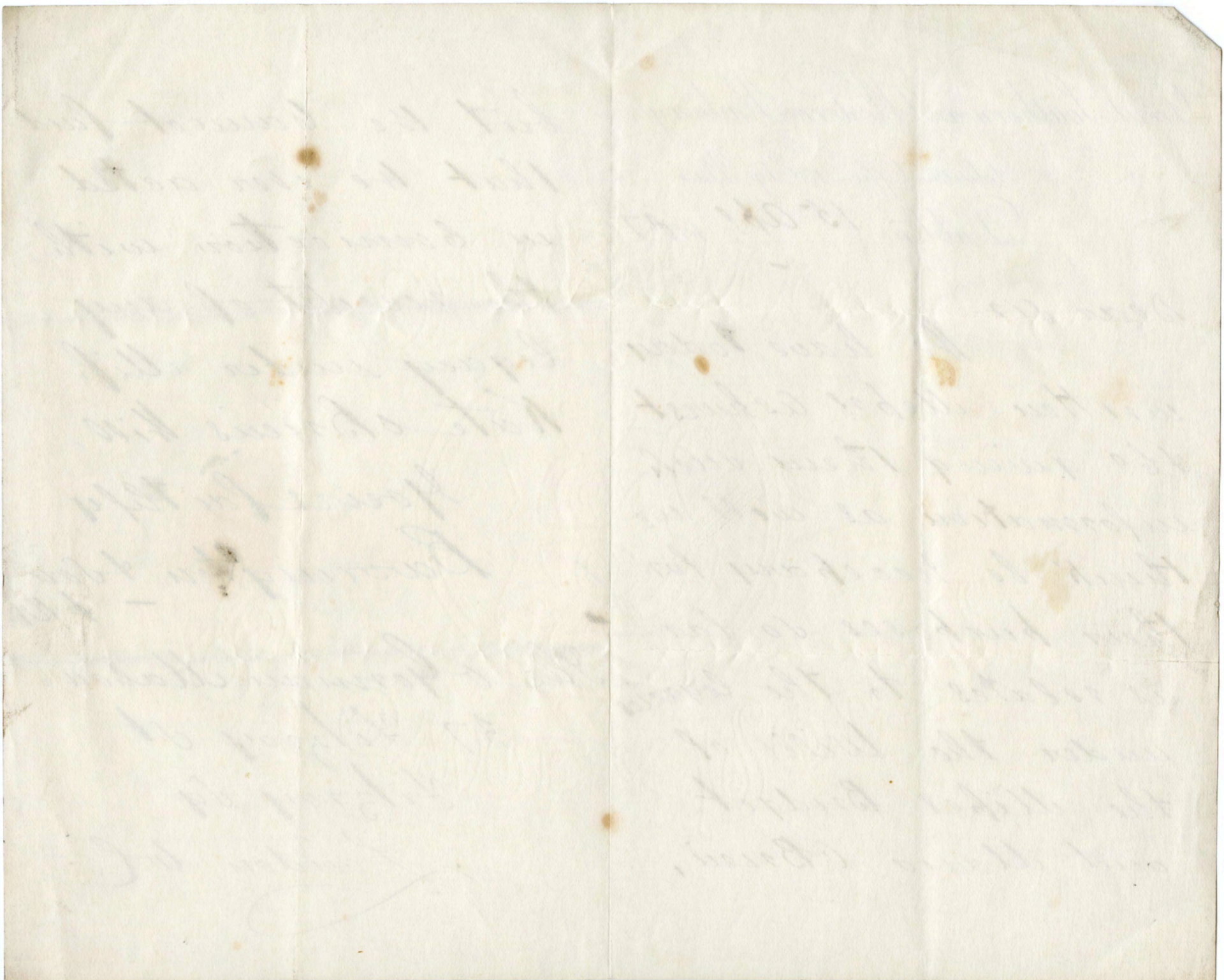
Dear Sir-

We have today
written Messrs Ashurst
& Co giving them such
information as will we
think be necessary for
their purposes so far
as relates to the legacies
under the Wills of
the Misses Bridget
and Maria O'Brien,

but we cannot find
that we ever acted
in connection with
the receipt of any
legacy under Miss
Kate O'Brien's Will.

Yours faithfully
Barrington & Son
- P.R.

The Hon^{ble} John Mahon
37 Fitzroy St
Fitzroy Sq
London W.C.



Saturday April 15. 87

Dear Colonel

You have sent me Cheque
for £10 (ten pounds) which I will
repay you in cash next week

Yrs faithfully

The Hon. Mr. Graham J. Halliday

My dear Mr. Chapman
I have just received
your letter of the 15th
and am glad to hear
that you are well.
I am very well at present.
I have not much news
to write at present.
I am, dear Mr. Chapman,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. B. Thompson

FREELANDS ROAD

BROMLEY,

KENT

16 Sept 1887

Dear Sir,

I beg to say that
I will call on Friday
next for the rent to
Saturday.

Yours truly,

Alfred W. H. W. H.

Col. The O. J. W. H. W. H.

EDWARD HODG

BROMLEY

KEFE

of Mr Clarke
10 Haymarket Str.
22 April 1807

My dear Colonel, I greatly regret
to have to ask you to sign again
as you filled in the blank in the
note with the name of "Ransom
Brounnerie &" which I ought to
have asked you not to do, as
it, like the one it replaced, will
not pass through R B & Co, but will
be cashed by friends outside —
I keep R B & Co. for your own
regular transactions.

Return the spoilt note
(cancelled) for you to destroy &

enclose a fresh one, which
kindly sign & return to care of
Mr Clark 10 HaymarketSt by
return it will be quite in
time. I leave a blank

again for name of the Payee
as I shall not know until
tomorrow what name to fill
in, so please leave that space
empty

You may rely on my
care & punctuality.
of your kindness

for the trouble I am giving
you,

I believe me,
my dear Friend,
Sincerely yours
J. C. Brecher

Respect
The V. Gorman Mahon

23rd April 84.

Dear Colonel.

Alice wired you
~~me~~ this afternoon but
I am glad to say the
matter has been adjourned
until Monday—

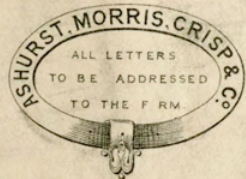
I trust you did not
think it presumptuous
of her telegraphing you
under the circumstances.

I will probably call
tomorrow & explain
matters more fully.
Yours sincerely
A. Macnaghi

My dear friend
I have received your letter of the 10th inst. and am
glad to hear from you. I am well and hope
these few lines will find you the same.
I have not much news to write at present.
The weather is very warm here now.
I have not much news to write at present.
The weather is very warm here now.
I have not much news to write at present.
The weather is very warm here now.

The O'forman. Mahon ⁷

TELEPHONE NO 15
TELEGRAMS "ASHURST LONDON"



6. Old Jewry London
E.C

25th Apr 1887

My dear Colonel,

I have your note
of the 23rd inst

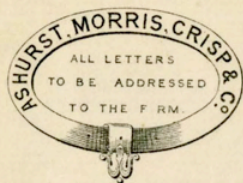
The summons was
the pressure to which
I referred in the Firms
letter of the 14th inst

Nothing was done
upon it & I believe it was
only a device to make
us set the cause down
for trial without first
inspecting Chapman's documents

Yrs faithfully
W. A. P. Kauffman

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TELEPHONE NO 15
TELEGRAMS "ASHURST LONDON"



6, Old Jewry London

E.C

26th April 1887

The Hon. Mr. Graham

My dear Colonel

I am glad to be able to
supplement my letter of yesterday and
inform you that Messrs. Glover & Co.
application to discontinue the action for
want of prosecution has itself been
dismissed as unconcerned. This
is what I supposed would happen

Yours faithfully

W. A. P. Seargeant

