

THE REPEAL OF THE UNION

CONSPIRACY,

OR

MR. PARNELL, M.P.,

AND THE

I. R. B.



Houses of the Oireachtas

C. S. PARNE LL, M.P.

Irish
Parliamentary
Party.

I. R. B.
SUPREME COUNCIL.

MILITARY COUNCIL.

ASSASSINATION
COMMITTEE.

PAID ORGANIZERS.

V's or PROVINCIAL ORGANIZERS.

A's or COLONELS.

B's or CAPTAINS.

C's or SERGEANTS.

RANK AND FILE or "SOLDIERS."

** The Assassination Oath of the I. R. B. runs as follows :*

"I hereby solemnly swear and make oath before the most high God, before whom I expect to be judged, that I will seek out and leave no means untried utterly to exterminate as enemies of Irish liberty, any persons who shall be guilty of perfidy, or of giving to our foes the British authorities, any information which shall lead to the arrest or sentence of members of the I. R. B."

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LONDON :
WILLIAM RIDGWAY, 169, PICCADILLY, W.

—
1886.

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THE REPEAL

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CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NEW MOVEMENT FOR REPEAL
OF THE UNION. THE I.R.B.; SOME ACCOUNT
OF ITS ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT.

THE world is governed by facts, and once the facts about the Repeal of the Union Conspiracy are known, I have little doubt Great Britain will decide once and for ever against the concession of an independent Legislature to Ireland.

I can give from my own personal experience, from inside the conspiracy, sufficient facts to prove the following propositions :—

1. The "Parnell Movement," as it is pompously called, is a foreign conspiracy, invented by felons and traitors, fed by foreign funds and carried on by a systematic combination of agitation, terrorism, and murder.

2. That the Irish Parliamentary party has been, from the year 1879, through certain of its

accredited members, in constant touch and complete sympathy with the Queen's enemies; that they have been on terms of actual friendship and in constant communication with Irish revolutionists, and that their organ in Europe, *United Ireland*, has been edited and managed, from time to time, by dynamiters and assassins.

The story is a long one, and to be understood properly it should be told from the very commencement. But ancient history is dry reading, and I refrain from a long preface.

The root of the present troubles lies in the existence of the old Fenian conspiracy with its two constituent elements, the Fenian Brotherhood of the United States, with its counterpart society in Ireland, the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Both are oath-bound conspiracies, and it is now many a long year since, in the buoyancy and devil-may-care recklessness of youth, I was sworn in as a "soldier" at an Irish Catholic College by a Fenian centre, now a Member of Parliament. This was the oath I took: "In the presence of Almighty God, I solemnly swear allegiance to the Irish Republic, now virtually established, and to take up arms when called on to defend its independence and integrity. I also swear to yield implicit obedience to the commands of my superior officers."

It may be said I am now betraying that oath. If so it is because I can no longer bear to see my unfortunate countrymen robbed, ruined, and mis-

represented by a band of self-seeking politicians, who, instead of trying to pull down the Castle, are merely working to get into it and enjoy snug berths with comfortable incomes. I, at all events, am not a double-oathed man. I have not imitated the example of those distinguished members of Parliament and the Irish Republican Brotherhood, Messrs. J. J. O'Kelly (whom I well remember swearing in Fenians as Captain Martin), Joseph Nolan, W. O'Brien, Flynn, Kenny (2), Sheehy, T. P. Gill, M. Harris, Dr. Fox, F. X. O'Brien, T. P. O'Connor, T. Healy, Justin Huntley McCarthy, and the two Redmonds, all of whom, in addition to the oath that I took, have sworn to "be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors according to law, so help me God."

These men and hundreds of others, at present in the service of the Queen, are in reality traitors to the flag under which they serve. There is hardly a branch of the numerous British services in which sworn Fenians do not hold office, and often high office. I know men in various departments of the Civil Service, especially in the Post-office, and in the War Office, in the Army, in the Navy, in the Militia, and in the Volunteers who are all sworn to do their best when the time comes to ruin the British Empire. Not only are Members of the House of Commons sworn enemies of England, but some of the best known journalists and press

agency men are oath-bound Fenians, and are to be seen daily in the inner Lobby of the House of Commons, talking to Cabinet Ministers, and retailing their information, not only to the public, but also to the secret conclaves of their own conspiracy. But leaving such small matters let me at once try and bring home to the public what this extraordinary organization is, the revival of which, in 1878, has done so much to unsettle politics in England during the last six years.

The I.R.B. as it is familiarly called, or Irish Republican Brotherhood, to give it the dignified appellation which Mr. Stephens, its originator, conferred upon it, at the present moment is an extraordinary medley.

The diagram by which I can best illustrate its component parts will interest the outside political student more perhaps than any long-winded statement.* The pyramidical formation of the organization is suggested by the well-known fact that excavations in the pyramids of Egypt have revealed that the different strata in those remarkable edifices are connected by underground passages, a fact which Mr. Parnell himself will probably fully appreciate.

Glancing at the section and commencing at the base, one sees at once the foundations of Irish nationality, viz., the rank and file of the Fenian body, the common "soldiers" of the army which is to conquer England, and restore, forsooth,

* See frontispiece.

Grattan's Parliament as a minimum! This "army" consists of labouring men in Irish fields, printers, tailors, house-painters, plasterers, navvies, dock labourers, corner-boys and blackguards, all the world over. From their ranks come the murderers and dynamiters who are told off to do their awful work by their military superiors, who in their turn receive their commands from a higher source. Such men were the so-called Invincible Gang, and the patriotic gentlemen who were convicted at Liverpool, London, Sligo, Edinburgh, Cork, and Warwick, for attempting to commit dynamite outrages. Corcoran, the Fenian "soldier," who successfully carried out the Whitehall and Scotland Yard explosions, has not been brought to justice as yet. He and his fellow dynamiters are hailed as heroes by the rank and file of the Brotherhood, who number hundreds of thousands, and in America are the chief contributors to the funds which have enabled Mr. Parnell to keep his "movement" afloat.

Indeed, it was not until that astute gentleman saw, in his visit to the United States in 1880, that the Fenian conspiracy would prove an admirable milch cow for himself and his friends, that he finally decided to ally himself once and for all with the agents of the Brotherhood at home and abroad. At first it was only for pecuniary reasons that he joined hands politically with the leaders of the Fenian organization, but since 1880 Mr. Parnell has been forced deeper and deeper into the labyrinth, and

to-day he is connected, through his agents, as I will show, with every stratum of the Organization. These hundreds of thousands of Fenians lying at the base of this thoroughly nineteenth century pyramid of conspiracy would never have been formidable had not Mr. Parnell constituted himself by his own acts and words their figure-head. On him, therefore history must rest the blame for the horrors of a movement which from the outset is stained by crime and disgraced by fraud and falsehood.

Let me now come to the governing grades of the I.R.B. The whole of the United Kingdom is organized under a military system of which the battalion or circle is the unit. These battalions furnish three grades superior to the rank and file. The A, or centre of the circle, is the Colonel of the battalion, which consists of at least four and at most ten companies. Each company is commanded by a captain or B, who is responsible for the fidelity of his men, who must number not more than one hundred, to his colonel or A. Each company is subdivided into four sections, under the charge of a C or sergeant, the largest number entrusted to him being twenty-five. The sergeants are generally shop assistants or small farmers. I have known several pawnbrokers act in this capacity, who thus extend their operations not only to the drilling of the "soldiers' " bodies, but also to the custody of their clothes. For it must always be remembered

that the Irish conspirator invariably takes care of No. 1, by which I mean his own personal advancement and not No. 1 of Phœnix Park memory, of whom more anon. The C's are leaders in their own walk of life. They command moonlighting companies in Ireland, or help to break up public meetings in England, a department of work which has recently occupied a large portion of their time. But they know, or are supposed to know, nothing outside the work of their own battalion. And here I may notice at the outset an interesting trait in the Fenian conspiracy. No one in the movement knows exactly what the other is. A centre may be well acquainted with the doings of his own circle, but knows nothing beyond it,—hence there is continual suspicion amongst the lower grades, and a consequent desire to be first with information in case of arrests.

The B's, or captains of circles, are generally publicans, small booksellers, and newsvendors, and also medical students, or "doctors," as they are grandiloquently called. Indeed, the term "doctor" has long been in general use in the Organization to designate a man of some light and leading. From my own experience, which dates back to the days of Stephens, I have always found the "doctors" reckless, drunken men, to many of whom two gallons of whiskey would only be a modest contribution towards a good debauch. For I need hardly say that conspiracy is invariably very

thirsty work. Nothing can be done, from the swearing in of a recruit to the planning of a dynamite explosion, without "lashins" of drink. Whiskey is the backbone of Irish revolution. It is the inspiration of the Nationality-mongers of the present day, and the key to every secret in the bosom of the conspirator.

The A's, or colonels of these military centres, are generally Irishmen who have been in the American branch of the conspiracy, which is a distinct organization in itself. If not filibusters of fortune they are Irish militia deserters, or patriotic Nationalists like Mr. P. J. Sheridan and Mr. Tynan, both of whom served in various English volunteer corps in order to gain the requisite military knowledge and appearance to carry brevet rank in the organization. I know of a civil servant to-day who is in the London Irish Volunteers, and who holds probably a much higher rank than that of an A.

These are the three lowest grades of the governing classes in the I.R.B. Above them are provincial organizers who are called V's — the travelling inspectors, as it were, of the various units. They are generally commercial travellers, who can combine in their operations the hated, but necessary, servitude of the loyal classes in Ireland and England with the more congenial work of conspiring at somebody else's expense. Mr. Byrne, M.P., was for a long time an active and efficient V,

and for all I know continues in that capacity. Besides commercial agents the V's are often strong farmers in Ireland, or literary hacks in Great Britain. The latter are a well-known class in the Brotherhood, and like living on organization funds marvellously well. It renders them more or less independent of journalism, to which it forms a useful subsidiary means of livelihood. The most distinguished literary man ever known to be in the ranks of Fenianism was undoubtedly Edmund O'Donovan, the well-known Asiatic traveller and writer, who was a V for the North of England, but he was subsequently higher up in the grades of the conspiracy than the class I am now dealing with. I must pay a tribute to the memory of O'Donovan, who was the most earnest and sincere believer in the righteousness of the Fenian cause. Far from deriving subsistence from the funds of the organization, the large profits which he derived from his books were always placed with a free hand at the disposal of the Brotherhood, and before leaving for Egypt he bequeathed all his property in trust for the movement. Journalists are numerous in the ranks of Fenianism. I shall never forget some two years ago, the testimonial which was got up in some mysterious way in favour of one of these gentlemen for the ostensible purpose of enabling him to go to Paris or America. Peers and Members of Parliament subscribed, and the money was handed over.

But the recipient remains to this day in London, and is as ardent a devotee as ever at the altar of Fenianism.

Besides the V's, or provincial organizers, there is another class of organizers in the movement who are regularly paid, and live entirely on and for the interests of the Brotherhood. They are always unscrupulous and able ruffians, the eyes and ears of the organization, ready for any work, and utterly careless of the means to be employed to gain the end. In fact, from the top to the bottom of the Nationalist movement, there is only one maxim which is rigidly adhered to, viz.:

“The End justifies the Means.”

The Ten Commandments, indeed, are not supposed to apply to Irish revolutionists at war with England, and a long belief in this doctrine has at last absolutely denuded the leaders of the Fenian party of all and every moral and religious scruple. They stand out in modern history as men altogether unparalleled in want of principle. Long experience in plotting and drinking in low pot-houses, has accustomed them to every kind of political infamy, and they are prepared to say anything and do anything to carry out their objects. Such is my firm conviction based on a long and painful experience. Considering the secret history of the conspiracy it is perhaps impossible to be otherwise.

CHAPTER II.

THE I.R.B. CONTINUED ; THE SUPREME COUNCIL
AND THE MILITARY COUNCIL; SOME PROMINENT
MEMBERS OF BOTH BODIES.

I HAVE now described the first six rounds of the ladder of Irish revolution. Above the grades I have mentioned are the Military Council and the Supreme Council, which together guide the political and revolutionary movements of the I.R.B. The Military Council consists of five members, and the Supreme Council of seven. Both bodies are continually changing, owing first to the simple and notorious fact that no five or seven Nationalist Irishmen ever could remain on the same terms of confidence for any considerable consecutive length of time; and further that the exigencies of personal safety very frequently compel an enforced absence from the United Kingdom.

The administration and organization of the I.R.B., as a whole, is vested in the Supreme Council. This august body has invariably selected such members as may be required to fill up the places of those worthies whom the British Government may have sent to jail, or who may have deemed it expedient to leave the country. Down below in the rank and file, and above them again amongst the various grades of the organization, great mystery

attaches to the Supreme Council, and all kinds of distinguished Irishmen are supposed to meet together in the Council Chamber and discuss the chances of "the cause," and the hopes of the final triumph over the brutal Saxon. In reality the Council Chamber is generally a public-house, or more often a small private dwelling in the southern suburbs of London, and the distinguished Irishmen present are, as a rule, reckless and cold-blooded revolutionists, impecunious and unscrupulous Members of Parliament, daring journalists, or Irish men of business, the last class possessed of a certain amount of money and a very uncertain amount of brains, ambitious for a prominent place in the conspiracy, and willing to pay for the honour. Mr. Patrick Egan, Mr. Parnell's right-hand man in the days of the Land League, was a member of the Supreme Council up to the time of his much lamented departure for America. Mr. Davitt, also at one time occupied a similar position, though he was expelled for certain good reasons which I need not now particularize. A well-known ex-Irish member, who is still awaiting from the Liberal party a colonial appointment, was another Supreme Councillor, as was Mr. Edmund O'Donovan, to whose memory I have already paid a willing tribute; and P. N. Fitzgerald, and poor "Jack" Daly, now cruelly immured in a British dungeon, were both men of prime importance when matters of state were discussed under the soothing in-

fluences of a "cruiskeen" of whiskey. One Catholic priest, brother to a Parnellite member, has been a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., but whether he was only the chaplain or a prominent statesman in the Society, I am not at liberty to mention.

The power of this secret body is simply autocratic. It wields a marvellous influence over the masses which it controls, an influence far out of proportion to the ability or the personal character of those who command it. One of the methods by which the Council has been in the habit of asserting its authority is the simultaneous placarding with proclamations of a number of districts in Ireland with addresses to the people containing instructions for the conduct of the brethren in political crises. An instance of this occurred when the Coercion Act was introduced in February, 1881. There was some apprehension on the part of the Land League Executive that there might be some isolated outbreaks of insurrection consequent upon the violent feelings which the "constitutional" agitation had engendered. Accordingly Mr. Egan, who was then a member of the Supreme Council as well as Treasurer of the Land League, sent all over the country the following placard:—

MEN OF IRELAND!

The country is passing through a crisis full of danger to the National cause. The action of the British Government

and its aiders and abettors is obviously intended to provoke premature resistance. Upon you, therefore, rests the responsibility of averting defeat and humiliation. You have cause for revolt, but you are *not yet prepared*, and a crushing disaster now would leave to the next generation the great work *already so far advanced*. The salvation of our people lies in the achievement of national independence alone, but the *time to strike* has not yet come. Beware then of being misled by false or foolish friends, or goaded by the enemy into foolish outbreaks. The man who now incites you to attempts at insurrection is doing England's work, and must be held guilty of treason to Ireland. The most rigid discipline must be enforced and partial outbreaks prevented. Move only at the command of your officers. Our present duty is to prepare, to watch and to wait until the hour of action comes. Let your attitude be one of calm and resolute self-sacrifice, and of unshaken confidence in the final triumph of our cause.

By order of the

IRISH NATIONAL DIRECTORY.

The work of posting these proclamations was thoroughly done, and, of the hundreds employed, not a man was captured. The text of the placard is interesting, as it shows, even to the eye of the uninformed, that, under the guise of the Land League, the old I.R.B. conspiracy held the reins of government, that the "great work" was already "far advanced," although the "time to strike" had not yet arrived.

Indeed if it were not for the charm of mystery and the spice of danger which appeal so irresistibly to the political imagination of my unfortunate fellow countrymen, I doubt if the I.R.B. could

have lasted as long as it has. It has required to be galvanized into life of late years by so many new and ghastly methods that it can hardly outlast the villainous character it now holds in the estimation of the civilized world. I for one will assuredly do all I can to expose its naked horrors, and endeavour to release the Irish at home from a bondage which is at once dishonouring and disgraceful. Fidelity to a cause ceases when it is synonymous with approval of a policy of dynamite and the dagger.

The Supreme Council, then, is a small knot of irresponsible conspirators which holds despotic sway, and threatens fearful pains and penalties over a brotherhood which does not even elect its own governors. This is the model of constitutional Government which the Irish masses have adored for so many years!

The Supreme Council elects furthermore a Military Council consisting of five members, who are charged with the supervision of the military system and the elaboration and conduct of any offensive operations which may be considered necessary to carry out against the British Government. There are generally one or two members of this Military Council who are also members of the Supreme Council. One notable instance of this during the past few years was Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., who has had quite unequalled experiences of every section of the various grades of the Brotherhood of which he is so useful and distinguished a

member. Another important member of the Council was Alfred Aylward, who proved so dangerous an enemy to Sir Pomeroy Colley in 1880-1 at Laing's Nek. He was in London in 1881, stopping at a notorious Fenian resort in Holborn. He was in London again in January, 1884, stopping at the Albemarle Hotel, and in February was staying at an American hotel in the Rue Danon, where he passed as a surgeon-dentist. Aylward's visit to Paris was in connection with Riel's subsequent rising in Canada. Amongst the French population of the dominion there is a large, and, of late years, a rapidly increasing party, the *raison d'être*, of whose existence is the attainment of an idea, viz., separation from Great Britain. This of course is well known in Irish revolutionary circles, but, what is of higher consequence, it is also known that the French Republic has encouraged this idea far more directly than sober-minded straightforward John Bull can even be induced to realize. It has been done, and is being done to-day by organized emigration and by political intrigue.

"L'affair Riel" was of course merely an experiment, a demonstration designed to accustom the French Canadians to feel and think as a race. At the end of the second week in March, 1884, Aylward left France *viâ* Havre for New York, leaving with a "friend" an address for letters in Jackson Street, St. Paul's, Minnesota, U.S. For several weeks after Aylward's arrival at St. Paul's many officers of the I.R.B., some of whom, by the way,

were years ago eagerly sought after by the "G Division" in Dublin, found their way westward. On the 29th April Captain Thos. J. Mullen* and ex-sergeant E. D. Crosby† passed in the most open manner possible through Dunseath, Dakota, in charge of thirty-six men, all armed with the new pattern Winchester, accompanied by three mule teams, which were hauling the men's baggage and thirty days' rations. Captain Mullen, who had with him twenty ponies which he had purchased in the Turtle Mountain regions, made no secret of his destination or of under whose orders he was acting. That this body of filibusters meant business was plainly seen in the fighting at Batoche, where Aylward's directing hand was discerned in the well-picked ground of Riel's little army. Had the half-breeds been armed with even Snider rifles, they would have easily wiped out the scratch battalions of hastily levied Canadian militia commanded by General Middleton. But Captain Mullen and his men were not able to muster where Aylward awaited them at the front, either in force or in time, and some days after Riel's defeat not a few "strangers" found their way across Uncle Sam's border lamenting, as usual, the accursed good luck of the British arms.‡

* Well-known in Ireland as a prominent Fenian in 1865-6.

† Served at Fort Pembina, Dakota, in the 17th U.S. Infantry in 1872.

‡ In 1868, being in danger of his life from the "Assassina-

I give these few facts to show what is the object of the Military Council of the I.R.B. Its members seek only how they may injure the "Militant Committee" of the I.R.B. in Dublin, who unjustly suspected his fidelity, Aylward betook himself to South Africa where in the "Matabeli" country to the north of the Transvaal he lived for some years trading and hunting.

He next appeared at the newly-opened diamond fields as the editor of its only newspaper and later on distinguished himself by expelling the British Commissioner from Kimberly after substituting for the Union Jack, which he hauled down with his own hands, the green flag (designed by himself) of the New Republic, of which he proclaimed himself President, and from which position he only retired when Sir Arthur Cunningham, the then Commander-in-Chief at the Cape, arrived at the other side of the Vaal River with a battalion of the ill-fated 24th, some mounted infantry, and two guns.

He afterwards, in 1876, became Commandant General of an irregular force raised at the diamond fields by the Boer Government and with which he held two forts on the Steelport River in Secocuni's country, one of which works he with pardonable patriotism named Fort "Faugh-a-Ballagh." At the annexation of the Transvaal he handed over these posts to the British representative, Major Clarke of the Royal Artillery, and returned to Great Britain, where, while in Edinburgh in 1878, he wrote "The Transvaal of To-day," the most powerful advocacy of the Boer cause that was ever put into print, and in which he foretold, with more than prophetic accuracy the events of the most disastrous campaign that ever British soldiers fought in—the Boer war of 1880-1.

Towards the end of '78 he returned to South Africa, and in '80 came to the front in Petiermaritzberg as the editor of the violent Boer organ—*The Natal Witness*—the politics of which paper he after a short period so changed that he succeeded in thoroughly establishing himself in the confidence of Sir Pomeroy Colley, indeed so much that when the Boers broke

might of England. Their military knowledge and political information is all utilized against the integrity of the Empire and the peace and order of the Queen's dominions. All this is well known in the ranks of the organization. Why were cheers so continually given for the Mahdi in Ireland at public meetings during the past Soudan expeditions? Simply because it was well known through the columns of *The Freeman's Journal* that Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., was not only in thorough sympathy with the Mahdi, but that he was actually engaged in endeavouring to reach that inspired

out into "rebellion" the late Governor of Natal gave Aylward an important position on his Intelligence Department, a position which he retained until having learned all he wanted of Sir Pomeroy's plans, he one night walked across from the British camp in front of Laing's Nek into the Boers' lines, when he became nominally Joubert's Military Secretary, but really the actual leader of the "rebels."

When, after Majuba Hill peace was made and the Transvaal handed back to the Boers, Aylward boldly returned to England, from where, after remaining a few months, he went on to the States.

In June, 1883, he wrote as "General Aylward" to O'Donovan Rossa in reference to certain doubts that had been again thrown on his fidelity to the I.R.B. by the latter. Somewhat later, about October of the same year, he voluntarily presented himself before a committee of Rossa's immediate supporters for examination as to the truth or otherwise of the charges in question.

Having re-established himself with the "Clan-na-Gael," the section of the organization of which Rossa is one of the principals, he left New York and went to Illinois, in which State he remained until last year.

prophet for the purpose of giving him information and active support in his crusade against the British invader. Happily for himself the redoubtable O'Kelly never was able to carry out his cherished idea. But those who know are aware, from his private correspondence with the Dynamite section of the Irish Revolutionary party in Paris, that he was deep in intrigue with the violent French party in Egypt, and with the agent of the Mahdi in Cairo. Subsequently, his published letters in *The Freeman's Journal* were transparently designed to give as much information and advice as possible to the enemy, and the contents were promptly communicated to the Mahdi's friends in Egypt.

Besides Aylward and O'Kelly, the Supreme Council have during the past three years elected upon the Military Council such men as General Carroll-Teviss, an American soldier of fortune who has served in the Franco-Prussian War, and in almost every other European and South American struggle of the past fifteen years. General MacAdaras, a Frenchman of Irish extraction, who organized the Foreign Legion in the Franco-Prussian War, was another person selected for his warlike propensities, whilst an ex-British officer and a dashing war correspondent who survived the Egyptian campaigns have also been deep in the military councils of the I.R.B. Such, then, is the formation, step by step, of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, and of its governing body.

There is only one more element in the I.R.B. to be described, and I have purposely kept it to the last, in order to emphasize its existence, its importance and its work. The Military Council, as the most active and most enterprising section of the conspiracy, undergo correspondingly great risks. According, therefore, to the hideous philosophy embodied in the Fenian maxim—"The End justifies the Means"—the most dreadful means are taken to protect themselves as it is called, and their comrades in conspiracy. This plea, when more fully stated, does duty as an excuse for assassination. It was in 1865 that the I.R.B. first formed what was called in grim satire the Committee of Public Safety, of which Colonel Thomas John Kelly was President, and Captain John McAfferty was Vice-President. This mysterious Committee carried out most ruthlessly the policy of exterminating first their own brethren who had turned informers, and afterwards any one who was even suspected of treachery, or who had become dangerously conversant with the affairs of the organization.

This so-called Committee of Public Safety was responsible for many assassinations in the former Fenian days; but the history of its revival, and the story of its horrible work in 1881-2 must be reserved for its proper place in a subsequent chapter. Suffice it to say that it existed, and had active agents in Paris, London and Dublin, agents

who had intimate relations, as it will appear, with Mr. Parnell's Parliamentary Party, and whose deeds subsequently attracted the horror-struck attention of the whole civilized world.

The diagram which I have drawn, in order to show rapidly and in a popular manner the organization of the I.R.B., also indicates, what is perfectly plain to all who look at these things from the inside, the present position in Irish politics of the Parliamentary Party. It is impossible to say how long Mr. Parnell will occupy Figureheadship of the great conspiracy for the entire separation of Ireland from England. Up to the present, he has undoubtedly been gradually but surely more and more implicated through his agents with every branch of the Brotherhood at home and abroad. His paymasters in the States have been American Fenians, and his lieutenants and associates at home have been the trusted leaders of the I.R.B. in the United Kingdom. As will be seen, the crisis of Mr. Parnell's fate is arriving. He must soon choose between the English statesman or the American conspirator. He must accept either a small measure of local self-government, and confess his failure to be as complete as that of O'Connell, or head an insurrection, and share the fate of Mitchell and Stephens. The relations of the Irish Parliamentary Party has been for some years perfectly plain to those who chose to see; but as political blindness seems to

be a prevailing disease of these modern days, I will now trace out briefly from the commencement the connection between the so-called constitutional agitation of Mr. Parnell and the forces of Fenianism.

CHAPTER III.

MR. PARNELL'S CAREER. MICHAEL DAVITT AND
JOHN DEVOY'S NEW DEPARTURE IN FENIANISM.
HOW IT WAS STARTED.

MR. PARNELL entered political life in 1875, when he was elected as member for Meath. His mother, being American by birth and a Republican in sentiment, nurtured her eldest son from infancy in an anti-English atmosphere. During the Fenian trials Mrs. Parnell regularly attended court, and exerted herself actively in effecting the escape of many "friends" who were wanted by the police. On one occasion her house was actually searched by the police, an incident which it is said her son never forgot.

His first chosen parliamentary associate was Mr. Biggar, who had for many years occupied a prominent position in the Fenian conspiracy, and had been, with Mr. Callan, M.P., and Mr. O'Connor Power, M.P., the representative of the Brotherhood in Mr. Butt's parliamentary party. The policy of exasperation and obstruction — for which Mr. Biggar and Mr. Parnell soon became famous — gradually attracted the attention of the I.R.B. at home and the Fenian Brotherhood in America. Whoever embarrassed or harassed a British Government at once became something of a hero in the eyes of the American Irish, and the destructive policy of Mr. Parnell soon made his

name popular in Ireland and in the United States. His popularity grew, moreover, after the debate upon the release of the Fenian prisoners, when he spoke strongly in their favour, and declared to the House that he never did believe, and never would, that any murder had been committed at Manchester, when Colonel Kelly (of Public Safety Committee memory in 1865) and Deasy, the Fenians, were rescued, and Sergeant Brett was shot dead in the police van. The result of this action in the House was that at the end of the session of 1876, Mr. Parnell was elected Vice-President of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain, a body which was in fact organized and worked by the official heads of the I.R.B. with a view to utilizing the Irish vote in England as a solid force in English politics.

In 1877, Mr. O'Connor Power, M.P., formerly one of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., proceeded to America, to present the President of the United States with an address from the Irish nation, congratulating the Americans on the centenary of their Declaration of Independence. The affair ended in a fiasco, as far as the Address was concerned, for President Grant refused to receive it. Mr. O'Connor Power endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of the Fenian party on behalf of Mr. Butt's Home Rule policy, at the Cooper's Institute, New York, where he attempted to deliver a lecture, but the lecturer's views were received with angry expressions of disappointment. The fact was that

Mr. O'Connor Power's election to Parliament was regarded by the Fenian party outside Connaught with mistrust. One of the cardinal articles in the old creed of Fenianism was that Parliamentary action was in itself an acknowledgment of the usurpation of the Government of Ireland by Great Britain. To accept a seat at Westminster and take the oath of allegiance was thought in those days utterly inconsistent with the Fenian oath, which pledged each member to overthrow England's rule by force of arms. Parliamentary action was odious to American Fenians ten years ago, because it tended to improve British rule in Ireland, and render it more acceptable to the Irish people. I mention Mr. O'Connor Power's visit to show the old Fenian feeling as to Parliamentary action was fully alive in 1877. How that feeling changed, and how Fenianism took an entirely new departure in Irish politics is now matter of history, not perhaps to the British public generally, which has never troubled itself with the niceties of any Irish conspiracy, but certainly to the whole organization of the I.R.B. in these islands, and to its twin society, the Fenian Brotherhood of America.

Let me now show as shortly as possible how this change took place. On December 19, 1877, almost at exactly the same time that Mr. Butt's policy at home was being overborne by Mr. Parnell, the last of the Fenian prisoners were released, and in the following month were ostentatiously entertained by Mr. Parnell to breakfast at Morrison's

Hotel, Dublin. Amongst them was Michael Davitt. He had been deeply implicated in the conspiracy from 1863 to 1870, when he was arrested in London, tried at the Old Bailey for treason-felony, proved to have been on the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., to have been aware of the doings of the Assassination Committee, and was sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude.

After his release, Davitt engaged on a lecturing tour through England and Scotland, speaking in London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow, to audiences of admiring "circles," obtaining information as to the state of the organization, and consulting with the heads of the movement as to the next move in the war against the Government, by whose favour and clemency he had been released. In the year 1878 there was great activity in every grade of the I.R.B., largely the result of the release of the Fenian prisoners already alluded to. Several American Fenians visited Ireland for the purpose of reanimating the hopes of the new generation of Fenians who had grown to manhood since 1865, and the example of the obstructionists in Parliament urged the "men of action" in the ranks to be up and doing.

On the 23rd July, 1878, Michael Davitt went to America to mature the entire programme of a new Fenian movement. He arrived at a most critical period in American-Irish politics. Five years before, O'Donovan Rossa had initiated a Skirmishing Fund, which was to be devoted to laying

London in ashes, releasing Fenian prisoners, kidnapping the Prince of Wales, and other equally spirited enterprizes, and *The Irish World*, the organ of the American Fenians, had opened its columns to collect subscriptions. After two years' collections of dollars London still remained standing, and the brethren in America to use their own expression, "soured on" Rossa. The matter was taken out of his hands; the name of the fund was changed to the Irish National Fund, and the following trustees were appointed:—Thomas Clarke Luby, General Bourke, Dr. Carroll, John Breslin, and John Devoy. All these men were prominent Irish revolutionists in the Fenian times. Luby was Stephens' right-hand man in 1866, and one of the three members of the Fenian executive. General Bourke was sentenced to death in 1867 for having being one of the leaders of the Fenian rising, and was subsequently amnestied. John Breslin had taken a leading part in organizing the escape of the Head Centre from Richmond Bridewell, of which he was hospital superintendent, and subsequently had successfully organized the escape of certain Fenian prisoners from an Australian penal settlement. John Devoy had, in 1865, been the chief Fenian agent engaged in swearing British soldiers into the Fenian organization, an enterprize in which he was most successful, and for which he was arrested and convicted in 1866.

It was to these illustrious patriots that Michael Davitt addressed himself on his arrival in America.

He gave glowing accounts of the materials for revolution which lay ready to hand in the ranks of the I.R.B. at home. There was a great opportunity after the recent bad seasons, to light up the flame of a land agitation. He had been to Connaught, the head-quarters of Fenianism, and the rank and file were ready to attend meetings and give their aid to any movement which aroused the people and promised to make towards the great object of Irish independence. The movement sketched out by Davitt was accepted by a certain section of the American Fenians, with the important reservation that the temporary support afforded by Fenians to a constitutional agitation was not in any way to be considered a surrender of the ultimate appeal to physical force. To this Michael Davitt solemnly agreed. He went further, and positively stated that he was still a firm believer in the old Fenian doctrines of physical force as opposed to mere Parliamentary or constitutional agitation, and it was upon that positive affirmation that he received the support in New York which enabled him to organize the Land League.*

* Those who care to verify this statement can do so by referring to *The Irish Nation*, May 20, 1882, in which John Devoy writes: "The American Nationalists have always been his (Davitt's) friends, were the first to aid him, and without their aid the Land League would have been shattered to pieces long before they had to face coercion. It was the Nationalists of Mayo who first rallied around him at Irish-town, Milltown, Claremorris, and Westport, and set the agitation on its feet. These things are well known. . . . Mr. Davitt came to America after his imprisonment as a

It is easy to see how important a gain it was to the Nationalists at home to receive the sanction of even a small section of the American Fenians to take a new departure in home politics. Mr. Butt's Home Rule movement had been killed by the action of Mr. Parnell with his Fenian associates in Parliament, Messrs. Biggar, O'Connor Power, and Finegan, &c. The moment was ripe to start something fresh. The inspirations and aspirations of the I.R.B. at home had always been largely derived from America, and now that their ambassador had succeeded in gaining the support of good and true men in New York, all that was wanted was a good opportunity to start an entirely new departure. This occurred in the autumn of 1878, when a three days' conference of the Parnell wing of the Home Rule party was held in Dublin. The delegates of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain attended from all parts of the United Kingdom and declared for obstruction as against conciliation. Mr. Butt's policy was fiercely denounced and finally rejected by a mass meeting at which Mr. Parnell made a remarkable speech. Certain passages of this speech must here be cited, as they are of importance.

"We have been told," said Mr. Parnell, "that the Irish have lain down like dogs under the heels of the English. That Ireland has given up the contest she has carried on so long. Have we given it up? I don't believe it. I don't believe we

believer in the ultimate use of physical force, and on his positive reaffirmation of that belief secured the support which enabled him to organize the Land League."

have given up that fight. I believe you want that fight carried on. I could really expect no other attitude from the people of this country than the attitude they have assumed with respect to the Home Rule movement. Where, I ask, has been the energy of the men who have carried it on? There has been none of it. The country has seen the men of energy and activity encumbered by inactivity and obstruction, and they have felt it was almost hopeless to work under present circumstances and present conditions. But the constituencies will have within a very short time put into their hands very great power. Don't despise that power; it is a very great and a very formidable power; it is a power that England may some day seek to deprive you of *if you use it as it ought to be used* for the cause of Ireland. I speak now of the Constitutional power. I speak of the power of votes, a power that England has given you accompanied by such safeguards as she supposed would render it innocuous in your hands. But if you use that in the right way—if you do that well England will repent of the cry she has raised, that Ireland is constitutionally equal with herself and she will cast about for some method of depriving you of that weapon which she has placed in your hands. She must either do that or she must give you your rights. She cannot recede from the issue. She must either give you yours or surrender her own. There is no option, no escape for her. I said when I was last on this platform that I would not promise anything by Parliamentary action for any particular line of policy, but I said *we could help you to punish the English, and I predicted that the English would very soon get afraid of the policy of punishment.* Well, they did not stand that process of punishment very long last session, they stood it for about four months. They tried every plan and every method to get over us and we beat them."

The results of this speech were most important, both at home and abroad. The Obstructionists, headed by Mr. Parnell, received the adhesion of sixteen Irish Members of Parliament, and arrangements were made to place Obstructionist candi-

dates before the constituencies represented by Mr. Butt's followers at the next General Election. The old Repeal leaders joined the Obstructionists and the leaders of the I.R.B., of whom Mr. Patrick Egan was then one, decided when the time came to unite with the Parnellites at the polls.

In New York the result of the Home Rule Conference was awaited with interest, and when the news, cabled to *The New York Herald*, was read on the day after the Conference general satisfaction was expressed. Mr. Devoy held a consultation with the leading Fenians, and a dispatch was at once cabled to Dublin signed by representative men of the advanced National party in the United States. The dispatch was addressed to Mr. Parnell and his political friends, but before reaching them it was submitted to and approved by a number of representative Fenians in Dublin. The following is the text of the dispatch:—*

“The Nationalists here will support you on the following conditions:—

“1. Abandonment of the Federal demand and substitution of a general declaration of self-government.

“2. Vigorous agitation of the land question on the basis of a peasant proprietary, while accepting concessions tending to abolish arbitrary eviction.

“3. Exclusion of all sectarian issues from the platform.

“4. Irish Members to vote together on all

* *New York Herald*, October 25th, 1878.

imperial and home questions, adopt an aggressive policy, and energetically resist coercive legislation.

“5. Advocacy of all struggling nationalities in the British Empire and elsewhere.”*

That cable dispatch Mr. Parnell, with the skill of a tactician, outwardly ignored; but he was soon in full sympathy with the idea, and in less than a year was advocating the very identical policy hand in hand with Michael Davitt, one of its originators.

These originators took an early opportunity to publish their views more at length in *The New York Herald*, upon the staff of which Mr. John Devoy was then employed as a writer. There was, therefore, no difficulty in having the leading Fenians interviewed, including himself. In *The Herald* of

* How Mr. O'Brien, M.P., carried on this condition subsequently is well illustrated by the following:—

“SPEED THE MAHDI.

“All hail again to this most excellent Moslem! The more we hear of him the better we like him. This time there falls to his account before Tokar 2000 slain, 4 Krupp guns, 2 Gatlings, and every camel and piece of baggage in Baker's train. Surely this is somewhat better than all, as it shows the impossibility of the English now relieving Sinkat or Khartoum, besides the shake it gives the coercion regime at home. That the patriotic chief may drive every whey-faced invader that assails him into the Red Sea is the desire of every lover of freedom. We trust our next news may be that Gordon, who is advancing loaded with specie towards Khartoum has met the same handling as Baker; and nothing would give us greater satisfaction than to chronicle the complete triumph of the Mahdi in the Soudan and his victorious arrival before the walls of Cairo.”—*United Ireland*, Feb. 9th, 1884.

October 27th, 1878, will be found by those who are curious enough to read, the whole of the Parnellite programme laid down with marvellous accuracy. Devoy's introductory remarks to his own interview, which with pardonable vanity he puts first, contains the whole of the Parnell movement in a nutshell. Mere conspiracy could never achieve the independence of Ireland. A public policy was necessary, so that the voice of the majority might prevail in Ireland. The Separatist party formed the immense majority of the people, and only required to be organized "constitutionally" in order to win. This is the keynote also of Mr. Parnell's speech already quoted. Mr. Devoy's own views were subsequently given to the British public in a letter to *The Freeman's Journal*, but not so nakedly as on American soil: "Ireland can never be freed," said he, "through the British Parliament or by constitutional agitation in any form; but constitutional agitation is one means of advancing our cause, and we should avail ourselves of it. The world judges us, and, above all, England's enemies judge us, by our public representatives, and in the times that are coming we can't afford to be misrepresented any longer. There is no use sending men to the British Parliament to beg, but we can send men there to protest before the world against England's right to govern Ireland, and when *all is ripe* we can command our representatives to withdraw from the British Parliament and meet in Ireland as a national

legislature. It is only through such means that the whole Irish race the world over can be aroused, and then active sympathy enlisted, and when that occurs the work is half done, and we can wait patiently for the result."

"Do the Irish Nationalists intend to abandon their physical force theories and mainly depend on constitutional agitation"? asked *The Herald* reporter.

"Not by any means. We simply don't believe in little insurrections that England can crush in a few days or weeks. We propose that, in the event of war, Ireland shall keep quiet; that the organized Nationalist outside of Ireland shall actively assist England's enemies and hurt her whenever and wherever they can."

"Have you seen the copy of the cable dispatch sent to Dublin and published in Friday's *Herald*?"

"Certainly. The conditions therein named are the only ones on which the advanced Nationalists here will support Mr. Parnell and his friends. They are very reasonable, and I think they will be accepted. We consider that if Mr. Parnell and his friends accept these terms a new era dawns for the Irish National party, and that the next election will give us some fifty earnest representatives. In any case Butt's leadership is a thing of the past, and his mongrel 'federal' scheme has fallen to the ground. If Parnell does not accept we can do without him, but not so well. He is a

very good man, means well to Ireland. All of us respect him, but have no faith in O'Donnell."*

"What are the prospects of the Irish National Party?"

"It is now a thoroughly united party the world over, and a union such as we propose with the advanced Home Rulers would enable us to accomplish much. If it is effected look out for stirring times."

"Is Mr. Stephens still at the head of the movement?"

"Not at all. He has never been at the head of even a respectable section of it since 1866, and his day has gone for ever. Those who claim to support him amount to nothing either here or in Ireland. The Fenian Brotherhood (meaning the F.B. in the United States, not its counterpart in Ireland, the I.R.B.), was practically dead years ago, and gave its last gasp with the death of John O'Mahony."

So much for Mr. Devoy. Mr. T. C. Luby was next interviewed, and said he had a very high opinion of Mr. Parnell personally, and hoped to see his opinions ripen in time. He had considerable reserve in favouring any connection with Parliamentary politics, but he thought that on the conditions proposed by the Nationalists, if the Parnell wing of the Home Rulers would give guarantees, it would be safe to come to an understanding. A

* This accounts for Mr. O'Donnell's recent "removal" from Irish political life.

mere conspiracy will never accomplish our work. We must create a sound public opinion in Ireland, and we can't afford to be misrepresented. It would be an immense gain if we could control the Parliamentary representation and the local public bodies, but we should exact guarantees."

Mr. J. J. Breslin, Colonel Thomas F. Bourke, Captain E. O'C. Meagher, were also interviewed, and expressed similar views. It was finally stated that O'Donovan Rossa, who had some time before resigned the head centreship of the Fenian Brotherhood, was in perfect accord with the leaders of the New Departure.

Such were the effects of Mr. Parnell's speech in Dublin at the Home Rule Confederation. The very men who formulated his new policy for him were in fourteen months to be receiving him with open arms in New York, and sending him "to preach treason," as *The New York Herald* called it, throughout the United States.

In plain language, all this simply consisted in reviving the spirit of the I.R.B. by enabling it to enter the every-day political life of Ireland. The organization was to be used, not sparingly, as was the custom of old, but in every walk of life. It was to have a programme and a policy in the elections of Poor-law Guardians, Municipalities and Members of Parliament; it was to influence the current of public events by organizing itself for public action, keeping always in view the recovery

of National independence and the severance of all political connection with England. The guarantees asked, were simply, that Mr. Parnell should carry on a "constitutional" agitation under which Fenianism could be revived, and by which Ireland could advance safely to the goal of independence. The Land Question was to be the motive power, and finally a certain number of seats in Parliament should be allotted to Fenians, as occasion offered. Subsequent events proved conclusively that Mr. Parnell gave all these guarantees.

This, then, was the formal commencement of the great revival of the I.R.B. in the United Kingdom. During the whole of the year 1879, the work went on under the veil of a Land Agitation. In the early months of the year Mr. Davitt had gathered together some of the most fiery spirits of the I.R.B. and commenced operations. Thomas Brennan, James Daly of Castlebar, Matthew Harris, and J. Nally were all employed as paid organizers and orators, from the funds afforded him by the American Skirmishers. On Sunday, 20th April, an enormous assembly came together at Irishtown in Co. Mayo, which was the first public demonstration of the new departure. The ostensible object held out to the public was a reduction of rent, but Brennan's speech was felt by old Nationalists to be something far more significant. "It is not on the floor of the House of Commons," he said, "but on Irish soil that the real struggle

for independence must be fought. But, as Irish Nationalists, we should be glad to see the enemies of liberty obstructed and harassed, no matter where, or by whom, whether it be in Westminster or Zululand, whether the attacking party be commanded by a Parnell or by a Cetewayo." At once came the response from the I.R.B. men present—"Three cheers for Cetewayo," which was promptly given.

The success of the Irishtown meeting seems to have decided Mr. Parnell to accept the leadership of the new departure in Fenianism, which had been pressed upon him for some time by Michael Davitt. He attended a meeting on June 8th, at Westport, in company with Davitt, and made the now famous speech in which he recommended the tenants to hold a firm grip of their homesteads and lands.

Meeting succeeded meeting in quick succession. The speeches had the right revolutionary ring about them, and the bait of immediate reductions of rent with the promise of the land for the people in the near future worked like magic. In August the National Land League was formed in Castlebar by Davitt, who framed its constitution in a lengthy document carefully prepared to catch the support of the farming classes and evade the grasp of the Government, which was now beginning to look askance at the growing volume of agitation. The sudden reappearance of the Fenian party on public

platforms did not escape the eyes of their old enemies, the Catholic hierarchy. Archbishop McHale and Bishop McEvilly wrote letters strongly disapproving of the new departure, but with no effect. Indeed, it soon became apparent that the clergy had lost their old power, and in a short time they hastened to put themselves at the head of the Land League movement, in order to hide the failure of their efforts to stop it. Throughout the autumn of 1879, Davitt, who was acting as special correspondent to *The Irish World*, kept the American Fenians thoroughly well informed of the campaign he had undertaken. He received further sums of money to carry on the new land war, and a regular fund was started in America to keep the project afloat. The double action of Mr. Parnell in the House of Commons rendering all English legislation impossible and the I.R.B. outside helping in the good work by preaching revolution, was considered well worthy of support. If anything was wanted to stimulate the hopes of the American Brotherhood it was the arrest of Davitt and his companions in November, together with Mr. Parnell's written appeal to the Irish Race for the sustainment of the Irish National Land movement as it was pompously designated.

In this way, then, by slow degrees the I.R.B. were first interested and drawn into supporting heartily and fully Mr. Parnell's movement. I have described the organization and the means it had to forward or

to thwart any political movement. At the outset there was much division in the camp. The old stagers were entirely averse to giving Mr. Parnell any assistance. The younger blood were all for plunging into a business which promised plenty of excitement and possibly something more. By degrees men arrived from America and it was explained that it would all come right in the end. The revolution was only looking in a new direction. The land question was merely a pretext, an excuse. Mr. Parnell was a figurehead to be used as a stalking horse by the "boys" on the other side. And so by little and little, opposition was overborne and the I.R.B. men poured into the Land League organization. In the west of Ireland the League was completely under the control of the Brotherhood from the outset, and of this Mr. Parnell was perfectly aware. He rejoiced at it, for it would play the double game of helping him at home and giving him credentials as it were to the American Fenians in whom he depended in the future for support. Urged on by Davitt and his comrades Mr. Parnell started for America on December 21st, 1879, determined to leave nothing undone and nothing unsaid to secure for himself the full and undivided support of the Fenian Brotherhood in that country.

CHAPTER IV.

MR. PARNELL'S VISIT TO AMERICA.—HIS RECEPTION BY LEADING FENIANS.—THE REAL OBJECT OF HIS MISSION.—HOW ACCOMPLISHED.

ON January 9th, Mr. Parnell, in company with Mr. Dillon, M.P., and Mr. Healy, not then raised to the rank of a Parliamentarian, landed in New York. With a Presidential election imminent, it was not by any means surprising that the agitators' arrival was a matter of public interest. The Committee of Reception consisted principally of Irish residents of New York, including, of course, our Skirmishing friends, Devoy and Breslin, with other members of the Fenian Brotherhood. Throughout the States the various Irish Societies were in a state of pleasurable excitement. Wherever the F.B. had its branches more Reception Committees were formed and arrangements made to prepare for Mr. Parnell's meetings.

The Irish World, owned and edited by Mr. Patrick Ford, had by this time become the official organ of the Land League in America, and Ford was indefatigable in his exertions on behalf of Mr. Parnell. Special reporters accompanied him everywhere, and full and accurate accounts were given of his speeches and proceedings throughout his mission. Every week special cablegrams and

letters from Michael Davitt or Thomas Brennan were printed and displayed with extraordinary prominence of type and headings. Ireland was represented in a blaze of revolution. England was depicted in the weekly cartoon as prostrate with terror at the success of the Land League, and desperately apprehensive of the success of Mr. Parnell's expedition.

Nothing was left undone to stir up the patriotic fervour of the rank and file of the F.B. The most terrible descriptions of evictions were published with harrowing details. Every agrarian crime was described as the noble resistance of a despairing nation, and thus the hearts as well as the pockets of the Irish in America were made to bleed freely into the coffers of Mr. Patrick Egan, Treasurer of the National Land League.

By far the most important function prepared for Mr. Parnell was the delivery by him of an address on the Irish question before the American House of Representatives at Washington. This was "worked" very successfully by two of the leading members of the Fenian Brotherhood, viz., Colonel Rickard Burke and Captain Edward O'Meagher Condon, who had been appointed for the purpose by the Clan-na-Gael Association, a branch of the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States. The previous history of both these personages bears very particularly upon the connection past and present of Mr. Parnell with the Fenian leaders. Colonel

Rickard Burke had been "out" in 1867, but was captured and lodged in Clerkenwell gaol with Joseph Casey, of whom more anon. The attempt of the I.R.B. to release Colonel Burke on December 13th, 1867, by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder placed against the wall of the gaol is so well known that it is almost unnecessary to mention it. Burke was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude on a charge of purchasing arms for conspirators, but he was subsequently amnestied with many others. Captain Condon was one of the party that rescued the Fenian prisoners Colonel Kelly and Deasy at Manchester, he was tried with Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, and is celebrated for having concluded his speech in the dock with the cry of "God save Ireland," an example which is now duly followed by all patriots placed in the same position. He escaped the extreme penalty of the law, and, like Colonel Burke, lived to welcome the leader of the "Constitutional" movement to America on behalf of the believers in Irish revolution. On the arrival of Mr. Parnell in Washington, Captain Condon, as the President of the Reception Committee, delivered an address of welcome, from which the following extracts are taken:—

"On behalf of the Irish Societies and citizens of the District of Columbia, we bid you welcome, and assure you of our earnest sympathy with your mission, and our ardent desire for your success in the wise, well-timed and practical effort you are engaged in for the amelioration of the suffering of our kindred and the removal of the causes which

render it almost perpetual. While we believe firmly that the complete deliverance of Ireland from foreign rule and the consequent permanent prosperity and happiness of its people can only be accomplished by similar means to those by which Washington and the men of the Revolution overthrew the same despotism which still oppresses those on whose behalf you appeal—while we believe that the protests against tyranny made at Clontarf, Bannockburn and Yorktown are such as must benefit a liberty-loving people, we nevertheless clearly recognize the fact that under the present circumstances the course you have adopted is eminently judicious, prudent and beneficial, and deserving of the cordial support of all who seek Ireland's restoration to her rightful place among the nations, all who love liberty with an honest, intelligent and appreciative love, and all who sympathize with suffering humanity."

"The money spent for political purposes by the Irish Land League and under your directions will do more for the permanent benefit of the Irish people, do more to prevent the incessant and inevitable recurrence of distress and famine, than many times the same amount expended in charity. . . . We again greet you cordially the worthy grandchild of an American and an Irish patriot, the devoted son of an honoured and noble American mother, whose kindly sympathy, so generously manifested with those who took part in the last struggle for Irish freedom, will never be forgotten; and we again wish you success in your noble mission on behalf of our distant kindred, and bid you welcome—a hundred thousand welcomes, *cead mille failthe*."

This is only a sample of the bulk of Mr. Parnell's receptions in America. Ostensibly his object was merely to beg for money to help the suffering tenants of Ireland. In reality his mission was to conjure up once more the idea of a coming revolution in the hearts and imaginations of the Irish in America and to quicken their subscriptions to a

political fund which should place him in a position from whence he could ultimately play the game of the revolutionists. His speeches were, as a rule, dull and uninteresting. The Fenians felt this terribly. Out of the Irish leader's mouth came none of the finelanguage and stilted bombast so delightful to the ear of the real blood-and-thunder cum-dynamite-Fenian. Accordingly a hint was given by the astute Mr. Healy to Mr. Parnell that a little red pepper in his rhetoric would do more to set the stream of dollars running than anything. The result was some little passages now and then appeared in his speeches specially intended for Fenian consumption, and with which Mr. Parnell, when confronted in Parliament, in vain endeavoured to repudiate and disown. Passing by the oft-quoted passage from his Cincinnati speech, I quote the following as an excellent specimen of Mr. Parnell's American style:—

“We cannot give up the right of Ireland to be a nation, and although we may devote all our energies to remove the deadly upas tree of Irish landlordism, still you will trust us and believe that, above and over all we recognize and are determined to work for the right of Ireland to regain her lost nationhood.

“We believe that Ireland is eminently fitted to take her place amongst the nations of the world; a people who can boast of such a history as ours, who can boast of martyrs like Robert Emmet—(cheers)—whose memory we celebrate to-day; who have had such leaders as Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone—(renewed cheering)—whose literature has been enriched by a Davis, I say that such a people, although we may be kept down for a time, we cannot long

continue deprived of our rights, and I, for one, feel just as convinced that in a year or two the last vestige of landlordism will have disappeared from the face of our country."*

The occasion on which Mr. Parnell uttered these words was the Fourth of March, which is kept holy by Irish Revolutionists as "Emmet's Day." The leader of a "constitutional" movement took care in addressing a rebel audience to recall to their minds only those figures in Irish history who had led unconstitutional movements:—Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who fell fighting against the officers sent to arrest him for high treason; Wolfe Tone, the revolutionist whose life was spent in plotting for the conquest of Ireland by France, and who died by his own hand whilst awaiting execution; and Emmet, who was hanged for armed insurrection in 1804. These were the sole personages alluded to in his speech on the Irish question by the leader of the latest "constitutional" agitation in Ireland.

But "the end justified the means." The Knights of St. Patrick of St. Louis had given Mr. Parnell £100 for the Irish National Land League, "without any instructions respecting its application or distribution," and this mark of confidence was well worthy of recognition, which found vent in a glowing eulogy of rebels and revolution.

Mr. Parnell, however, went even farther than landing revolutionary leaders of bygone days. Almost the last speech of his American tour was delivered at Toronto, and there he made some

* Mr. Parnell, M.P., at St. Louis, *Irish World*, 24th March, 1880.

remarks which were undoubtedly taken to mean by the extreme Fenians the recommendation and advocacy of a dynamite policy. Mr. Parnell said:—

“It comes to this, that the British Parliament, which cares nothing for Irish public opinion, will not be moved upon any Irish question until its attention has been directed to it BY SOME VERY FORCIBLE AND OUT-OF-THE-WAY OCCURRENCES. (Applause).”

This unmistakable allusion to dynamite was naturally cheered to the echo by a Fenian audience, but in case he might in any way be misunderstood Mr. Parnell proceeded to point out a precedent for future action.

“Mr. Gladstone,” he continued, “speaking upon the question of the disestablishment of the Church in Scotland, the other day in Midlothian, said that it was not until a prison had been broken into in the heart of the metropolis, and a policeman shot in the discharge of his duty in the city of Manchester, that the disestablishment of the Church entered within the domain of practical politics.”

The *Irish World* concluded its report of the proceedings of the Toronto meeting in the following words:—

“The audience then dispersed. The band started to play ‘God save the Queen’ as the meeting broke up, as is the custom, but it was greeted with hisses from different parts of the house, and was left half finished, Mr. Parnell’s valedictory remark being the expression of a hope that when he next visited Toronto, the band would be able to play ‘God save Ireland,’ a sentiment which elicited cheers.”*

There is yet another point to be noted in Mr. Parnell’s speeches in America, of which the St. Louis one is an excellent illustration. They always contained the aspiration that some day Ireland

* *Irish World*, March 20th, 1880.

should take her place among the nations of the Earth. There was far more in this than met the eye. Read by the Irish revolutionists in America, it was taken to mean that at heart Mr. Parnell was a disciple of Robert Emmet, that he was in favour of insurrection when the right moment came, and that his "constitutional" agitation, was only a means to the end of absolute separation.

Emmet's last words were:—"Let no man write my epitaph. No man *can* write my epitaph. And as no man who knows my motives dares to vindicate them; so let no man who is ignorant of them with justice asperse them *till my country has taken her rank among the nations of the earth*. Then only can my epitaph be written, and then alone can my character be vindicated."

Mr. Parnell struck the right note when he made Emmet's aspiration his own watchword. He has consistently repeated it in all his great speeches, and by the continued use of it he has gained a firm footing in the affections of the revolutionary Irish. It is a never-failing and easily recognized signal to the disaffected that Parnell's aims and ends are identical with Emmet's, and that he will never be satisfied until the last link is broken which binds Ireland to England.

In this way the agitators' turn was served. The dollars came rolling in, and, whilst the Fenians were exploiting Parnell they were in turn being exploited. Meanwhile, early in March, came the news of the dissolution of Parliament by Lord

Beaconsfield. Mr. Parnell was in Canada when the news arrived, and at once sent the following telegram to Patrick Ford, of *The Irish World* :*—

MONTREAL, March 9, 1880.

PATRICK FORD,

Will be leaving on Thursday for Ireland in the "Baltic." Shall of course return to America after the elections. The work here is vitally important and must go on.

Tell my friends to keep the good work going and the flag flying, and we shall come back with victory shining on our banners to complete a labour in America that is yet scarcely begun.

Dillon remains here on guard and will keep the ball rolling till my return. Canada has welcomed us magnificently, and Montreal turned out in a style that shows to our enemies that Irish hearts are Irish everywhere.

Men of America! Keep on forming Land Leagues,—and above all, sustain the men at home in the present crisis.

Have called by telegraph a hurried conference of Irish Leaders at the New York Hotel on the morning of my departure. Hope for your presence.

CHARLES S. PARNELL.

The meeting was held at the New York Hotel as arranged. Mr. Parnell stated he had, since January 2nd, visited sixty-two cities, and travelled ten thousand miles, while in money he had collected about two hundred thousand dollars. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Parnell read a cable dispatch from Mr. Egan, treasurer of the Land League in Dublin, conveying the information that he had received for the relief of the distressed the sum of £22,825, and for the agitation £3014. Then came discussion as to the best method of obtaining further supplies of

* *Irish World*, 20th March, 1880.

money for Mr. Parnell in America, and it was finally resolved to organize by States, each State to communicate and send funds directly to Dublin. A committee was appointed to suggest names for carrying on the work of organization, and the Committee placed before Mr. Parnell, among others, the following names: John Devoy, Michael Breslin, Dr. William Carroll, Major Feehy, Charles McGlade, Michael Cavill (Philadelphia), Mr. Ford, of *The Irish World*, Captain E. O'M. Condon, and Captain Murphy, of Washington.

It will be observed that as Mr. Parnell placed himself on his arrival unreservedly in the hands of the Fenian Brotherhood, so did he on his departure leave the conduct of his affairs in the same hands. He had seen quite sufficient in his journeyings of the organization to convince him that, for fiscal purposes, the Fenian body was invaluable, and that, at all hazards, it must be utilized. Accordingly the Irish Land League and the American Fenian Brotherhood became united under one leader for common objects. Mr. Parnell was to use the money provided by the F.B. to carry on the preliminaries of a social revolution in Ireland, while the "Parnell movement" was subsequently to be taken up by the more advanced sections of the American Fenians and turned into a revolutionary attack upon the Power of England in Ireland. How this was done is perfectly plain to those acquainted with the secret, as well as the public, history of the past six years.

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF TERROR: HOW CARRIED ON.—THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CRIME RESTS ON THE LAND LEAGUE.

THE new departure in Fenianism in Ireland had one remarkable and never-to-be-forgotten characteristic — it was thoroughly mendacious and unscrupulous. Its nominal leader, Mr. Parnell, has proved himself to be both mendacious and unscrupulous. Mendacious in denying in the House of Commons, 4th March, 1881, that the "Land League was akin to Fenianism," mendacious in asserting that he had always "avoided connection with it," mendacious in denying that there "was any connection either open or secret between the two organizations."

When he made those statements in the House of Commons he must have known perfectly well that Mr. Egan, the Treasurer of the Land League, was not merely a Fenian but a member of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. He knew that the principal officers and organizers of the League were Fenians, that Brennan, Boyton, Sheridan, and Davitt were all deeply involved in the conspiracy, and that they were one and all using any and every effort to connect the Land League with Fenianism and Fenianism with the Land

League, and to weld the two into one harmonious Nationalist movement. If Mr. Parnell was ignorant of all these well-known facts, he was foolishly and criminally ignorant, and such ignorance can never be put forward either as an apology or as an excuse. I believe, and every other sensible man in the old Fenian movement believes, that Mr. Parnell was knowingly mendacious upon this and upon other occasions.

That he was unscrupulous in the means he used to strengthen the Land League, I have already shown by his conduct in America. He used the Fenian Brotherhood there for the purposes of getting money, influence and agents, and connected himself thereby pecuniarily and personally beyond all manner of doubt with an organization whose chief aim and object was to overturn the constitution to which he had sworn allegiance. He took money in lump sums, the component parts of which were given in so many words for rebellion and revolution. The money which Michael Davitt first obtained from Devoy for commencing the work of Land League organization was part of the Skirmishing or National Fund founded by O'Donovan Rossa, for waging a dynamite war upon England. What the intentions of the subscribers to that fund were, may best be gathered from the following extract, taken from the same number of *The Irish World* which reported the appointment by Mr. Parnell of a Fenian Committee to organize the States for financial purposes.

THE NATIONAL FUND.

MAXIMS FOR SKIRMISHERS.

HUMANE WARFARE:—The shortest, swiftest, and cheapest warfare—that which does the greatest material damage to the enemy with the least loss of life to either side—is the most humane warfare.

A COMMON-SENSE VIEW OF IT:—The first and the last thing to be considered in war is SUCCESS. Every act that looks to this end is justifiable and honourable. Do nothing in bad blood. Nothing in pure malice. But every act likely to inflict material damage on England and give strength and prestige to the Irish cause—every act that will open England's eyes and make her feel that it does not PAY to hold Ireland—will be approved by common sense. The Irish leader who does not keep this principle in sight should abdicate his leadership.

IRELAND AND AMERICA:—"The wrongs of which America had to complain (in 1776) were but mosquito bites by the side of the enormous injuries which had been inflicted by English selfishness on the trade and manufactures of Ireland. Why was Ireland to submit when America was winning admiration by resistance? Why, indeed, save that America was in earnest; the Irish were not."—*Froude*.

ENGLAND'S MODE OF WARFARE:—What is it? Ask the biographer of Cromwell. Ask the Kookas of India. Ask the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Listen:—

"She has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, BURNT OUR TOWNS, and destroyed the lives of our people."

This is the testimony of the men of '76. Ask the American historian of the war of 1812. Ask the Ashantees how England made war upon them. Ask every unfortunate people upon whom England has ever breathed her unwholesome breath and in whose midst her ruffian soldiery have planted her robber flag. The answer is all the same.

JUSTICE, NOT VENGEANCE.—Peace is the natural and proper state of man. No rational being ever yet wanted war for

war's own sake. The men who originated this Skirmishing Movement are lovers of Peace. Whatever vilifiers may say to the contrary, this is the truth. But Peace, to be enduring, must have its foundation in Right and Justice. Such is not the "peace of Warsaw." Now, the question is: Does England in sincerity desire Peace? If she does she can have it. Let her but restore their plundered rights to the Irish people to-morrow and there is an end to it. All ill-feeling shall be put away. Not a word more shall ever be said of her seven centuries of crimes. If we cannot FORGET, we shall at least endeavour to forgive, the past. It is not Vengeance we seek; it is JUSTICE.

FROM THE "TRANS-ATLANTICS" OF FALL RIVER.

FALL RIVER, Mass.—Enclosed we send you a draft for dols. 24.75, the third offering of the "Trans-Atlantic" Skirmishing Club of Ward six. This money we give not to relieve the sufferings of the Irish people for a few years, but to extinguish their sufferings entirely and for ever. And this we are convinced can never be done without establishing the total independence of Ireland. And to accomplish this members of the "Trans-Atlantic" Skirmishing Club are not only willing to contribute whatever little money their circumstances may permit of, but are filled with a burning desire to take up arms and avenge the cold-blooded atrocities perpetrated by the crooked-legged, flat-footed, and ignorant Sassenachs on the Irish people for the last seven hundred years. Ever since we have been able to think and act for ourselves we have been hoping, watching, and praying for the time to come when we shall be placed in a position to satiate our vengeance for all the plundering, robbing, tossing infants on their bayonets, pitch-capping, flogging, hanging, murdering, and massacreing that has been practised on Ireland's people by the blood-thirsty tools of the British Government since the day that Strongbow and his merciless band of marauders first polluted Ireland by their unholy and unwelcome presence down to the present. Our cup of happiness will then be full, and we shall drain it to its dregs.

The names of subscribers are as follows:—[Here follows a list of names.]

We are determined to continue our efforts in the cause until our hopes and the hopes of that sterling patriot, "Trans-Atlantic," in honour of whom our club is named, shall be realized. Yours truly in the cause,

THOS. P. HENRY, President,

THOS. F. KENNEDY, Treas.

JOHN E. DUFFY, Sec.

BULLETS FOR THE LANDLORDS.

BORDEN CITY, Fall River, Mass.—Please find enclosed Post-office Order for 11 dols. from the members of the O'Neil Crowley Skirmishing Club, to purchase bullets to shoot down a landlord for every one of our country people who die of famine.

THOS. P. DUFFY, Treas.

DANIEL O'KEEFFE, Sec.

NEW YORK, *March 1, 1880.*

Received from Augustine Ford dols. 97.50 [last week's acknowledgment], which amount has been lodged in bank and placed to the credit of the Irish National Fund.

JOHN J. BRESLIN,

JOHN DEVOY,

THOMAS F. BOURKE.

SUMMARY.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Already acknowledged and receipted for | dols. 86.413.39 |
| This week | 43.00 |
| TOTAL | dols. 86.456.39 |

AUGUSTINE FORD, Secretary.

"BULLETS FOR THE LANDLORDS." — That was the idea which, together with the expulsion of the English from Ireland, lay at the bottom of the financial support which Mr. Parnell asked for and received from the American Fenians. When *The Irish World* started the Land League Fund, the same ideas are expressed from week to week in

columns and columns of letters written to cover subscriptions. Here are only a few specimens:—

“OUT-AND-OUT IRISHMEN.”

EMLENTON, VENANGO, Co. Pa.—*Editor Irish World*.—We, a few of the out-and-out Irish of this place, seeing that the crisis of our country is at hand for the second time, respond with our mites to strengthen the hands of the Land League for them to *buy nitro-glycerine* or for any other use that the Land League may think fit. Enclosed are 22 dols. with names of subscribers for the cause.

DECIDEDLY NO RENT.

MONTAGUE, Mass.—*Editor Irish World*:—Enclosed find 3 dols.—dols. 2.50 as a New Year's gift to old Ireland to help her to *twist the rope tighter around John Bull's neck*. This money is to be used exclusively for the men who will pay No Rent—the other 50 c. for five copies of your criminal history of the great cut-throats—I mean the British Empire. I am delighted to see the way you handle the banditti captain and his whole crew, and I wish I could send ten times two dollars and a half, but you shall hear from me again before Feb. 1. Wishing the I. W. and No Rent doctrine success,

D. J. MURPHY.

LAND LEAGUE OF JOLIET, ILL.—“TO DRIVE THE LAND PIRATES.”

Editor Irish World:—Please find 100 dols. from a branch of the Joliet Land League, to be appropriated to IRISH WORLD Fund, to help to drive out the land pirates from Ireland. We hope to be able to send you some more soon,

J. G. PATTERSON, Central Treas.

NO RENT FROM ARROWSMITH, ILLINOIS.

Editor Irish World:—Find enclosed dols. 29.50, subscribed by the following named persons for the Land League of Ireland. The donors do not intend any of it shall go to pay rent, but that it shall be used to drive out of Ireland for ever

the land-thieving descendants of Cromwell and Elizabeth's Bashi-Bazouks. We are glad to say that the most of the money was got from Americans. You will hear from us again. Mrs. Shea sends 50 cents to Spread the Light were most needed,

JOHN GRIMES.

"THE DRIVING HOME OF JOHNNY BULL."

PAWTUCKET, R. I.—*Editor Irish World*:—We send the small sum of 8 dols. to the help of the Land League in the *driving home of Johnny Bull from Ireland*. Landlordism is the strongest foot he has in it.

Thos. McCoy Corney, Michael Gartland, Wm. Driscoll Con. O'Brien, Jas. Harvey, 1 dol. each; Susan Cusack, Kate Cusack, Kate Collins, Liza Couglin, Ann McGeeney, Kate McGeeney, 50c. each. Collected by

THOMAS MCCOY CORNEY.

A NEW YEAR'S GIFT TO MOTHERLAND.

WILTON, Minn.—*Editor Irish World*:—Enclosed find dols. 13.80, as a New Year's gift from a few well-wishers of the cause of Ireland and freedom, hoping that the day is not far distant when accursed Landlordism will be entirely abolished, and the green flag of Erin will float over an *independent Republic*. The following is a list of the donors:—

Rev. Father Cullen, 1 dol.; Michael O'Brien, 2 dols.; George Mathews, 1 dol.

The remainder is monthly dues of members of Wilton Branch of I. N. L. L.

P. McDONOUGH, Treas.

H. SHORTELL, Sec.

FOR EMMET'S EPITAPH AND REALIZATION OF EMMET'S HOPES.

FRONTMAN FARM, Butler Co., Pa.—*Editor Irish World*:—Of these 12 dols., 10 dols. are for the Land League, to be used to enable my dear native down-trodden country to take her stand among the nations of the earth and to write that long wished-for epitaph of Robert Emmet. PATRICK AHERN.

It was perfectly well understood in the Land League offices in Dublin in what spirit the money

was subscribed and how the money was to be spent; and the printed report of the League, signed by Thomas Brennan, and dated 25th June, 1880, proves how the League subsidized and rewarded outrage and crime. "Early in March," says the report, "about two hundred persons were arrested in the West of Ireland and tried on the charge of assaulting process-servers. THE LEAGUE DEFENDED ALL THE PRISONERS, and succeeded in getting verdicts of respital in most cases, but seventy-five persons were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for terms ranging from three to twelve months." The League also passed a resolution to support the families of the prisoners, to seed their lands and repair their dwellings.

This cardinal fact is therefore established against the League, that armed resistance to the Queen's writ at the outset of the agitation was considered a feat which entitled the person resisting to the moral and pecuniary support of the Land League. That fact once thoroughly understood, as it very soon was throughout Ireland, led to an unlimited extension of the principle. All crimes connected with the agitation in any way were equally condonable in the eyes of the people, who, reading daily the American papers, and seeing written plainly and clearly in *The Irish World* (which was poured by thousands into every county) for what purposes the Land League funds were subscribed for, acted upon the instructions and wishes of the subscribers.

All this is well known to those who knew the minds of the people in Ireland during the years 1880-1.

On the surface were the "constitutional" agitators, making speeches day by day calculated to drive much less imaginative folks than the Irish wild with excitement. Underneath were the emissaries of the Irish Republican Brotherhood moving about ceaselessly, assuring the people that the good work of boycotting, outraging, moonlighting, and occasional murder, were not only necessary but lawful means to the great end of enabling Ireland to "take her place amongst the nations of the earth."

The result was the most terrible reign of terror ever conceived. No less than one hundred murders were committed, all of which were directly or indirectly caused by the Land League and its successor the National League. Murderers and moonlighters were systematically defended by funds provided by the Land League. Fifteen thousand felonies and misdemeanours not amounting to murder or grievous assault, supplemented the speech-making of Mr. Parnell's corps of "constitutional" agitators. Consult any newspaper of the years 1880-1, and I guarantee that it is possible to trace the invariable bloody results of a platform oration from Mr. Parnell or one of his lieutenants. The establishment of a League Branch was indeed a simple affair. One of Mr. Parnell's colleagues, organizers or officials, visited a district and made

a certain speech. Within three weeks of his doing so one miserable farmer was shot dead, another was maimed for life, crime of every kind doubled, the League was established—"God save Ireland." The Parnellite leaders may have lived in a thoroughly constitutional atmosphere, but their revolutionary sentiments were carried out in a very practical manner. Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, and Leamy made violent speeches at Tipperary on October 31, 1880. Mr. Leamy said, "they should get rid of the foreign garrison, the landlords, and they would soon get rid of the foreign troops." This was putting into constitutional language the idea of the man who sent 11 dollars to buy "bullets for the landlords" (see page 59). The hint was taken, and on November 12th Mr. Henry Wheeler, son of a land agent was shot dead near Oola, eight miles from where Mr. Leamy spoke.

The same thing went on wherever speeches were made, and landlordism generally or individual persons were denounced. Or take another system. A paid organizer of the Land League would make a tour through a district in which the Mr. Parnell's boycotting formula was not rigidly obeyed. His business was to enforce the unwritten law. By the help of the I.R.B. this was done, and he returned with bloodstained hands to the central office, where the lamb-like Mr. Davitt was writing letters to the public press expressing his horror of outrage. It was from undoubted

knowledge of such facts that Mr. Gladstone placed on record his terrible indictment against Mr. Parnell's League for the responsibility of Irish crime, an indictment which never has been disproved and which never can be disproved.*

* "Gentlemen would have us suppose that this crime is owing to distress in Ireland, that it is owing to evicting in Ireland. It is evident, by the testimony accorded by facts, that it is owing neither to the one nor to the other.

"It seems to me that if we wish to ascertain whence this crime really comes we must watch its movements, and we must see what are the concomitants of this crime. That which diminishes while the crime increases is not likely to be the immediate and direct cause of that crime; but that which increases with the crime, and the movements of which correspond with it with wonderful exactness. With fatal and painful precision the steps of crime dogged the steps of the Land League, and it is not possible to get rid by any ingenuity of facts such as I have stated, by vague and general complaints, by imputations against parties, imputations against England, imputations against Governments."—*Mr. Gladstone at Leeds, 1881.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE PHENIX PARK TRAGEDY. CAPTAIN MCAFFERTY THE REAL NO. 1. HIS CONNECTION WITH MR. EGAN AND THE DYNAMITERS.

I HAVE hitherto very briefly touched upon the chief incidents in the first phase of the intricate and complicated plot against the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

I have clearly established—

1. That Mr. Parnell, through his colleagues, has from the very outset of his career been closely connected with the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Ireland, and the Fenian Brotherhood in America.

2. That the Land League owed its origin to Fenian Funds, and its programme to the ingenuity of a few sworn enemies of England.

3. That Mr. Parnell's visit to America in 1880 was undertaken ostensibly to obtain funds for Irish distress, but really with the object of obtaining the machinery of the Fenian Brotherhood Organization for fiscal purposes: that for this purpose he adopted Robert Emmet's dying words as the watchword of his agitation, and that this was accepted as a sign of his secret revolutionary objects.

4. That the money so obtained was given for revolutionary and not constitutional purposes, that it was so used, and that it produced, as it was

intended to produce, a reign of terror, and the suspension of the rights of property throughout Ireland.

Such was the state of affairs early in 1881. Mr. Parnell had successfully sown the wind. It remains to be told precisely how the whirlwind was reaped on May 6th, 1882, when Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke were murdered in the Phoenix Park, and subsequently by various dynamite outrages throughout the kingdom.

Those terrible deeds were the logical outcome of the agitation of 1880-1, for which Mr. Parnell was responsible, though few are aware how closely connected the managers of these murderous plots were with members of the Irish Parliamentary party.

Early in 1881, after the revival of Fenianism as a militant force in America consequent upon Mr. Parnell's visit and Messrs. O'Connor and Healy's subsequent mission, a well-known figure in Irish Revolution, Captain John McAfferty, reappeared in New York. This desperado, as the organizer of the Phoenix Park tragedy, deserves a short biographical sketch. His career is indeed only equalled by that of Alfred Aylward, of whom I have already spoken. McAfferty is a native of Ohio, and was born in 1833. He served in a Free Ranger Corps in Texas and New Mexico in 1855-9, and subsequently was through the War of Rebellion as an officer in the Confederate Army in the mounted levies raised and commanded by General Morgan. He received during the campaign a severe gunshot

wound in the left knee, from the effects of which his walk is distinguished by a dragging of the injured limb, a fact of which all good English citizens may be usefully aware in view of coming troubles. From boyhood McAfferty has nourished an intense hatred of British supremacy in Ireland. He joined the Fenian Brotherhood in 1860 and became acquainted with James Stephens when that worthy visited the Confederate Armies as Captain Daly in May and June, 1864. On the conclusion of the Civil War he proceeded to New York and was engaged in the local affairs of the Fenian Brotherhood until September, when he sailed for Ireland. He was arrested on the steamer at Queenstown, and tried for treason-felony in Cork, but was acquitted on a disputed point of law. He then joined the headquarters of the I.R.B. in Dublin, and subsequently assisted the escape of Stephens from Richmond Bridewell. About this period he aided Colonel Thomas John Kelly in forming the so-called Committee of Public Safety, which, in plain words, was an Assassination Committee for removing obnoxious persons, and became its Vice-President.

To avoid the attention of the police, however, Captain McAfferty was obliged to return to New York for a time, where he occupied his leisure moments in forwarding the arrangements for what was known as the Campobello Expedition, an attempt to seize an island of the Province of New Brunswick with the view of embroiling the United

States' Government with that of Great Britain. At the end of December, 1866, McAfferty sailed for Liverpool, and, on arrival in London, forthwith constituted the Directory or Supreme Council of the I.R.B., which ever since has formed the governing body of the organization. He next organized, in January, 1867, the attempt to capture the armoury at Chester Castle, in which he was assisted by the "constitutional" agitators, Michael Davitt and P. J. Sheridan. After its failure McAfferty crossed to Dublin in a collier, where he was arrested on landing at Burgh Quay. Brought to trial in May he was sentenced to death, which was commuted to penal servitude for life. In 1871 he was amnestied on condition of never returning to the United Kingdom, a condition which he has frequently broken, though almost invariably without the knowledge of the authorities of Scotland Yard.

Captain M'Afferty is now a gentleman of independent means. He engaged in mining speculations in Nevada and Montana after his release, and, in connection therewith, acquired a considerable fortune, which he has set aside for Irish revolutionary purposes. In addition to this he enjoys a handsome income from investments in paying mining property. In fact, Captain John McAfferty is quite a unique personage in Irish revolutionary circles, and wields more power and influence than almost any other man in the movement. This is largely due to his private means, (for indeed, the leaders of the I.R.B. are generally dependent for

cash upon organization funds,) but also to his desperate courage and the unsparing ferocity of his plans against the British Government. In 1881 he decided that Mr. Parnell had sufficiently prepared the ground for real business. The state of Ireland was entirely satisfactory. The temper of the people was excellent, and, on the whole, it was considered high time by the "men of action" to strike a real blow at England. After reconstituting the Fenian Directory of Seven in New York, of which he became President, or No. 1, and helping with his money to set up Mr. John Devoy, Mr. Davitt's associate in the New Departure, with a new paper called *The Irish Nation*, which was to be the organ of "the Men of Action," McAfferty proceeded to Paris, where he arrived at the end of the year. It was just at the time when the Coercion Act had broken up the Land League, and Mr. Egan the treasurer had absconded from Dublin, having first taken the precaution of burning all documents of the Association.

McAfferty at once set to work to reconstitute "The Committee of Public Safety," which had dropped into disuse for some time, and to this end occupied himself for several months afterwards in London, Dublin and Paris. All this time he lived in the most confidential relations with Mr. Egan, the Treasurer of the Land League, and with a small body of Fenians who lived in Paris, viz., Eugene Davis, Patrick Casey, his brother Joseph

Casey, the hero of Clerkenwell, and John O'Connor, known in the conspiracy as "The Doctor," and "John of the laughing eyes," brother of Mr. James O'Connor, the manager in Dublin of *United Ireland*. To the first three Mr. Egan had entrusted the management and editing of *United Ireland* for the period that it was brought out in Paris after its confiscation in Dublin. At the time they were thus engaged, Davis was acting as correspondent to O'Donovan Rossa's paper in New York, dating his letters from 338, Rue St. Honoré, and Patrick Casey was the Vice-President of the "Committee of Public Safety," which planned the Phoenix Park murders and some of the most daring dynamite explosions, and assisted some of the principals to escape from justice. On St. Patrick's Day, 1881, a great Irish Nationalist banquet was held in Paris, at the Restaurant Richard, Palais Royal. The *Salon* was decked with the stars and stripes of America, the tricolor of France, and the green and gold of Ireland. Scrolls emblazoned with the names of Ireland's "martyrs" adorned the walls, and Mr. Patrick Casey took the chair, supported by Mr. Egan, Treasurer of the Land League, by Mr. Joseph T. Casey, whose highest boast is that he has seen the interior of five British dungeons, by Mr. James D. Foley, so long and anxiously wanted by the police afterwards in connection with the dynamite explosions and by Messrs. Eugene Davis, Murray and Reddy. The chairman coupled Mr.

Egan's name with the first toast on the list, "The day we celebrate." The Land League leader's speech was couched in very plain words. "The spirit of '48," he said, "was not dead, the more daring spirits amongst them formed the Fenian Organization; they breathed life into that pallid corpse, and Ireland is to-day more vigorous, more rebellious, more dangerous to her English enemy than she has been for centuries. To-day Ireland stands united as she never has been before in a great social question. From the Orange North to the Rebel South, the people have laid aside their feuds and are joined in one band of brotherhood against the landlord garrison of England. But behind and above that is the question of Irish Nationality, a movement carried on by Irishmen *in different detachments, under different flags*, but a movement that ultimately, and sooner—much sooner—than our enemies believe, must succeed in making our dear land 'a nation once again.'"* The "different detachments" alluded to were of course the Land League, the I.R.B. and his hosts, the Clan-na-Gael, all advancing *en echelon* against their common foe the British Empire. Here, then, is the first illustration of the remarkable manner in which the Irish revolutionary movement has dovetailed into the so-called constitutional movement of Mr. Parnell.

We find Mr. Egan, proprietor in common with Mr. Parnell, Mr. W. O'Brien, and Mr. Justin

* *Irish World*, April 16th, 1886.

McCarthy of *United Ireland*, the organ of the Nationalist party, associating with and employing as his agents and writers and editors men who were well acquainted with McAfferty's plans, who were in official relations with O'Donovan Rossa and the Dynamite Party in America, and who subsequently were expelled from Paris by the French Government for known complicity with the authors of the dynamite outrages in England.

Further, I can state (not without fear of contradiction, for Parnellites will contradict anything) that when Mr. Biggar, M.P., and Mr. Sexton, M.P., had occasion, in the early part of 1882, to seek relaxation and health in the French capital, for reasons best known to themselves, they were on terms of the closest intimacy with Mr. Davis and Mr. Patrick Casey. Indeed, Mr. Sexton, in Paris, actually lived with Casey in the Rue de Bac, and doubtless indulged his well-known gastronomic tastes in company with many an Irish conspirator at the well-known bar of Mr. Reynolds in the Rue Royale. So much, then, for the disclaimers on the part of the Parnellite Party in Parliament as to their connection with the Fenian body. They are well acquainted with all the various sections of the conspiracy, and, as a matter of fact, their present strength lies entirely in the fact that they are practically part and parcel of the movement, and rely largely upon the organization in America for its moral and financial support.

To return, however, to McAfferty's special work.

The Supreme Council of the I.R.B. which sat in Paris in 1882, having heard all that McAfferty intended to do in England—viz., the blowing up of public buildings, the “removing” of obnoxious ministers, and the keeping of the brutal Saxon generally in hot water—came to the conclusion, for strategic reasons only, that the gallant Captain had better organize all these excellent plots as special work of the Clan-na-Gael. As a body, the Supreme Council did not authorize McAfferty’s proceedings, but he had Mr. Egan’s unofficial approval.

After McAfferty’s departure from Paris in January, 1882, for London, Casey had a stormy interview with Mr. Egan and Father Sheehy at the Hotel Normandie on the subject of certain funds coming from America which Casey believed were being diverted from “active work” through the Treasurer’s influence to the Land League. Egan and Casey adjourned to the Café de la Paix, where Mr. Egan gave Casey to understand that he need not be so “cross” with the Land League, as behind the leader and what he was now doing something was going on which would show that the “Men of Action” were still alive. After using these remarkable words Egan left, and Casey, half satisfied, left for the house in the Rue du Serpent of a brother Fenian, Macateur, who belonged to Casey’s circle, and who, I may here add, was subsequently a principal actor in the Scotland Yard explosion.

The result was that McAfferty, the real No. 1

of the business, carried out the Phoenix Park tragedy as a first instalment of the active work of the Clan-na-Gael section of the Fenian Brotherhood. There are some facts as to this terrible deed which are not generally known. First and foremost, the Phoenix Park murders were not an isolated crime, but only a part of McAfferty's general scheme to terrorize the British Government on a large scale, just as Mr. Egan and the Land League had successfully terrorized the Irish peasants in order to force upon them the acceptance of the new departure in Fenianism.

No. 1 was not Tynan, though he assumed that title in order to throw off any suspicion that there was a master-hand behind. There was no such name as Invincibles given or taken by the band of assassins, though the idea was sedulously fostered by the Irish Parliamentary Party for their own purposes. It was purely the invention of the informer Carey, who, for some reason or other, was fond of indulging his artistic fancy in matters of detail. The men who were convicted were merely rank and file men of the I.R.B., chosen for their "good standing" in the organization, to carry out the plot, the arrangements for which were communicated to them by Tynan, who, with Carey and Frank Byrne, were the trusted lieutenants of the Paris head-quarters.

And here again comes another instance of the curious juxtaposition of Mr. Parnell's "constitutional" party managers and the emissaries and

agents of the most revolutionary sections of the Fenian Brotherhood. Mr. Frank Byrne was for some years the confidential agent in England of the Parnellite party. He was Secretary of the Home Rule Association of Great Britain—he was always to be seen in the offices of the Parliamentary party in Palace Chambers, Westminster, and, in fact, managed the Irish vote in England in the interests of Mr. Parnell. And yet this man was deep in the confidence of McAfferty. His wife actually carried over the knives bought by Kelly in Birmingham, and escaped being placed in the witness box by an exceedingly clever *ruse*. She escaped at once from Dublin and her sister took her place in Byrne's house. When the supposed Mrs. Byrne was arrested and confronted with Carey in the witness box, he swore she was not Frank Byrne's wife.

Further, it is not generally known that it was through the exertions of the intimate friends and employés of Mr. Egan in Paris, viz., Messrs. Casey and Davis, that three of the principals in the Phoenix Park tragedy made their escape to America. Byrne, Tynan, and Kelly managed to get to Havre, where, however, two of them were arrested and put into jail at the instance of some English detectives who were swarming there at the time. At Casey's request M. Henri Rochefort, whose sympathy in the cause of Ireland Mr. Parnell had so successfully enlisted in 1881,

came down to Havre, and after considerable difficulty, effected their release. They were at once provided with tickets in a French Transatlantic steamer, and triumphant cheers were given for the Irish Republic as McAfferty's "men of action" were seen off by Mr. Egan's chosen companions in exile. How was the news of the Phoenix Park assassinations received in America by Mr. Parnell's friends and agents? Was it with the same affectation of sorrow and lamentation which the Irish Parliamentary party adopted? By no means. The Westminster Palace Hotel manifesto, signed by Messrs. Parnell, Dillon and Davitt, was treated with scorn by Mr. John Devoy in his paper *The Irish Nation*, while Mr. Egan's action in refusing to offer a Land League reward for the discovery of the assassins was loudly commended. His refusal was indeed only most natural, considering how closely connected he and McAfferty had been in their intercourse for the past few months, and hence the following spirited manifesto:—

PATRICK EGAN ON BLOOD MONEY.

PARIS, May 10, 1882.

Mr. Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, has telegraphed the following to *The Freeman's Journal* of Dublin:

"Editor, *Freeman*, Dublin: In *The Freeman* of yesterday Mr. James F. O'Brien suggests a reward of £2000 out of the Land League fund for the discovery of the perpetrators of the terrible tragedy of Saturday. Remembering, as I do, the number of innocent victims who in the sad history of our

country have been handed over to the gallows by wretched informers in order to earn the coveted blood money, and foreseeing the awful danger that in the present excited state of public feeling crime may be added to crime by the possible sacrifice of guiltless men, I am determined that if one penny of the Land League fund were voted for such a purpose, I would at once resign the treasurership. PATRICK EGAN."

Extracted from "Irish Nation," 13th May, 1882.

Upon which Mr. John Devoy, the particular friend of Mr. Michael Davitt, and one of Mr. Parnell's Committee in America for raising funds for the "constitutional movement," wrote as follows:—

"Patrick Egan has spoken out like a man against the adoption by Irishmen of the base English policy of suborning informers. He declares that should a penny of the Land League funds be devoted to such an object he will resign the Treasurership. Mr. Parnell should at once repudiate the attempt made from this side to connect him with action so culpable and un-Irish. By consenting to become the trustee of the Irish-American blood money he would forfeit the sympathies of his warmest admirers."

Needless to say that nothing further was done to advance so "un-Irish" an action as the effort to detect assassins. Mr. Parnell could not afford to lose as his Treasurer so powerful a member of the I.R.B. as Mr. Egan. His resignation would mean nothing short of a vote of censure on Mr. Parnell, and a vote of censure would mean the stoppage of supplies and perhaps a withdrawal of the confidence of the I.R.B. from their Parliamentary figure-head. This is quite clear from what Mr. John Devoy wrote in a paragraph in his paper (13th May, 1882), headed—

THE IRISH MEMBERS' FOLLY.

The Irish members *have not yet recovered their heads*. At a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary party on Wednesday (10th May) the opinion was expressed, that if Mr. Gladstone's Bill be confined to its nominal objects—the improvement of the administration of justice and the suppression of secret societies—it would meet with very general acceptance. IT WOULD SEEM THEY ARE TIRED OF GETTING MONEY FROM AMERICA, AND ARE WILLING TO PUT DOWN THE MEN WHO PLACED THEM WHERE THEY ARE."

It was at the meeting alluded to in the above paragraph that Mr. J. J. O'Kelly, M.P., expressed in very blunt terms his opinion of Mr. Parnell's views upon political assassination considered as a fine art. That *beau sabreur* somewhat impatiently interrupted his figure-head in a somewhat coarse and colloquial manner, with "Oh, shut up, your views will never make Ireland a nation!" But to return to Mr. Devoy's comments upon the temporary backslidings of the Parliamentary party. Nothing could be plainer than the connection which is here admitted between the secret societies and Mr. Parnell's party. The Fenians have placed Mr. Parnell where he is and well he knows it. He used them for his own ends first; they will use him now for theirs. So inevitable is the Nemesis which pursues political immorality; so ruthless is the logic of events; so terrible is the result of secret compacts with conspirators who are also journalists, and who boast of the purest Irish extraction!

CHAPTER VII.

THE DYNAMITE CAMPAIGN. MR. CASEY'S OPINIONS THEREON ; HIS ADVENTURES IN LONDON. MR. PARNELL AND THE DYNAMITE WING. HE ALTERS HIS POLICY AT THEIR COMMANDS. THE FENIAN MANIFESTO.

FROM the year 1882 down to the present moment the Fenian conspiracy has been increasing in power and importance. McAfferty commenced operations in Cork and Dublin by "removing" certain members of the I.R.B. who were reasonably suspected of giving information to the Government. These executions showed very plainly that there were determined men at the head of affairs who would stop at nothing in order to establish discipline. The successful carrying out by the "Committee of Public Safety" of the Phoenix Park assassinations contributed largely to this result. It showed to the rank and file that the "men of action," or as they are termed in America the "men in the gap," were in earnest, and that the mysterious personages who dwelt in the Olympian regions of the organization were willing and able to strike a blow for the cause. Moreover, the immense sums of money which had flowed continuously into the United Kingdom had largely circulated in Fenian pockets, and the hope of

getting a fair share of what is going and of what is coming is always a powerful motive in patriotic circles. The next events which produced further large accessories to the ranks of the Fenian Brotherhood were the dynamite explosions. These were principally the work of Captain McAfferty and the Clan-na-Gael. The first was the explosion at Whitehall, in which Corcoran was McAfferty's principal agent, and escaped the vigilance (?) of the police. Then came the attempt to blow up the Underground railway; next were the explosions in the cloak room at Victoria, and other similar attempts. After them came the Scotland Yard and Junior Carlton Club affairs, and finally the London Bridge attempt in 1884 and the successful explosions in the House of Commons and the Tower of London early in 1885. All these startling events, and the facts elicited at the various trials which followed upon them, and the public attention which gathered around the I.R.B. in consequence tended to make the conspiracy loom large in the eyes of the Irish masses, especially those resident in England.* The circles rapidly filled up, and men and money poured in with increasing rapidity. The Young Ireland Societies began also to spring up about this

* At the trial of J. Daly for possession of bombs and nitro-glycerine it was proved that from 1879 to 1881, "the record of arms in the hands of members of good standing in the I.R.B. was:—Rifles, 2844; revolvers, 702; total, 3456. Previously in hand; muzzleloaders, 1184; shot-guns, 1635; total, 8294."

time very rapidly, and now every Young Ireland Society is a Fenian centre, in fact, if not in name. The National League and its branches also became feeders for the I.R.B., although Mr. Parnell's strategic ability did not allow it to become anything but a constitutional organization, in outward form at all events. Meanwhile Casey & Co. remained in their headquarters at Paris and directed the movements of the Clan-na-Gael operators, while McAfferty was enjoying extraordinary immunity from arrest, passing backwards and forwards from Paris to London and from London to Dublin and Cork.

Mr. De Blowitz, *The Times'* correspondent, gave the following description of an interview with Mr. Patrick Casey in *The Times* of April 21st, 1884:—
 “Mr. Patrick Casey, of the *Moniteur Universel* (one of the staff of compositors), who is an enthusiastic advocate of the dynamite policy and recently delivered a violent dynamite speech at the Salle Levis, said:—‘If Ireland had an independent Parliament and a volunteer force she would win her independence in ten years. But inasmuch as I believe no such measure can be secured to her by constitutional agitation, I have fallen back upon the idea of using the powers of science, even as far as dynamite. I also uphold the Invincibles. I hesitated formerly, but I accept them now.* The

* It was hardly to be expected that Mr. Casey would confess in *The Times* that he had been Vice-President of the “Invincibles,” but such was the case.

Government deprives the Irishman of the use of arms, how then can he act? We can do nothing in the open field, we are therefore obliged to conspire. . . .’ ”

“ Asked if the dynamiters wished to take human life at all, or simply to create terror, Mr. Casey replied:—‘ They do not wish to kill one man, woman, or child of the English people, but, driven to bay, they were forced to stand on the defensive; and if they would succeed, they must do as the French did when they wanted to overthrow the Empire. Eventually the Irish must do the same. But it will probably come to blowing up the passenger steamers belonging to the English Atlantic lines, and then the dynamiters will attack the merchantmen. At the present time a strict watch is kept over the public buildings in London, but by doing work on sea, as well as on land, the conspirators would ruin English commerce. One man can go on board several steamers and leave a certain amount of dynamite on each vessel without causing the slightest suspicion. Why, there is no difficulty in carrying dynamite at all,’ said Mr. Casey with a satisfied chuckle. ‘ A cake may be divided into four parts so small that they are very easily concealed. You don’t say that they are going to examine every man that lands in England, and even if they did they would soon be tired if they found nothing for some time. Yes, dynamite is a terrible power, one cake of it would blow this restaurant into the air.’ ”

Such were the sentiments of the man who was chosen by Mr. Egan on behalf of Mr. Parnell, and more especially Mr. O'Brien, M.P., the editor, to manage the affairs of *United Ireland* when it was published in Paris, and who has been for the past five years in active correspondence and communication with Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., and Mr. O'Kelly, M.P. But Mr. Casey was not a man merely to talk. He had sent Daly to London charged with a terrible mission, nothing less indeed than the throwing bombs from the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons upon the table between the Treasury Bench and the Opposition.* Daly was twice admitted to the Strangers' Gallery by orders of members of the Parliamentary party, and so reckless was he considered to be that a letter was written from London by one of the Irish Press lobbyists, in the confi-

* The design was not altogether abandoned. One more effort was made to carry it out. In January, 1885, immediately after Madame Hugues' trial, there assembled at Hill's Night Restaurant on the Boulevard de Capucines three men and a woman, the latter being the one who took the dynamite and worked all the destruction in London on January 24th. That was not her original design, which was to penetrate in disguise to the distinguished Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons, and to throw three explosive shells among its members. Everything had been provided in the way of accessories, and the means of escape after the exploit in the shape of a servant's dress and cap to match, which was ready in a house in the Belvedere Road, Lambeth. The idea, however, was abandoned, principally for fear of compromising the M.P. who would have provided the ticket of admission.

dence of Mr. Casey, remonstrating upon the needless risks run by Daly. At last Mr. Daly was captured with bombs in his possession, tried, and sentenced to penal servitude for life. This arrest threw the I.R.B. into great excitement, and Patrick Casey determined to hazard his personal safety in attempting a rescue whilst Daly was being conveyed from Warwick to Birmingham. He accordingly started for London, where his friends had given separate notice to a number of resolute men of action to assemble at Paddington Station at a given hour with instructions what to do. A curious, and, to a British detective, had he been present, a most unexpected assembly mustered. It consisted of some thirty or forty men from various classes of society, the majority, however, being stalwart A's, B's and C's in the I.R.B. The plan of operations was both daring and complicated, and required clever heads and hands to carry out. Amongst those in charge of the expedition with Casey were a well-known war correspondent, an ex-British officer, and a journalist frequently to be seen in the lobby of the House. A yacht had been chartered in which the rescued dynamiter was to be carried off to France, and extraordinary pains had been taken to make the affair successful. But at the last moment the affair collapsed. Five hundred pounds in gold was a *sine quâ non* of the performance. This had been promised by a well-known Fenian, possessed

of a good deal of money, and anxious to prove himself deserving of a seat in Parliament. But at the last moment his courage failed him, and he shut his house up and left home on urgent private business. The result was that the rescue party that had met at Paddington with high hopes dispersed to their homes lamenting sadly the want of a paltry five hundred sovereigns.

During this visit to London, Casey was vigorously pursued by detectives, but, notwithstanding their efforts, he actually had the courage to present himself at the Lobby of the House of Commons, where he sent in his card to Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., who received him in the Inner Lobby, and refreshed his Parisian visitor with true Irish hospitality at the members' bar. During this interview, which is recounted amongst the elect in these latter days by Patrick Casey with enormous self-satisfaction, he spoke without the least disguise of Mr. O'Kelly's position in the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., and of Mr. William O'Brien's promise to him (Casey) that he would be repaid two thousand two hundred francs which he the year before had disbursed on Mr. O'Brien's account in connection with the getting off from Havre of the refugee members of the "Committee of Public Safety," in other words, the Invincibles who were wanted by the police. During the whole conversation, Mr. T. P. O'Connor made no attempt to disguise the fact that intimate relations existed between certain members of the

Parnellite party and such active members of the Fenian Conspiracy as Mr. Casey, whose determined manner left Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., very little chance of evading awkward subjects.

During the year 1884, a certain Captain Mackey, *alias* Lomasney, arrived in London as an emissary of the Clan-na-Gael.* The London Bridge explosion is very generally attributed to him; but probably Mr. Kenny, M.P., knows more about his movements at that time than anyone else, and might perhaps solve the mystery as to where Captain Mackey now is, and whether the pension stated to be paid to his widow is not a blind to cover further investigation as to his whereabouts. Whether he is alive or dead, however, there is no doubt that he met Casey in London on the occasion of his visit above-mentioned, and with his help took the house in the Harrow Road where, in February, 1885, a quantity of dynamite and some infernal machines were found by the police.

But the most remarkable fact as to the undoubted relations between the leaders of the Clan-na-Gael wing of the Fenian brotherhood in America was the arrival in London of Captain John McCarthy, of Syracuse, N.Y., who had been sent to England on a mission of the utmost importance. This was no less than to convey at all hazards, personally to

* One of the Fenians convicted in 1867. For further information see Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P.'s life of the dynamiter in "Speeches from the Dock," Dublin. *Nation* office.

Mr. Parnell certain assurances of continued financial support from the Fenian Brotherhood in America, on condition that he would nominate, as opportunity offered, Fenian candidates for such seats as are under his control in the Irish constituencies. "I have no credentials" said McCarthy in a letter written on the subject to an Irish pressman in the confidence of Mr. Parnell, "nor anything to prove my personal identity, or the nature of my mission here, but when men are moved by a common sympathy and their minds are earnestly set upon the same object, their powers of discerning seem to be quickened and they recognize each other by instinctive perception. Let him only give me a hearing and I will soon satisfy him as to the importance of the interests with which I am charged." Such missions between Mr. Parnell, mediately or immediately, and the Fenian element in America, have been frequent during the past few years. Captain John McCarthy has been in London and Dublin during the present year, combining the amusements of Metropolitan life with the sterner duty of inspecting "circles" throughout the various districts. Another stormy *petrel* of Fenianism, Mr. Edward St. John Brenon, a member of the Savage Club, who has passed at one time weekly between Paris and London on the business of the I.R.B. in 1884-5. Indeed, "The Tribune," as Mr. Brenon is known in the Brotherhood, is very proud of his ambassadorial functions,

and in those moments of self-sufficient importance which often follow a few bottles of champagne, will show to the incredulous his credentials, written in Celtic, and signed by the great McAfferty himself. Mr. Brenon's special business has been to devote himself to counter-working the detectives of Scotland Yard. On one occasion he successfully rendered Inspector Moser's presence in Paris impossible, when he was engaged with a large staff in tracing the dynamite operators.

But Captain McAfferty is at the present moment quite the most dangerous man of the band of conspirators who are thoroughly in accord with the necessities of the so-called constitutional movement. Both parties outwardly disown each other, but the extreme members of both Parnellites and Dynamiters are in such close relationship that the action of the one party is generally contingent upon the action of the other.

McAfferty was in London in 1885, when he visited Mr. John O'Leary, at a friend's house in Hammersmith. Mr. John O'Leary poses just now as a moderate Nationalist, but he is the patentee of the Young Ireland Societies which are all Fenian bodies, and he is in close connection with certain clever young gentlemen in Trinity College, Dublin, who are in touch with all the most advanced Continental and American conspirators of the present day.

If this should catch the eye of "Long John," whose poetic soul brought him into trouble with

the French police, at Reynolds's Irish bar, in the Rue Royal, Paris, in 1884, he will not deny the soft impeachment. All the Young Ireland Societies, though professedly legal institutions, are in full sympathy with McAfferty's operations. Indeed, in June, 1885, two of their most prominent members, a clerk in *The Freeman's Journal* office, and a clerk in the ballast office, Dublin, met McAfferty by special appointment in Brussels, where they gave No. 1 full information as to the existing state of the I.R.B. in Ireland, and of the general feeling of the country upon the question of Separation. Their report was that the "Parnell movement," as Mr. T. P. O'Connor judiciously though mendaciously calls it, had done the work of the Revolutionary party, by whom it was conceived and assisted most admirably. The British public were totally unaware of the true bearings of the new departure and its system of parliamentary perjury and underground conspiracy.

Further and much more official communications between the Parnellite governing body and the American Fenians led to a working arrangement between the two parties. Mr. Sexton had been to America in 1884, on a special mission, and had brought back important intelligence. Mr. Parnell, accordingly commenced the new year by a speech in Clonmel, on January 9th, 1885, when he not only demanded an independent Parliament but refused point blank to accept any measure of local Self-Government. "If we had an Irish Parliament

to-morrow," he said, "and we can never claim anything less—we can never claim and do not intend to claim any thing less than the Parliament of Grattan, if we had such an assembly it would be necessary for us, under its directing care and guidance, to develop our institutions of local Self-Government.

Again, in London on March 17th, 1885, in obedience to the views and orders from his American masters, Mr. Parnell made the following humble confession of political faith. "I do not pretend to predict in what way the rights of Ireland will be ultimately gained, but a *man in my position* ought to consider that in anything he does, and in anything he says, he ought not to hamper the people in their march for their liberties, he ought not to prevent them from obtaining the utmost and fullest measure of their rights which may hereafter become possible. We can none of us do more than strive for that which may seem attainable to-day; but we ought at the same time to recollect that we should not impede or hamper the march of our nation; that though *our* programme (*i.e.*, the "constitutional") may be limited, it should be such a one as shall not prevent hereafter the fullest realization of the hopes of Ireland" (*i.e.*, of McAfferty, Casey, and Co.). Notwithstanding this acknowledgment of the absolute and utter dependence of Mr. Parnell upon the will and pleasure of the Fenian Treasury Bench in New York, it was not considered sufficient. The allusion to Grattan's

Parliament implied the Queen, Lords, and Commons of Ireland and constitution, which no Irish Republican Brother at home or abroad could possibly accept. Mr. Parnell must be made to accept a programme which would hereafter lead straight to Irish Republicanism. A general election was imminent. Funds were badly wanted, and accordingly Mr. Parnell was forced to submit to the terms imposed, which were (1) a single plank platform of National Independence with a single Legislative Chamber ; (2) power to protect Irish manufactures ; (3) no guarantees against separation ; (4) the admission to Parliament of active agents of the I.R.B. The first of these were duly stated by Mr. Parnell in a speech at Dublin, August 25th, 1885, and the second and third at Wicklow, October 5th.*

Once more Mr. Parnell, at Castlebar, on Nov. 3, 1885, emphasized his complete subservience to his

* (1) "I hope it may be possible for us in the new Parliament to have a programme and a platform with only one plank, and that one the plank of independence. . . . We shall require our new Parliament to do for us those things which we have been asking the British Parliament to do for us. . . . I hope it will be a single chamber, and that we shall not have a House of Lords to cumber us."—Dublin, August 25, 1885.

(2) "I have claimed for Ireland a Parliament that shall have power to protect Irish manufactures, if it be the will of the Parliament and of the Irish people that they should be protected. . . . (3) My advice to English statesmen on this question (whether guarantees could be given against separation) is to trust the Irish people altogether or trust them not at all. It is impossible for us to give guarantees."

American paymasters and political taskmasters. Speaking in the centre of Fenianism to a convention of Mayo delegates, the "Leader," as Mr. Parnell is invariably called now in the I.R.B., said solemnly, "We shall never accept, either expressly or impliedly, anything but the full right to manage our own affairs, and make our land a nation; to secure for her, *free from outside control*, the right to shape her own destinies amongst the nations of the earth."

With these words Mr. Parnell definitely and finally threw in his lot with the I.R.B. Complete separation was acknowledged by him in these words to be the goal of his ambition, and by that acknowledgment he is bound to-day. The fourth condition was also duly carried out. Various members of the I.R.B. were admitted to seats in Parliament and duly took the oath of allegiance to the Queen. Thus did Mr. Parnell and his constitutional colleagues become more and more intimately connected with the Irish Revolutionary party. But the end is not yet. The successful playing-off by Mr. Parnell of Lord Carnarvon's child-like innocence against Mr. Gladstone's desire for office has been all in vain. By proving to Mr. Gladstone's satisfaction that Lord Carnarvon had actually had a personal interview with Mr. Parnell, and by insinuating that it was official, the Irish manipulators doubtless induced the Prime Minister to try and dish the Tories by swallowing Home Rule. But alas for human hopes! The Bills were

killed, and Mr. Parnell is now in the most difficult position of his most mysterious career.

Early in April a special and trusted agent of the McAfferty wing was in London, and had frequent discussions and consultations with Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P. He sailed on April 10th for New York in the Cunard vessel "Etruria," bearing with him such a letter as would induce the "men of action" across the Atlantic to hold their hand until some new arrangements for concerted action could be entered into. The same agent returned in June, after the defeat of Mr. Gladstone. The result of the mission was embodied in the Fenian Manifesto published in *The Times*, 21st June, 1886. The first half of that document (originally written by a typographical machine) was composed with the obvious intention of keeping Mr. Parnell up to his original compact, as sealed at Castlebar, and from which circumstances no doubt had made him swerve very considerably. But the gist of the whole communication is obviously in the last portion, which promises further support to Mr. Parnell, and confirms in every particular all that I have hitherto written. It runs as follows:—

Now, brothers, it would be an insult to your intelligence to point out that in no sense can the concession of a Parliament such as this be received as a full discharge of your claim, and you do not require to be told that *Mr. Parnell had no commission to accept it as such in your name*. That claim, as you well know, falls in nothing short of the restoration of your native land to her proper place in the European system as an entirely self-governing, wholly independent, and completely separate nation, subject to no other Power. It comprises the

repeal of the Union and a good deal more; it involves the severance at once and for ever of the enforced connection with Great Britain, and the extirpation of every atom and symbol of British domination; it means Ireland free, from the centre to the sea, unfettered and disenthralled, the brightest and purest gem of the Western Ocean. This is Ireland's demand, and it cannot be compromised or bartered away.

But do we advise rejection of the proposed Parliament, utterly inadequate as it is, and opposition to its acceptance by our so-called representatives? By no means. It is a step in advance; it implies a plain admission that British rule in Ireland is a usurped and tyrannical rule that can be neither justified nor maintained. That such a proposal for the pacification of Ireland should not only be seriously considered by the British Parliament, but supported by a strong minority of its members, is a full and frank admission that the right of the Irish people to make and administer their own laws is unquestionable. It should therefore be accepted, but only for what it is—an instalment, and a small and grudging one, of the full measure of our country's rights, without any such expressions of gratitude to those who have devised and may yet enact it, as we are called upon to give, and which can only be correctly described as false and fulsome, or any admission or engagement whatever that it is more than an approach to finality as a settlement of the national demand.

Neither do we wish to detract in any way from the great advance which our cause gains from the introduction into Parliament by a great English statesman, supported by a powerful and still growing party, of a measure which recognizes the principle, if it does no more, that Ireland has a right to govern herself; to minimize in the slightest degree the credit which the Parnellites claim for this triumph. Why should we? The victory is with us and not with them. *Could it be won by Parliamentary action alone? Assuredly not, not without the force behind the League leader, and the Britishers acknowledge as much. It was the "intensity of Fenianism" that first enlightened Mr. Gladstone, by his own admission, as to the iniquity of imposing on the Irish people the support and recognition of the supremacy of a Church*

the tenets of which the vast majority of them did not believe, and without doubt it was the same salutary agency, combined with the action of the much-maligned Ribbonmen, that impressed the same statesman with a proper sense of the enormity of the crimes of landlordism which British law sanctioned and upheld, and induced him to make a feeble effort to abate them. Neither is it possible to controvert the fact that the enactment of the further Gladstonian measure for the protection of Irish tenants against landlord rapacity was directly and solely owing to the active co-operation of our brotherhood by, as it has been figuratively expressed, "setting chapel bells ringing" at the cost of the sacrifice of the lives of some and the liberty of others of them.* And, finally, it is exceedingly probable that *the adventurous and successful enterprises of others of our champions against the lives of men who had earned the hatred of our people at a critical period of our history, and other partially successful attempts to destroy some of the Government establishments, wherein were devised and forged the fetters, legislative and otherwise, that have so long kept Ireland in bondage, convinced Mr. Gladstone that Irish disaffection is too deep-seated and desperate to be removed by paltry concessions or sham remedies, and induced him to devise one that he hoped would go to the root of the disease.*† Yes, brothers, it was your policy, noble, unselfish, and courageous as it was, that brought an Irish Parliament at a bound to the verge of realization, though the mere consideration of the feasibility of such a thing was held but a short time before to be quite outside the region of practical politics.

It is a duty, therefore, we owe to ourselves, not merely to not seek to hamper the efforts of the Gladstone-Parnell combination to secure a Parliamentary majority to pass this measure of self-government for Ireland as a means to our great end, but to assist them as far as we can. It is to secure your support for the undertaking that we now appeal to you to stand prepared for further action and further sacrifices for the cause we have so much at heart. War against the cause has been declared anew by the British oligarchy—Tory, Whig, and Radical alike—who have conspired to prevent

* See page 63. † See page 79.

Ireland obtaining the smallest instalment of her lawful rights. The machinations and designs against Ireland of that conspiracy be it our sacred duty to combat and oppose by *any and every means*. You must convince these people by deeds and actions, as any that you have as yet employed with so much success, that all those, no matter how exalted in station, who would stay the onward march of the Irish nation *do so at the peril of their lives*. The action you will take to effect this object will be communicated to you as occasions arise. Meanwhile we rely with confidence on your continued discipline and unwearied devotion to our sacred cause so that our organization may retain the high efficiency it has happily reached until its labours shall be rewarded by the conclusive and glorious victory it is fated to achieve at no distant day.

(Signed)

President, S.C.R.I.B.

Note.—When read to centres, be careful to destroy.

The manifesto contains in its concluding words the key to the future action of the I.R.B. Whilst working hand-in-hand with Mr. Parnell as heretofore, “it is our sacred duty to combat and oppose by any [dynamitic] and every [dagger and revolver] means” the conspiracy against Ireland. Those who, from a sense of duty, oppose Repeal of the Union, “do so at the peril of their lives.” In other words, the ghastly work of the “Committee of Public Safety” is to be re-commenced, and assassination and dynamite will resume its place in the van of Mr. Parnell’s army at no distant date.

This is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, about the Repeal of the Union Conspiracy. I have done. May God save Ireland yet.

END.