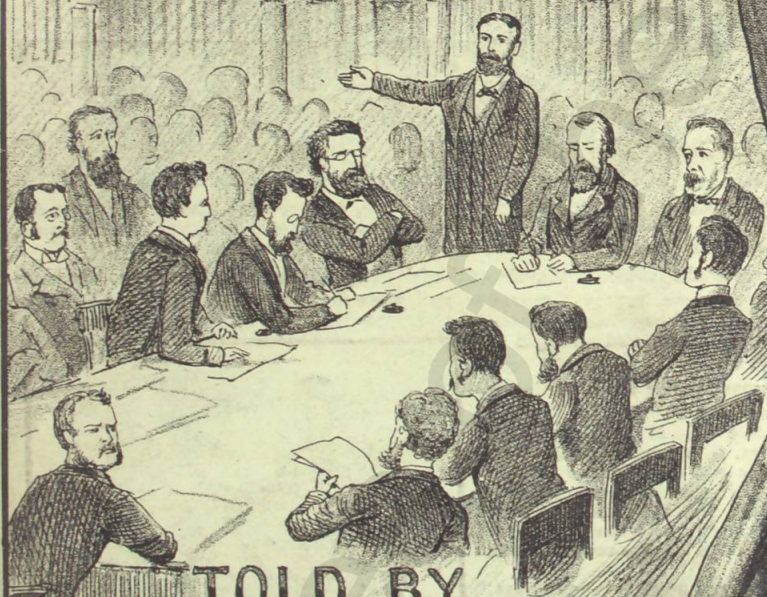


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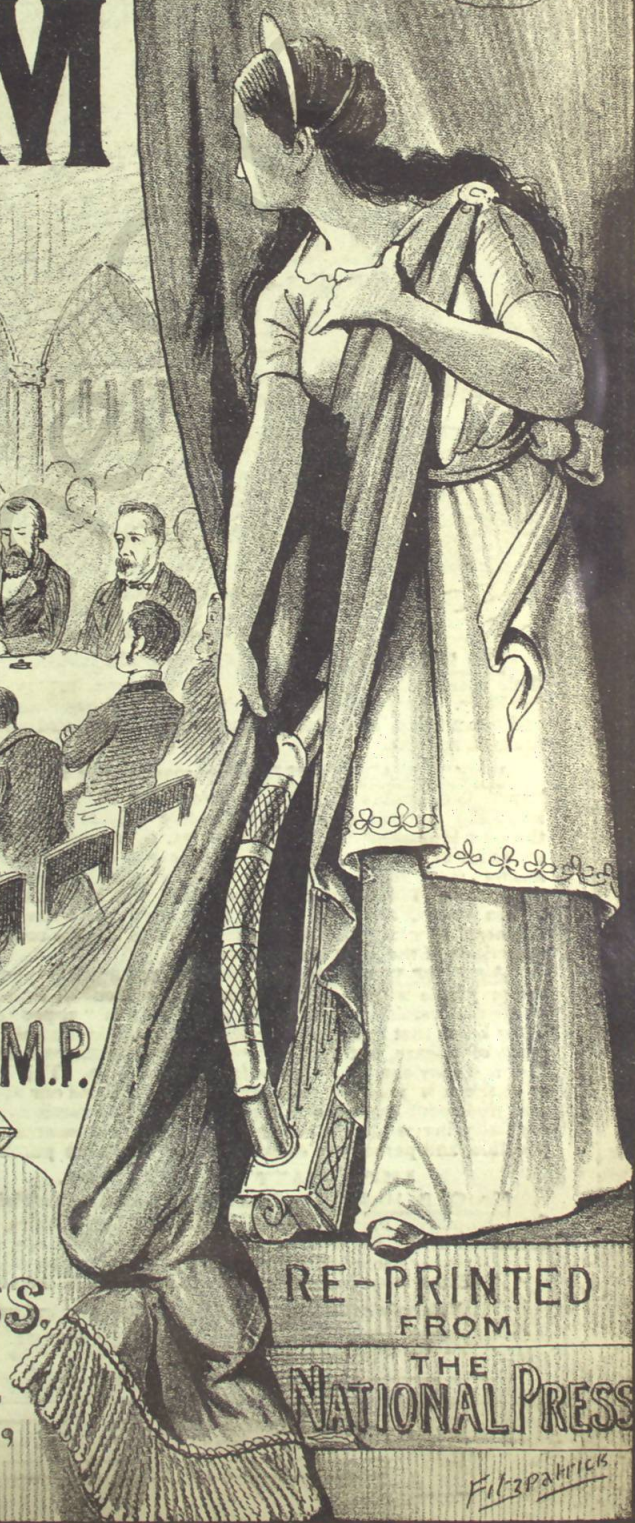
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THE STORY of ROOM 15



TOLD BY
DONAL SULLIVAN, M.P.

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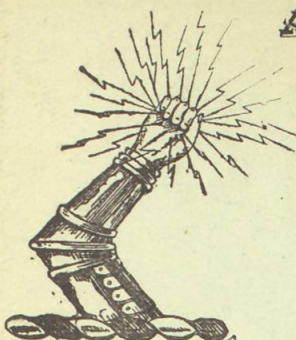
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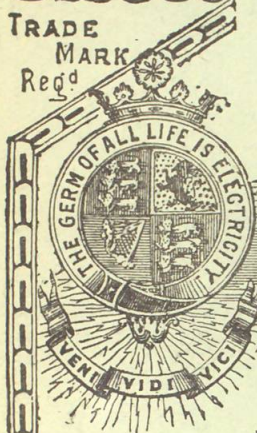
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THE STORY OF "ROOM 15."

TOLD BY DONAL SULLIVAN

(One of the Hon. Secretaries of the Irish Parliamentary Party).

(Reprinted from the *National Press*, November 21st to December 5th, 1891.)

AN accurate narrative of the incidents—inner and outward—of the stormy days of Room 15, has become desirable for many reasons. The accounts of the debates of the Irish Party were necessarily taken from the reports supplied by the *Freeman's Journal*, whose reporters alone were admitted to the meetings. These reports were revised in Mr Parnell's interest by the London correspondent of the *Freeman*, and both Mr Parnell and his leading partisans, like Mr Redmond, were accorded the privilege of seeing their speeches in manuscript before being sent to the Press. Similarly, any passages in the debates awkward for the chairman were frequently altogether omitted by the *Freeman's Journal*. On the first occasion when the Irish Party met there were no reporters present, nor were they admitted during the debates on the following day, when Mr Parnell was requested to reconsider his position; and these were the critical days in the struggle. The extraordinary speech made by Mr Parnell on the opening day in returning thanks for his re-election has never been published, and is now given from notes taken at the time, which were afterwards submitted to ensure accuracy to several members who were present. With the same object, several of the Irish members conversant with the facts were asked to peruse and make suggestions for the narrative. It has been desired as far as possible to make the record less controversial than historical; and although the "Story" appeared originally in daily instalments in the *National Press*, its

accuracy has not been challenged by Mr Parnell's followers.

The story opens with the following summons to the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, the last ever to be addressed to them as their leader, by Mr Parnell.

DEAR SIR:—You will permit me, in accordance with my usual custom, to remind the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party that the session will open on Tuesday, the 25th inst, when it is most desirable that our full strength should be available. I wish to lay special stress upon the necessity for the attendance of every man upon the opening day, as it is unquestionable that the coming session will be one of combat from first to last, and that great issues depend upon its course.—I am, dear sir, yours truly, CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

This appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of Monday, 17th November, 1890, the very day on which the jury in the London Divorce Court returned their verdict against Mr Parnell.

LEAGUE AND LEINSTER HALL MEETINGS.

On Tuesday, Nov. 18, at the usual fortnightly meeting of the National League, Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P., who presided, spoke strongly in Mr. Parnell's favour. Two days afterwards a meeting which had long previously been summoned to support the evicted tenants in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, and which had been abandoned when the divorce decree was pronounced, was proceeded with, and diverted at the instance of Mr Redmond, and Dr Kenny, M.P., into one in sustenance of Mr Parnell. The *Freeman's Journal*, on which the popular party depended for information, suppressed every consideration unfavourable to him, and backed him strongly every day.

Parliament opened on Tuesday, 25th Novem

ber, 1890. Before the Speaker went to the House of Lords to hear the Queen's Speech read, word was passed amongst the Irish members in the House that the usual meeting of the Party held each year on the opening day of the Session would take place in Room 15 about 3 o'clock. During the earlier part of the day there was a good deal of anxious conversation amongst little knots of the members as to what Mr Parnell would do or say at the meeting in respect to the proceedings in the Divorce Court. His position, like Mr Butt's and Mr Shaw's, was that of Sessional Chairman, and at the opening of each session the chairman of the Party is elected.

BELIEF THAT MR PARNELL WOULD RETIRE.

Amongst some the impression had been created by rumours from authoritative and influential quarters that if Mr Parnell were re-elected he would retire immediately afterwards from the chair. A paragraph to that effect had appeared in the *Standard* the same morning to which considerable weight was attached, owing to the fact that Mr Tuohy, the London correspondent of the *Freeman*, usually supplied that journal with news relating to the Irish Party. Indeed, a number of members, as a matter within their own knowledge, stated that Mr Parnell would announce his retirement after re-election, on the ground that his continuing to act as Leader would be disastrous to Ireland and imperil the cause of Home Rule. Mr Henry Campbell, Mr Parnell's private and confidential secretary, led several to believe this. This intelligence also Mr Tuohy conveyed, as he said, "on the best possible authority, that of Mr. Henry Campbell, Mr Parnell's private secretary," to Messrs Sexton, John Barry, W J Lane, and others. A similar rumour had been authoritatively circulated through Dublin some days previously. This was all freely ventilated in the Lobby, and most of the Irish members concluded that after Mr Parnell was, as a final compliment for distinguished services, formally moved to the chair, he would thank his colleagues for the honour they had paid him, and declare that in

the interest of Ireland he would retire from the position—at least for that session. For, despite the meetings in the Leinster Hall and at the National League, the feeling against his leadership, during the critical week since his summons to the Party was issued, as shown by declarations such as those from Mr Davitt, in his newspaper, the *Labour World*, had been immensely growing.

THE IRISH PARTY MEETS.

It was a cold, foggy, wet afternoon when the Irish members, to the number of 59, streamed into Room 15. Their names were—Abraham, Barry, Blane, Byrne, Corbett, Clancy, Crilly, Conway, Condon, Cox, Campbell, Dalton, Esmonde, Foley, Finucane, Fitzgerald, Flynn, Fox, Jordan, E Harrington, Hayden, Harrison, Maurice Healy, Dr Kenny, M J Kenny, Kilbride, Knox, Lane, Leamy, Justin M'Carthy, J Huntly M'Carthy, MacNeill, W A Macdonald, Peter M'Donald, M'Kenna, Morrogh, Mahony, Maguire, Murphy, Colonel Nolan, Joseph Nolan, John O'Connor, James O'Kelly, P J O'Brien, J F X O'Brien, R P Power, P J Power, Pinkerton, Parnell, Quinn, Roche, Sexton, Sheehan, Stack, D Sullivan, Sheehy, Tanner, Tuite, and Webb. A slightly different list of names was published in the papers at the time, but the above is believed to be an accurate one. Messrs Molloy, Commins, Deasy, Arthur O'Connor, Reynolds, and M'Cartan arrived either after the meeting was over, or as it was about to break up. Messrs Wm O'Brien, John Dillon, T P O'Connor, T D Sullivan, T P Gill, and T Harrington were in America. Mr T M Healy was in Dublin, just convalescent after a serious illness, and no opportunity whatever was afforded to the party for consultation, deliberation, or communication in reference to the grave crisis that had arisen.

ROOM 15.

Room 15, which has now become historic, is one of the ordinary committee rooms, situated a story higher than the House itself and overlooking the river Thames. On this chilly evening neither lamps nor fire were lighted, and the room felt and looked dark and cheerless. Before the Party assembled

Mr Parnell, accompanied by Mr Henry Campbell, had seated himself in the room. For him this was a most unusual circumstance. His habit had been to keep the Party waiting often for half an hour, and many times much longer. They found him seated at the table next to Mr Justin M'Carthy. He had slipped in quietly fifteen minutes before the appointed hour, and as colleague after colleague arrived no word of greeting or welcome was exchanged with any of them. The whole Plan of Campaign had been carefully thought out by Mr Parnell. Mr M. J. Kenny, M.P., three weeks afterwards declared in a speech at Castlecomer (Sunday, 14th December, 1890), that Mr Henry Campbell said to him before the meeting—"Morley is searching everywhere through the House for Parnell with a letter from Gladstone, but I will take devilish good care he will not find the Chief, because I will keep him out of the way."

THE LIBERAL LEADERS AND MR PARNELL.

A letter which Mr John Morley published on the 17th of August, 1891, threw a good deal of light on the tactics adopted by Mr Parnell. He wrote:—

"In his speech at Kells yesterday Mr Parnell makes the following reply to a charge that he had deliberately cut off all communications with the Liberal Leaders in the interval between the decree in the Divorce Court and his re-election as Chairman of the Irish Party:—

I never withdrew myself anywhere. I stopped in the same place I was in before the verdict. I remained in the same place where Mr. Morley came to see me nine days before the verdict, and where he knew he could find me during the nine days after the verdict which elapsed before the meeting of the party.

I did not know where I could find him. Mr Parnell is well aware that I never knew, and never sought to know, any private address of his at any time. His interview with me in my rooms at Brighton was arranged, as usual, through Mr Henry Campbell and it was through the same channel that I reached him in the following week. There was no other. The decree was pronounced on Monday, November 17th. I naturally expected daily to hear from Mr Parnell. At last, on Saturday,

November 22, I wrote to Mr Campbell desiring him to call on me as soon as possible. He came to my house on Sunday evening. I begged him to be good enough to inform Mr Parnell that Mr Gladstone was coming to London on the following day (Monday, November 24th), and that it was most important that I should be able to communicate with Mr Parnell not later than Tuesday forenoon, and before the meeting of the Irish Party. On the last point I laid special stress. Mr Campbell told me that Mr Parnell was at Brighton, that he would go there the next day and deliver my request, and finally, that I might rely on hearing from him by eleven on Tuesday forenoon. At half-past eleven on Tuesday forenoon I received a telegram purporting to come from Mr Campbell, saying that he was sorry he could not find his friend, but hoped to see him at the House of Commons. I immediately applied to Mr M'Carthy, but he, too, was entirely in the dark and so were all the other members of the Irish Party then and now supposed to be much in Mr Parnell's confidence. Before the hour at which the Irish Party were to meet I went down to the House, but the Irish meeting, I rather think, had been accelerated. At any rate it was over. From the day of the decree down to that time I had no better means of reaching Mr Parnell (save those to which I actually resorted) than I have to-day of reaching the man in the moon. I cannot prove that the cutting off of communication was deliberate. It certainly was effectual."

MR PARNELL LIES PERDU.

Messrs Parnell and Campbell well knew the object of Mr John Morley's quest, and master and man arranged to prevent the interview. On the previous Sunday (Nov 23), Mr Bernard Molloy, M.P., had twice sent down a messenger to Brighton with important letters for Mr Parnell, but the messenger being unable to find him they were delivered to Mrs O'Shea, who promised they should be placed immediately in Mr Parnell's hands. No reply, however, was received, and no notice was taken of them, although they warned Mr Parnell in the clearest terms of the gathering storm, and begged of him to take counsel with his friends.

It will be remembered that barely a fortnight afterwards (Rotundo, December 10th, 1890), Mr Parnell declared that if Mr Gladstone had only "by hint, by whisper, or by inuendo," conveyed to him that his leadership was undesirable, he would at once have sought the advice of his colleagues. Yet we know by the declaration of Mr Justin M'Carthy (*Pall Mall Gazette*, December 12, 1890), that he formally communicated to him Mr Gladstone's message, while Mr Molloy has preserved copies of his own remonstrances. Mr Parnell's plan was to "rush" the meeting of the members. The exact hour of the meeting was left undefined. It was understood to be "after the Queen's Speech is read." Some of the party understood by this, the reading of the Speech in the Commons by the Speaker, who re-reads it, after hearing it in the Lords, as many members do not proceed to the Upper House, and several therefore did not arrive till the momentous part of the proceedings had taken place.

HOW MR PARNELL'S RE-ELECTION WAS WORKED.

Mr Richard Power, the senior Whip of the Party, was placed in the chair. Mr Parnell was on his right, looking quite as unconcerned as if it was an ordinary occasion, with Mr M'Carthy next him, Mr Justin Huntly M'Carthy sat beside his father, and Mr Sexton was next to young Mr M'Carthy. To the left of Mr Power were seated the hon. secs., Messrs Henry Campbell and Donal Sullivan; next to them one of the Whips, Mr Deasy (Mr Carew, the second Whip, being absent through illness). The meeting was like all similar meetings, private. Mr Sexton, at Mr M'Carthy's request, rose and proposed the re-election of Mr Parnell as Sessional Chairman for 1891, in that felicitious language in which he invariably expresses his ideas, but not a few of his hearers felt that Mr Sexton was oppressed by some feelings which did not find utterance in his short speech, and that his heart was not in it. Colonel Nolan then briefly seconded the motion. After a short pause Mr Jordan, in a respectful but firm tone, voiced the feelings of the great majority of the members

present, and requested Mr Parnell to retire.

MR JORDAN'S PROTEST.

Only those who had experience of the manner in which the meeting was hypnotised under the personality of Mr Parnell, can appreciate the act of a diffident and retiring man like Mr Jordan, rising to question for the first time amongst his followers the position of the Uncrowned King. Mr Jordan said, now that the Irish Party had conferred the honour of re-electing him unanimously to the leadership, and thereby paid him the greatest compliment in their power, would it not be well for Mr Parnell, in view of events which had recently become public, to consider his position, and now to retire gracefully, so as to ease the situation, which, it could not be disguised, was one of a grievous character and of great peril to the Irish cause. He was listened to throughout, with a fervent hope in the minds of most of those present that his appeal would be responded to. Probably his speech would have led to some definite action by others, had it not been that Mr Edward Harrington, who sat at the same side of the room as Mr Jordan, on the left of the chair and a few seats nearer to Mr Parnell said, in a deprecating way, just as Mr Jordan resumed his seat—"Cannot you wait till you hear what Mr Parnell will say," or words to that effect. This observation confirmed the general belief that Mr Parnell was about to announce his resignation, and that it would be ungracious to discuss a settled and painful question. The motion then was quickly put to the meeting by Mr Power, and was declared carried amidst demonstrations from a portion of the assembly, which suggested the idea of an organised claque.

AN EXTRAORDINARY SPEECH.

Mr Parnell at once took the chair, and in a moment rose to his feet, whereupon all was suspense and expectation for the announcement of the fateful decision which was to have such far-reaching effects. A death-like silence fell on the Party. This stillness was made the more impressive by the gathering darkness and the gloomy aspect of the room.

Every nerve was strung, and every ear strained to catch the words which each one felt would decide momentous issues. These were anxious moments, even for men trained in the hottest excitement of political and Parliamentary life. Mr Parnell's address was cold. No recognition of the friendship shown him marked either words or manner. No words of gratitude to the Party or thanks for his re-election fell from him. In icy tones he said—

I feel this re-election a proof of your continued confidence in me, and I will during the coming session show that your trust and confidence in me is not misplaced. The session is likely to be an important one, and I feel it my duty to ask my colleagues to give as constant attendance as they can, at all events whilst any Irish measures are under consideration. They should bear in mind that it is by their numbers in the division lobby that they are respected and feared. I was able with only one man by my side to stand up and defy the House of Commons, and what have I now to fear with eighty-five colleagues at my back? When I came into this room it was not my intention to make any reference to certain recent events with which my name was connected, but as allusion has been made to the subject (referring to Mr Jordan's speech), I will now lift aside a corner of the curtain, and I can assure you, my friends and colleagues, that in a short period of time, when I am free to do so, I will be able to put a complexion on this case very different to that which it now bears, and I will then be able to hold my head as high, aye, and higher, than ever before, in the face of the world. This is not the place to enter on a vindication of myself against the vile charges that have been made against me, and I do not intend to do so, but I will ask my colleagues to remember that only one side of the story has been given to the public. I am accused of breaking up a happy home, and of shattering a scene of domestic bliss and felicity. If this case had been gone into, a calculation had been made, and it would have been proved that in the twenty-three years of Mr O'Shea's married life he spent only 400 days in his own home. This was the happy home which I am alleged to have destroyed. I am also accused of betraying a friend. Mr O'Shea was never my friend. Since I first met him in Ennis, in 1880, he was always my enemy—my bitter, relentless enemy. You may examine the pages of Hansard, and you will not find that I ever on any occasion referred to him

as my friend.* There is the further charge against me that I abused this man's hospitality, but I never partook at any time of Mr O'Shea's hospitality, for I never had bite or sup—I never had a glass of wine—at his expense. I will not dwell any more on this subject, except to say that of the two principal witnesses in the case one was a drunkard and the other a thief. Now that I have lifted a corner of the curtain, I will only ask you, gentlemen, to keep your lips sealed, as mine are, on what you have heard until the brief period of time will have elapsed to which I have referred, when I can vindicate myself, and when you will find that your trust in me has not been misplaced. I had rather appear to be dishonourable than be so. We will now proceed to the election of the officers of the party, and to the selection of the bills which are to be introduced during the session, and which must be balloted for at the meeting of the House to-morrow.†

* On one memorable occasion, at least, Mr Parnell referred to Captain O'Shea as his hon friend. On the 16th of May, 1882, Mr (now Sir John) Puleston put a question to the Government in reference to the conditions on which Mr Parnell was released from Kilmainham on May 3rd previously. Mr Parnell read to the House a letter written by himself to Captain O'Shea, dated Kilmainham, April 28th, 1882, and marked "Private and Confidential." This letter purported to be a copy of the letter which was laid before the Cabinet. When Mr Parnell had concluded the reading of the letter Mr Forster, who had just resigned the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland, rose and asked him whether he had read the letter in its entirety. Mr Parnell replied—

I did not keep a copy of the letter in question. My hon friend the member for Clare (Mr O'Shea) has furnished me with a copy, and it may be possible that one paragraph has been omitted, but, speaking for myself, I have no objection to the hon member, if he desires it, communicating the whole of the letter as I wrote it to the House.

Captain O'Shea had not the letter with him, but Mr Forster put a copy of the letter into his hands. This copy contained the following passage, which was omitted from the copy read by Mr Parnell to the House—

The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched out to you may in my judgment be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the land question, and would I feel sure enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal Party in forwarding Liberal principles, and I believe that the Government at the end of the Session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with future coercive measures.

† On the publication of this speech the following letter appeared—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL PRESS.

SIR—I am sure that if Mr Donal Sullivan republishes his report of the late Mr Parnell's secret speech in Committee Room No 15, he will see the propriety of noting my denial of every

MR. PARNELL ESCAPES.

Amazement and dismay fell on the Party after this speech. Still some of our comrades believed there was "another side to the story," and that in due time it would be disclosed, when they would learn that their faith was not misplaced. In others a sickening feeling was produced that Mr Parnell's views were, that so long as he did not offend the social code by breaking up a happy home, betraying a friend, or committing a breach of hospitality, his outrage against public morality possessed in fact some compensating advantages which would enable him to hold his head higher than ever.

Of course, neither in the course of Mr Parnell's speech, nor during the prolonged proceedings of the following day (Wednesday), nor at any period up to the issue of his manifesto on Saturday, was there directly or indirectly the most shadowy reference to anticipated treachery on the part of Mr Gladstone or the Liberal party, or any suggestion of difficulty, danger, or apprehension about the terms of the Home Rule Bill when Mr Gladstone came into power.

In a few minutes after Mr Parnell's speech the formal business was over. He appeared anxious to leave the room, and at this moment Mr Campbell, who sat on his left, whispered to him as if by arrangement, and he hurriedly left the meeting.

A DISSATISFIED PARTY.

After the re-election of Mr Justin M'Carthy as vice-chairman, and of the secretaries and whips of the party, and having decided what bills should be introduced during the Session, the meeting broke up. The dissatisfied and discouraged members retired to the various rooms and lobbies where they gathered into little groups, and with much indignation discussed Mr Parnell's procedure. Only one opinion prevailed. His tactics were bitterly resented; but the question was—What could be done?

Mr Arthur O'Connor, brooding over the statement made in it.—Your obedient servant,

W. H. O'SHEA.

241 Rue Saint Honore, Paris,
28th November, 1891.

consequences of the vote which had just been snatched, commenced to canvass his colleagues with a view to a fresh assembling of the Party. He immediately drew up a "round robin," which in a short time was signed by 19 members, and was in course of circulation amongst the other members of the Party now scattered either about the House or to their lodgings. The spirit which pervaded Mr Parnell's henchmen, however, may be gathered from the reference made to this incident by Dr Fitzgerald in the *Dublin Evening Herald* a year afterwards (Dec 28, 1891):—"Arthur O'Connor thrust the document into my hand. I handed it back, and told him I would not sign it." The position was a most delicate one, but between eight and nine o'clock the Gordian knot was cut when a whisper ran through the Irish benches that a grave event had occurred.

FIRST RUMOUR OF MR. GLADSTONE'S LETTER.

Mr Gladstone, it was said, had written to Mr John Morley, announcing his retirement, as a consequence of Mr Parnell's re-election; and this momentous declaration had been given to the Press. Mr Parnell himself seemed to be quite aware of what was impending, and was one of the first to speak of it. Sitting by Mr Sexton's side in his usual place in the House, he languidly remarked, "I hear that Gladstone is about to issue a manifesto," and on Mr Sexton's startled inquiry as to its nature and effect, he went on to explain that Gladstone merely wanted to save his own position.

This rumour spread like wildfire through the House, and the excitement amongst the Irish members was indescribable. Where did the information come from? Was Mr Parnell aware before the meeting of such a letter? Each man assured his colleague that if "the chief" knew of its existence, or of such an intention on Mr Gladstone's part, he would not imperil the cause of Ireland by accepting the chairmanship of the Party. The Irish members in the House hastily left the chamber, and mustered in the lobby. Not one of them had seen the text of the letter at this time. Amongst the first to hear the momentous news was Mr

John Barry, who with Mr W J Lane and three or four other colleagues discussed the matter in the members' smoking room. All agreed that the re-election of Mr Parnell was due to a trap laid for the Party, and that something remedial should be done. The first step evidently was to interview Mr Parnell himself, and this Mr Lane undertook to do forthwith.

MR. PARNELL'S CIGAR.

Mr Parnell was in the lower smoking room sitting in a corner conferring with his secretary, Mr Campbell, and with Mr Tuohy, the London correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal*. He was evidently in high good humour, and appeared to enjoy his cigar. Waiting till Mr Tuohy had left, Mr Lane approached, and was received graciously with some bantering remarks as to certain local controversies then rife. Mr Lane replied by broaching the subject of his errand, saying that he came deputed by some members of the Party who had heard of the Gladstone letter. "The Chief" at first simply pooh-poohed such unnecessary fuss, and undertook to assure his followers that they had been entirely misinformed as to the contents and effect of the Liberal leader's letter. Mr Lane, however, insisted that the anxiety of the party was not to be allayed by such assurances. "What do they want, Lane?" said Mr Parnell, in his most nonchalant manner, puffing his cigar. Mr Lane replied that he and his friends thought that a very grave situation had arisen, and that the Party ought to be called together to consider it. Mr Parnell replied, "Now, Lane, I will be very frank with you. I will not call the Party together; I will not discuss this matter with any person whomsoever, and I will not reconsider my position." Mr Lane pointed out that the Party was entitled to be consulted, and would be compelled to act themselves if no other course was left to them. Mr Parnell was adamant, and Mr Lane left, begging that at any rate he would see Mr Sexton and discuss matters with him, to which Mr Parnell curtly replied that if Mr Sexton came to him he would have to see him, but that he did not want to see him, and that his mind was irrevocably made up.

CONFERENCES AND REBUFFS.

Mr Lane returned down-hearted to his colleagues, who were awaiting him in the corridor, and who were there joined by Mr Justin M'Carthy and Mr Sexton. Another earnest discussion took place, and very reluctantly Messrs M'Carthy and Sexton agreed, at the urgent request of their companions, to approach Mr Parnell and beg him to reconsider his position. This they did. The interview was brief, for in a few minutes they returned with the information that Mr Parnell had not been even civil to them, and that in fact Mr Campbell had taken the leading part in the conversation on his behalf. The group in the corridor grew larger, and their anxiety deepened at every moment. We then learned from Mr M'Carthy for the first time of Mr Gladstone's communication to himself and Mr Parnell, prior to the meeting, and the feeling grew stronger that in suppressing so important a communication Mr Parnell had acted improperly, and that the Party had been tricked into re-electing him. It was felt desirable to prevent if possible the publication of Mr. Gladstone's letter pending the summoning of another meeting of the Party, and Mr M'Carthy was despatched to ascertain whether the letter had been sent to the press. He quickly returned with the information that Mr Gladstone had left the House, and that the letter was in the hands of the newsmen.

THE PROFESSOR STUART INCIDENT.

Just then Professor Stuart, M P, passed, but he knew nothing of the contents of the letter, though at our request to him, as a London editor, he undertook to get a copy of it from the Press Association, and if possible to prevent its publication. Meanwhile the group in the corridor had become so large that to avoid observation it was agreed to adjourn to the Whips' room. Here the matter was discussed by a large body of members, including such strong supporters of Mr Parnell then and since as Messrs O'Kelly, Ed. Harrington, Leamy, John O'Connor, Mahony, Dalton, Fitzgerald, and Dr Kenny. After some time Professor Stuart arrived with a copy of the letter on Press flimsies,

which he read to the gathering, stating that the letter had been telegraphed to the newspapers, and that it was impossible to prevent its publication. This incident was the origin of Mr Parnell's subsequent hallucination that his party were conspiring against him with Professor Stuart.

MR. GLADSTONE'S LETTER.

The letter which produced at the time so much sensation and has since made "English dictation" the Parnellite war-cry runs as follows—

1 Carlton gardens, Nov. 24, 1890.

MY DEAR MORLEY—Having arrived at a certain conclusion with regard to the continuance at the present moment of Mr Parnell's leadership of the Irish Party, I have seen Mr M'Carthy on my arrival in town, and have inquired from him whether I was likely to receive from Mr Parnell himself any communication on the subject. Mr M'Carthy replied that he was unable to give me any communication on the subject. I mentioned to him that in 1882, after the terrible murder in the Phoenix Park, Mr Parnell, although totally removed from any idea of responsibility, had spontaneously written to me and offered to take the Chiltern Hundreds, an offer much to his honour, but one which I thought it my duty to decline.

While clinging to the hope of a communication from Mr Parnell to whomsoever addressed, I thought it necessary, viewing the arrangements for the commencement of the session to-morrow, to acquaint Mr M'Carthy with the conclusion at which, after using all the means of observation and reflection in my power, I had myself arrived.

It was that, notwithstanding the splendid services rendered by Mr Parnell to his country, his continuance at the present moment in the leadership would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland. I think I may be warranted in asking you so far to explain the conclusion I have given above as to add that the continuance which I speak of would not only place many hearty and effective friends of the Irish cause in a position of great embarrassment, but would render my retention of the leadership of the Liberal Party, based as it has been mainly upon the prosecution of the Irish cause, almost a nullity.

This explanation of my own view I begged Mr M'Carthy to regard as confidential, and not intended for his colleagues generally, if he found that Mr Parnell contemplated spontaneous action. But I also begged that he would make known to the Irish party at their meeting to-morrow afternoon that such was my conclusion if he should find that Mr Parnell had not in contemplation any step of the nature indicated.

I now write to you in case Mr M'Carthy should be unable to communicate with Mr Parnell, as I understand you may possibly have an opening to-morrow, through another channel. Should you have such an opening I would beg you to make known to Mr Parnell the conclusion itself, which I have stated in the earlier part of this letter. I have thought it best to put it in terms simple and direct, much as I should have desired had it been within my power to alleviate the painful nature

of the situation. As respects the manner of conveying what my public duty has made it an obligation to say, I rely entirely on your good feeling, tact, and judgment.—Believe me, sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Right Hon John Morley, M.P.

CONFERENCE IN THE WHIP'S ROOM.

The reading of this communication fell like a thunderbolt on the Irish members. Voices loudly asked: Did Mr Parnell receive that letter before the meeting of the party to-day? Did he know of such a letter being written? After various interrogatories and interchanges it became clear that Mr Parnell, before the meeting was held, was placed in full possession of Mr Gladstone's views by Mr Justin M'Carthy. Men like Mr M. J. Kenny remembered Mr Campbell's words before the meeting—

Morley is searching everywhere for Parnell with a letter from Gladstone, but I will take devilish good care he will not find the Chief, because I will keep him out of the way.

Indignation filled men's hearts as they realised the malpractice to which they had been subjected. It was plain that Mr Gladstone had given the letter to the Press under the idea that the Irish Party acted after full information of his views, whereas they had been left in total ignorance that such a communication had been made. At this point Mr Sexton, who had been engaged looking after the introduction of the Bills, came in, and was informed of the feeling of the members present, that immediate and definite action should be taken. Mr Sexton suggested that, if such was the unanimous feeling, the proper step would be to draw up and sign a requisition to the secretaries, calling on them to summon a meeting of the party.

THE FATEFUL REQUISITION.

This course was warmly approved by the meeting, and the following requisition was then and there drafted by Mr Flynn, and within an hour it received the 31 signatures given below, the names of the two Parnellite signatories being italicised:—

To the Hon Secs of the Irish Parliamentary Party—We, the following members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, desire a meeting of our Party to be summoned for 2 o'clock, p.m., on the 26th of November, 1890. at the House of

Commons, and we beg the Hon. Secs. to take the necessary steps to insure a full attendance of the party.

Signed—Justin M'Carthy, Thomas Sexton, B C Molloy, A Commins, M M'Cartan, M J Kenny, J C Flynn, J J Dalton, E V Knox, John Barry, David Sheehy, W M Murphy, *Pierce Mahony*, J H M'Carthy, John Deasy, Peter M'Donald, Daniel Crilly, W J Reynolds, John Roche, J F X O'Brien, Jerh Jordan, Thomas H G Esmonde, W J Lane, John Stack, J D Sheehan, J F Fox, Denis Kilbride, P J O'Brien, Maurice Healy, C K D Tanner, Thomas J Condon.

Two of the secretaries, Messrs Arthur O'Connor and Donal Sullivan, did not think it proper to sign a document addressed to themselves, although fully approving it. Mr O'Connor undertook to convey the requisition immediately to Mr Parnell, but found that he had left the House, though he, of course, well knew what was afoot. The third secretary, Mr Campbell, was not present at the signing of the requisition although in the House. He was asked to communicate its contents to Mr Parnell, and if possible to insure his presence at the meeting.

LORD SALISBURY AND THE FIRE ESCAPE.

With such events to occupy their minds, it need hardly be said that the ordinary business of the House attracted little of the attention of Irish members, or, indeed, of any other section. The Tory members did not conceal their glee, and talked of an immediate dissolution. Lord Salisbury's *not* about the "fire escape" in his speech in the House of Lords on the Address showed how the revelations of the Divorce Court were to be used against the Irish cause. The Liberals were grave and silent. In the middle of the discussion in the Whips room came the news that the debate on the Queen's Speech had already come to an end, and for the first time since the Irish Party was formed, the Address was agreed to without a division after a few hours talk. This was a pretty beginning for a session which, Mr Parnell said, was to be "one of combat from first to last!"

RECONSIDERATION IN ROOM 15.

Next day the Irish members in London (64 in all) assembled at 2 p.m. in Room 15. For some time previously the Lobby had been full of excited groups discussing the probable

course of events, and already a canvass revealed the fact that a considerable majority of the Party was prepared to vote for Mr Parnell's retirement. The leader himself did not come down to the House till a short time before the time fixed for the meeting. Only a few minutes beforehand Mr Arthur O'Connor was able to furnish him with a copy of the requisition. He found him in the smoking-room, having evidently been apprised of the ferment in the party by Mr Henry Campbell.

"THESE YOUNG MEN."

On being handed the document Mr Parnell looked at it, and, taking his cigar out of his mouth, he said—"I'll teach these young men that they can't call meetings in this way. I don't intend to allow myself to be dictated to by a parcel of boys. Tell them I decline to attend their meeting." "Very well," said Mr O'Connor, "I will convey your message to the party, but I may tell you, Mr Parnell, that with you or without you the meeting will go on." Mr O'Connor then left the smoking-room to proceed upstairs, but, being detained for an instant on his way, he did not go straight to the meeting, and what was his astonishment, on reaching Room 15, to find Mr Parnell there before him, seated in the chair. Mr Parnell had re-advised himself. He saw that a game for high stakes was about to begin.

THE DRAMA OPENS.

The meeting was private. As Mr Parnell entered he muttered between his teeth to a group near the door that it was useless for them to hold any meeting, that he refused to reconsider his position, and did not care what the Party did. After he took the chair, the first word spoken came from the chairman himself. Affecting blank ignorance of all that had passed, he asked in haughty tones what the meeting had been called for. He answered his own question however, immediately afterwards by observing, with a singular smile, "Well, of course, we all know the reason why this meeting has been convened." But as a matter of order, and at Mr Parnell's request, Mr Arthur O'Connor read out the requisition, with the names attached

Mr Edward Harrington and Mr John O'Connor rose to order, and asked was the meeting in order. Mr Parnell, with great dignity, ruled that on a requisition so influentially signed it was the duty of the secretaries to convene the meeting. He then asked what action was intended to be taken upon it—would any resolution be proposed.

“THE LEADER-KILLER.”

Amidst dead silence Mr John Barry then rose, and commenced by addresssing Mr Parnell in a tone which indicated an intention of making a friendly appeal to him. Mr Barry had taken a leading part the previous night in promoting the requisition to reconvene the Party, and now before he had uttered more than a dozen words he was pulled up sharply by the chairman, who informed him that he was not in order and could not be heard, as there was no motion before the meeting. Then, said Mr Barry, I will move—

That a full meeting of the party be held on Friday to give Mr Parnell an opportunity of reconsidering his position.

Mr Parnell, on hearing this, exclaimed, without rising from his seat, “My mind is made up. I am quite prepared even now if you choose to proceed.” These words were uttered in the cold, steel-like tones usually adopted by him when labouring under fierce but suppressed excitement. Mr Barry’s speech was brief, and though neither harsh or unkind, was complete in its directness and force. It rang through the room. Thirteen years before Mr Barry moved the deposition of Isaac Butt to replace him as President of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain by the man whom he was addressing in the chair; this fact being the explanation of Mr Parnell’s subsequent reference to the “Leader-killer.” Dr Commins, equally grave and brief, seconded the resolution, as by a strange coincidence he had seconded Mr Barry’s motion for Mr Butt’s deposition at Liverpool in 1877. Mr Parnell, with his face hard set and in a threatening voice, replied that he could not and would not reconsider his position in view

of the fact that he was unanimously elected by the party the day before. It was useless to ask him. Upon the Party, said he in tones more menacing, should rest the responsibility to-day by its vote.

MR. SEXTON’S GENEROUS PROPOSAL.

Mr Sexton feelingly appealed to him, in the interest of Ireland and the altered situation caused by Mr Gladstone’s letter, as indicating the conviction that the Home Rule candidates would be defeated at the General Election, and the cause of Irish Self-Government indefinitely postponed, to reconsider his position as chairman of the party, and to retire temporarily. Some concession to public opinion, he urged, was due, and he suggested that on retiring the Party would agree to leave the chairmanship vacant and have its affairs managed by a committee of members to be nominated by Mr Parnell himself, until they could safely recall him.

VAIN APPEALS.

No response came, and then Mr Justin M’Carthy rose at the right hand of the chairman and delivered probably one of the best speeches he ever made, aptly citing Grattan’s words, “No man can afford to be generous with his honour; no woman with her virtue; no nation with its liberty.” Messrs Lane, Webb, Sheehy, Dickson, and Arthur O’Connor supported this appeal. Up to this moment not a voice had been raised in support of Mr Parnell. The tone of all the speakers was sympathetic and appealing. Undoubtedly the almost universal opinion was that he would give way. After some discussion, with profound astuteness discerning the tenderness of his party Mr Parnell temporized, saying, with one of his blindest smiles, “I think, gentlemen, that we had now better adjourn for luncheon.” During that interval he held a conference with Messrs Richard Power, Leamy, John O’Connor, Dr Kenny, and Colonel Nolan. On re-assembling the result of this caucus was soon made evident.

DILATORY TACTICS BEGIN.

Colonel Nolan first gave tongue in favour of Mr Parnell’s retaining his position, and he was followed by Dr Kenny and Messrs Leamy,

Blane, Conway, and John O'Connor, all of whom insisted that Mr Parnell should not retire. The discussion became heated, and ultimately, Mr Richard Power moved and Mr Clancy seconded an amendment—"That this meeting be adjourned until noon on Monday." There was rather a prolonged debate over this, but as many members of the Party were absent, and the question of the leadership was obviously one not to be rushed, the motion for adjournment was finally agreed to.

Just as the meeting was separating it was proposed and carried, that a cablegram be sent to Mr Gill, M P, in America, for the information of the delegates (Messrs W O'Brien, Dillon, T D Sullivan, T P O'Connor, and T Harrington), on the situation at home.

A SELF-POSSESSED CHAIRMAN.

Mr Parnell during the delivery of the personal appeals to him at the earlier stage of the meeting sat for the most part with his head resting on his left hand, as if wrapt in thought. He took a note occasionally on the paper lying before him, and at times fixed his eyes on the speaker as if a new thought had struck him. When, after luncheon, speeches were delivered in favour of his retention of the chair, he still maintained his thoughtful attitude. He had himself well under control. His self-possession was remarkable. When the meeting adjourned, on going down stairs to the library he caught sight from one of the landings of the clock in the Tower, and took out his watch to compare the time. He then proceeded to the post office in the lobby, looking as if nothing had occurred.

SENDING OUT THE FIERY CROSS.

The adjournment from Wednesday to Monday gave Mr Parnell's followers a tremendous advantage, which they quickly seized on. It was planned when Mr Parnell found the majority against him, to secure delay to rig the country against the opposing members.

That evening the fiery cross was sent out by the Parnellites. Dr Kenny went off to Ireland instant and remained in Dublin until the following Sunday. During that period the clerks in the National League office set the

wires in motion, and tried to drum the country into immediate action. The National League of Great Britain was similarly manipulated, while the majority, relying on a good cause, and a good conscience, refused to take any step to secure expressions of opinion favourable to their views. Before Saturday night Mr Parnell had captured scores of the branches of the National League and choked off any hostile manifestations, while his opponents sat with their arms folded declining to countenance any "working up" of their countrymen, or to sanction any manoeuvres of a discreditable kind.

Their determination was if Mr Parnell succeeded, to resign their seats, and free themselves of all responsibility.

WORKING "THE ROPES AND PULLEYS."

The Parnellites, on the other hand, were unceasingly active. A system of lying as to the motives of the the majority was commenced; personal and private appeals to the officials of the branches were made to remember the past services of "the chief," and where appeals failed, recourse was had to other means. From each branch was demanded an immediate vote of confidence in Mr Parnell as the Irish leader for Monday's meeting of the party, and misled by sentiment or ignorance of the situation, too often the trick succeeded. Some of the branches, both in England and Ireland, refused to be cajoled or wire-pulled. Messages arrived at the House, addressed to the secretaries of the party, announcing the pressure that was being put on the officers of the League, and that the interval of delay was being grossly abused for the purpose of starting a personal campaign. On Thursday, an informal gathering of some members of the party was held in the Conference Room and such attempts to forestal the judgment of the party was condemned, while those present on both sides agreed to address no meeting before Monday. Wire-pulling, however, was feverishly proceeding, and next day it was felt that some formal step was necessary to insure that, in Mr William O'Brien's expressive phrase, "the repre-

sentatives of the Irish people should not be bullied."

TRUCE PENDING THE VOTE OF THE PARTY
PROPOSED.

On Friday, therefore, the following requisition, which was drawn up by Mr T M Healy (who had just arrived from Dublin) was signed by thirty-nine of the Irish members, and presented to the hon secretaries:—

We request that you will this day (the 28th of November, 1890), convene the Party at 6 p.m., or such other hour as you may appoint to consider the following resolution to be proposed and seconded by one of the signatories hereto, viz:—

"That any member of this party, who by speech or public declaration attempts to influence or overawe the deliberations of the Party pending its adjourned meeting on Monday next, acts in breach of the understanding as to the special purpose for which the adjournment was taken (viz, to afford an opportunity for communication with absent colleagues), and we hereby declare that the provocation of public controversy by members of this Party, pledged to act and vote with the majority, with reference to the subject of the adjourned meeting, is against good policy, and to be condemned accordingly."

Justin M'Carthy, David Sheehy, T M Healy, W J Reynolds, Justin H M'Carthy, H Harrison, M J Kenny, T J Condon, J J Dalton, Thomas Sexton, F A O'Keeffe, M M'Cartan, John Stack, J Jordan, J C Flynn, Maurice Healy, John Deasy, J D Sheehan, J F Fox, J Tuite, P J O'Brien, W J Lane, A Webb, W M Murphy, W Abraham, J Morrogh, A Commins, Thomas Quinn, J R Cox, P M'Donald, T A Dickson, Wm Redmond, E V Knox, Chas R Tanner, L P Hayden, Denis Kilbride, Dan Crilly, J F X O'Brien, and John Finnucane.

The four names in italics are those who afterwards refused to abide the vote of the majority.

MR. PARNELL STAYS AWAY.

The meeting thus convened was held in Room 15 on Friday night, but Mr Parnell did not attend. Mr Justin M'Carthy took the chair. Mr Arthur O'Connor, as the senior secretary of the party, read the requisition. Colonel Nolan immediately rose, and protested against any meeting being held until the adjourned one on Monday, especially in Mr Parnell's absence. Mr T M Healy said he thought they ought to adjourn until a later hour if they could be assured of Mr Parnell's presence then. He understood efforts had been made to inform Mr Parnell of that meeting, but, unfortunately, he could not be found. This was so. Personal

inquiries were made for Mr Parnell at the Euston, Charing Cross, and Westminster Palace Hotels, but he was not staying in any of them. He had disappeared.

MR. JOHN REDMOND HERALDS THE MANIFESTO.

Mr John Redmond, who, like Mr Healy, attended that evening for the first time any of the conferences of the party on the subject of the leadership, here informed the meeting that it was Mr Parnell's intention to issue a manifesto next day to the Irish race, and that such a resolution would seem to seek to prevent him. As the leader of the Irish race Mr Redmond laid down that Mr Parnell was entitled to appeal to the people. Mr Leamy opposed the resolution altogether, and after some discussion the meeting adjourned until 9 p.m., with a view of securing Mr Parnell's attendance. The House, however, was counted out at 8 p.m., when many of the Irish members went away, but about a score or so remained, and came together in one of the inner rooms of the library, as all the lights were out elsewhere; but of course Mr Parnell did not arrive, and as Messrs Leamy and Redmond showed themselves determined to obstruct, and the hour and place were most inconvenient, and the attendance small, the meeting at 10 o'clock broke up without any attempt to force matters to a conclusion. Colonel Nolan and his friends were in great glee over the failure of the meeting, and they did not conceal their satisfaction. The advantage was, indeed, all in their favour.

PREPARING THE MANIFESTO.

Next morning, Saturday, Mr Parnell's manifesto appeared. He first intended to give it to the Press on Thursday night, but Mr Justin M'Carthy, on being told its purport, restrained him, and begged he would take no such foolish step. "By showing," he said, "merely a corner of my card I will blow the Liberal Party to atoms." He told Mr M'Carthy that he intended to denounce in it by name two members of the party, Mr Sexton and Mr John Barry, as his lifelong enemies and as men who had been always intriguing against him! Dismayed by this extraordinary state of mind—amounting almost to hallucination—

Mr M'Carthy implored him at all events to make no personal allusion, pointing out the grotesque absurdity of the charge against two such colleagues, and at length Mr Parnell agreed to strike out their names and to delay the manifesto a day. He also authorised Mr M'Carthy to advise Mr Gladstone of the charges to be levelled against him in the manifesto. On Friday Mr M'Carthy, by request, repaired to Dr Fitzgerald's house, and there found Mr Parnell, revising the historic document. It was read out for his edification, and again Mr M'Carthy implored that no such manifesto should be allowed to go forth. He warned Mr Parnell several times of the consequences, but found him obdurate and distrustful. The final paragraphs had not at this time been added, and his assistants, thinking it ended rather baldly, requested their leader to round it off with a few heroic sentences. "Oh, I can do no more," was the reply; "finish it as you like." And so Messrs O'Kelly and Redmond finished it.

Mr M'Carthy left after hearing the manifesto read, his last words being "Mind, Parnell, if you send that out, we can never follow you again—never." Mr Parnell only smiled.

PARNELLITE HISTORY OF THE MANIFESTO.

Dr Fitzgerald, M P, on Dec 28th, 1891, gave the following account of the preparation of the manifesto in the *Dublin Evening Herald* :—

I was a member of the National Liberal Club, and on the morning of Nov 28 was speaking in that club to a member of the Irish Party. At that moment I heard Mr Parnell in the hall. He and I went together to my house, 31 Eccleston street, Chester square, where he afterwards wrote the manifesto. The door was locked upon him while he wrote. He remained alone in the room. He did not commence to write the manifesto until twelve o'clock in the day, and it was given to the Press twelve hours later. Mr Parnell entered on his task in the coolest possible manner, without the least flurry. He came to luncheon and dined in the evening with Mr Henry Campbell and myself, and conversed in his usual calm way about the nature of the statement he was preparing. In the evening I brought to the house Mr John Redmond and Mr William Redmond, Mr Leamy and Mr O'Kelly; and later on Mr Henry Campbell returned. I suggested that Mr Justin M'Carthy ought to be made aware of the contents of the manifesto before its issue to the Press. Mr Parnell consented, and Mr Wm Redmond went to the house of Mr M'Carthy, who very kindly came. Some of the *Freeman* reporters were waiting in a lower room. The original MS.

which was never parted with, and is now in my possession, was read to the *Freeman* reporter, who took it down in shorthand. He was called up, and read the manifesto from his notes to the gathering, which, at that time, included Mr M'Carthy. When the document had been read, Mr M'Carthy said—"I have seen Mr Gladstone, and I may say he will contradict every word stated there about the Hawarden interview." Mr Parnell merely replied in the quietest possible manner, "Let him produce the memorandum."

THE MANIFESTO.

Next morning (Saturday, November 29), the country was confronted with the following :—

TO THE IRISH PEOPLE.

The integrity and independence of a section of the Irish Parliamentary Party having been apparently sapped and destroyed by the wire-pullers of the Liberal Party, it has become necessary for me, as the Leader of the Irish nation, to take counsel with you, and having given you the knowledge which is within my possession, to ask your judgment upon a matter which now solely devolves upon you to decide.

The letter of Mr Gladstone to Mr Morley, written for the purpose of influencing the decision of the Irish Party in the choice of their leader, and claiming for the Liberal Party and their leaders the right of veto upon that choice, is the immediate cause of this address to you, to remind you and your Parliamentary representatives that Ireland considers the independence of her party as her only safeguard within the Constitution, and above and beyond all other considerations whatever. The threat in that letter, repeated so insolently on many English platforms and in numerous British newspapers, that unless Ireland concedes her right of veto to England she will indefinitely postpone her chances of obtaining Home Rule, compels me, while not for one moment admitting the slightest probability of such loss, to put before you information which, until now, so far as my colleagues are concerned, has been solely in my possession, and which will enable you to understand the measure of the loss with which you are threatened, unless you consent to throw me to the English wolves now howling for my destruction.

In November of last year, in response to a repeated and long-standing request, I visited Mr Gladstone at Hawarden, and received details of the intended proposals of himself and his colleagues of the late Liberal Cabinet with regard to Home Rule in the event of the next General Election favouring the Liberal Party.

It is unnecessary for me to direct your attention to certain points of these details, which will be generally recognised as embracing elements vital for your information and the formation of your judgment. These vital points of difficulty may be suitably arranged and considered under the following heads :—

1. The retention of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament.
2. The settlement of the land or agrarian difficulty in Ireland.
3. The control of the Irish Constabulary.
4. The appointment of the Judiciary (including

judges of the Supreme Court, county court judges, and resident magistrates).

Upon the subject of the retention of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament Mr Gladstone told me that the opinion, and the unanimous opinion, of his colleagues and himself, recently arrived at after most mature consideration of alternative proposals, was that, in order to conciliate English public opinion, it would be necessary to reduce the Irish representation from 103 to 32.

Upon the settlement of the land question it was held that this was one of the questions which must be regarded as questions reserved from the control of the Irish Legislature; but at the same time Mr Gladstone intimated that, while he would renew his attempt to settle the matter by Imperial legislation on the lines of the Land Purchase Bill of 1886, he would not undertake to put any pressure upon his own side, or insist upon their adopting his views—in other and shorter words, that the Irish Legislature was not to be given the power of solving the agrarian difficulty, and that the Imperial Parliament would not.

With regard to the control of the Irish Constabulary, it was stated by Mr Gladstone that, having regard to the necessity for conciliating English public opinion, he and his colleagues felt that it would be necessary to leave this force, and the appointment of its officers, under the control of the Imperial authority for an indefinite period, while the funds for its maintenance payment, and equipment would be compulsorily provided out of Irish resources.

The period of ten or twelve years was suggested as the limit of time during which the appointment of judges, resident magistrates, &c. should be retained in the hands of the Imperial authority.

I have now given a short account of what I gathered of Mr Gladstone's views and those of his colleagues during the two hours' conversation at Hawarden, a conversation which, I am bound to admit, was mainly monopolized by Mr Gladstone, and pass to my own expression of opinion upon these communications, which represent my views then and now. And, firstly, with regard to the retention of the Irish members, the position I have always adopted and then represented is that, with the concession of full powers to the Irish Legislature equivalent to those enjoyed by a State of the American Union, the number and position of the members so retained would become a question of Imperial concern, and not of pressing or immediate importance for the interests of Ireland. But that with the important and all-engrossing subjects of agrarian reform, constabulary control, and judiciary appointment left either under Imperial control or totally unprovided for, it would be the height of madness for any Irish leader to imitate Grattan's example and consent to disband the army which had cleared the way to victory.

I further undertook to use every legitimate influence to reconcile Irish public opinion to a gradual coming into force of the new privileges, and to the postponements necessary for English opinion with regard to constabulary control and the judicial appointments, but I strongly dissented from the proposed reduction of members during the interval of probation, and I pointed to the absence of any suitable prospect of land settlement by either Parliament as constituting an overwhelming drag

upon the prospect of permanent peace and prosperity in Ireland.

At the conclusion of the interview I was informed that Mr Gladstone and all his colleagues were entirely agreed that, pending the general election, silence should be absolutely preserved with regard to any points of difference on the question of the retention of the Irish members.

I have dwelt at some length upon these subjects, but not, I think, disproportionately to their importance. Let me say, in addition, that if and when full powers are conceded to Ireland over her own domestic affairs the integrity, number, and independence of the Irish party will be a matter of no importance; but until this ideal is reached it is your duty and mine to hold fast every safeguard. I need not say that the question—the vital and important question—of the retention of the Irish members on the one hand, and the indefinite delay of full powers to the Irish Legislature on the other, gave me great concern. The absence of any provision for the settlement of the agrarian question, of any policy on the part of the Liberal leaders, filled me with concern and apprehension.

On the introduction of the Land Purchase Bill by the Government at the commencement of last session Mr Morley communicated with me as to the course to be adopted. Having regard to the avowed absence of any policy on the part of the Liberal leaders and party with regard to the matter of the land, I strongly advised Mr Morley against any direct challenge of the principle of State-aided land purchase, and, finding that the fears and alarms of the English taxpayer to State aid by the hypothecation of grants for local purposes in Ireland, as a counter-guarantee, had been assuaged, that a hopeless struggle against the principle of the measure should not be maintained, and that we should direct our sole efforts on the second reading of the bill to the assertion of the principle of local control. In this I am bound to say Mr Morley entirely agreed with me; but he was at the same time much hampered, and expressed his sense of his position in that direction by the attitude of the extreme section of his party, led by Mr Labouchere; and in a subsequent interview he impressed me with the necessity of meeting the second reading of the bill with a direct negative, and asked me to undertake the motion. I agreed to this, but only on the condition that I was not to attack the principle of the measure, but to confine myself to a criticism of its details. I think his was false strategy, but it was a strategy adopted out of regard to English prejudices and Radical peculiarities. I did the best that was possible under the circumstances, and the several days' debate on the second reading contrasts favourably with Mr Labouchere's recent and abortive attempt to interpose a direct negative to the first reading of a similar bill yesterday. Time went on; the Government allowed their attention to be distracted from the question of land purchase by the bill for compensating English publicans, and the agrarian difficulty in Ireland was again relegated to the future of another session.

Just before the commencement of this session I was again favoured with another interview with Mr Morley. I impressed upon him the policy of the oblique method of procedure in reference to land purchase, and the necessity and importance of providing for the question of local control and of a limitation in the application of the fund.

He agreed with me, and I offered to move on the first reading of the bill an amendment in favour of this local control advising that if this were rejected it might be left to the Radicals on the second reading to oppose the principle of the measure. This appeared to be a proper course, and I left Mr Morley under the impression that his would fall to my duty. But, in addition, he made me a remarkable proposal referring to the probable approaching victory of the Liberal Party at the polls. He suggested some consideration as to the future of the Irish Party. He asked me whether I would be willing to assume the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or to allow another member of my party to take the position. He also put before me the desirability of filling one of the law offices of the Crown in Ireland by a legal member of my party. I told him, amazed as I was at the proposal, that I could not agree to forfeit in any way the independence of the party or any of its members; that the Irish people had trusted me to this moment because they believed that the declaration I had made to them in Cork in 1880 was a true one, and represented my convictions, and that I would on no account depart from it. I can only speak of what I know. I considered that after the declarations we have repeatedly made that the proposal of Mr Morley that we should allow ourselves to be absorbed into English politics was one based upon an entire misconception of our position with regard to the Irish constituencies, and the pledges which we had given.

In conclusion, he directed my attention to the Plan of Campaign estates. He said that it would be impossible for the Liberal Party, when they attained power, to do anything for these evicted tenants by direct action; that it would be impossible for the Irish Parliament by powers conferred to do anything for them, and, flinging up his hands with a gesture of despair, he exclaimed, "Having been at Tipperary, I did not know what to propose in regard to the matter." I told him that this question was a limited one, and that I did not see that he need allow himself to be hampered by its future consideration; that, being limited, funds would be available from America and elsewhere for the support of those tenants as long as might be necessary; that, of course, I understood that it was a difficulty, but that it was a limited one, and should not be allowed to interfere with the general interests of the country. I allude to this matter only because, within the last few days, a strong argument in many minds for my expulsion has been that, unless the Liberals come into power at the next General Election, the Plan of Campaign tenants will suffer. As I have shown, the Liberals propose to do nothing for the Plan of Campaign tenants by direct action when they do come into power; but I am entitled to ask that the existence of these tenants, whom I have supported in every way in the past, and whom I will continue to support in the future, shall not constitute a reason for my expulsion from Irish politics.

I have repeatedly pledged myself to stand by these evicted tenants, and that they shall not be allowed to suffer, and I believe that the Irish people throughout the world will support me in this policy. Sixteen years ago I conceived the idea of an Irish Parliamentary Party, independent of all English parties. Ten years ago I was elected the Leader of an independent Irish Parlia-

mentary Party. During these ten years that party has remained independent, and, because of its independence, it has forced upon the English people the necessity of granting Home Rule to Ireland. I believe that party will obtain Home Rule only provided it remains independent of any English party. I do not believe that any action of the Irish people in supporting me will endanger the Home Rule cause or postpone the establishment of an Irish Parliament; but even if the danger with which we are threatened by the Liberal Party of to-day were to be realized I believe that the Irish people throughout the world would agree with me that a postponement would be preferable to a compromise of our National rights by the acceptance of a measure which would not realize the aspirations of our race.—I have the honour to remain, your faithful servant,

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

"GO TO YOUR CONSTITUENTS."

Needless to say, Mr Gladstone and Mr Morley immediately and specifically contradicted every statement affecting themselves or their party in this Manifesto. The morning it appeared Mr Parnell was early in the library of the House of Commons collecting opinion. The two first members he met there were Dr Commins and Mr Donal Sullivan. "Well, gentlemen," said he, "what do you think of my manifesto; what do you think of Mr Gladstone now?" The Doctor replied: "I think very little of your manifesto, and it has not changed my opinion of Mr Gladstone." "Go to your constituents now," said Mr Parnell, "and see how they will receive you." "I am quite ready," answered the other, "to go to my constituents whenever they require me, and to resign my seat when they ask me."

"THE GREATEST POLITICAL COUP OF THE CENTURY."

At this moment Mr Jacob Bright (one of the Radicals who had publicly supported Mr Parnell after the divorce decree) entered, and Mr Parnell went into another room with him. He remained in the Library, attended by his secretary, until late in the afternoon, appearing to be greatly excited. He pronounced his manifesto to several who spoke to him about it as being the "greatest political coup of the century."

"REASONABLE MEN."

Mr John Deasy was wired to by him to come to the Library, where Mr Parnell asked him (as one of the Whips of the party) to get certain of the members to meet

him at the Westminster Palace Hotel that night at 9 p.m., to talk over the situation, adding that he had wired to others to be there.

He handed Mr Deasy a list of those whom he specially wished to attend, and requested him to make out a list of "reasonable men" to invite. Mr Deasy sat with him and wrote out 21 names, but Mr Parnell demurred to 14 of them, saying: "None of these are reasonable men," and only seven of Mr Deasy's list were, therefore, invited. He said to Mr Deasy, who declared he should vote against him, that he knew he and all the other members of the Party were acting "honestly and conscientiously, except three men," who, he said, were actuated by ill-feeling—viz., Messrs Sexton, Barry, and Chance. He repeated this on a subsequent day to Mr Deasy and to Mr Condon.

Several of the "reasonable men" who received invitations decided, without knowing anything about the revision of the list, not to go.

AT MR PARNELL'S HOTEL.

Those of the present Irish Party who responded to the invitation were—Messrs Justin M'Carthy, Condon, Abraham, and Deasy, and when they entered Mr Parnell's room they found him surrounded by about twenty of his followers. Mr Parnell addressed them, describing Mr Gladstone as a "champion liar," and finished by inviting "all his friends" to put any questions they pleased, which he promised "frankly to answer." Mr Condon at once proceeded to put questions about the evicted tenants. Mr Parnell replied, he saw that much of the opposition to his leadership was due to fears about those tenants. He suggested that the difficulty could be got over by an arrangement with Mr Balfour to allow the Land Purchase Bill to pass unopposed, provided the Chief Secretary would pledge himself to introduce a Bill later on, having for its object the reinstating of the evicted on terms which were left unspecified. The four members of the Irish Party present strongly dissented.

MR O'KELLY PROPOSES A SURRENDER OF THE TENANTS.

Mr O'Kelly, with Mr Parnell's approval, then proposed that the whole of these tenants should go to their landlords, promise to pay the rent for the non-payment of which they were evicted, and that the party should send delegates all over the world to collect money to pay the evicting landlords the difference between the original rent and what the tenants originally offered. For instance, if the tenants on an estate asked a reduction of 35 per cent, and the landlord would only grant the tenants 20 per cent, Mr O'Kelly's plan was that the Irish Party should beg the world for funds to pay the difference. The impracticability of this scheme was quickly pointed out by Mr M'Carthy and Mr Condon.

MR CLANCY SAYS HOME RULE IS BEATEN.

A desultory conversation followed, in which Mr Clancy said that he knew from the day after the verdict in the Divorce Court was given, that the British electors would have nothing to do with Home Rule under Mr Parnell, because from that day until the present the work of the Irish Press Agency, which he conducted, was stopped. He added that the engagements of Irish M.P's on English, Scotch, and Welsh platforms had to be cancelled, and that there was no longer any demand for their literature. In fact, he said: "It is plain that the general election is lost, and we may as well fight with Mr Parnell as not, because the Tories have got a new lease of power and Home Rule is beaten." Mr John Redmond endorsed all that Mr Clancy stated. Finally, Mr Parnell requested Mr M'Carthy to see Mr Gladstone with a view of getting guarantees about Home Rule, and Mr M'Carthy reluctantly agreed, telling Mr Parnell that the tone of his manifesto and his account of the Hawarden interview rendered his visit fruitless in advance.

AN ANXIOUS INTERVAL.

Up to the evening of Saturday there had been no word from the American delegates, as Mr Parnell cabled them to reserve their judgment until they had his manifesto. Late on Saturday night

their reply arrived, pronouncing strongly for Mr Parnell's retirement. On Sunday a conference of the members opposed to Mr Parnell (except Mr T M Healy, who was too ill to attend) was held at Mr Arthur O'Connor's chambers, at which next day's procedure was discussed, and it was arranged that Mr Wm Abraham should move a resolution declaring Mr Parnell's tenure of the chairmanship terminated. On the same day (Sunday, November 30) well-attended meetings of several branches of the National League were held, at which strong emphatic votes of confidence in Mr Parnell's leadership of the Irish nation were passed, and equally strong denunciations of the members opposed to Mr Parnell were uttered.

MR PARNELL LOSES HIS HEAD.

On Monday, 1st December, the Irish Party re-assembled, in Room 15, with Mr Parnell in the chair. The meeting was summoned for 12 noon, and a short time previously Mr M'Carthy, with his son, Mr Huntly M'Carthy, called at the Westminster Palace Hotel to inform Mr Parnell that he had complied with his request that he should visit Mr Gladstone. A scene ensued. Mr Parnell was found completely off his balance. His self-control was gone, and he was rude to the old comrade whom he had despatched against his will on so unpleasant an errand. Mr M'Carthy, who is one of the most urbane gentlemen alive, protested, saying—"Well, Parnell, I think you might be a little more courteous." "I am more a gentleman than you, sir," was the reply. Father and son then left, and, in a few minutes after, Mr Parnell took the chair in Room 15, looking determined and excited. Seventy-three gentlemen were present. The absentees were—Messrs Dillon, Wm O'Brien, Gill, T D Sullivan, T P O'Connor, and T Harrington in America; Messrs Carew, Lalor, Leahy, Gilhooly, and The O'Gorman Mahon, ill; Mr Pat O'Brien in prison; one seat vacant, County Kilkenny, by the death of Mr Marum.

THE DEBATES BEGIN.

The Chairman first called upon his secretary to read every resolution, vote, or message

received in response to the wire-pulling since Wednesday. No one opposed this, although of course, no one was entitled, except the members of the party, to any voice in the selection of its sessional chairman. Every one felt that to raise an objection would have led to the waste of more time than the reading could consume, as the confederates would have wrangled and debated the point for a day.

On the chairman's direction, therefore, Mr Henry Campbell produced a sheaf of telegrams and a huge bundle of letters, nearly all strongly in favour of "the only possible leader." These contained the resolutions passed in obedience to the calls made upon them, and in many cases the very words of the resolutions sent out, cut and dry, from the League headquarters for adoption by the obedient branch. Considerable time was wasted in this way. Judging by the defiant smile that played around Mr Parnell's features as his secretary intoned resolution after resolution, he evidently felt greatly elated at the unbounded expression of confidence they purported to convey, and probably they may have then misled him as to the feeling of the country, though they certainly did not deceive his opponents.

DELUSIVE TELEGRAMS.

He would look from Mr Justin M'Carthy to Mr Healy, and from Mr Healy to Mr Sexton, as Mr Campbell's monotonous litany proceeded, to "watch the effect." Many of the personal telegrams received provoked a good deal of laughter, especially when the sender spoke on behalf of ALL Ireland or of a province or a county. One of the very earliest of those personal wires was from a late worthy alderman of Dublin. He advised Mr Parnell to "Be firm. The Irish nation is with you." A gentleman from Cahirconlish declared that "All Munster is solid for its illustrious leader." Some one in Dunleer wired—"Every man in Louth and out of it is for the Chief." From Portadown came a message—"All the North is for Mr Parnell. We stand by our glorious general." Away in Mayo came a wire from Ballinrobe announcing that "The West is awake, and we'll

have no king but Charlie." From a Cork solicitor, came the imperative command—"Instantly remove any illusory and mischievous idea regarding the Cork clergy: Parnell's very warmest supporters are amongst the priests in Cork. The rebel city is staunch and true to our fearless and our peerless chief. I have the fullest faith and confidence in the honour and ability, genius and talent, of my great and illustrious chief. A letter follows." Sure enough, next day arrived from him a most romantic letter. The great leader read it, and, handing it to Mr Campbell, said: "I don't think we'll publish that letter." A Mr Coyne wired—"Stand firm, intellectual Ireland is with you." Mr T P Gill cabled from New York to Mr Justin M'Carthy that, having signed the American manifesto, he wished to add, "the expression of grief I personally feel at the action my conscience forces me to take towards a leader whom I love, and whom I would give my life to defend. I would follow him to death. I cannot follow him in what seems to me dishonour. Please read him this."

ADMITTING THE "FREEMAN" REPORTERS.

When the dreary reading of the letters and the telegrams was over, Mr Parnell said that it would be well to have an authentic record of their proceedings in view of their importance, for although private meetings of the party were the rule, yet when he himself was first elected in 1880 the Press was present, and as this meeting concerned the tenure of the chair he moved, "That the reporters of the *Freeman's Journal* be admitted to take a report of their proceedings." Mr T M Healy seconded this, and it was unanimously agreed to. The reporters of the *Freeman* were then admitted, having, on Mr Parnell's instructions, been waiting at the door. Some one asked that the message of the American delegates be read, but Mr Parnell refused, on the ground that "it was only a newspaper paragraph, and he had not the original copy before him!"

OBSTRUCTION BEGINS.

Mr William Abraham then rose to move—That, acting upon the imperative sense of our

duty to our country, we, the members of the Irish Party, do declare that Mr Parnell's tenure of the chairmanship of this Party is hereby terminated.

Mr Parnell at once ruled this out of order! He said the question before the Party was Mr Barry's motion of the previous Wednesday, viz.:—"That a full meeting of the members be called for Friday to enable Mr Parnell to reconsider his position." To this it was naturally objected that Mr Barry referred to the previous Friday, and that a motion to adjourn over till Monday had been carried, and this was Monday, and that Friday last of the resolution could not be Friday next. Mr Parnell, however, declared that he would rule everything strictly on Parliamentary procedure, and that Mr Barry's resolution must be dealt with before any other business could come on.

Looking back after a long interval it is easy to criticise the resolution Mr Barry moved, but nobody dreamt then of obstruction of the will of the Party, and besides Mr Barry and his comrades were not prepared to move a blunt draftsman's motion with its apparently callous and cutting phraseology. Of all this the chairman took the fullest advantage.

"STRATEGIC" RULINGS.

He knew the consideration with which his opponents desired to treat him, and he played to the full every card which his unique position as judge at his own trial gave to a master of strategy. Mr Abraham's motion was, therefore, ruled out on the ground that there being another motion (Mr Barry's) before the chair any fresh proposal must be made by way of amendment thereto, and that Mr Abraham's proposition was not relevant as an amendment. Only a few moments before Mr Parnell had himself moved a motion that the Press be admitted; yet he now held that Mr Barry's obsolete resolution prevented any proposition being put by him unless that was got out of the way. The practice of Parliament, of course, is, even if Mr Parnell were right as to Mr Barry's motion, directly opposed to the trick of allowing repeated amendments to be proposed and debated without putting the original motion. The form in which Mr

Speaker puts motions and amendments is—"The question is that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question." And if Mr Parnell had followed "strict Parliamentary ruling," the defeat of any one of the amendments would necessarily have carried the antecedent motion. Having ruled out Mr Abraham, Colonel Nolan announced that he had an amendment to move to Mr Barry's motion, and proposed:—

That the question touching the chairmanship of the Irish Parliamentary Party be postponed until members have had an opportunity of personally ascertaining the views of their constituents, and until the Party can meet in Dublin.

This had, of course, been concerted between the mover and the chairman; and Mr Parnell's opponents then began to realise that he would never consent to put from the chair a motion for his own deposition. The majority had no alternative but to play out the game which the whole world was now eagerly watching on the lines fixed by their opponents. Sir Joseph M'Kenna seconded the amendment, and upon it for two days the real question at issue was debated.

MR. SEXTON'S SPEECH.

Mr Sexton, in one of his greatest and most brilliant speeches, opened the case for the majority, amidst a burst of cheering from his friends. He said:—

I deeply regret that I find it impossible to vote for Colonel Nolan's amendment. I am extremely anxious to treat this grave case with every consideration, and to allow any time that may be judged necessary for arriving at a just decision; but according to my judgment the case is urgent, and it admits of no delay. I felt on Wednesday last that in adjourning until Monday we were incurring a serious risk, and I submit to this meeting that from the reports which we receive from day to day of the refusal of Liberal members, of English Liberal members, to meet their constituents, and the determination of Liberal candidates to retire from the field, and the reports from Liberal agents, as a result of my investigations in all parts of the country, that if we postpone this question till the end of the present session, or for a month, or even for a week, we may substantially be guilty of one of the most criminal acts that were ever committed by a body of public men in the course of the history of the world, and that act would be the breaking up of an alliance in which you have led the people to hope—the breaking up of an alliance in which they have fondly hoped for the last four years, of an alliance built up by the unimaginable labour and pains of the past eleven years, an alliance between the people of Ireland and the only friends from whom we have any reasonable hope—I mean the Liberal democracy of Great Britain

—an alliance, firm, affectionate, progressive, and destined, tried no matter by what test, to succeed and endure.

INTERRUPTIONS FROM MR. PARNELL.

Mr Parnell frequently interrupted, although as chairman he should have been the most scrupulous preserver of order. But the member for West Belfast, although at times greatly provoked, calmly continued the speech. Mr Sexton finished with a burst of eloquence, which even his adversaries had to admire—

I claim (said he), in the face of the world, and I claim in the presence of the Most High, that the integrity of the Irish Party is unstained, and that its independence is absolute. The question—the urgent question—is between the leader whom we have loved, whom we can never forget, and whose useful tenure of his position circumstances have made impossible—the question is between him and the cause to which our fealty is due. If the leader is retained, in my judgment, the cause is lost. If the cause is to be won, it is essential that the leader should retire. I am acting, I solemnly declare, against my natural will, and against the whole strong current of my disposition. Be my time in politics long or short—and I shall be happy to be relieved of the obligation of public life—but, be my time in politics long or short, I assure you, Mr Parnell, and I beg you will give me credit for sincerity in this declaration, I can assure you I never can have a leader whom I can love and regard as I have loved and regarded you. I am obliged to do violence to my own desire. I am obliged to overcome my natural inclination, acting upon the stern compulsion of duty; and if it were the last act of my life—the act by which I would ask my friends to remember me and the country to judge me—I am obliged to vote that the retirement of our leader, for a period at least, is urgent, and that to accept Colonel Nolan's motion would be to create a public danger.

MR. JOHN REDMOND REPLIES AND TAKES A PLEDGE.

Mr John Redmond rose to reply. Mr Parnell welcomed his rising, calling him by name, and loudly thumping the table. Mr Redmond deplored the situation, and the parting of old friends. He implored his colleagues "not to sell their noble leader at the bidding of English clamour and English dictation. And then bursting into a solemn appeal, he hoped "that the God of their fathers would direct their hearts to a just, a fair and true decision." In this matter said Mr Redmond—

I intend to vote and to use every exertion in my power for the leadership of this Party and the Irish people by Mr Parnell; but at the same time I recognise the duty I owe to this Party, and I recognise the obligation and the pledge which I took when in 1885 I was elected a member of this

Party; and if this Party comes to a decision hostile to my view, then before taking any steps to support Mr Parnell if he chooses to go further, I will deem it my duty to resign.

This pledge, seeing what has since happened, is the more remarkable, as in the view of every man present they were all bound to resign if they could not act with the Party. Each member, prior to election, signed the following document:—

I pledge myself that in the event of my election to Parliament I will sit, act, and vote with the Irish Parliamentary Party; and if at a meeting of the Party, convened upon due notice, especially to consider the question, it be determined by a resolution supported by a majority of the entire Parliamentary Party, that I have not fulfilled the above pledge, I hereby undertake to resign my seat.

Mr Redmond, however, for “further assurance,” added, in a solemn and affecting manner, the pledge just mentioned.

MR. T. M. HEALY’S SPEECH.

Mr T M Healy followed Mr Redmond, and grappled with the terms of Colonel Nolan’s amendment. He ridiculed the idea of an adjournment to Dublin. “We are,” said he “as much in possession to-day of Mr Parnell’s views through his manifesto as we shall be were we to meet in Dublin. Dublin has been passed over in the meetings of this party in the past. It is a novel proposition to make just now.” Then he turned to the charge that they “were yielding to English dictation. “Our demand” replied Mr Healy, “from the English people, is for such a measure of Home Rule as we can honourably accept for our country.” Referring to Mr Parnell’s account of his interview with Mr Gladstone at Hawarden, “the member for Cork,” said he, “quitted Hawarden, and the same day made his way to a public meeting at Liverpool, and a suggestion has been put forward in the manifesto that for nine months he retained the terrible secrets entrusted to him at Hawarden, kept his colleagues in ignorance, allowed some of them to go to Australia, others to America, and all to spend their time and their intellects on English platforms, while he was persuaded at that interview, to use his expression, that ‘we were at the mercy of the unrivalled coercionist of the Irish race.’” The Chairman: “It was an expression that I

used at Wexford three days before I was arrested.” Mr Healy: “Why did Mr Parnell not say that three days after he left Hawarden?” The Chairman: “I told you why I did not say it.” Mr Healy: “You will have the difficulty of summing up to this jury, you being at the same time the judge and the defendant. Here are the expressions used at Liverpool after the Hawarden interview. That was on the 19th December, 1889.

OUR GRAND OLD LEADER.

On that very day Mr Parnell was speaking at Liverpool as follows:—

‘We trust that not only in Liverpool, but in the great county of Lancashire, we shall be able materially to assist in increasing the forces of Liberalism, which will rally at the next General Election to the assistance of OUR GRAND OLD LEADER!’

“Subsequently on the same day Mr Parnell said—

‘The great Liberal Party has come to the help and the rescue of Ireland. My countrymen recognise and join with me in recognising that we are on the safe path to our legitimate freedom and future prosperity. They will accompany me and continue both until you have helped your great leader to win this contest, which I trust we are on the eve of entering upon.’

“Was that misleading the Irish people? Was that misleading the English people? Has there been any subsequent interview in which—and, if so, why was it not stated in the manifesto in which Mr Gladstone abandoned the position that he took up in the Home Rule Bill of 1886? And why, if the Hawarden interview be the capital matter on which Mr Parnell bases himself in his manifesto, why, I say, were these false words uttered at Liverpool? Either Mr Parnell at Liverpool was false, or his manifesto was false.” The Chairman: “I will not stand an accusation of falsehood from Timothy Healy, and I call upon him to withdraw his expressions.” Mr Healy: “Out of respect to the chair I will withdraw the accusation. I say this, that, so far as public utterances went, the position in which the Irish people were left was the position at Liverpool on the day of the Hawarden interview. Which is likely to be the more correct kind—that deliverance fresh and straight with no suggestion of personal motive or personal opposition that could be levelled, or the position assumed on the occa-

sion of this manifesto? Is the Irish Party so bankrupt in the confidence of Mr Parnell that there was not one single member of his colleagues to whom he could have entrusted these vital secrets?"

"I SAY TO MR. PARNELL THAT HIS POWER IS GONE."

Mr Healy then dealt with Mr Parnell's action in keeping locked in his bosom for over nine months the purport of this interview with Mr Gladstone at Hawarden, and Mr Parnell only giving his distorted account of it after the exposure in the Divorce Court. Then directly addressing the chairman, Mr Healy said:—

I say to Mr Parnell his power is gone. He derived that power from the people. We are the representatives of the people. Place an iron bar in a coil and electrize that coil, and the iron bar becomes magnetic. This party was that electric action. There (pointing to Mr Parnell) stood the iron bar. The electricity is gone, and the magnetism with it, when our support has passed away. I then say and declare that my vote shall be for the deposition of the chairman of this party. I will not give that vote without regret. We are not all cold and passionless. I give it under what I conceive to be the solemnest obligations of duty and patriotism. If we could have maintained Mr Parnell in that position we would have done so. Did we leave one stone unturned or effort unmade, one meeting unaddressed or unappealed to, to maintain him where he was? I examine my conscience in regard to my duty towards Mr Parnell in this crisis. I find therein no prick of reproach. I say then that, having regard to the distractions to our country if he remains and the knowledge I possess of the patriotism of my colleagues who support him, and the patriotism and sense of unity of the Irish race, that as all men are ephemeral, and as nothing is eternal, save a cause like the Irish cause, founded upon a basis of right and justice, I know that those who support him to-day will, once the vote of the majority is recorded, rally round the position which he now occupies, which will then become the heart and centre of Irish authority and patriotism. Men pass away and causes remain, and the Irish cause will march through these dissensions and these distractions purified and eternal. I tell Mr Parnell that if he has a sacrifice to make upon the altar of his country there is yet time. He can still hand down to his countrymen a name upon which no fleck from even the bitterest malice can be passed if he takes counsel with those who are as patriotic, as himself, who are as simple minded and as simple-purposed as himself, but who are resolved here, defying every consideration except the consideration of country, determined here to cast their votes for that country, and to cast their votes for it against him, believing that they are doing an act which will yet hew a pathway to freedom.

MR. PARNELL'S PERSONAL ATTACKS.

As Mr Healy sat down, Mr Parnell sprang

to his feet. With tumultuous applause his henchmen greeted his rising. The men whom any leader might be proud to call friends and colleagues had parted from him and a gulf never to be bridged over separated them. They had left him never to return. He commenced by a personal attack on Mr Sexton, Mr Barry, and Mr Healy. Having exhausted his powers of invective on these gentlemen he turned to Mr Justin M'Carthy, and rained on that loyal comrade's head what scorn and bitterness he had left. Loss of self-possession unnerved him, but he threw some feeling into his closing words, in which movingly, he appealed to his colleagues not to desert him, to permit him to enter the Promised Land with them.

MR. M'CARTHY ON MR. PARNELL'S TREATMENT OF MR. GLADSTONE.

Mr M'Carthy succeeded Mr Parnell. He simply gave an account of the errand to Mr Gladstone, which he reluctantly undertook at Mr Parnell's prayer. His reward was to be frequently interrupted from the chair with challenging statements. There was not another man in the room who doubted Mr M'Carthy's word, and who was not convinced that his report of what had occurred between Mr Gladstone and himself was accurate. Having finished his statement of the interview, Mr M'Carthy then said—

I do think that Mr Parnell has made too little of the error committed by keeping private till now the conversation between him and Mr Gladstone at Hawarden.

Mr Parnell—I am perfectly willing to admit that I was to blame in that, but I am glad I have told it all now before the mischief was done.

Mr M'Carthy—I only give my view now as to what I think our Irish leader should have done. You possessed a secret almost vital to the cause of your country. Supposing it were so, were you to go about the world with this secret at your heart and to see your party and your country sliding down to this precipice, and because you had taken a pledge of privacy to say you could not disclose it? That is a pledge I could not have accepted on any consideration whatever. But suppose I had accepted it, and was bound in that terrible silence, I was not bound to go on the platform and commend Mr Gladstone. I was not bound to allow my countrymen here and in Scotland and in Ireland, as well as in America and Australia, to go about glorifying Mr Gladstone, while I knew in my heart of hearts that Mr Gladstone's purpose was, if he could, to betray the Irish cause and Irish people. But supposing I had felt that terrible bond of

silence, that seal as figid as the seal of the confessional itself, pressing on me, would I have broken the seal of confession for the sake of publishing a manifesto under any conceivable condition of public affairs? If that agreement was ever to be known the time of making it known was when it might have been of great service by warning Irishmen against false friends, and not at a moment when, after concealing it so long from the party, a manifesto was sprung upon the party and country. Speaking for myself, the whole transaction seems to me to have betrayed from the beginning a vital error of judgment.

Mr Parnell—"Hear, hear."

Mr M'Carthy—Many of the remarks about small inconsistencies are not worth serious and solemn consideration; but I think that was an inconsistency which, in my mind, imperilled, and must always imperil, your leadership and work. I think some of us should have known something about it. That secret, borne about so long, and revealed at the wrong time, does so weaken one's confidence in the judgment of our leader that I cannot see any hope, if the present arrangement of the party should last, that the cause of the country is to be served and saved.

Mr John O'Connor was called on when Mr M'Carthy finished, and proclaimed—

That to depose Mr Parnell would be to step down from the proud position of an ancient nation and become the mere tail of an English party, to be wagged by the will of its head.

Then came Mr O'Hanlon, in a speech lasting some twenty minutes, enriched by such gems of eloquence as, "Were we going to throw over our leader to be eaten up by English worms!"

ANOTHER REDMOND PLEDGE.

Mr William Redmond followed, and imitated his brother by adding solemnly a supplementary pledge. He said—

Though I intend to vote for Mr Parnell's leadership, I consider, as I believe every member of the Party considers, that he is bound by his pledge to vote and act with the majority of the Irish Party. That pledge, so far as I am concerned, shall be kept, and if I find I am not able at any time to act in accordance with the expressed wish of the majority of my comrades and colleagues, I shall place my resignation instantly in the hands of the new leader, whoever he may be.

DR. KENNY'S EXCITEMENT.

Dr Kenny was the next speaker. He began by announcing that the room was full of voices crying out—"Give me the dagger, I will do the deed." "Sir," said he, addressing Mr Parnell, "the whole question is hunger for your blood." "No," broke in Mr Edward Harrington, "they want to cut his throat." This was strongly resented by the majority of the party, and a point of order was raised over

it. But Mr Parnell declined to notice it. Mr David Sheehy then rose, and in a very able speech he appealed to Mr Parnell to retire from the chair, for even during the present session, and not imperil and destroy the hopes of the evicted tenants. Mr Conway followed, and was coarse and offensive to his colleagues.

MR. KNOX'S SPEECH.

Late in the evening Mr Knox rose, and there was much curiosity to hear him, as he had not been heard in the House by many of his friends. The new member fully justified the expectations formed of him. He said:—

I feel bound to say, as one who does not profess the same religion as the majority of the Irish race, that I think the way the purest of existing nations in domestic relations have been treated in this matter gives them just cause for well-grounded complaint. I think that, if there were no other argument against your continued leadership of the party, the fact that you have ventured to charge Mr Sexton, Mr Healy, and Mr Arthur O'Connor with a want of integrity and independence is sufficient reason for passing the resolution. Do you go further? Is John Dillon a traitor to Ireland? Is William O'Brien a traitor to Ireland?

Mr Parnell (In a passionate voice)—I don't recognize your right to ask me any question.

Mr Knox—We have for the present to address the chair.

Mr Parnell—You are not entitled to ask a question of the chair except on a point of order.

Mr Knox—Well, I will change the form of my speech. I ask those who are opposed to the views I have tried calmly to express: Are John Dillon and William O'Brien traitors to the cause of Ireland?

Mr Parnell—If your predecessor in the representation of Cavan, Mr Biggar, was in your place, I would venture to answer that question; but I won't answer you.

Mr Knox—Mr Parnell, the voice of the dead cannot be heard here, but if he were here, I feel confident he would stand by those who are trying to get you to serve Ireland in what may be her supremest hour of trial.

The discussion was carried on by Dr Fitzgerald (the gentleman at whose house manifesto was composed), who said: "With regret he had to announce that he only shook hands with Mr Parnell six times." Messrs Flynn, Leamy, Webb, and Justice Huntly M'Carthy spoke without any incidents occurring.

MR. HENRY CAMPBELL'S INSOLENCE.

Mr Chance then rose, and said that Mr Parnell in his manifesto had stated that the independence of a section of the Irish

Party had been sapped and destroyed by the wire-pullers of the Liberal Party. It, therefore, appeared to him that under Mr Parnell's leadership, the party could not include in its ranks such men as William O'Brien, John Dillon, Thomas Sexton, Justin M'Carthy, Arthur O'Connor, and so many other men. Here there were loud cries of "Chance, Chance," from Mr E Harrington and Dr Fitzgerald. "No," said Mr Chance, "I am not a prominent man, nor one of the debaters." "You are," said Mr Henry Campbell, in a most insulting tone, "a dishonest member!" There were angry cries of "Oh, oh!" and "withdraw, withdraw," at this, whilst Mr Parnell's followers boisterously applauded. Mr Healy rose and, addressing Mr Parnell, said—

I rise to a point of order. The chair has heard from a gentleman next it the statement that a member is dishonest.

Mr Campbell—I know he is a dishonest man—for this reason, he has, sir, been intriguing and wirepulling against your leadership in Kilkenny for the past few days. ("Oh, oh!")

Mr Parnell—I think, Mr Campbell, you should withdraw the expression. (Hear, hear).

Mr Campbell—I will not withdraw.

Mr Chance—If you will allow me I will pass over that observation.

Several loud shouts of "withdraw."

Mr Campbell—Inobedience to the general views of my friends, and out of respect to the great leader of this party, I shall withdraw it, but only on this ground.

THE ADJOURNMENT MOVED AT MIDNIGHT.

The meeting had now lasted for nearly eleven hours. It was just approaching midnight, and there was not the slightest prospect that a division on Colonel Nolan's amendment would be taken that night. Obstruction was the watchword of the Parnellites. Time, they boasted, was on their side, and they would, if necessary, sit there for a month before they would allow a hostile vote against Mr Parnell to be carried. Just at midnight an adjournment of the debate was moved.

Mr Parnell (rising)—The question is that this debate be now adjourned. As many as are of opinion say "Aye" (cries of "Aye"). I declare the "Ayes" have it.

Mr T Healy and others—The "Noes" have it. You did not put it to the "Noes."

Mr Parnell here rose as if about to leave the chair, and moved away a few feet from it towards the door.

Mr T. Healy—I move that Mr M'Carthy do take the chair (loud cheers and counter cheers).

Mr Parnell (hotly and moving to the table)—I have not left it yet.

Mr Healy—Then put the question.

Mr Parnell—I have put the question.

Mr Healy—You have not.

Mr Parnell (excitedly)—I am not going to have my ruling challenged by Mr Timothy Healy.

Mr Condon and Mr Harrington stated that Mr Parnell had not called for the voices of the "Noes," and

Mr Parnell then put it to the meeting, and there being a majority in favour of continuing the debate, he so declared it.

THE REPORT BURKED BY THE "FREEMAN."

This was a very exciting and interesting incident; but the report of it, which would have shown Mr Parnell's "management," was burked by the *Freeman* into the condensed form given above. The chairman's object in refusing to put the "Noes" was to prevent a division which would have tested his strength on the first day, and this he specially wished to avoid, having hopes that he could still capture some opponents who, if allowed to vote in a division which would inevitably have followed the line of cleavage in the Party, would consider themselves committed to a particular side. A contradiction from one of his own supporters (Mr E. Harrington) obliged him to resume the chair, and re-put the question, when he was driven to ask his followers, in order to prevent a division, not to challenge his ruling that the "Noes" had it. So the motion to adjourn which he declared the "Ayes" had, a moment before, he was now obliged to rule was unanimously negatived! This incident—though practically suppressed in the *Freeman*—had a most important effect on the tone of Mr Parnell's opponents thenceforward. They now regarded him as ready to go almost to any length to save his position. Judged from a Parliamentary standpoint (especially considering his promise to rule everything strictly on House of Commons lines) action of this kind, by a chairman, was unprecedented; and here, where the chairmanship itself was under discussion, the bitterness of the situation was greatly increased. Filled with reflections on this incident and the probabilities it pointed to, the majority soon afterwards consented to a second motion of adjournment.

So ended the first day of the public proceedings in Room 15.

THE SECOND DAY.

The second day's debate opened at noon on Tuesday. Mr Parnell was the first member to enter the room, and immediately took the chair. Those who had mastered the report of the proceedings in the morning papers (for the *Freeman* had farmed out at a huge sum its exclusive privilege of supplying a report to the Press Association), saw that the reports were being "doctored." It was noticed during the previous day that Mr Parnell had been supplied with the draft of his speech as soon as it was written out, and he was observed while minor speakers were talking, to be carefully going over and "correcting" it page by page.

DOCTORING THE REPORTS.

He had for instance called Mr Gladstone "a garrulous old man," and this phrase, with many others equally offensive and significant, he struck out of the manuscript. They never appeared in the press. This, coupled with the writings of the *Freeman*, showed his opponents the terrible struggle that lay before them at home with a once-trusted leader, abetted by the chief National daily paper in Ireland, in full assault against the unity of the Party. At the opening of the second day's proceedings, hours were consumed in the reading of the "machined" resolutions, and Mr William Field, of Blackrock, figured as the captain of several stage armies all "solid for the chief."

THE AMERICAN DELEGATES' MANIFESTO.

A long discussion arose over the manifesto from the Irish delegates in America. Ultimately, Mr Parnell was obliged to ask Mr Henry Campbell to read their pronouncement. In the middle of it the chairman, on the alert for every chance to create a diversion, called attention to a passage where the delegates said:—

So painfully alive were we to all that might be involved in the loss of such a leader that we eagerly co-operated with our colleagues in every effort to retain his influence in our councils."

On this he asked:—

I wish to know whether that refers to communications made to them since the issue of Mr Gladstone's demand for my resignation or before it.

There have been statements made that communications have been made to Mr Dillon—communications independently of those sanctioned by the meeting of the Party, and I think we ought to have all these communications before us.

THE MESSAGES TO AMERICA.

This, of course, led to the wished-for controversy, which, had the majority declined entering into, would have been still more misrepresented in Ireland than it was. At the meeting on Wednesday, November 26, it was decided that the whips, in conjunction with Mr Barry and Dr Commins, as the mover and seconder of the resolution of that day, should send a message to America. Mr Power, the late senior whip, delayed doing so, and, being reminded by Mr Barry, Mr Power then drafted the following telegram:—

Meeting adjourned till Monday. 'Sexton, M'Carthy, Arthur O'Connor, Barry, Commins, Sheehy, Dickson, Webb, Flynn spoke in favour of Parnell's reconsidering position. Colonel Nolan, Blane, Conway, W. Macdonald, Huntly M'Carthy, and Dr Kenny supported Parnell.

Mr John Barry explained that Mr Richard Power handed him the message in the lobby and left him. Mr Barry then, with Dr Commins, after waiting over an hour for his return, sent the above cablegram to Mr Gill, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York. This appeared a very simple explanation of the matter, but in the middle of the dispute Mr Campbell jumped up by Mr Parnell's side and, in a loud voice, said, addressing Mr Barry (who sat at the end of the room, and was just then speaking to Dr Commins and Mr Chance)

I rise to strongly support the argument put forward against these infamous proceedings on the part of the caucus in the corner (cheers, and cries of "Oh!")

Mr Barry—I rise to order.

The Chairman—What is your point of order?

Mr Barry—Mr Campbell pointed his hand to this part of the house, and spoke of the infamous caucus in the corner. I respectfully submit that is not in order.

Mr Parnell—The country will have to decide as to your proceedings (cheers). I shall confirm Mr Campbell's words if necessary (cheers).

Mr Barry—More shame for you.

AN EXCITED OUTBURST FROM MR CAMPBELL.

The secretary, being thus encouraged, went on to declare in defiant tones—

I look upon it as the most infamous thing that has ever happened before the Irish people that your colleagues, who ought to have supported you and stood by you, and shown you fair play in a fair fight, that they should have gone behind your

back and wire-pulled, telegraphed, done everything that was infamous to mislead our colleagues in America as to the position which you still hold in this Party. If I had known, for one, that that telegram was about to be despatched, I should have insisted upon rising at this board to tell the people whom I represent, and to tell the Irish people the world over, that I was with you, so that my colleagues in America, humble though I might be, should know that I had not deserted the man who had never deserted the Irish cause. I brand as infamous the action of colleagues who would thus go behind their backs and try to cut your throat before the Irish people.

This extraordinary outburst about the simple terms of a despatch which it was unanimously agreed should be sent, and which contained a colourless statement of facts drawn by the hand of Mr R Power, a leading supporter of the Chairman, was taken to show the state of Mr Parnell's mind, filtered through the secretary. The debate became heated, and charges and counter-charges as to reports of private meetings being called by individuals and as to the messages sent to the delegates in America were made.

COMING BACK TO THE POINT.

After an hour's wrangling Mr Healy attempted to bring the discussion back to the main issue. He said:—

I rise to a point of order. I ask if the chair will be good enough to inform me what is the question before the meeting?

Mr Edward Harrington: No, no.

Mr Parnell: A discussion has been opened by Mr Barry on the question of communications with the delegates in America, and the discussion will have to proceed to its end.

Mr T M Healy: Another piece of pure obstruction (cheers).

Mr Parnell (vehemently): I think that is a most insolent and impertinent observation—(counter cheering)—a most insolent and impertinent observation (renewed cheering, and loud cries of "Oh, oh!")

Mr Barry: I rise.

Mr Parnell: Sit down, Mr Barry, please.

Mr Barry: Allow me.

Mr Parnell: I will not allow you, sir.

Mr Healy appealed to his friends not to continue the discussion. It is evident (he said) and patent to every man who will apply his mind to this question, and not allow himself to be influenced by this kind of red herring which has been drawn across our path, that Mr Parnell asked the delegates to suspend their judgment pending the issue of his manifesto, and that then having that manifesto before them they state they came to their conclusion upon that manifesto, and upon the merits of the case put forward therein by Mr Parnell.

Mr Healy's appeal proved unsuccessful, and a discussion on the sending of telegrams to America was again resumed. This being ex-

hausted, Mr Parnell called on Mr Campbell to go on with the reading of letters and telegrams. This occupied considerable time, and at length the debate was resumed and Mr James O'Kelly was called upon.

MR O'KELLY MAKES A PLEDGE.

He delivered a panegyric on the leadership of Mr Parnell, during which he was asked—"What about the party pledge?" "As for the party pledge," said Mr O'Kelly, "if I am beaten, I shall resign my seat. I will do nothing in this party which is not strictly honourable." Like the Redmonds, however, the member for North Roscommon has not remembered these words.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR ON THE RE-ELECTION OF MR. PARNELL.

Mr Arthur O'Connor succeeded Mr O'Kelly, and delivered one of the most telling speeches. In the course of it he said—

Gentlemen, on that black and dismal day within the last three weeks when the result of the proceedings in the Divorce Court were made known I felt that for me at least, and, I believe, for Ireland, the continuation of Mr Parnell as chairman of this party was impossible. I speak for myself, and I say that from that moment Mr Parnell is an impossible leader; and I believed then, and I believe now that Mr Parnell is an impossible leader for the people of my race. When on Tuesday, entering this room, I found a resolution in course of proposition I was, I admit, ashamed, overwhelmed, and confused. (Hear, hear, and "Oh!") I arrived at the conclusion that it must have been through some understanding or another. I considered myself in the position of one of the Old Guard of Napoleon giving a parting salute.

Mr E Harrington—You won't ride off with that plea here.

Mr A O'Connor—After that meeting, when I found myself in consultation with other members of the party, I did declare, without hesitation, without a compromise or qualification, that I considered that the vote of that afternoon should be reconsidered, and before I knew of Mr Gladstone's letter, before, I believe, any member of this party knew of Mr Gladstone's letter I had already urged upon some of my colleagues the necessity of taking immediate action, so that the character and dignity of this party might be preserved, and that we might not be influenced by the opinion of any English statesman or party. Many questions have been raised in the course of this debate which are beside the real point. The real issue before us is simple. We all understand it. There is no shirking. I appeal to the meeting to come to a clear and definite decision on the real issue. In the meantime, whatever motion is put from the chair, I shall so vote as to show, in my opinion, at least, that the chairmanship of Mr Parnell should be determined. When the deci-

sion of the party is ascertained, if it is found to be adverse to what I conceive to be called for by the painful situation which we are in, I shall at once surrender to my constituents the trust they have committed to me, and I shall surrender it uncompromised.

Mr W J Corbett then read out a speech from a written manuscript, in which he declared that the movement against Mr Parnell was a plot hatched by the enemies of Ireland. Sir Thomas Esmonde expressed his concurrence in Mr Arthur O'Connor's sentiments, and his opinion that Mr Parnell's leadership would no longer be serviceable to Ireland.

MR. POWER SUPPORTS THE ADMINISTRATION.

Then came the late Mr Richard Power, who in effect said that he had supported Mr Butt against Mr Parnell, and after his death had supported Mr Shaw, and voted against Mr Parnell at his original election; that he had never opposed any leader, and would support the present one.

Mr Crilly then made a short but affecting and effective speech against Mr Parnell, which concluded as follows :—

It is almost breaking my heart's strings to give the vote I am going to give. I came into this Party animated by the one holy, burning, ambition to serve the cause of Ireland. I will serve her until I die. And although I am voting against you to-night I am voting for the liberty of Ireland.

MR. M. J. KENNY'S SPEECH.

Mr M J Kenny followed, and was regarded as having made one of the very best speeches of the whole debate. Addressing the chairman, he said :—

Mr Parnell, I believe your manifesto has rendered it perfectly impossible for Mr Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, or Mr Morley on any future day to enter into cordial relations with you. I should like to know if any members of this Party contemplate a future alliance with the Tory Party (hear, hear) ?

Mr E Harrington—If it serves our purposes, yes.

Mr M J Kenny—For my part I decline to throw Ireland back for ten or twenty years in order that an alliance might be formed with the Tory Party, which might break down at a critical moment, as it is sought to break down our alliance now.

SPEECH OF A VETERAN HILLSIDER.

Mr J F X O'Brien, who made one of the most outspoken speeches in the debate, then said—

Mr O'Kelly told us that we have nothing to hope from the Liberal Party. Then what was the meaning of our alliance with the Liberal Party for the past five years? Was it a sham? Mr

O'Kelly also said we gave ourselves away some years ago to the Tory Party. Under whose leadership did we do that? It was also said that we gave ourselves away to the Liberals. Under whose leadership did we do that? Mr O'Kelly also referred to the waning influence of the Irish in America. Mr Eugene Kelly, of New York, said that commenced after the proceedings in the Divorce Court.

Mr Parnell—He said nothing of the sort.

Mr J F X O'Brien—Then, if he didn't, it would have been a very becoming thing for him to say (cheers).

Mr Parnell—Why didn't you say it on Tuesday, sir (cheers)?

Mr O'Brien—On the question of leadership I wish to say that we have had very little leadership of any kind from Mr Parnell during the past five years (hear, hear). As for me, after the Divorce Court *expose*, I came to the conclusion that your continued leadership was intolerable and a disgrace. In re-electing you last Tuesday we were only paying you a compliment, for we thought you intended to resign. As to the Hawarden meeting, I don't think that the people of Ireland will be satisfied with your explanation. You say you knew that Mr Gladstone had become false to us.

Mr Parnell (loudly)—I did not say he had become false to you.

Mr O'Brien—I will allow the people of Ireland to think about that for themselves, Mr Parnell. You kept silence on that treachery, and left your colleagues under the impression that all was safe to go about the country praising Mr Gladstone. I leave you, Mr Parnell, to convince the people of Ireland of the honesty of your part in that grave matter. For myself, this is the most anxious moment of my political life of over forty years. Twenty-three years ago I stood face to face with Judge Keogh in the dock at Cork. I can tell you that on that occasion my pulse was not stirred in the slightest. I felt as calm as if I was sleeping in my bed at that moment. I cannot say that now. This is the most wretched moment of my life, for I see shattered by you, who brought us to a splendid position, all the hopes of Ireland. It now depends on you whether the people of Ireland shall continue to remember the name of "Parnell" with love and gratitude.

MR. DALTON ON AUSTRALIA.

Then followed Mr James Dalton, who, until Mr John Redmond arrived from Ireland, had been strongly against Mr Parnell, and signed some of the requisitions. He claimed to represent Irish-Australian opinion, and speaking in its name, he said he declined to give his vote for the selling of the Irish leader to an English party for any price whatever. Following him came Mr Harrison. He had also signed one of the requisitions against Mr Parnell. He described himself as "the youngest and most obscure member of the party," and then told his colleagues that they would be insane and stupid, and guilty of egregious folly to abandon the best

and greatest leader the Irish people ever had for vain and illusory pledges from Mr Gladstone. Since this, Mr Harrison is reported to have made a speech in Chicago in which he said, "the men who oppose Mr Parnell in Ireland to-day are traitors, boors, and cowards."

CLOSING SPEECHES.

Following Mr Harrison came Mr James Tuite, who spoke under great emotion. He directly addressed himself to the chairman, and in a firm, unfaltering voice said that although it was with great pain that he came to a decision to vote against Mr Parnell's leadership, yet, in the interests of Ireland, he felt bound to do so. Messrs P J O'Brien, Condon, Jordan, and Kilbride, then made emphatic protests against Mr Parnell continuing in the chair, and Mr Hayden and Mr Blane were heard *contra*, the latter expounding certain theological, doctrinal, and moral views on the law of divorce. This was the end.

BEFORE THE DIVISION.

All who could speak on Mr Parnell's side had spoken, and, no one else rising, the division on Colonel Nolan's amendment was taken about midnight. It was now pretty well known how the voting would be. Mr Parnell stood up. He was cool and collected, having, as the time wore on, gradually mastered himself and regained his self-control. He realised that the majority desired to be moderate in action and would not lend themselves to any violence or trick of which at first he seemed apprehensive. The debate at the end dragged very wearily—the Parnellites all exhausting themselves according to instructions. One of the last speakers, however, was Mr Jordan, who had on the Tuesday of his re-election stoutly raised his voice against Mr Parnell retaining the chair.

MR PARNELL'S GRIM JOKE.

When Mr Jordan rose, Mr Parnell yawningly bent over to Mr Sexton and murmured with audacious humour, "I say, Sexton, are you fellows going to keep this thing up all night?" Mr Sexton whispered the grim pleasantry to Mr Healy, who sat next him, and the dry joke passed round the long

horse-shoe table as the dregs of the debate were being poured out.

HOW THE QUESTION WAS PUT.

The majority were extremely anxious lest the speaking should be dropped suddenly, so as to enable a division to be snatched while their members (who were passing in and out on various duties during the two days) might be absent from the room. On the whip, Mr Richard Power, being communicated with, however, he stated that Mr Parnell "would give 10 minutes' law" to bring up absentees, as he, too, feared that some of his own friends might be belated. A brief interval, therefore, elapsed after the speaking had concluded until it was known to the managers on both sides that "all the men were in." The division was taken after midnight. The large room was lighted, not by gas, but by lamps and candles placed on the tables, not for the general illuminating of the room, but for the purpose of reading and writing. Those at the end of the room could scarcely see Mr Parnell's features as he rose to put the question, for all except the tables was in shadow. Mr Parnell took a printed list of the Party in his hand, and without betraying the slightest excitement, said, in a firm voice: "I shall now put the amendment," and having read it out, cried. "All who are in favour of it will say 'Aye.'" There was a tremendous ringing "Aye" from his friends. It seemed as if the twenty-nine responses were the voices of as many hundreds. "Those on the contrary," said Mr Parnell, "will say 'No.'" The "No!" rolled back loud and long, startling in its fierceness and defiance. The parting of the ways had come. Old friends and trusty colleagues who fought together during many a trying hour and for many a long year, now glared across the table at each other.

"STRICT PARLIAMENTARY FORM."

"I think the ayes have it," said Mr Parnell, ruling to the last in his own favour, though well knowing the inevitable division would immediately give denial to this last piece of "chairmanship." It was all in "strict Parliamentary form." A thundering shout hurled back, "the noes have it."

"Well," said he, "I will call out the names alphabetically, and each gentleman will answer aye or no as his name is called." So he called each name on the roll, stooping over the desk to get the light on his list, while eager partisans on both sides ticked the names off and numbered them. When the Chairman sang out his own name, "Parnell," and responded, "Aye," his henchmen loudly cheered. But this was the only manifestation, a natural one enough, during or after the division. Of course, according to "strict Parliamentary form," the Chairman or Speaker never votes, except in case of a tie.

The following was the result :—

FOR THE AMENDMENT—29.

Blane	Harrison	O'Connor, John
Byrne	Kenny, Dr	O'Hanlon
Conway	Leamy	O'Kelly
Corbet	Macdonald, W A	Parnell
Clancy	M'Carthy, J H	Power, R
Campbell	M'Kenna, Sir J	Quinn
Dalton	Mahony	Redmond, J
Fitzgerald	Maguire	Redmond, W
Harrington, E	Nolan, Colonel	Sheil, E
Hayden	Nolan, Joseph	

AGAINST—44.

Abraham	Healy, M	O'Keeffe
Barry	Jordan	O'Brien, J F
Chance	Kilbride	Pinkerton
Crilly	Kenny, M J	Power, P J
Condon	Knox	Reynolds
Cox	Lane	Roche
Commins	MacNeill	Sexton
Deasy	M'Donald, P	Sullivan, D
Dickson	M'Cartan	Sheehan
Esmonde	M'Carthy, Justin	Stack
Foley	Murphy, W H	Sheehy
Finucane	Morrogh	Tanner
Flynn	Molloy	Tuite
Fox	O'Connor, A	Webb
Healy, T M	O'Brien, P J	

A PAINFUL SILENCE.

Mr Parnell then totted up the numbers, and said, coldly, "I find that the noes are 44 and the ayes 29, so I declare the noes have it by a majority of 15." The announcement of the numbers was received with almost a painful silence. Not a whisper was heard in the room. The chairman was the first to break the stillness by suggesting (it was then very late) that it would be well to adjourn until next day. This was promptly agreed to, and the meeting broke up.

AFTER THE DIVISION.

The lobby of the House was boiling over with excitement, waiting the result of the division, for all interest had fled from the business

of Parliament proper, and Liberals and Tories alike talked and thought of nothing but the debate in Room 15. Said Mr Goschen, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to Mr John Morley—"It was the most perfect debate I ever read."

It was in accordance with Mr Parnell's character that he should affect to think lightly of the fact that a great majority of his colleagues had voted against his leadership. On leaving Committee Room No 15 that evening he expressed himself to some Pressmen as "more than satisfied with the result of the division." He clearly considered it was only the beginning of the struggle. After the division he canvassed members who had voted against him to consider the question still further and to vote for him the next time. He used to say to his supporters, "We have only to get back eight men to have a majority," and all his energies were now strained to this end and to start an issue to decompose the majority against him.

THE CLANCY COMPROMISE.

The next day (Wednesday) Mr Parnell's friends sprung a fresh amendment. It became afterwards known as "the Clancy compromise."

For some days Mr Clancy had been in an awkward position, and having voted for Colonel Nolan's amendment, owing to private pressure, he felt that he had done enough. But Mr Parnell with great dexterity, suiting the motion to the man, fathered on him what Mr Sexton afterwards described as "a trap-door amendment." The proceedings commenced with Mr Henry Campbell reading the usual supply of telegrams in favour of Mr Parnell, to which no one now paid the smallest attention. Then the chairman called Mr Clancy, who said—

I hope I have found the way out of the terrible difficulty in which we are placed—and at all events I hope for a calm and impartial consideration of the proposal which I have to make. I must confess that I was staggered by Mr Gladstone's letter. I was staggered also by its results. I feel that a great deal of harm has been done, and that possibly the Home Rule cause may be injured by Mr Parnell's retention of the leadership.

But having admitted so much, he declared that his "unapproachable leader was

the most perfect embodiment since the time of Hugh O'Neill, of the immortal spirit of Irish Nationality!" and the following then moved amendment—

That, in view of the difference of opinion that has arisen between Mr Gladstone and Mr Parnell as to the accuracy of Mr Parnell's recollection of the suggestions offered at Hawarden in reference to suggested changes in and departures from the Home Rule Bill of 1886 on the subject of the control of the Constabulary and the settlement of the Land Question, the Whips of the Party be instructed to obtain from Mr Gladstone, Mr John Morley, and Sir William Harcourt for the information of the Party, before any further consideration of the question, what their views are with regard to these two vital points.

IN THE CLOUDS.

The cleverness of this consisted in the fact that it had nothing to say to the question of the chairmanship, but having been devised by the chairman, it would, of course, be ruled by him to be strictly relevant. It put Mr Parnell's opponents, if they rejected it, in the position of having it said of them that they rejected a plan to take "assurances" from the Liberals, and flung themselves blindly into their arms, while if they accepted the motion, it left open the question how the satisfactoriness of these assurances was to be determined, supposing them to be given, and involved, while they were being sought for, a long delay and adjournment, and a further wrangle on their character afterwards if they were given, or over their refusal if they were not. Meantime the "leadership" question which the party had met to settle was hung up away in the clouds.

PERTINENT QUESTIONS.

Mr Parnell was out when Mr Clancy concluded and Mr Healy started the point as to who was to judge the satisfactoriness of the Liberal assurances if they were accorded. Mr Sexton asked would Mr Parnell resign if the party declared them satisfactory. Mr Redmond said he would. Mr Clancy said Mr Parnell should be sent for, as the matter had now assumed great gravity. Mr Parnell then entered, and resumed the chair (which in his temporary abstinence used to be filled by either Mr Justin McCarthy or Mr R. Power). Mr Healy proposed that this portion of the proceedings, involving the future of Home Rule, should not be given to the Press at present,

but merely noted by the reporters, who might remain. This was agreed to. There seemed great hope that an amicable termination of the conflict could be arranged, and in view of the desperate struggle which must result—the risks to the evicted, the destruction of the American mission, the locking up of the Paris Funds—a breathless anxiety prevailed at this juncture, when Mr Sexton rose to deal with the proposal.

MR SEXTON ON THE CLANCY PROPOSAL.

He said :—

As its language now stands it does not bear immediately or obviously on our proceedings at the conferences during the week, but Mr Clancy and Mr Redmond stated that if such communications were authorised by this party and a reply were made, and that the reply were found to be satisfactory, Mr Parnell would voluntarily retire. I heard that statement with unfeigned gratification. It is the first moment I have had during these terrible days when I seemed to see some hope, however faint. It enabled me to hope that Mr Parnell would put it out of the power of any one to say that in this crisis he preferred his personal interests to the interests of his country. The questions which I think you might absolutely determine, and which would enable us to proceed to an adjournment until twelve o'clock to-morrow, would be these—firstly, in the event of such authority being given to communicate, and a reply being received, who would be the judge of the satisfactory character of the reply? And as the communication would be made on the part of this party, would you, Mr Parnell, be content to allow the majority of this party, upon their responsibility to the people, to determine on questions upon which our ideas are pretty identical—to determine whether or not the reply was satisfactory? And, in the second place, if the reply were received and the majority of the party determined the reply to be satisfactory, would you then voluntarily retire from the leadership of the party?

Mr Parnell replied amidst intense excitement :—

Mr Sexton asks me a practical question as to whether my retirement from the leadership of the party and from public life—(cries of "Not from public life")—would be governed by the decision of the party, or my own view as to the satisfactory nature of the replies of those statesmen to these questions and those two vital points, as to the control of the Irish Constabulary and the future powers of the Irish Parliament. With regard to the land question I have every belief, and I feel every confidence, with such an issue as that before the Irish party, the question as to securing in the future those two important provisions for an Irish Parliament, there could be no difference of opinion whatever between myself and the party as to whether these further declarations, if given, were satisfactory or not. That is my belief. Mr Sexton will see that he is asking me a very sudden question on a very important matter, and that it would be fair

to give me twenty-four hours, between now and our meeting at twelve o'clock to-morrow, for the consideration of the subject, before giving a fuller reply.

On the motion of Mr Sexton, the meeting then stood adjourned until twelve o'clock next day.

A VISIT TO BRIGHTON.

That night was an anxious one with the majority of the party. They discussed in groups together, and for many hours, the prospects of peace and reunion. What counsel Mr Parnell took before the next day's meeting, I am not in a position to state, but the tradition in the party is that the source of his returning obstinacy after he appeared in a yielding mood was due to the visit he made to Brighton.

A SUBTERFUGE FOUND.

There was a punctual attendance of every member next day. Mr Parnell was one of the earliest to arrive. Anxiety was visibly felt in every quarter. There was no reading of the bogus resolutions and got-up telegrams that morning. Both sides expected an immediate declaration from Mr Parnell, and he did not indeed leave them very long in doubt. He said with an air of nonchalance—

Well, gentlemen, the consideration which I have been able to give this most important matter has been assisted by a consultation with my friends, and I may say, in the first place that Mr Sexton will be the first to admit that he asks us to some extent to enlarge the scope of the amendment as it was put before the meeting by Mr Clancy. He asks me to state that, in the event of the information to be obtained from Mr Gladstone, Mr Morley, and Sir William Harcourt being satisfactory to the party, that I should consider then that the question of the chairmanship had been determined. I wish to show him in what way that question enlarges the resolution or the amendment. The amendment requires that we are to ascertain before any further consideration of this question, that is, of the chairmanship, the views of Mr. Morley, and Sir Wm Harcourt for the information of the party. With regard to these two vital points Mr Sexton asks me, before we have obtained this information, to bind myself practically to accept, without any further consideration of the question, the definite judgment of the party upon the matter. Now I wish to say with regard to that proposal at once that I, having placed myself in the hands of my friends in regard to this matter at the commencement, I could not agree to surrender my responsibility, or any part of my responsibility.

A MERE RED HERRING.

We were, therefore, told that the Clancy amendment was a mere red herring, for

assurances or no assurances it would leave us as regards the chairmanship exactly where we were. In the coolest way Mr Parnell said:—

Now, gentlemen, in order to facilitate your coming to a conclusion, I have drafted a resolution, which, if you wish and think proper, I will move—

“That, in the opinion of the Irish Parliamentary Party, no Home Rule Bill will be satisfactory or acceptable to the Irish people which will not confer the immediate control of the Irish police by the Executive responsible to the Irish Parliament; and, secondly, which does not confer upon the Irish Parliament full power to deal with the Land question.”

He then, in a burst of concentrated passion, denounced Mr Gladstone as “an unrivalled sophist,” a “garrulous old man.” His party wildly cheered this, and from the other side came loud cries of “Shame!” and “No, no!” “If,” said the chairman, “this resolution is adopted, I would then further propose the following one:—

“That a sub-committee be appointed by the party, consisting of the whips and of five members from those who were in a majority, and of five members from those who were in a minority on Colonel Nolan's amendment; and that to those people be entrusted the duty of selecting from among themselves three delegates from each side to seek an interview with Mr Gladstone, Sir Wm. Harcourt, and Mr Morley, for the purpose of ascertaining whether their views are in accordance with the views of the party on those points as above expressed, and whether they will agree to embody those views in their Home Rule Bill and make them vital to the measure.”

There was a momentary conference between Messrs Justin M'Carthy, Sexton, and Healy when Mr Parnell resumed his seat. It was felt that he supposed he could trifle with the Party. “You get up!” whispered Mr Sexton, whereupon Mr Healy rose and delivered one of the boldest and most eloquent speeches he ever made.

MR. PARNELL INTERRUPTS FORTY-FOUR TIMES.

Many heated scenes and offensive interruptions occurred during its delivery, but they only seemed to nerve the member for North Longford into fresh exertions. The *Freeman* report shows that Mr Parnell alone interrupted him no less than 44 times! That a chairman charged with the duty of preserving order and conducting debate impartially should continually interrupt, owing

to his own position being involved, showed the inconvenience of the conditions under which the discussion had to be conducted. Mr Healy opened by saying—

I have heard with considerable amazement the extraordinary speech which has just been delivered. Last night, as I understand, a proposition was agreed to by acclamation to adjourn this meeting until to-day, in order that it might be determined whether the proposal put forward by Mr Clancy was a really *bona fide* one. Naturally we desired to know, to use the words of Mr Chairman, what value we were getting for the acceptance of such an amendment, and of the time that would be consumed in its discussion. We wanted to know, before we allowed ourselves to enter upon a prolonged discussion for three or four days more, or as long as the resistance of my friends conducting it may endure, what are the exact conditions under which we are debating the matter in reference to which Mr Sexton put the very natural and pregnant question whether if we accepted the conditions assumed, latent though not patent, in Mr Clancy's amendment, that then a golden bridge would be found out of this difficulty. What, then, did Mr Sexton propose? And now I ask the meeting to observe this. First and foremost we were prepared to accept the principle of Mr Clancy's amendment, and we were prepared to stand or fall—

Mr Parnell—Excuse me, Mr Healy. There must be something before the chair.

Mr Healy—There is your speech, and I will answer it.

Mr Parnell—I think Mr Clancy's amendment should be seconded first.

Mr Campbell—There is nothing before the meeting.

Mr Healy—I am before the meeting.

Mr Campbell—I repeat there is nothing before the meeting. ("Chair.")

Mr Healy—I am before the chair, and then continuing, he said—I would invite our friends on the opposite side, even Mr Campbell, to show some little sense of discretion. I was saying when I was interrupted that the position we take up was this. Yes, we are prepared to accept the principle of Mr Clancy's amendment—namely, to obtain from the Liberal party satisfactory assurances—(hear, hear)—on the two points alleged by Mr. Parnell to be in question. Assuming, then, that we are willing to accept the amendment in principle, what will follow? When our whips come back from the Liberal leaders we wanted to know who was to determine whether the interview was satisfactory or not. We put the plain question to Mr Parnell, and he asked, and it was a very natural request, that he should be allowed twenty-four hours to determine it.

Mr Parnell—I only took twelve hours.

Mr Healy—I am sure we would be very glad to have granted you twenty-four days. Mr Parnell has refused—

Mr Parnell—I have not. That is an entire misrepresentation of my position.

Mr Healy—I am putting the view as your speech struck me, and I am endeavouring to do so against a flood of interruption.

Mr Parnell—If Mr Healy is going to complain of the tone of my speech—

Mr Healy—I am not going to make any com-

plaint. I am about to address myself to the political ingredients of the speech, and not its tone. Mr Parnell has refused to submit this matter to the judgment of his Party.

Mr Parnell—Not at all. Nothing of the sort.

Mr Healy—And he has proposed new conditions. We adjourned last night gladly and joyfully in the hope of peace, on a distinct offer made by us to know was Mr Parnell in this matter going to rely on the judgment of his Party not by 44 votes to 29, but on the judgment of men including Mr Richard Power, Dr Kenny, Mr Leamy, Mr Conway, and of leading friends on the other side.

Mr Parnell—Certainly, they are all entitled to judge it just as well as I am.

Mr Healy—I will not notice the interruption further. Mr Parnell was asked, would he in this matter accept the judgment of his Party, and if he will not do so what is the value to us in discussing Mr Clancy's amendment? (Hear, hear). Are we fools? Are we to spend our time here, first in elaborating the amendment which on being accepted is to have no value? And when we send our deputies to the Liberals, and spend weeks, forsooth, deliberating whether the answer is satisfactory or not, Mr Parnell will, last as well as first, refuse to retire. "In vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird." The position is this. There are eighty-six members of this party; there are here, I think, seventy-three, and according to Mr Parnell's views if there were seventy-two to one, and that one was Henry Campbell, he would refuse to submit himself to the judgment of his party. Why (said Mr Healy) does Mr Parnell now want Mr Clancy's amendment withdrawn? Why does he want new proposals substituted?

Mr Parnell—Because you made an additional proposal yourself in Mr Sexton's speech not included in Mr Clancy's amendment.

Mr Healy—Precisely, because we wanted to know what we were discussing Mr Clancy's amendment for. We wanted to know if we gave up our opportunities and time in discussing the amendment, where we were to be when it was carried. And where are we to be? I will tell you. First and foremost we are to engage in a contention, a necessary contention, as to the form, verbiage, and substance of the amendment, having hammered it into some shape upon which there can be substantial or general agreement. Then two gentlemen or some authority is to be appointed to confer with the Liberal leaders. They are to be the Whips. Mr Power is a strong friend of the view held on the other side, and he is to be one of the deputation. We are to be honoured by being allowed to join a representative. Very well. Then they come back, and this party has adjourned until to-morrow, and may be they cannot meet the Liberal statesman, and they do not come back, say, till Monday.

Mr Parnell—Hear, hear.

Mr Healy—That falls in entirely with Mr Parnell's view. He cheers it.

Mr Parnell—It falls in with yours, when you spoke of twenty-four hours not being sufficient to settle it (hear, hear).

Mr Healy—And then when they come back, this party is to be re-assembled, and we are to re-discuss the entire matter. The judgment of these two gentlemen, approaching the question from wholly opposite views, is to be debated hours and hours, days and days, and we in the and are to be exactly where we were. Assuming

that Mr Power—and I think it was Mr Deasy who was suggested from us—agreed, Mr Parnell will say. "Yes, gentlemen, you are all of opinion that the assurances of the Liberal Party are satisfactory, but I have my responsibility."

Mr Parnell—My declarations on that point was distinct and absolute.

Mr Healy—"And I decline to submit to the majority."

Mr Chairman, continued Mr Healy, either Mr Parnell is willing to place himself on the basis of Mr Clancy's amendment, in the hands of his party, or he is not (hear, hear). He says that he has been unable, in the course of eight years' acquaintance with Mr Gladstone, to get a straight answer from him, and that his (Mr Parnell's) answers are always straight.

Mr Parnell—So they are.

Mr Healy—I will ask him for a straight answer. It is one capable of an affirmative or a negative. If we agree to send and ask, as Mr Clancy requests, the Liberal leaders for an answer on the two questions, will you then submit to the determination of the majority of the party as to whether they are satisfactory or not and if they pronounce them to be satisfactory will you retire from your position?

But Mr Parnell was too clever to be entrapped, and would go no further than to say—

I have told you that this resolution does not free me from the responsibility, and that I decline to do anything unless the party assumes the responsibility which I am willing to yield.

"DO YOU THINK WE ARE CHILDREN?"

Then, answered Mr Healy, amidst tremendous cheering from his friends—

The majority of the party is willing at once to assume that responsibility, and if you will only allow Mr Barry's resolution to be withdrawn, and allow our resolution—which you refused to allow to be put on Monday last—to be put now the party will at once proceed in its executive responsibility (cheers). What Mr Parnell wants is that Mr Clancy's amendment be withdrawn, and necessarily Mr Barry's resolution also withdrawn, because his own resolution cannot come on until the road is cleared in that way. The technique of this business is one that we are not unskilled in. We were taught a lesson in it on Monday. We were told that Friday next in Mr Barry's resolution was Friday last. I don't know what it will be to-morrow, perhaps Friday month. But I say, in order to enable Mr Parnell's resolution to be put forward, there would be no question of leadership before the party. Mr Clancy's amendment and Mr Barry's resolution are to be withdrawn, and then, on the question of the chairmanship being withdrawn, this party would be engaged in discussing, not the present leadership, but the prospects of a Home Rule Bill. Do you think we are children? No, sir, we are not children. And, therefore, I thought it right to stigmatise, at the opening of these proceedings, as extraordinary the speech to which we have just listened from the chair. Our chairman says Mr Gladstone is unable to give a straight answer. I would like to know, if this party were allowed to give expression to it, whether they think we have had

straight conduct or straight answers since last night? No, sir, Mr Clancy's amendment is before the meeting. On that amendment we have asked a question, and to that question we have not received that straight answer which it is Mr Parnell's boast in public life he has always been enabled to give. No, we are to be trapped into the withdrawal of Mr Clancy's amendment, and necessarily Mr Barry's proposal, because when I asked Mr Parnell whether his proposal was to go as an amendment or a resolution he said a resolution.

Mr Parnell—That is indifferent to me, whether we have it as an amendment or a resolution. It simply contains my views on the question Mr Sexton put to me. I regret you don't consider it a straight answer but it is my answer, and upon that answer I will stand or fall before the country.

Mr Healy—Then you will fall, Mr Parnell (loud cheers). And now that both sides have made up their minds, what is the use of further debate? (Cheers and interruption.)

Mr Clancy (violently)—Away with him. Away with him.

Mr John O'Connor—Crucify him. Crucify him (cries of "Shame," and "Oh, oh").

Mr Condon—I think that is an expression that should not be made use of (hear, hear). Some of us who have taken part in this discussion against you, Mr Parnell, have conducted that discussion in a fair and honourable spirit, and, I think, you and the members of your party should try to induce these gentlemen to restrain themselves (cheers).

Mr Parnell took no notice, but Mr O'Connor afterwards denied that the *Freeman* reporter was accurate in attributing the expression to him, and it is believed that it was Mr W J Corbett used the words "Crucify him."

MR HEALY QUOTES THE PARTY PLEDGE.

Resuming his speech, Mr Healy proceeded:—

I ask, then, what is the advantage to us of continuing this debate? I see none. It is suggested that we are going to closure our friends. No, sir; I propose that we allow them to talk themselves out. We shall sit here, or a sufficient number of us shall sit here, and when you have your speeches delivered we will return and we will vote your deposition, be it to-day, or to-morrow, or Saturday, or Sunday—aye, the better the day the better the deed. We have heard of the uselessness of getting pledges from Mr Gladstone except they are in writing. Our pledges are all in writing, and we have bound ourselves by a solemn obligation—including our chairman—to sit, act, and vote with the majority of this party—(cheers)—and now the hillside men are to be appealed to. I tell our chairman that we entertained the view that we were engaged in those debates on the basis that we were dealing with comrades and friends—with men bound by the solemn pledge to submit to the judgment of this party.

Mr Parnell—Hear, hear. Undoubtedly.

Mr Healy—And we have now ascertained, as plainly as words can speak them, that our debates are a mere consumption of time, because when they are terminated there is to be no respect paid to our

decision (hear, hear). We will come to a decision sooner or later, and when it is come to, you, sir, declare in advance that you will defy it. What are we debating? Why are we debating? We entered into this room with you as colleagues engaged in addressing our intellects to reasons, and you tell us now in advance that when it is all concluded, when the decree of this party has been solemnly registered, that then, for you, the result is not submission to the National will but insurrection against it (prolonged cheers). I tell Mr Parnell he is no greater man than the majority of this party (loud cheers). I tell him that, judged by every constitutional principle, this party is the register of the authority of the Irish nation (renewed cheering). When we began this discussion on Monday last we knew we were dealing with men every man of whom had put in writing a solemn vow made—if it were necessary to make it more solemn—in the face of National conventions, that he would submit to the authority of this party.

Mr W Redmond—Or resign his seat (cheers).

Mr Healy—What is the pledge? I had much to do with the drawing of it. The terms in substance are—"That I will sit, act, and vote with the Irish Party, and that, if it should appear by a majority of two-thirds of the party that I have failed to do so, I will resign my seat." But the pledge to act with the party and respect its decisions to be bound by the majority is absolute (hear, hear). I say, let us know here, and now, whether other resolutions are to be brought forward like that of Mr Clancy, who will not tell us the time he communicated with Mr Parnell? Are there a series of resolutions in the pockets of other gentlemen, like the chambers of a revolver, each one to be grafted on to the resolution of Mr Barry?—and then, having expended our time, our intellects—ay, and our health—in these discussions, are we to be told, in the end, by you, sir: "I have no regard for your decision. I have been talking here simply against time. I deride your authority, and I appeal against it." A door must be either open or shut. We must know where we stand; and I have no fear, on my part, knowing what I do of the keenness of my countrymen, that any man with an intellect superior to the intellect of a sparrow will be misled by the sophistries of that deliverance.

MR PARNELL ON MR GLADSTONE: BITS FROM
HIS SPEECHES.

Then amidst very trying interruptions from Mr Parnell, Colonel Nolan, and Dr Fitzgerald, Mr Healy referred to the acceptance of Mr Gladstone's Home Rule Bill now derided, and turned to Mr Parnell's praise of Mr Gladstone.

Mr Parnell (said Mr Healy) only six months ago was entertained by his colleagues at the Westminster Palace Hotel. On that occasion he said he "undertook to hold aloof from all English parties until an English party would concede to Ireland the just rights of the Irish people."

Mr Parnell—Hear, hear.

Mr Healy—Will he cheer what follows?

Mr Parnell—Every word of it. Read it.

Mr Healy—Every precious word. (Reading):

"That time has since come." Where is the cheer for that?

Mr Parnell (mildly)—Hear, hear.

Mr Healy—I have extracted it at last, rather feebly, I suggest. (Reading):

"That time has since come about when an English Party—a great English Party, under the distinguished leadership of Mr Gladstone, has conceded to Ireland those rights, and has enabled us to enter into an honourable alliance, honourable and hopeful for our country."

Mr Healy—With "a garrulous old man."

Mr Parnell—That is interpolation.

Mr Healy (reading):—

"Honourable for that great English Party, an alliance which I venture to believe will last." What broke it off? (Loud applause.)

Mr Parnell, Colonel Nolan, and Dr Fitzgerald each replied, "Gladstone's letter."

Mr Healy—It perished in the stench of the Divorce Court. (Reading):—

"An alliance which I venture to believe will last and will yield permanent fruit, and will result in a knitting together of Great Britain and Ireland in a true and real union, and in a consolidation which will defy time. The great Imperial interest we do not desire to limit, and which Englishmen are right in insisting should be preserved above all others. We are happy, and Ireland is happy, that this time has come when we can shake the hands of Englishmen with the consciousness that in doing so we sacrifice no principle or hope for the future of our country." On the 30th June last Mr Parnell was satisfied with the Liberal alliance, satisfied that in that alliance he sacrificed no hope or principle for the future of his country. And now Mr Parnell describes Mr Gladstone as this "garrulous old man," this "unrivalled sophist," who never gave a straight answer, and yet we are to go hat in hand to this "garrulous old man" who has given the latter years of his life to our cause—(applause)—and having trampled upon his grey hairs and bespattered them with mud, then you are to ask him for terms at the instance of the man who has maligned and insulted him. That is the position taken up by Mr Parnell. If Mr Gladstone had no dignity he might give an answer, but I think he might be spared insults beforehand. He might say "I am insulted by the chairman of your party, and if he cannot refrain even among yourselves from terms of abuse and anger towards me, how can I give an answer which, I may be told, is to lead to his political destruction?" That is the suggestion put forward, and that is the matter which we intelligent men are asked to debate this afternoon. I continue my reading—"The only man of distinguished genius before the public as his great final and crowning work, the task of finding the sure method in which might be entrusted to Ireland her own destinies, while she also is privileged to take a share in the greater interests of the empire. I am confident that Mr Gladstone's genius will be equal to the task, that he will be powerful enough to reconcile and assuage the prejudices which still unhappily prevail to some extent."

Mr Parnell—Hear, hear.

Mr Healy—I wonder he never succeeded in assuaging Mr Parnell's prejudice.

Mr Parnell—He never has, and never will.

Mr Healy—Then he never assuaged your preju-

dice and you hoped he would assuage those of your countrymen.

Mr Parnell—Hear, hear.

Mr Healy—"Physician, heal thyself." You recommend the Gladstone prescription to the Irish nation, and you declare in advance that their prejudices may safely be allayed, and they may safely accept the aid of Mr Gladstone's genius, but he cannot allay your prejudices. I retain my hillside opinion of the entire transaction. I will conclude the reading.—"That he will be able to show his countrymen how the true interests of the nation and of Imperial safety may be reconciled to the self-government of Ireland by her people, and that a great measure of Home Rule for our country will be the result—a measure which will be practically accepted by the great majority of the English people as a settlement of the Irish question." I say to Mr Parnell, in conclusion, that nothing has occurred since the 30th of June, and nothing has occurred since the 19th of November, to change my opinion of Mr Gladstone. Nothing has occurred since these dates to turn me back into that course of hatred towards the English people out of which you led me. I shall maintain my position. I shall invite my countrymen to do the same; and I declare my belief is, that though you, a Frankenstein, who, having created this party, are able and determined to destroy it, I say you will discover that there is sufficient civic virtue and public courage among the men who are your comrades to prevent, for their country, any such hopeless and hapless consummation. We will go into this fight armed, as we believe, by every feeling of patriotism. We will go into it, founding ourselves, not upon the opinion of an individual, but upon the opinion of the elected representatives of the Irish race, chosen and selected by the sovereign authority—by the Irish people—guided, sir, under your guidance. We will go into it, putting forward the claim that in this matter we are on the side of prudence, of justice, and of right; and whatever be the insults hurled at me by any section of my countrymen, whatever taunts may be addressed to me in the course of this feud, I will endure them as we have endured ten years of slavery in this House, ten years of labour, ten years of self-suppression, ten years of sacrifice: yet we will go to our people and we will tell them what are the real issues in this matter, for though hitherto some of them have been covered up and enclosed, we shall not shirk, and I shall not shirk, stating them broadly and openly to the people, and with the people be the verdict. If you, sir, should go down, you are only one man gone. Heads of greater leaders have been stricken on the block before now for Ireland—and the Irish cause remained. The Irish people can put us down, but the Irish cause will remain always. For the future I have no fear. Instead of being distressed, I am confident and buoyant; instead of wishing myself dead, as I have heard some men do, I am glad to be alive for Ireland—I am glad in this hour of her sorrowful destiny—to be able to stand with her; and stand with her we shall, be the issue what it may.

As Mr Healy resumed his seat, his colleagues burst into prolonged cheering, which was again and again renewed.

MR REDMOND'S SPEECH.

Mr Parnell at once called on Mr John

Redmond, who described Mr Healy's speech as "hysterical." He said:—

Mr Parnell's position is clear. He says, "If I find the views of the party are sound views, then absolutely and without reservation I place the leadership of this party in the hands of the majority of the party. Aye, a majority which I know at this moment to be hostile to me and my future." When Mr Parnell has made it absolutely certain that the Home Rule Bill will be a reality and not a sham, then he will place his future in the hands of a majority which he knows is hostile to him at this moment. They are men who are willing to accept the vague and indefinite assurances of Mr Gladstone as to the future of Home Rule; who are willing to sacrifice you without thought or heed of what the sacrifice would entail upon him; they are, without knowing fully, why they are so doing, going to sacrifice the one man who is capable of saving the nation. Who is the man who, when the Home Rule Bill comes to be settled, can discuss its provisions on an equal footing with the leaders of English parties? There is no such man.

Mr Healy—Suppose Mr Parnell died.

Mr Parnell—I don't intend to die (loud cheers). Suppose Mr Gladstone died?

Mr Healy—If we hadn't any longer Mr Parnell amongst us, what would happen?

Mr Redmond—I will answer that. I say that Mr Parnell being among us, why should we drive him out? I assert my belief, that the dethronement of Mr Parnell will be the signal of kindling the fires of dissension in every land where the Irish race has found a home. Let no man accuse me of wishing to kindle those fires, but they will be lighted if this act is done, and in them will be burned to ashes the last hopes of the Irish people in this generation for the freedom of their country.

MR SEXTON'S SPEECH.

Mr Sexton followed in a speech of rare eloquence. His opening words were delivered with great feeling and visible emotion.

Mr Parnell (he said), I have listened to your speech, I need scarcely say, with profound attention. I am sorry I have no option but to add that I have heard it with the deepest disappointment, and with the most piercing regret. My sorrow is deeper—it will certainly be more permanent than any anger could be, and I shall endeavour in the solemn words which I now address to this party to secure that my language shall contain no incitement to passion. It has been made a cause of reproach against some of my hon friends that they stood by Mr Parnell as long as they possibly could. What would have been said of Mr Healy and other friends of mine if they had not, in the first instance, endeavoured to maintain Mr Parnell in his position? Then, indeed, it would have been said that we had yielded to English clamour. Were we indifferent? We stood by Mr Parnell so long as we thought it within the range of human possibility that the continued leadership of Mr Parnell in this party was compatible with any remaining rational hope of the freedom of our country. But at a certain stage it ceased to be a question of clamour, and it became a question of political force. For what were we elected? We

are Parliamentary men. We were elected by the people of Ireland to conduct the Parliamentary cause. Our duty is to guard at every hazard and contingency the Parliamentary fortress. As soon as it became apparent to us that the result of Mr Parnell's retention of his leadership would be infallibly to draw away from the Liberal camp a sufficient proportion of the electors of this country to render victory impossible, then it was our duty to preserve that hope and to maintain that position, on which Mr Parnell himself, in language of burning eloquence, had led and encouraged the Irish people to set their hearts and their hopes. So long as the interest of the nation left it within our moral competence we stood by Mr Parnell for the sake of gratitude, and for the sake of the unity of the party. But so soon as the supreme interests of Ireland became visibly and undeniably concerned, our duty was when the cause presented itself as between a nation and a man to call upon the man to retire and to stand indomitably by the nation. There have been humiliating episodes in the course of this discussion. There have been expressions used that I hope will be forgiven, but never can be forgotten. But of all that has happened to pain me there has been nothing to excite in me those feelings more potently than the argument employed by some of my hon. friends that the cause of Ireland without Mr Parnell becomes a hopeless cause (hear, hear). Our race is distinguished for political genius. I say that no man is necessary. And I ask you this question, If the leadership of Mr Parnell be necessary to win Home Rule, how is Ireland to keep it? Must not Ireland in this and in every emergency depend upon the collective ability and the collective patriotism of her sons? It is clearly suggested that Mr Parnell's lead is indispensable. There have been sneers at the idea of vesting the leadership in commission. I say that it is perfectly possible for this party to elect a man—and I am not now speaking of any one whose election would excite hostility—to elect a man with great knowledge of the world, with remarkable culture, with a long experience of affairs, and with an intellectual ability which would enable him to cope in any emergency with even the most sophistical statesman. I say it would be possible to surround the chairman with an efficient Cabinet; and, as I have come to this point, let me now say in public what I have already said in private. Every man knows that after my recent illness, which has reduced my strength and nerve, I have found that even the limited obligations of Parliamentary life have become a great and almost intolerable burthen, and that my desire would be to be relieved of my public obligations. I say that there is no personal ambition in this party; I affirm it in the face of the country that there is no personal ambition in this party, which need stand in the way of an ample and efficient leadership. Let any man say what he will, this party is bound together by links of steel, which no man and no question of leadership can injuriously affect; and if you are to change your leader it will be possible for you to surround him with a Cabinet; and in this connection I may say that I told Mr Parnell himself that on his retirement he could nominate the committee—conclusive proof that at any rate in the future government of the party I thought there should be no taint of hostility to him or any influence which could operate detrimentally to Ireland.

The "Freeman's Journal," said Mr Sexton, has had the fatuity to speak of me as Mr Gladstone's man. I am not Mr Gladstone's man. I adopt the phrase of Mr Healy, and I say I am no man's man. I say, in all humility, that I am Ireland's man—if Ireland cares to have me—and I have to add to that, upon my responsibility, that I am not prepared to allow any man to become Ireland's master. May a retribution fall upon me, may it fall upon me now and hereafter, if I have ever in the course of our tribulations and victories, if I have ever at a time when we had hopes from the Tory Party, or in the course of our alliance with the Liberal Party, if I have ever allowed affection or consideration for any party, or for any man, to adulterate the purity for one instant of my love and my regard for the sacred cause of Ireland. Now, will my friends opposite believe me when I say that I felt that the introduction yesterday of Mr Clancy's amendment created a hopeful change? I rejoiced yesterday because I thought I saw an indication on the part of Mr Parnell that personal feeling no longer predominated, and that he was willing frankly, and upon a reasonable footing, to make it plain that he was willing to make his voluntary retirement the occasion of doing a service to his country. I asked him before we adjourned yesterday, upon view of Mr Clancy's resolution, what authority would determine, in the event of a reply from the Liberal leaders upon the proposed negotiations, what authority would determine whether the reply was satisfactory or not? Well, I assure my colleagues that under ordinary circumstances I should not have thought such an inquiry needful. It was only because of the extraordinary acumen which Mr Parnell has displayed in the course of the debates, it is only because of the fact that the amendment by which it was proposed to meet the only real question was ruled out of order four days ago, it was only because after four days' debate attended with the most miserable results, attended, with the excitement of passion and rancour in Ireland, and by the absolute failure of the American mission—it was only because I saw at the end of four days we had not been allowed to approach to a decision on the only real question at issue—that I felt it necessary to address that question to Mr Parnell. His reply was in these words: "I have every belief, and I feel every confidence, that on such issue as that placed before the Irish Party—the question as to securing any future important provisions as to the power of the Irish Parliament—there will be no difference of opinion between me and the party as to whether these future declarations are satisfactory or not." Why, then (Mr Sexton continued), is the position so much changed between yesterday and to-day.

Mr Parnell—It is not changed. There is not an atom of change so far as you are concerned.

Mr Sexton—I exerted myself assiduously last evening, by conference with some of my friends to secure an honourable and amicable settlement, and I may say their hopes were such as do not now appear to me to correspond with the result. It was hoped our proceedings to-day would be extremely brief, and would raise no matter that could possibly excite discussion. I accepted Mr Clancy's amendment in good faith; at least I was disposed to receive it in good faith. At half-past one yesterday, half an hour before the meeting, I asked Mr Clancy to allow me to see the terms of the resolution. He informed me he could not

exhibit the terms of the amendment except by consultation. What am I to infer? With whom was he to consult? With whom but Mr Parnell? He did not, I am sure, upon a question involving the leadership of Mr Parnell, accept any other authority. We came into this room without having seen the terms of the resolution. We asked Mr Clancy to read it at the opening of his speech, and even that he declined to do. Why was the opportunity denied us of an examination of its terms? I have to give an answer, and, Mr Parnell, I hope you will understand that in giving the answer I say nothing whatever about the purpose of those who drew up the resolution; but I cannot express my meaning without saying that it is in effect a trap-door resolution. Let me remind you that until Mr Clancy was challenged he never established any connection between the amendment and the tenure of the chair. Mr Clancy's amendment might have been moved at any time within the last five years, and might have been presented as a matter of general politics to the leaders of the Liberal Party. I asked him if he was entitled to make further communication. Mr. Clancy hesitated, but Mr John Redmond rose and informed us that upon a satisfactory issue resulting from the acceptance of this amendment Mr. Parnell would voluntarily retire.

Mr. Redmond—I presume Mr. Sexton has no desire to misrepresent me. What I intended to say, and what I did say, is that if satisfactory assurances on these two vital points were given by Mr. Gladstone, as suggested in that amendment, Mr. Parnell would resign.

Mr. Sexton—And that is the phrase which I must describe as covering the trap-door.

Mr. Clancy—The reason I hesitated to give an answer to your question was that I did not understand it.

Mr. Healy (ironically)—Did you understand mine?

Mr. Clancy—I gave an answer as soon as I understood the question.

Mr. Sexton—I appreciate your position, Mr. Clancy, and I shall not press you further.

Mr. Redmond—You won't call him a liar by implication.

Mr. Sexton—Certainly not. I will not use threats nor innuendoes, nor will I impute falsehood to other men. Mr. Redmond now declared that his statement was that if satisfactory assurances were given Mr. Parnell would retire.

Mr. Parnell—Is not that what you recollect me to have said?

Mr. Sexton—I don't believe it. Mr. Redmond must have known that the party would only conclude that satisfactory assurances would be assurances satisfactory to the majority of the party. Now, however, closer questioning and keener scrutiny have discovered the fact that if we were to assent to Mr. Clancy's amendment we might meet here weeks hence, or months for all we know, and find ourselves in a position in which all our efforts would be of no avail.

Mr. Parnell—No.

Mr. Sexton—Yes, and in which Mr. Parnell himself would be as absolutely dictator of the situation as he is at present.

MR. PARNELL CHANGES FRONT.

Ultimately, under the fire of this and Mr

Healy's speech, Mr. Parnell saw that his position was untenable, and suddenly in the middle of Mr. Sexton's speech interrupted him to say that he agreed to retire if, as the result of Mr. Clancy's amendment, the Liberals gave assurances which the party voted to be satisfactory. So unexpected a change of front whether premeditated or not obviously took the majority at a disadvantage. A hurried conference ensued as to the wording of the resolution and the best means of carrying it into effect, "A delegation," said Mr. Sexton, "under it will wait immediately upon the heads of the Liberal Party, or, I would suggest, still better, upon Mr. Gladstone himself."

Mr. Parnell—I should insist strongly upon the three leaders, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Wm. Harcourt, and Mr. Morley, being present, for reasons which I can give if necessary.

Mr. Sexton—Mr. Clancy's resolution will form the basis of compromise. Mr. Parnell recognises that the situation through which our nation is now passing, in which it is like living in the crater of a live volcano, is not to be prolonged. Therefore there is absolute necessity for expedition. We shall continue from day to day to deal with this subject without intermission. Having laid these proposals before Mr. Gladstone, if the majority of the party decide by vote that the reply of the Liberal leaders is satisfactory, we are to understand that Mr. Parnell will resign. Does Mr. Parnell accept the offer?

Mr. Parnell—Certainly. You might have had that at the beginning of the meeting if you had not had Mr. Healy's speech.

Mr. Healy—No, sir, if we had not your speech.

Mr. Sexton (after consultation with some of his supporters)—Mr. Parnell, upon a question of detail I suppose there will be no objection to appoint with the Whips one or two representatives of each section of the party as members of the delegation?

Mr. Parnell—You will find that very machinery in one of my resolutions. If you like, four or five of us can be formed into a committee and retire to consider that subject.

Mr. Clancy's amendment was then passed without a division, Messrs. Chance and Barry strongly dissenting. A committee was then formed consisting of the Chairman, Mr. John Barry, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Justin M.Carthy, and the two Whips, to arrange the terms of the negotiations with the leaders of the Liberal party.* Mr. Barry, however, refused to act.

* Here, probably, it may be useful to recall a speech made nine months afterwards at Listowel by Mr. Parnell, in which he said it was his opponents (who met only to depose him and not to

The meeting then adjourned, and, except the members who were entrusted to wait on the English Liberal leaders, all the party retired from Room 15. Both sides cheerfully fraternised on leaving the room. Each felt, or appeared to feel, that an honourable way out of the *impasse* had been reached, and hoped that the unity of the party would be preserved.

LETTER TO MR. GLADSTONE.

The committee nominated in the resolution selected from their number Messrs Sexton, T M Healy, John Redmond, and Leamy, as a deputation to seek interviews with Mr Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr John Morley. The whips of the party addressed the following letter to Mr Gladstone:—

House of Commons, Dec 4, 1890.

SIR—We are directed to inform you that at a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary party the following gentlemen have been appointed to seek an interview with you—namely, Messrs Leamy, John Redmond, Sexton, and T M Healy, to inquire for the information of the party as to the manner in which the Liberal leaders would be prepared to treat certain subjects in the event of their being in a position in a future Parliament to deal legislatively with them. The subjects in question are the settlement of the agrarian difficulty in Ireland and the control of the Irish police. A similar request has been addressed to Sir William Harcourt and Mr John Morley.—We have the honour to remain, your obedient servants,

RICHARD POWER, } Whips.
JOHN DEASY, }

The Right Hon W E Gladstone.

REPLIES OF THE LIBERAL LEADERS.

To this letter the following replies were received the same night:—

1 Carlton-gardens, S W, Dec 4, 1890.

GENTLEMEN—So far as I comprehend the tenor of the letter I have just had the honour to receive,

discuss "guarantees") who insisted on going to Mr Gladstone—

"I did not induce the party in Committee Room 15 to obtain pledges from Mr Gladstone. I did my best, my utmost, to persuade them from going to him. I showed them that he would not give pledges in the first place, and, in the second place, that if he should, that they would be incomprehensible and that they would not be kept (hear, hear), and in return I was told that I was heaping abuse upon Mr. Gladstone in trying to enlighten these statesmen as to his cleverness of mind and character and prevent them from asking him for pledges. Mr Dillon said it was a most ridiculous thing to go to Mr Gladstone and ask for pledges. I agree with him but I could not help them. They insisted on going, and the result was they got nothing (laughter)."—"Freeman," 14 Sept, 1891.

I understand that it is proposed by you to constitute a body consisting of Sir William Harcourt, Mr John Morley, and myself, which body is to deliver to you assurances as to the course which the Liberal Party, if in power, would take in a future Parliament with regard to two of the many important particulars connected with the plan of Home Rule, I would on no account attempt to fetter in any way your liberty of communication in any quarter to which you may think proper to address yourselves. But I regret to be unable to enter upon the point of consideration of any matter submitted to me in consideration with a selection of my friends and former colleagues which has been made neither by me nor by the Liberal Party of this country. I leave it to you to consider how far this leaves it open to you to prosecute further your request, and I think it best at the present moment to abstain from touching on any point except the one I have just raised.—Yours faithfully,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

House of Commons, Dec. 4, '90,

GENTLEMEN—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours of this day. Whilst expressing my sense of the honour you have done me in desiring to learn from me "the manner in which the Liberal leaders would be prepared to treat certain subjects in the event of their being in a position in a future Parliament to deal legislatively with them," you must permit me to point out that I have no authority to determine such matters, and that Mr Gladstone alone, as leader of the Liberal Party, can speak in its name.

You will understand, therefore, that it is from no want of courtesy that I find myself precluded from accepting an invitation to an interview such as you have been good enough to propose to me.—I have the honour to remain, your obedient servant,

W. V. HARCOURT.

House of Commons, Dec 4, 1890.

GENTLEMEN—I am extremely sensible of the honour of your invitation, but it is strictly within the duty of Mr Gladstone as leader of the Liberal Party to determine the time and manner of stating the plan of dealing with the subject mentioned in your letter, which he would be prepared to recommend to his party and to Parliament. I must therefore respectfully beg you to excuse me from intervening in the way that you propose.—Believe me, yours very faithfully,

JOHN MORLEY.

Thereupon the sub-committee met in the Smoke Room about 11 p m, with Mr Parnell, who agreed that the objections taken were reasonable, and the following second letter was accordingly despatched to Mr Gladstone:—

House of Commons, Dec 4, 1890.

SIR—We have to acknowledge the receipt of your courteous reply to our inquiry. The names of Sir W. Harcourt and Mr John Morley were suggested with a view to greater convenience and facility of consultation. We are now instructed to say that we shall regard an interview with yourself, either alone or with any of your political friends whom you may be pleased to select for the purpose, as enabling us substantially to discharge

the commission with which we have been entrusted.—We have the honour to remain, your obedient servants,

RICHARD POWER.
JOHN DEASY.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

The same night Mr Gladstone replied that he would receive the deputation.

DEPUTATION TO MR. GLADSTONE.

At half-past twelve o'clock the next day (Friday) Messrs Sexton, Healy, John Redmond, and Leamy—drove up together in a four-wheel cab, and had an interview with Mr Gladstone in Mr Stuart Rendel's house. The conference lasted for an hour. The following were the questions submitted by Mr Sexton, at Mr Parnell's request, on behalf of the Irish Party:—

Clause 21 of the Home Rule Bill of 1886.

(1) To ask that Sub-section (A) of the clause be applied to the Royal Irish Constabulary as well as to the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and that Sub-section (B) of the clause be omitted.

(2) To ask that Mr Gladstone shall state whether the Liberal leaders intend to deal with the Land Question themselves in the Imperial Parliament, either by purchase or on the lines of the measure introduced by the Irish Party and supported by the Liberal Party, or by remitting the question to an Irish Legislature.

(3) To ask that any proposals of the Liberal Party in pursuance of the foregoing articles shall be treated as vital.

MR. GLADSTONE READS HIS REPLY.

After hearing the deputation, Mr Gladstone spoke from a written memorandum as follows—

Dec. 5, 1890.

I have never been indisposed to converse freely with Irish members on Irish policy, and there is nothing which I have heard from Mr Sexton in the statement he has just made which tends in any degree to produce such an indisposition. I have no opinion or intention of any kind to conceal. But since writing my letter of last evening I have read in the papers of to-day the report of the proceedings of the Irish Party at their last meeting. I find there no appointment of a deputation, but as far as I understand you have been delegated by a committee which (a) is composed of certain persons, (b) is appointed to dispose of a question of difference of recollection as to the purport of the interview at Hawarden. I fear that there is here a preliminary bar to any communication on the matters you desire to open. I acknowledge no such difference of recollection. I can say or do nothing which should imply that the general purport of that interview is matter of doubt. Besides my own recollections and written notes, and the recollection of my former colleagues founded thereon, I rely on the recollections of the other party to the interview, conveyed in communications with one or more individuals and in

public speeches both immediately after the visit and again when several months had elapsed. Viewing, as a whole, the language used by me in my letter to Mr. Morley, and in my published letter of last Saturday, I cannot, apart from any other difficulty, enter into a discussion having for its object to dispose of a difference of recollection which I do not acknowledge to exist. Further, I may say that the question raised by my letter to Mr Morley was a question of leadership representing what I found to be the views of the Liberal Party of Great Britain, and having no connection with Home Rule or its conditions. But what is now requested of me makes the question a question of Home Rule, and I am asked to open a new discussion on a separate ground. The British Liberal Party is enthusiastic for Home Rule, but the trust which it has committed to me does not authorise me to open to such a discussion in connection with the question of leadership, on which they entertain a separate and decided opinion.

MR. CLANCY'S AMENDMENT RESCINDED.

The deputation then withdrew, its four members walking back together to the House of Commons, where the sub-committee re-assembled at 2 p.m. in the Irish Whips' Room, and unanimously decided, in consultation with Mr Parnell, to recommend the party to rescind Mr Clancy's amendment, and to adopt another resolution. The terms of this substituted resolution were framed by Mr Parnell as follows:—

That the following members of the party, namely—Mr Leamy, Mr John Redmond, Mr T. Healy, and Mr Sexton, are hereby authorised to request a conference with Mr Gladstone for the purpose of representing the views of this Party, and of requesting an intimation of the intentions of himself and his colleagues with respect to certain details connected with the following subjects: First, the settlement of the Irish land question; second, the control of the Irish Constabulary force in the event of the establishment of an Irish Legislature.

FURTHER LETTER FROM MR. GLADSTONE.

A private meeting of the Irish Party was held at 4 p.m. at which this resolution was, at the request of the committee, adopted without discussion or explanation; and the Whips then wrote to Mr Gladstone at once, enclosing him a copy of the resolution and asking him again to see the deputation. Thereupon, the Liberal leaders who had been members of the Cabinet in 1886 were convened, and decided that while the question of guarantees was entangled with the issue of the Irish leadership it should not be considered a genuine document. At 10 p.m. that night, Mr Gladstone sent the following reply, which was brought by Mr R.

Power to the Westminster Palace Hotel, where Mr Parnell, Mr Justin McCarthy, Mr Sexton, Mr Healy, Mr J Redmond, and Mr Leamy met at 11 p m.

1 Carlton-gardens, Dec 5, 1890.

GENTLEMEN—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter, transmitting to me two resolutions of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

By the first of these resolutions the subject of our correspondence is entirely detached from connection with the conversation at Hawarden.

In the second I am requested to receive a deputation which, besides stating the views of the Party, is to request an intimation of my intentions and those of my colleagues as to certain details connected with the subject of the settlement of the Irish land question and with the control of the Irish Constabulary force in the event of the establishment of an Irish Legislature. As your letter reached me during the early hours of the sitting of the House, I have had the opportunity of learning the views of my colleagues in regard to such a declaration of intention on two out of the many points which may be regarded as vital to the construction of a good measure of Home Rule. I may be permitted to remind you, as I mentioned to the deputation this morning, that the question raised by the publication of my letter to Mr Morley was a question of leadership, and that it is separate from and has no proper connection with the subject of Home Rule. We have arrived at the conclusion that I cannot undertake to make any statement of our joint intentions on them or any other provisions of a Home Rule Bill in connection with the question of the leadership of the Irish Party. When the Irish Party shall have disposed of this question, which belongs entirely to their own competence, in such a manner as will enable me to renew the former relations, it will be my desire to enter without prejudice into confidential communication such as has heretofore taken place, as occasion may serve, upon all amendment of particulars and suggestion of improvements in any plan for a measure of Home Rule.

I may venture to assure you that no change has taken place in my desire to press forward on the first favourable opportunity a just and effective measure of Home Rule. I recognise and earnestly seek to uphold the independence of the Irish Parliamentary Party no less than that of the Liberal Party. I acknowledge with satisfaction the harmony which, since 1886, has prevailed between them, and when the present difficulty is removed, I am aware of no reason to anticipate its interruption. From what has taken place on both sides of the Channel in the last four years, I look forward with confidence, as do my colleagues, to the formation and prosecution of a measure which, in meeting all the just claims of Ireland, will likewise obtain the approval of the people of Great Britain. I shall at all suitable times prize the privilege of free communication with the Irish National Party, and I will finally remind you of my declaration this morning that, apart from personal confidence, there is but one guarantee which can be of real value to Ireland. It is that recently pointed at by Sir William Harcourt in his letter December 2nd, when he called attention to "the unquestionable political fact that no party and no leaders could ever propose or hope to carry any

scheme of Home Rule which had not the cordial concurrence and support of the Irish nation, as declared by their representatives in Parliament." After this statement of my views and those of my colleagues I anticipate that you will concur with me in the opinion that there would be no advantage in a further personal interview.—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, yours faithfully.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr Parnell asked the four delegates to Mr Gladstone to draw up and sign a minute of their interview with the Liberal leader, which they did. Messrs Sexton and Healy urged Mr Parnell once more to bow to the inevitable. He said he would take the night to consider the matter, and requested that they would return and see him at 11 o'clock next morning. They promised to do so, and left shortly before 2 a m, when they conveyed the news to a number of their colleagues who were awaiting them elsewhere. Next morning, at 11, Messrs Sexton and Healy again visited Mr Parnell, and he informed them that his "responsibility" would not allow him to retire. Mr Healy then told Mr Parnell that the majority would not sit longer in Room 15 than that day, but would retire if obstructed further. They then left, Mr Parnell saying, "Let us shake hands, if it is to be the last time." All shook hands then and left for the House of Commons.

THE LAST DAY.

The last day's sitting of the party together in Room 15 had then come. It was Saturday, 6th December, 1890. Every member except Mr O'Hanlon was in his place. Mr Parnell was sharply punctual in taking the chair at noon. A few minutes previously the members of the majority were got together in the Conference Room and told the result of the efforts of Messrs Sexton and Healy and the effect of the reply of Mr Gladstone. The House of Commons does not sit on Saturdays, but by the favour of the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Irish Party got the use of the Committee Room until six p m, and the majority then determined that longer than that hour they would not be further delayed.

COLLAPSE OF THE SESSION.

A secret reason also existed for this in the fact that the House was to prorogue for Christmas

on the following Tuesday, for instead of the "combat from first to last" against the Government which Mr Parnell had foreshadowed, the winter session, owing to the Irish crisis, collapsed in a fortnight. The Purchase Bill passed its second reading after a few hours' debate, and Mr Parnell and his followers went into the lobby in support of it, although he had moved the rejection a few months before of the same bill in a better form. The Parnellites were doing their best with the Tory Whips to secure the adjournment on Monday, so that Parliament might be "up" before the final proceedings in Room 15 came to a close, when members naturally would disperse from London, and the party would have to go to a hotel for a meeting place, or postpone the conclusion of the business indefinitely. When therefore, the Irish members found themselves round the familiar horse-shoe table of Room 15 once more under Mr Parnell's presidency, each side knew that it was for the last time. A feeling of unreality and "foregone-ness" therefore spread over the proceedings. Mr Parnell at once started a "hare" over the embassy to Mr Gladstone, and insisted that the sub-committee should bring up a report. A protracted discussion arose over this. The chairman although repeatedly appealed to to bring the obstruction to an end, declined to do so. Finally, Mr Sexton, summing up, said—

I have to remind the party that we have now approached the twelfth day since these proceedings opened, and we have been engaged in six successive days' debate. I was under some apprehension that I would not be able to come down this morning, and I think every man has felt the strain in mind and heart and health to be almost intolerable. The country is now in an agony of suspense, and we find ourselves led on during the last two or three days from one issue to another, led entirely away from the main issue which we ultimately have to decide. Now, I do not think it would be proper for me at this stage to withhold the observation that the majority of the party have made up their minds that these intolerably protracted proceedings must be brought to a close to-day. If they cannot be brought to a close by a motion from the chair, they must be determined in some other way. If we were in a minority we would gladly retire, but the fact that we are in a majority places a deep obligation upon us. We have a certain power placed in our hands that vests us with a responsibility, and in the exercise of it we must use that power, if it be necessary, in the last

resort. I would again respectfully say that the majority of the members here have determined that the proceedings shall not be continued beyond to-day, the majority of the party feel that they cannot undertake the prolongation of the suspense of the country, nor the strain which has been put upon themselves. I could not endure it one day longer, and, therefore, before our proceedings come to a close to-day, it will be necessary for the majority of the party to appeal to you, Mr Parnell, to put from the chair a motion to determine the final question, or to take such other measure as may be open to them.

THE ULTIMATUM.

This ultimatum on behalf of the majority of the party was received by them with approving cheers. The chairman coldly suggested that it was time for lunch. It was about three p.m., and on their return the report of the sub-committee might be read. At luncheon a hasty conference amongst the leaders of the majority was held, when they resolved to insist on the chairman receiving Mr Abraham's resolution, and take an immediate division on it. If Mr Parnell refused to take Mr Abraham's amendment, the majority, after a protest from Mr Justin M'Carthy as to the chairman's conduct, should then quietly leave and proceed to the Conference Room. Those directions being conveyed to each member of the majority, the party re-assembled in Room 15. Mr John Redmond having read the report of the delegates, Mr Abraham rose.

NEARING THE END.

A few seconds later Mr John O'Connor also rose. Mr Parnell at once, and in a very loud tone, called on Mr O'Connor. There were fierce cries of "Abraham, Abraham," from his friends. Undoubtedly he had risen first, but not by many seconds. An indescribable scene followed. Both gentlemen remained standing, the chairman also standing. He loudly shouted, and thumped the desk, "O'Connor, Mr John O'Connor"—his party also wildly calling on Mr O'Connor. Mr Abraham's friends were as busily calling on him. Amidst this din the three gentlemen remained standing, Mr Parnell shouting, at the top of his voice, "O'Connor, John O'Connor. I distinctly called on Mr O'Connor." Mr John Barry's voice made itself heard: "I say Mr O'Connor had not risen when you called upon him." This statement provoked

loud cheers and counter-cheers; Mr Parnell again thumping the desk and crying, "Order, order," at the top of his voice. "I say," he shouted, "Mr John O'Connor is in possession." "No, no," the majority fiercely retorted.

AN EXCITING SCENE.

For the first time in an exciting debate extending over a week, the disorder approached that of a scene in the House of Commons itself. A disciplined band of politicians had broken in revolt against the authority of the chair, an authority which every instinct of their training taught them to respect, as the performers in an orchestra to avoid discord obey the baton of the conductor. Mr Abraham who had occupied a place about eight seats below Mr Parnell on his right, advanced and approached the chairman. He stood behind Mr Sexton's chair, the third from Mr Parnell, and then addressing the chairman as loudly as he could, he said, "this is my resolution," and he commenced to read it. Mr Parnell was still standing. Mr John O'Connor had sat down. No one could hear the resolution in the uproar. The chairman repeatedly called on Mr Abraham to sit down, but the latter persisted and finished reading his resolution. He then handed it to Mr Justin M'Carthy to pass it to the chairman. By this time Mr Parnell had completely lost his self-control and coolness. Mr M'Carthy rose, as all thought, to hand on the resolution to the chair, when Mr Parnell, with great violence, tore it out of Mr M'Carthy's hand, passionately saying, "I will not receive it." He crumpled the paper up, and motioned as if he were about to tear and throw it from him, but in a second after he placed it in his trousers pocket. Mr M'Carthy justly indignant at this, rose to his feet, and the cries and counter cries grew deafening. Mr Conway, Edward Harrington, and Dr Fitzgerald left their seats and ranged themselves at the back of Mr Parnell's chair, threateningly. Mr Parnell, with features distorted, and flashing eyes, shouted, "until the party deposes me from the chair, I am your chairman." This was received with frantic shouts of applause from his supporters, and a burst of ironical cheering from the majority. "You are not," flung back Mr Barry, "our chairman, nor will

you ever be again." Mr M'Carthy, in a lull that followed this storm, tried to explain to Mr Parnell that he only rose for the purpose of handing him Mr Abraham's resolution. But Mr Parnell offensively replied, "You attempted to move a resolution surreptitiously." Angry cries of "No, no," from Mr M'Carthy's friends, and "Yes, yes," from the Parnellites followed. "Give us back, our document," thundered Mr Healy. But the only notice the chairman took of this new demand was again to call on Mr John O'Connor.

MR. PARNELL'S VIOLENCE.

The clamour renewed, and Mr Lane rose to a point of order, but Mr Parnell roared him down. The insult to Mr Lane was very marked. The uproar broke out wildly once more, Mr Parnell excitedly calling "Order for the chair. Respect the chair." "Yes," said Mr David Sheehy, "we will respect the chair if the chair respects the party; but as the chair does not respect the party, we cannot respect the chair."

Mr Arthur O'Connor—I would appeal to my friends to manifest to the chairman, our late leader, every possible respect (cries of "Abraham," and "Order, order," from the Parnellites).

Mr Healy said that the chairman had called on Mr O'Connor, although that gentleman had not risen to address the chair, whilst at that time Mr Abraham was on his feet for that purpose.

Mr Corbet—Healy, you will have to answer for this (cheers and counter-cheers).

Mr Healy—So will you, too.

Mr Parnell again called on Mr John O'Connor.

Mr Healy—"Abraham. Abraham" (cries of "Order").

Mr Parnell—I am your chairman until you depose me (loud cheers and counter-cheers).

Mr Healy—Allow us to depose you (cheers and counter-cheers).

Mr Parnell again called on Mr John O'Connor; but Mr O'Connor was not allowed to proceed, there being loud cries of "Abraham" and "Order."

Mr Sexton—My memory is that when you called on Mr John O'Connor he was seated (cheers, and cries of "He was not," and "He was.")

Mr Justin M'Carthy said—I rose merely to a point of strictly Parliamentary order, which no man in this room who knows the House of Commons can say was not absolutely in order. Well, as I was about to express that point of order some one handed me a letter of some kind—I don't know what it was—and the chairman struck it out of my hand (cheers).

Mr Parnell—I took it out of your hands.

Mr M'Carthy—I don't know at this moment what the letter contained, or whom it came from.

It seemed a short note in pencil. I will now state my point of order. When a difference of opinion arises between the Speaker and anybody in the House as to who has first caught the Speaker's eye, it is in the power of any man and in his right to move that the member be first heard, and not the other member. Mr Parnell shakes his head. He does not know the House of Commons as long as I do (cheers). I say it was moved by Mr Joe Cowan, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and carried against the Speaker (cheers).

Mr Parnell—There was no such thing.

Mr M'Carthy—That point of order I was going to raise when the chairman struck the letter out of my hand and refused to hear me.

Mr Parnell—Your friends refused to hear you.

Mr M'Carthy—You struck the letter out of my hand (cheers).

Mr Parnell—You were about to put some resolution, thereby usurping my functions.

Mr M'Carthy—You might have asked me what I was going to do. I might have expected that courtesy from your hands (loud cheers).

Mr Parnell again called upon Mr John O'Connor.

Mr Healy—I move that Mr Abraham be heard (loud cheers).

Mr Parnell—That motion is entirely out of order.

Mr Healy—Put the motion.

Mr Parnell—I refuse to put it.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR POUNDS AWAY.

After scenes of this kind lasting over half an hour a truce was entered into that after Mr John O'Connor moved his resolution Mr Abraham would be entitled to move his amendment. Mr O'Connor, then pounded away for a long time without anyone heeding him. At last, assuming a more violent tone, he secured some attention and said—

Sir, you are leader of the Irish people, and when I say to some of my friends that they are acting wrongly in trying to depose you from that leadership, they say, "We will have no one-man power—it is Mr Parnell against the country." And still every act of theirs goes to show that while rejecting you as their chief—while rejecting the Irish chief they place themselves unreservedly under the leadership of Mr Gladstone (cries of "Certainly not"). They say "No;" but read Sir Wm Harcourt's letter; he says, "Treat with Mr Gladstone."

Mr A O'Connor—He is not a member of the party.

Mr J Redmond (offensively)—He is the master of the party (cheers and counter cheers).

Mr Healy—Who is to be mistress of the party?

The effect of this was indescribable. The chairman half rose from his seat once or twice, and some members of the party believed with the intention of striking Mr Healy, and friends moved rapidly up to Mr Healy's chair.

Mr A O'Connor—I appeal to my friend the chairman.

Mr Parnell—Better appeal to your own friends. Better appeal to that cowardly little scoundrel there (noise), that in an assembly of Irishmen dares to insult a woman (loud cheers and counter cheers).

Mr Healy took no notice of this outbreak, and when Mr John O'Connor had finished Mr O'Kelly seconded his resolution.

MR. ABRAHAM'S RESOLUTION.

Then Mr Abraham's time at last came. He did not detain the meeting long. The time for argument he knew was past. He commenced by saying—

We have debated this most important question for now close on twelve days. I joined most heartily with the majority of my colleagues in this party in endeavouring to see if we could not find a golden bridge in which you might have retired from the leadership of this party, having at the same time obtained substantial benefits for Ireland. That hope has been dissipated, and I feel now, after the emphatic statement we have had from Mr Gladstone as to negotiating with the party, that there is but one duty left to us to perform—a duty from which, I regret to say, we have been turned aside by side issues in the earlier part of these proceedings (hear, hear). My decision in regard to this matter has been made purely on the political ground. Ireland looks to us, the men chosen to represent them, to give a decision on the question of the leadership, and I think we should be wanting in respect to ourselves were we now to continue a discussion which must terminate, and which would be renewed again and again by desultory resolutions, which come in so fruitful crop from our friends on the other side. I think we as a party, having expressed our opinion on the question, and I have endeavoured to bring it to an issue by a resolution which would have settled this question, and having that resolution ignominiously treated by the chairman and torn to pieces in his hand (cheers).

Mr. Parnell—That is distinctly untrue. ("Oh, oh"). You had the resolution in your own possession, and you can produce it.

Mr. Abraham—I handed it to you.

Mr. Parnell—You handed it to Mr. Justin M'Carthy. Mr. M'Carthy was about to put it to the meeting when I took it out of his hand. (loud cries of "No, no," and "That is not so.")

Mr. Abraham concluded by moving:—

That we, the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, declare that Mr. Parnell's tenure of the chairmanship of this party is hereby terminated.

Colonel Nolan—Is that resolution a resolution pertaining to that of Mr. O'Connor?

Mr. T Healy—You have a capital chairman for the purpose.

Mr. Parnell—If members wish to address me to a point of order I shall be glad to hear them.

Mr. M. Healy—You declared Mr. Clancy's amendment, which had no possible connection with the resolution—you declared it an amendment to the resolution.

Mr. T Healy—But circumstances alter cases.

Mr. Parnell—I have now had the opportunity of examining the original resolution proposed by

Mr. John O'Connor, and the resolution suggested by Mr. Abraham as an amendment to the original resolution is no amendment whatever to the original resolution.

Mr. Healy—Bravo, bravo.

Mr. Parnell (excitedly)—Mr. Healy, I will not stand very much more from you.

Mr Arthur O'Connor at this point intervened, saying—

We have been very moderate in this matter, and there is danger of our moderation being misconstrued. We are in danger of appearing to the country as if shirking our duty. I think further words only a waste of time and a loss of dignity, and, therefore, I invite my colleagues to make an end of the business (cheers). The time has now come, not to talk, but to act (loud cheering). We owe it to ourselves, to our party, to our country, to make an end of what is rapidly becoming a disgraceful farce. I ask the overwhelming majority of this party to decide now, and at once to record their decision, if not here, then elsewhere (renewed cheering), and that decision is, that now the chairmanship of Mr Parnell is determined.

Mr Parnell—Mr Arthur O'Connor knows perfectly well that that is not an amendment.

Mr Arthur O'Connor—Very well, if it cannot be put here.—

Mr Healy—Wait awhile, Arthur.

Mr Leamy—If it were right to level the charge of obstruction against us.

Mr Healy—Is this in order?

Mr Parnell—It is perfectly in order.

Mr Healy—I thought you ruled Mr Arthur O'Connor out of order.

Mr Parnell—He chose to make a speech, and it will have to be answered.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY SUGGESTS WITHDRAWAL.

Mr Leamy then addressed himself to a defence of Mr Parnell, after which came Mr Justin M'Carthy. His rising was greeted with a significant burst of cheering from his colleagues. The end was now near. The tension was very great, as both sides strained in silence to catch every word. In his gravest tones he said—

The time has quite come when we ought to bring this debate to a close. I had hoped up to last night that our chairman would still help us out of this terrible, this national crisis. I may say to him that I am personally disappointed that he has not lent us more assistance out of this terrible dilemma into which we have been brought, but I feel that we did waste our time, and the time of our opponents, in further controversy where it has been made clear that the door is to be barred against any definite settlement of the controversy in this room within any reasonable limit. I therefore feel that the longer we debate, the more we may possibly grow in passion, the more we may become unkindly, the more bitter things we may say. I see no further use carrying on a discussion which must be barren of all but reproach, ill-temper, controversy, and indignity, and I will therefore suggest that all who think with me at this grave crisis should withdraw with me from this room (loud cheers).

Mr Huntly M'Carthy here interposed for a moment to say that as a member of a constitutional party he would go with the majority, although he hitherto had supported Mr Parnell.

THE SPLIT.

Then Mr M'Carthy moved from the table to leave the room. There was no demonstration nor cheering. His forty-four colleagues quietly stood up, and, headed by their new leader, they followed him out in silence. Not a word was uttered on either side. Blank amazement was visible in the faces of some of those who were left behind. Some of the departing members shook hands with those whom they were parting from. The story about a scene of disorder as the Party severed, which was circulated by a London News Agency, was an absolute falsehood. The last man to leave was Mr Condon, and as he disappeared a mocking laugh was raised by Mr Alexander Blane, and some jeers followed from Mr Conway and Dr Fitzgerald. That was all.

MEETING IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM.

The members who left the room with Mr M'Carthy proceeded down stairs to the Conference Room. They instantly proceeded to business. As Whip of the party, Mr John Deasy was moved to the chair. Then the following resolution was proposed by Mr Arthur O'Connor, seconded by Mr James F X O'Brien, and carried with acclamation—

That, acting under an imperative sense of duty to our country, we, the undersigned, being an absolute majority of the whole number of the Irish Parliamentary Party, declare that Mr Parnell's term of chairmanship of this party is hereby terminated.

MR M'CARTHY'S ELECTION.

Mr Healy then moved and Mr Sexton seconded the election of Mr Justin M'Carthy as "Sessional Chairman" of the party. This was unanimously carried. Mr M'Carthy then took the chair amidst loud cheering, every man in the room standing and offering him their heartiest congratulations. It was next resolved, on the proposition of Mr Chance, seconded by Mr Bernard Molloy—

That a committee is hereby constituted to exercise, jointly with the chairman, the powers

and discharge the functions hitherto attached to the chairmanship of the party, and that this committee do consist of eight members of the party to be chosen by ballot on Monday next at two p.m.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

On the proposition of Mr Abraham, seconded by Mr D Sheehy, the following declaration was agreed to :—

We hereby solemnly renew our adhesion to the principle in devotion to which we have never wavered—viz, that the Irish Parliamentary Party is and always must remain independent of all other parties; and we further declare that we will never entertain any proposal for the settlement of the Home Rule question except such as satisfies the aspirations of the Irish people.

This was signed—

JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Derry City, Chairman.
WM ABRAHAM, West Limerick.
J BARRY, South Wexford.
P A CHANCE, South Kilkenny.
A COMMINS, South Roscommon.
T J CONDON, Tipperary.
J R COX, East Clare.
DANIEL CRILLY, North Mayo.
J DEASY, South Mayo.
T A DICKSON, Stephen's green, Dublin.
T H GRATTAN ESMONDE, South County Dublin.
JOHN FINUCANE, East Limerick.
J C FLYNN, North Cork.
P J FOLEY, Connemara.
J F FOX, King's County.
MAURICE HEALY, Cork City.
T M HEALY, North Longford.
J JORDAN, West Clare.
M J KENNY, Mid Tyrone.
DENIS KILBRIDE, South Kerry.
E F KNOX, West Cavan.
W J LANE, East Cork.
M M'CARTAN, South Down.
JUSTIN H M'CARTHY, Newry.
P M'DONALD, North Sligo.
J G SWIFT M'NEILL, South Donegal.
BERNARD C MOLLOY, Birr Division, King's Co.
JOHN MORROGH, South-East Cork.
W M MURPHY, St Patrick's Division, Dublin.
P J O'BRIEN, North Tipperary.
J F X O'BRIEN, East Mayo.
A O'CONNOR, East Donegal.
F A O'KEEFE, Limerick City.
J PINKERTON, Galway City.
P J POWER, East Waterford.
W J REYNOLDS, East Tyrone.
JOHN ROCHE, East Galway.
T SEXTON, West Belfast.
J D SHEEHAN, East Kerry.
D SHEEHY, South Galway.
J STACK, North Kerry.
DONAL SULLIVAN, South Westmeath.
O K TANNER, Mid Cork.
J TUITE, North Westmeath.
A WEBB, West Waterford.

As Mr Webb finished his signature another burst of cheering broke out. Each man felt he had signed his Declaration of National

Independence. The meeting, which scarcely lasted a quarter of an hour, at 6 p.m., broke up with the understanding that they were to meet next day (Sunday) at 2 p.m. at Mr Arthur O'Connor's chambers in the Temple.

"HOME RULE IS SAVED."

Naturally enough the deposition of Mr Parnell caused immense excitement in political circles in London. The Tories were greatly distressed over Mr Parnell's defeat. On the other hand, Mr Gladstone, on hearing the result, exclaimed, "THANK GOD! HOME RULE IS SAVED."

After the majority left Room 15, Mr Parnell went through the farce of putting Mr J O'Connor's resolution, and declared it carried unanimously. He declared that, in spite of every effort, he "still held the chair."

MEETING IN MR A O'CONNOR'S CHAMBERS.

Punctually next day (Sunday) every one of the forty-five members met in Mr Arthur O'Connor's chambers. The meeting was a brisk and a businesslike one. Mr Justin M'Carthy was in the chair. Mr Condon at once moved, seconded by Mr Sheehy, and unanimously carried, that a manifesto from the Irish Party embodying their views on the present crisis be issued.

THE PARIS FUNDS.

Another resolution was promptly carried, that Messrs Arthur O'Connor and James F X O'Brien at once proceed to Paris with a letter from Mr Justin M'Carthy, addressed to Messrs Munroe, bankers there, requesting them to retain the funds and securities in their possession standing in the names of Mr Charles Stewart Parnell, Mr Justin M'Carthy, and Mr J G Biggar, pending further proceedings, and that Messrs O'Connor and O'Brien be authorised to institute such legal proceedings as they might consider necessary. Mr Arthur O'Connor and Mr O'Brien left at eight o'clock that evening for Paris, and on the bank opening its doors the next morning the two gentlemen served a cautionary notice on the bank. They were not a moment too soon, for a letter reached Messrs Munroe that morning from Mr Parnell, requesting a remittance.

THE WRIT FOR KILKENNY.

Another resolution carried at Sunday's meet-

ing authorised the chairman to communicate with Sir John Pope Hennessy, who had ten days previously been selected as the candidate for North Kilkenny, asking if he was prepared to sit, act, and vote with the party, and, further, that the writ for North Kilkenny should be moved next day (Monday, Dec 8th, 1890). It was also determined to call a formal meeting of the entire Nationalist members next day in Room 15 to ratify the decisions already come to, and to summon the Parnellites thereto by postal notice.

STARTING THE "NATIONAL PRESS"

Mr Thomas Sexton then moved :—

That Messrs Justin M'Carthy, Thomas Dickson, W Murphy, John Barry, John Morrogh, T M Healy, and Thomas Sexton, be constituted a committee, with power to draw up a prospectus for the formation of a limited liability company to establish and conduct a daily national journal in Ireland.

There was not a man in the room who did not seem eager to have the pleasure of seconding this resolution, which in due time took practical shape in the birth of the *National Press*. A score of voices cried, "I beg to second that." Subsequently a subscription list was opened to meet pressing urgent calls and the members of the party present within ten minutes subscribed £1,020. The meeting then broke up. An army of Pressmen were waiting outside the Temple to learn what business was transacted at the meeting.

THE "FREEMAN" CORRESPONDENT LAUGHS.

Amongst them was the London correspondent of the "Freeman." On this gentleman being informed that a resolution was passed by the party, authorising a committee to be formed for the purpose of establishing a daily paper in Ireland, he shrieked with laughter. Calling some acquaintances to him, he said: "They have passed a resolution to start a morning paper in Dublin." The joke appeared so huge that once more he broke out into roars of laughter.

ROOM 15 AGAIN.

The Party met again in Room 15 on Monday, the 8th of December, at 2 p.m., with Mr Justin M'Carthy in the chair. Mr Parnell had heard that his supporters had

been summoned to this meeting, and he was early on guard at the House, stopping them as they arrived, and dissuaded them from attending. Every member who left the committee room with Mr Justin M'Carthy on Saturday was present. Mr Sexton moved—

That this meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party, to which every member was invited, do hereby solemnly ratify the resolutions passed at its meeting on Saturday evening last at the Conference Room in the House of Commons.

This was unanimously passed. It was then agreed that the chairman should, if he deemed it expedient, prepare an address to the Irish people with regard to recent events.

ELECTION OF A STANDING COMMITTEE.

On the selection of a Standing Committee of eight members of the party to assist the chairman by their counsel and advice, the following members were elected by ballot—

Mr WILLIAM ABRAHAM.	Mr T P O'CONNOR.
„ JOHN DILLON,	„ ARTHUR O'CONNOR
„ T M HEALY.	„ THOMAS SEXTON.
„ WILLIAM O'BRIEN.	„ DAVID SHEEHY.

CABLEGRAM FROM THE AMERICAN DELEGATES.

Whilst the meeting was proceeding Mr. M'Carthy received the following cablegram from the delegates in America—

New York.

We are of course in cordial sympathy with your resolutions. As to methods employed in immediate future, owing to impossibility in having adequate consultation by cable, we desire, as hitherto, to leave responsibility to you, we co-operating by methods we believe best, to secure Parnell's withdrawal, and the re-union of the party.

DILLON.
O'BRIEN.
O'CONNOR.
SULLIVAN.
GILL.

OCCUPYING THE HOUSE.

By this time the House was sitting, and the meeting broke up. Headed by Mr Justin M'Carthy, and followed by Mr Sexton and Mr Healy, the party entered the House and proceeded to take up their old seats. As they streamed into the chamber business was at once suspended. All eyes were directed to their benches, and even the Speaker was carried away by curiosity. There was some cheering, and members from the library and smoking rooms rushed in pell-mell, hearing that the Irish members, under Mr M'Carthy's

Leadership, were making a "demonstration." The chamber was soon filled, the only Parnellites present being Colonel Nolan and Mr Richard Power.

THE WRIT FOR KILKENNY MOVED.

Immediately, as Whip of the Party, Mr Deasy rose and moved that a new writ be issued for the election of a member for North Kilkenny in the room of the late Mr Marum, deceased. His colleagues cheered loudly. It was the first official act of the party under Mr M'Carthy, and was in the

nature of an appeal to the country. The House understood it. The reporters in the Press Gallery rose in their seats and craned over with curiosity. War was declared. Colonel Nolan rushed out in search of Mr Parnell, but he had not yet come up from Brighton. Next day the House adjourned for the Christmas recess, and Mr Parnell set off for his disastrous campaign of dissension in Ireland, which was to terminate only with his own tragic end at Walsingham-terrace, Brighton, on Tuesday, Oct. 6, 1891.*

THE END.

* It will be of interest to give an extract from an admirable speech of Mr Sexton, delivered a year after the foregoing events (Newry, 3rd December, 1891), in reply to the criticisms passed on the action of the Irish Party in Room 15:—

Mr Davitt has said that the re-election of Mr Parnell was the act of schoolboys—that we were blind or stupid, and that if we had not re-elected Mr Parnell there would have been no trouble. We had no information upon that opening day, and we had no hint that any competent witness considered the success of Home Rule to be involved under the leadership of Mr Parnell. We believed on that opening day that Home Rule was not deeply concerned. We believed that the most important question at issue was the question of the unity of the party, and that the best way to consider the unity of the party was to keep Mr Parnell in the chair. If a motion had been made on that day to reject Mr Parnell, the Irish members, the political agents with a limited commission to advance the Home Rule cause and to do nothing to retard it, would, in my judgment, upon that opening day have elected Mr Parnell by a majority vote, if a motion to reject him had been made. If a division had once been taken upon that question, men having once taken sides would keep the sides they had taken. Whatever turned out afterwards, I believe Mr Parnell would have been backed by the majority; they would have felt it impossible to recede from the position they had taken up, if there had been a debate and a division, and Mr Parnell, backed by his majority, would have cited the pledge of the party, called upon the minority to yield; and if they had resigned their seats, does anyone doubt that Mr Parnell would have come to Ireland with his majority at his back, with the pledge of the party in his hands, and would have denounced the minority as men whose malice or whose ambition was so eager to get rid of him that they did not even wait to hear that the leaders of the Liberal Party were of opinion that his leadership was dangerous to Home Rule? That would be the position if the rejection of Mr

Parnell had been moved before political exigencies compelled it. We should have had dissension in that case as well as in the case before us. Mr Parnell would have retained his hold upon the leadership at the time, and Home Rule would be lost. Is it not better that we should have dissension and win Home Rule than have dissension and lose Home Rule as well? It is said, upon the other hand, that we elected Mr Parnell upon one day and deposed him on the next. But that was not what had happened. We elected Mr Parnell on one day and we asked him on the next day to consider his position, and it needed to be considered. Eleven days elapsed between the election and the deposition. What happened in these eleven days? We learned that Mr Parnell had withheld from us what he ought to have made known—a material fact as to the bearing of his leadership upon the fortunes of Home Rule. We heard his speech after having been elected. I never referred to it before, but now it has been given to the public, and undoubtedly it was a speech which filled every man who heard it with intense surprise—a speech which a great many felt it a great humiliation to be obliged to hear. We saw the unaffected delight of the Tories when Mr Parnell was elected. Lord Salisbury that very night, in a speech in the House of Lords, gave vent to a coarse and bitter jest against Mr Parnell, which was intended to give the cue to the campaign of ridicule and denunciation with which the Tories would have made, in the Press and on the platforms, England ring against Parnell if he had been the Irish leader. In those eleven days we had the manifesto in which Mr Parnell substantially took up the position of supporter of the Tory Party. We had the judgment of the delegates in America upon the question, and we had the declaration of the Irish Bishops. And of the declaration of the Irish Bishops I say that, to whoever may have been in doubt in a difficult situation, the declaration of the Irish Bishops made it clear that Mr Parnell's leadership could not again command a united Irish people.

Houses of the Oireachtas

Houses of the Oireachtas