

The Parnell Commission

THE OPENING SPEECH
FOR THE DEFENCE



The Parnell Commission

THE OPENING SPEECH
FOR THE DEFENCE

DELIVERED BY

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL, Q.C., M.P.

CAREFULLY REVISED BY THE AUTHOR

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND NEW YORK
1889

All rights reserved

First Edition May 1889.
Reprinted June 1889.

Z3, 5(W). M886
B9
3270

PREFATORY NOTE

AFTER the termination of the action of O'Donnell *v.* Walter in July 1888, the Special Commission Act, 1888 (51 & 52 Vict. ch. 35) was passed:—"An Act to constitute a Special Commission to inquire into the charges and allegations made against certain members of Parliament and other persons by the defendants in the recent trial of an action entitled O'Donnell *v.* Walter and another."

The Right Hon. Sir James Hannen, Sir J. C. Day, and Sir A. L. Smith were appointed Commissioners under this Act, and after a preliminary meeting on the 17th September this Commission held its first sitting on the 22d October 1888.

The Times was represented by:—The Attorney-General (Sir Richard Webster, Q.C., M.P.); Sir Henry James, Q.C., M.P.; Mr. Murphy, Q.C.; and Mr. W. Graham; with Mr. John Atkinson, Q.C., and Mr. Ronan, of the Irish Bar.

Sir Charles Russell, Q.C., M.P., and Mr. H. H. Asquith, M.P., appeared for Mr. Parnell.

For other members of the Irish party the Counsel were:—Mr. R. T. Reid, Q.C., M.P.; Mr. F. Lockwood,

Q.C., M.P.; Mr. Lionel Hart; Mr. Arthur O'Connor, M.P.; and Mr. Arthur Russell; with Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., of the Irish Bar.

Mr. Davitt conducted his own case, as did also Mr. Biggar, M.P., and Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P.

The "Blue Book" referred to in these pages was printed for the purposes of this Commission, and contains all *The Times* leaders, articles, letters, and reprints, constituting what is known as "Parnellism and Crime," together with the pleadings and proceedings in the action of O'Donnell *v.* Walter.

Sir Charles Russell's speech was concluded on the 12th April 1889, and has, in this publication, been revised by him from the official shorthand notes.

CONTENTS

1. OPENING OBSERVATIONS Page 1
Witnesses—The accused—The accusers—When accusations made—Lord Carnarvon—The accusations—Why have not the Government prosecuted—The conduct of *The Times* case—Disadvantages of the accused—A game of surprises—The charge a conspiracy—Roots of the Irish difficulty—Distress in 1879.

2. POLITICAL RETROSPECT Page 30
Grattan's Parliament—Movements for emancipation and repeal—Young Ireland, 1848—Its literature—Independent opposition—Tenant League, 1850-52—The Fenian movement—Remedial measures and agitation—Parnell's work.

3. PREDISPOSING CAUSES OF CRIME Page 40
Historic testimony—Repression of trade—Lord Dufferin—The Penal Code—Froude—Power of the landlords—Misgovernment—Absenteeism.

4. HISTORY OF AGRARIAN CRIME Page 53
Distress and Crime—"Whiteboys"—"Levellers"—Sir George Cornwall Lewis's *Causes of Irish Disturbance*—Lecky—"Steelboys"—"Threshers"—Baron Fletcher, 1814—"Ribbonism"

—Sir G. C. Lewis's causes of Irish Disturbance ; character of crime ; classification of crime ; figures as to crime—The Tithe War, 1830—Mr. Barry O'Brien—House of Lords' Committee, 1839—House of Commons' Committee, 1852 ; summary of the evidence and their report ; figures as to crime—Crime in 1870-71 ; Lord Hartington on the Ribbon Society.

5. HISTORY OF LAND LEGISLATION Page 94

Recapitulation—Irish Land system universally condemned—The Act 1870 of no effect—Devon Commission, 1843, and its report—Attempts to legislate—Recommendations of the Commons' Committee, 1852—Deasy's Act, 1860—Encumbered Estates Act, 1849—The Land Act, 1870.

6. DISTRESS IN 1879 Page 113

The Savings Banks—The three interests in the Land—Report of the Local Government Board, April 1880 ; Galway ; Kerry ; Mayo—Evidence of witnesses called by *The Times*—Report of the Local Government Board, 1881.

7. STATE OF IRELAND IN 1879 Page 135

Richmond Commission, 1881—Report of the Irish Commissioners and of their Assistant Commissioners—Report of Mr. Fox to the Mansion-House Committee—General Gordon in *The Times*—The Potato crop and the general crops, 1876-79—Clearances—Harvest Labour in England—The Compensation for Disturbance Bill ; Mr. Forster in the Commons ; Duke of Argyll in the Lords—Relief of Distress Bill, 1880—Ejectment notices in 1880.

8. THE LAND LEAGUE : PERSONAL SKETCHES. Page 165

Biggar—Egan—Sexton—Isaac Butt's Home Rule Association—William O'Brien—John Dillon—Michael Davitt—Charles Stewart Parnell ; his work in Parliament.

9. THE LAND LEAGUE : ITS CONSTITUTION, OBJECTS, AND MEANS Page 179
- Established in October 1879—The committee—Its “Appeal to the Irish race”—Its rules—Its address to the farmers—Its Manifesto to the People of Ulster—Parnell’s visit to America, 1879-80—The programme of Parliamentary Land Reform—The public conference; Parnell’s speech—Boycotting—The Rotunda Meeting, May 1880, and the I. R. B.—The law of conspiracy and *The Times* case—The work of the Land League—The instructions to organisers and officers—Denunciation of crime; *The Times* case and *The Times* evidence—The arrests in 1881; Davitt and Dillon arrested; other arrests under Forster’s Act of March 1881—The “No Rent Manifesto”—The League suppressed—Agrarian crime—Raids and searches.
10. HISTORY OF THE LAND ACT, 1881 Page 254
- Previous attempts at legislation—Bessborough Commission, 1881—The defects of the Land Act, 1881—The test cases.
11. THE EVENTS OF 1882 Page 272
- The Ladies’ Land League—Miss Reynolds—Parnell in Kilmainham; the Arrears Bill—“The Kilmainham Treaty;” O’Shea’s speech in the House of Commons, and his letter to the *Freeman’s Journal*—The Phoenix Park Murders; the Manifesto; Davitt’s letter to *The Standard*; the forged letters—Agrarian crime in 1882; the effect on crime of the Arrears Act.
12. THE NATIONAL LEAGUE Page 296
- Its foundation in October 1882—The Programme of the National Conference—Rules of the National League—Its address to the people of Ireland.

-
13. THE GENERAL ELECTION, 1885 Page 305
 English and Irish Franchises—The elections in Ireland; the majorities and minorities—Uncontested elections—Election petitions.
14. THE COWPER COMMISSION, 1886 Page 314
 The fall in prices, 1885-86—The commissioners—Mr. Knipe's Report—Sir Redvers Buller's evidence.
15. THE REDUCTIONS IN THE LAND COURT Page 322
 Average reductions from 1881-1887—Cases from the estates of Mr. A. H. Smith Barry; Mr. G. E. Brwne; Marquis of Londonderry; Lord Fitzwilliam; Mr. William Robb.
16. EXAMINATION OF "THE TIMES" EVIDENCE Page 328
 "Naming" in speeches—The magistrates and district inspectors—Captain Plunkett—Private information—Captain Slack—The evidence as to the outrages in Mayo, Cork, Galway, Kerry.
17. "THE TIMES" EVIDENCE (*continued*) Page 350
 The evidence as to the murders in Cork, Mayo, Galway, Kerry—The defence of prisoners.
18. "THE TIMES" EVIDENCE (*continued*) Page 393
 The evidence against members and persons charged.
19. THE AMERICAN CONNECTION Page 437
 Irish Emigration—Davitt's visit in 1878—Parnell's visit in

1879-80; his Reception Committee; Address of the citizens of New York; his Maddison Square speech—Foundation of the American Land League.

20. THE AMERICAN CONNECTION (*continued*): LE CARON AND THE CONVENTIONS Page 469

The New York Convention, May 1880—The *Irish World*—The Buffalo Convention, January 1881—Davitt's arrest, February 1881—Parnell and Le Caron, May 1881, the alleged interview—V. C. circular, April 1880—Chicago Convention, December 1881—V. C. circular, November 1881—V. C. circular, January 1882—Washington Convention, April 1882—Davitt's letter in March 1883 to John Ferguson on "physical force"—Patrick Ford—Philadelphia Convention, 1883—V. C. circular, April 1883—The evidence as to the alleged "Alliance"—Proceedings at the Philadelphia Convention, 1883—Boston Convention, August 1884—V. C. circular, August 1884—V. C. circular, November 1885—Chicago Convention, August 1886—V. C. circular—The "Policy of Conciliation"—Proceedings at the Chicago Convention, 1886—The value of Le Caron's evidence.

21. THE INVINCIBLE CONSPIRACY AND THE FORGED LETTERS Page 516

The Times evidence; Delaney; his cross-examination; no corroboration—James Carey—The Forged Letters—Parnell's inaction justified by the proceedings in *O'Donnell v. Walter*—Houston—Pigott—The first batch of letters—Lord Hartington—The *Pall Mall Gazette*—What they cost *The Times*—The second batch—The third batch—What *The Times* did not do—Their "compact"—Pigott and Mr. Soames—The conduct of *The Times* case—Pigott's story in the box about the letters—His correspondence with Mr. W. E. Forster—With Mr. P. Egan—With Archbishop Walsh—Pigott and *Truth*—Pigott's confession—Shannon and Pigott—Mr. Macdonald's opinion about the letters—How they were manufactured.

22. THE CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS Page 562

From "Parnellism and Crime" and the Attorney-General's opening in *O'Donnell v. Walter*—The charges and the evidence contrasted.

23. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS Page 596

The two "parties" in Ireland—What the Nationalist party has done.

INDEX

- ABRAHAM, Mr. William, 394.**
Absenteeism, 49, 63.
Agitators in South, 84.
Agrarian crime, 52; recurs with distress, 52; history of, 53, et seq.; land-grabbing, 57; chasing of tenants, 63.
Agriculture, fall in values, 295.
Ahab v. Naboth, 58.
Alker, Judge, 452.
American connection, the story of—Emigration, 437; Davitt's visit, 441; Mr. Parnell's visit, 444; Reception Committee, 451; New York address, 453; Madison Square speech, the distress in Ireland, 455; founding of American League, 463; the Conventions—New York, 471; Buffalo, 474; Le Caron, 476; Mr. Parnell no revolutionist, 477; supposed secret convention, 482; Chicago Conventions, 486, 506; the V.C. circulars, 484-490; Washington Convention, 490; Philadelphia Convention, Parnell's telegram to, 500-502; Boston Convention, 503.
American League, address, 463; constitution of, 464.
American money for political agitation and rents, 199.
American Relief Fund, 153.
Amnesty movement, 582.
Arrears Act (1882), 163, 261, 282, 292.
Asquith, Mr., services acknowledged, 246.
Assessments, high, 62.
Attorney-General, the, conduct of the case, 21; charges of criminal conspiracy not in original libel, 22; presents his case without method, 25; and as if Ireland were an Eden before 1879, 26; accused Land League of plotting for an Irish Republic, 28; wrong in suggesting no crime before 1879, 53; badly instructed, 57; his statement not historical, 74; crimes, classified, said to be unknown, 76; attempt to show crime not connected with distress, 95; conspiracy theory refuted, 226, 227; outrages, leaders, "no time" for, 227; wrong in saying crime never denounced, 234; connects diminished crime with wrong cause, 248; reckless charges, 250; exceptional advantages of Irish tenants, contested, 265; absurd picture of Miss Reynolds's action, 273; statement about Brennan, Boyton, and others contested, 280; want of authority for statement on Parnell manifesto after Phoenix Park murders, 283, 284; makes "a hero" of Scrab Nally, 396; no evidence to sustain allegation against P. J. Sheridan, 398; pencil-marks on Pigott's statement to Soames, 21st October 1888, 537; imperfectly instructed to contend no cause for crime but League, 572.
Authorities cited—Argyll, Duke of, 157, 158; Bagenal, 7, 198; Barrington, Mr., 71, 72; Barrington, Sir M., 89; Bennett, Mr., 78; Bentham, 813; Berkeley, Bishop, 96; Beesborough, Lord, 256; Blackburne, Mr., 71; Bright, Mr., 87, 88; Brown, Rev. D., 89; Buller, Sir Redvers, 319; Burke, E., 4, 46, 196; Bush, 55; Chamberlain, Mr., 164, 597; Charlemont, Lord, 59, 96; Clare, Lord, 96; Daley, Mr., 390; Day, Justice, 69; Devon, Lord, 257; Dobbs, 96; Dufferin, Lord, 42; Foster, Mr. Leslie, 70; Forster, Mr. W. E., 155, 156, 242; Fox, Mr., Mansion-House Report, 144; Froude, 42, 45, 46; *Glasgow Herald*, 498; Gorton, General, 147; Grimshaw, Dr., 150; Hancock, Dr. Neilson, 92, 111, 151; Hancock, Mr., 102, 110, 217; Hartington, Lord, 32, 92; Lecky, 42, 54; Leonard, Mr., 85, 97, 129; Lewis, Sir G. Cornewall, 57, 65-79; Local Government Board (Ireland), 117, 133; Mackintosh, Sir James, *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, 196; Napier, Joseph, 104;

- O'Brien, R. Barry, 81; O'Connor, Rev. N., 77; Pallas, Chief Baron, 391; Pigott, Chief Baron, 389; Palmerston, Lord, 46; Richmond Commissioners, 136, *et seq.*; Rochfort, Col., 72; Russell, Lord John, 93, 148; Shee, Mr. Justice, 103; Skelton, 96; Smith, Goldwin, 49; Swift, Dean, 96; Wakefield, 73, 97; Walsh, Dr., 266; Woulfe, Chief Baron, 38; Young, Arthur, 96.
- BALL, Inspector, 333.
 Ballydehob cases, 341.
 Barry, Mr. John, 435.
 Beach, *see* Le Caron.
 Bessborough, Lord, 256.
 Biggar, Mr., 166; case against, 419.
 Blake, Mrs., 344.
 Boland, Mr. James and F. C., 506.
 Boland, Mr. M., 499.
 Bottrell case, 345.
 Boycott, Captain, 338.
 Boycotting, so in title times, 81; not in itself illegal, 215; Captain Boycott, 338; cases, 344, 347, 411.
 Boyton, Mr., arrested, 239; case considered, 402; at Philadelphia, 501.
 Brennan, T., arrested, 240; and O'Shea, 277; case considered, 403; the Invincibles, 517.
 Bright, Mr., member of 1852 committee, 87; his later recognition a fact in Mr. Parnell's favour, 200.
 Browne, Mr. G. E., rent cases, 325.
 Buckley (informer), 347, 348.
 Buller, Sir Redvers, 317-319.
 Burke, Edmund, his indictment saying explained, 4.
 Burke (informer), 357, 359.
 Butt, Mr. Isaac, 167, 175; his Land Bills, 203, 255.
 Byrne, Mr. F., case considered, 401; at Philadelphia, 501; supposed interview with Parnell, 580; the cheque incident reviewed, 583, *et seq.*; letters, 585, 588, 589.
- CAIRD, Sir James, 315.
 Campbell, Mr. Henry, 241.
 Canning, Father, denounces Feerick's murder, 353.
 Carey, 517; evidence, 522; Egan's letters to, 576, 578.
 Carnarvon, Lord, as Lord Lieutenant, 9; interview with Mr. J. M'Carthy and Mr. Parnell, 10; calumnies published after that event, 11.
 Carrol, 477.
 Catholics supposed to be rebels, 66.
 Cattle outrages, 248.
- Cavendish, Lord, 282.
 Chamberlain, Mr., 164, 276, 597.
 Charges against Land League based on assassination and outrage, 562; incitements, no steps to stop or condemn outrages, 568; verbal condemnation insincere, 570; no other cause to account for crime, 572; funds used to help criminals, 572; Sheridan and Boyton organised, and so were to put down outrages, 574; Invincibles were branch of League, 575; Parnell afraid of offending Invincibles, 579; Mr. Parnell gave money to Byrne, 583.
 Charsley, Mr. A., evidence of, 294.
 Cheque (Horan), story of, 415; Ryan, 419; the Byrne, reviewed, 583, *et seq.*
 Clan-na-Gael, 451, 469, 482.
 Clanricarde, Lord, 346, 372; Chief Baron Pallas on, 391.
 Clearances, 151.
 Clearing estates, 60.
 Clergy denounce crime, 353, 355, 360, 385.
 Cloncurry, Lord, tithes, 82.
 Coercion Act, Mr. Forster's, 242.
 Coercion Act 1881, 228; of 1882, 302.
 Coercive Acts between 1800 and 1824, 65.
 Coffey (informer), 394.
 Coleman (informer), 333, 337, 347.
 Collins, General P. A., 486.
 Collins, Mr., 471.
 Combination, 77.
 Commercial repression predisposing cause of crime, 41; Lecky on, 42; Duferin, 43.
 Commission, Bessborough, 256.
 Commission, Cowper, 315.
 Commission, The Special — Sittings, number of, 1; witnesses, number of, 1; experts, the five, 1; accused, who they are, 2; accusers, a company hostile to Ireland and Irish people, 5; trying a revolution, 4; accusations, the, circumstances of, 8; broadly stated, 12; why did not the Government prosecute? 13, 14; the Davitt and Parnell prosecutions of 1879 and 1880-81, 13; speeches of former trials used again, 13; prosecution of publicans, carmen, newsvendors, and M.P.'s, 14; how the case conducted, the Irish police in London, magistrates, secret documents, spies, gaols opened, 15, 16; convicts' hopes aroused, 16; disadvantages of accused, 17; game of surprises, 17; no notice of witnesses, 18; Walsh called out of turn, 18; policeman's insinua-

- tion to, 19; Le Caron, 19; reasons for surprise unsatisfactory, 20; case pressed rancorously, 20; no generosity to accused, 21, 22; Dougherty incident, 21; facts repeated to blacken Irish people, 22; criminal conspiracy not in original libels, 22; evidence, great part irrelevant, 1; widened by a departure, 23; introduces hearsay fourth-hand evidence, 23, 24; method, absence of, 24; real issue to be extracted, 24; political retrospect necessary, 25; Attorney-General gave no clue to Irish position, 25; false pictures of Ireland as an Eden before 1879, 26, 27; distress in 1879, 27; sketch of political movements, 29; British fair-play to foreign countries in patriotic struggles, 29; Grattan's Parliament, 30; a good germ, 31; division of Irish people root of difficulty, 31; governing classes looked to England, not to Irish opinion, 31; Sir G. C. Lewis's list of crime and present inquiry, 76; issue of, depends on theory of Land League, 166; why Land League documents not presented to, before, 213; not appointed to try simple boycotting cases, 216; trying history of ten years' revolution in Ireland, 594; will remove baneful misconceptions, 602.
- Committee, Lords, 1839, 83; Commons, 83.
- Compensation for Disturbance Bill, 154; rejected, 158; helps the League, 219, 229.
- Conaty, Rev. T. J., 474, 481.
- Condou, Mr. J. T., 395; case against, 418.
- Connair's case, 343.
- Conspiracy, law of, does not apply to League, 225.
- Conspiracy not originally charged, 22; doctrine of, 23.
- Constabulary—M'Carthy, 250; O'Brien, Roysse, M'Ardle, Roger, 251; Coulson, Kent, 252; Kelly, Harvey, Newall, 253.
- Cork crimes examined, 339; murders in, 350.
- Corydon, 289.
- Costello case, 387.
- Coursey, P. C., 374; evidence of, 375.
- Cowper, Lord, 282, 314.
- Crawford, Mr. Sharman, 255.
- Crime, fails, when hope of redress, 37; unconstitutional movements follow despair, 38; authorities on predisposing causes of, four causes, 40; act of cruelty by a kindly people, 51; agrarian, 52; mistake to dwell unduly on people's crime (Lecky), 52; same conditions produced crime before 1879, 54-56; land-grabbing, 57; Ahab v. Naboth, 58; Oakboys, 59; moderated in north by tenant right, 59; Steelboys, 60; Baron Fletcher on crime in 1814, 62, 63; Ribbonism, 63; individual severity causes, 70; people assign cause for, 70; often resistance to starvation, 71; division and object of, 73-78; figures for 1833, more crime less distress, 79; Committees of 1839 and 1852, 83; "crime of the community," 87; crime not due to Tenants League, 89; figures for 1849-50, 91; Ribbon Society in 1870-71, 92; where tenant right less crime, 112; League circular against outrages, 230; crime openly denounced, 234; O'Malley's evidence, 235; crime worst during arrest of leaders, 244, 247; agrarian statistics, 246; Land Act and Arrears Act diminish, 248; Phoenix Park murders, 282; effect of Arrears Act on, 293; table of crimes during and after League, 294; "naming" in speeches, 329; Captain Plunkett's evidence, 331; Captain Slack's trumpery cases, 336, 337; crime in Mayo examined, 336, 351; Cork, 339, 350; Galway, 342, 356; Kerry, 346, 376; distress and crime, 391; the Invincibles, 516, *et seq.*; denounced, 569.
- Crossmolina conspiracy, 333, 337.
- Cullen, Michael, house searched, 251.
- Curley, 517.
- DALRYMPLE, Mr., 383, 390.
- Davis, Inspector, 332.
- Davis, T., 33.
- Davitt, Mr. Michael, 171; his recollections and aims, 172, 173; why he did not sign the Land programme of 1880, 209; reference to antecedents, 221; head of League, 229; circular, 230; at twenty-five meetings denounces crime, 234; arrested, 237; letter to *Standard* on Phoenix Park murders, 285; remonstrates with Curtin's neighbours, 384; courage, 408; visits America, 441; letter to John Ferguson, 493; at Chicago, 508, 511; replies to Finnerty, 509.
- Deasy's Act, 258.
- Deasy, Mr., 608.
- Delaney, 17, 223; and Invincibles, 291, 400, 407, 517; cross-examination, 519; uncorroborated story, 520.

- Develin, Hon. J. E., address to Mr. Parnell, 452.
- Devon, Lord, 257.
- Devoy, John, secret report summarised, 444; on Buffalo Convention, 475; letter, 477-480.
- Dillon, John, 170, 174; arrested, 237; case against, 410; in America, 462.
- Distress and crime, 391.
- Distress of 1878, 1879, 1880, details of, 117, 118.
- Disturbances in Ireland, causes of (Sir G. C. Lewis), 66; ultimate causes further back in history, 68.
- Don, the O'Connor, 257.
- Donegal, Marquis of, clears estate, 60.
- Dougherty, Professor, on Old Bailey trial, 21.
- Downing, Mr., 256.
- Dowse, Baron, 257.
- Duffy, Sir Charles Gavin, 34, 35; starts Tenant League, 35, 36.
- EGAN, Father, 374.
- Egan, Patrick, 166; goes to Paris, 239; and Le Caron, 479; the Invincibles, 517; correspondence with Pigott, 547; and Byrne, 573; reference to, 577; letters to Carey, 578.
- Ejectments from 1879 to 1881, 114; details of, 161; and crime, 247.
- Election, general, of 1885, English and Irish franchises compared, 306; Irish elections, 308-311; petitions, 312; change of Government in 1886, 11; policy of reconciliation, 11; country not ripe for Home Rule in 1886, 12.
- Emigration due to clearances, 60.
- Emigration in 1879, 120; to America, 437.
- Emmett, Robert, 32.
- Encumbered Estates Act, sales, rents increased on leases falling in, 253.
- England, Irish content good for, 39.
- English visitor, how blinded in Ireland (Baron Fletcher), 64.
- Enthusiasts, need of, 171.
- Evidence dealt with, Walsh, 18; Le Caron, 19, 23, 24.
- Ex-suspect, a title of dignity, 243.
- FARRACHER, 405, 407; the Invincibles, 519.
- Fawcett, P. C., 413.
- Fenianism, its origin, 36; treatment of Mr. H. Mathews for opinion of, 36; crime fell during Fenianism, 37.
- Finnerty, Mr., at Ogdon Grove, 509, 511.
- Firings at person and dwellings, 248.
- Fitzwilliam, Lord, rent cases, 326.
- Flynn, Mr. J. C., case against, 417.
- Foley, Mr. P. J., case against, 412.
- Ford, Mr. Patrick, 463, 473, 475; denounced by Parnell, signs call to Philadelphia Convention, 499.
- Forged letters, the pith, without them no Commission, 2; apart from, no evidence of criminal complicity, 24; only foundation for connecting Irish M.P.'s with Invincibles, 291, 516; put forward with criminal recklessness, 524; Mr. Parnell's inaction, 525; behind Houston and behind Pigott, 528; Mr. Houston's proceedings, 529; Mr. Pigott approached, 530; letters offered to Lord Harrington and *Pall Mall Gazette*, 530; Houston destroys his letters, 531; sale to *The Times*, moneys paid, 532; second and third batch, 533; no inquiry, 533; origin not traced, 535; *Times* compact, 536; Pigott's first statement to Soames, 537; letters held back, 539; story of the three batches reviewed, 541-544; forgery of third batch admitted, 545; interview and confession of Pigott, 551; Mr. Macdonald's opinion, 555; Egan's letters, 557; striking parallelisms between genuine and forged letters, 558-560.
- Forster, Mr. W. E., tribute to, 153; his Compensation for Disturbance Bill, 154; on evictions, 156; Disturbance Bill rejected by House of Lords, 158; Relief of Distress Bill, 159, 208; Coercion Act defended, 242; resignation of, 282; correspondence with Pigott, 545.
- Pottrell, Mr., 403, 407.
- Franchise, restricted till 1885, 50; English and Irish compared, 306.
- GALWAY, crimes examined, 342; murders in, 356.
- George, Henry, 283.
- Gilbooly, Mr. J., case, 413, 414.
- Gladstone, Mr., 254; his Irish policy accepted by 99 per cent of Irish race, 507; citations from, to bolster up charges, 564.
- Gray, Sir John, 255.
- Griffin, Canon, 339, 342.
- HARRINGTON, Mr. E., case, 409.
- Harrington, Mr. T., 347; case against, 426.
- Harris, Mr. M., arrested, 239; documents, 252; case against, 425.
- Harvest labour in England, less a loss to Connaught, 151.

- Healy, Mr. Maurice, 274; case, 413.
 Healy, Mr. T., and Land Bill, 260; Healy clause, 263; case against, 420; signs call for Chicago Convention, 487.
- Hegarty case, 339.
- Herbert, Mr., 256.
- Heron, Mr., 255.
- Hill, Lord Arthur, 255.
- Hoarty's case, 343.
- Home Rule Association, 167, 168; its programme, 169.
- Home Rule League, 301.
- Horan cheque, 415.
- Horan, Timothy, 238, 250, 334, 414.
- Houghing cattle began in 1711, 54.
- House of Lords rejects Compensation Bill, 158; rebuked by Commons for suggesting inquiry into Land Act 1881, 271.
- Houses, levelling of, 71.
- Houston, Mr., 16, 430; the forged letter story, 529; destroys correspondence, 531.
- Hovels of the Irish poor, 145, 146.
- Hughes, P. C., 365.
- Hussey, Mr., and Costello case, 387.
- Hynes, 477.
- INGLIS, Mr., 1.
- Ingram, J. Kells, 84.
- Insurrection Acts, 65.
- Invincibles, first reference to, 291; numbers connected with, 292; evidence of Delaney, etc., 518-520; of Farragher, 519; members hanged, 521; the others, 522; Sheridan and Boyton, 574; supposed connection with Invincibles, 575, 579, 581, 583.
- Ireland, the representation of, analysed, 3; no county without Nationalist member, 3; present representation unparalleled, 4; absence of contact with Irish people cause of misgovernment, 6; two powers in, the law and popular leaders, 10; accepts policy of reconciliation, 11; Irish people cannot be put down by force, 11; Home Rule, country not ripe for, in 1886, 12; Irish difficulties deep in Irish history, 25; political movements in, 29, *et seq.*; parallels, 29; root of evil, divided classes, 31; Young Ireland movement, 33; its relapse, 34; restricted franchises of 1852, an Independent opposition, 35; a shameful story, 36; another relapse, and Fenianism, 36; crime fell during Fenianism, 37; remedial measures from 1869 to 1874 followed unconstitutional movement, 37, 38; content good for Ireland and England alike, 39; four causes of crime, 40; commercial restrictions, 41-43; Penal Code, 44; corporation reform, 44; Froude on Penal Code, 45; landlord power, 46-48; misgovernment, 48, 49; absenteeism, 49, 50; a people's crimes, 52; Whiteboyism, 54-56; land-grabbing, 57; Oakboys, cause of, 59; Steelboys, juries acquit, 60; Presbyterian emigration, 61; five times of distress and two of famine in the century, 61; high rents, 61; tenants driven to poll, 63; how English visitor blinded, 64; Coercive Acts between 1800 and 1882, 65; Sir G. C. Lewis's inquiry, 65; select committee of 1824, 65, 68; Whiteboyism explained, 70, 71; wretchedness and tranquillity—the robust resist, 72; division and objects of crime, preventive aims, 73-75; Whiteboyism a vast trades union, 76; old crimes classified, like modern ones, 76; Sir C. Russell's anecdote of Irish peasant, 77; conspiracy and open organisation, 78-79; the tithe war and Thomas Drummond, 80, 81; anti-tithe war spontaneous, 83; Parliamentary committees, 83, 84; securities suggested, 85; report and evidence, 85; Land Question at the root, 86; bad seasons, rents behind, 87; ribbonism, 88; murders in 1849-50, 91; outbreak of 1870-71, 92; crime mainly restricted to distressed districts, 95; no land reform until 1870, act of 1870 of no effect, 97; what confiscation meant, 98; Devon commission, 98-103; Deasy's Act, 105; effect of Encumbered Estates Act, 106; tenant right lessened estate, 112; savings bank fallacy examined, 114; landlord ejections, 114, 115; three interests, 115; distress in 1879, details of and extracts, 117-134; poor relief figures, 117; do not fully show distress, 118; Richmond Commission, 135-144; names of Irish commissioners added, 135; Mr. Fox's Mansion-House Report, 144; General Gordon on state of south-west Ireland, 147; Lord John Russell on land-hunger and homicides, 148, 149; potato crop, statistics for 1876 to 1879, 149; general crops, 150; what the English Government did, Mr. Lowther, 153; Mr. Forster, tribute to, 153; his Compensation for Disturbance Bill, 154-158; Relief of Distress Bill, 159; what Irish landlords doing, 160; swarms of ejection notices, 161; what would have occurred in like

- circumstances in England, 162; action of Irish leaders justifiable, 162, 163; enactments due to their action, 163; sketches of Land League leaders, 166-177; what brought them together? *The Times* theory, 174; action in Parliament, the Mutiny Bill, Prisoners' Bill, 175, 176; Mr. Parnell aimed at creating Irish opinion and an Irish party, 177; Land League history, 180, *et seq.*; why were not official documents of League presented before? 213; its avowed means not illegal, 213; boycotting examples, 215; land-grabbing, 217; League assisted by action of Lords, 218; Fenian opposition, 219-221; league circulars—organisation but no crime, 230; crime denounced, 234; O'Malley proves it, 235; League officers arrested, 237-240; Mr. Forster's defence of Coercion Act, 242; effect of arrests, 243, 244; "No Rent Manifesto," 244; agrarian crimes, 246, 247; why crime diminished, 248; searches and seizures, 250, *et seq.*; Land Act 1881, history of, 254; defects, 263; summary of previous efforts, 255; no land bill between 1870-1880, 256; Bessborough Commission, 256; obstacles to Land Act of 1881, 260, 261; Healy clause, 263; not retrospective, 265; Arrears Act, 261, 292; Kilmainham interviews, Parnell and O'Shea, 278; Parnell released, 281; Phoenix Park murders, 282; manifesto, 283; Davitt's letter, 285; forged letters the only suggestion connecting Irish members with Invincibles, 291; National League, formation and rules, 296-304; franchise of 1885, 307; elections in Ireland, 308-311; Cowper Commission, 314-320; Buller, Sir Redvers, on National League, 320; reductions of rent in Land Court, 322-326; naming in speeches, 329; Plunkett on National League, 331; Slack's evidence, 335; Mayo cases, 336, 376; Cork cases, 339, 350; Galway, 342, 356; Kerry, 346, 376; distress and crime, 391; list of Irish members accused, 393; cases of Sheridan, Bryne, Boyton, Brennan, and Egan treated, 397-407; details of charges against M.P.'s, 409, *et seq.*; the Invincibles, 516, *et seq.*; the forged letters, 524; Mr. Parnell's inaction, 525; two parties in, 596; Mr. Chamberlain on "the Castle," 597, 598; voluntary action in England but not in Ireland, 599; what Irish leaders have done in ten years, 600.
- I. R. B. (Irish Republican Brotherhood), manifesto against parliamentary action, 219; resolution against League, 221; executive protest, 223.
- Irish Members, names given, 393, 394; of 450 speeches put in only one from M.P. between 1881 and 1882, 396; details of charges against, 409-436.
- Irish World* throws cold water on New York Convention, 471; Mr. Parnell and, 472; Buffalo Convention, no organ, 475.
- JAMES, Sir H., 18; case when Attorney-General, 21.
- KAVANAGH, Mr. A. M'M., 257.
- Kavanagh, Mr., an American, 459.
- Kearney, 357-359.
- Kenmare, Lord, 380.
- Kenny, Dr., arrested, 240; affidavit, League books, 241; case against, 414.
- Kerry, crimes examined, 346; murders in, 376.
- Kerry Sentinel*, denouncing crime, 349, 380; quoted, 386, 388.
- Kettle, Mr. Andrew J., 180.
- Kilmainham Treaty, 276; O'Shea on, 278, 279.
- Knipe, Mr., 315; his report, 315.
- LABOUR and Industrial Union, 301.
- Ladies' Land League, 273, 333.
- Land Acts—Deasy's Act 1860, 105, 258; Encumbered Estates Act, 105; Act of 1870, 107; defects, 109-139, 142, 258; Act of 1881, charter of Irish tenant, 248; history and defects, 254-271; test cases, 269.
- Land Court, reductions, cases and details, 322-326.
- Land-grabbing, 57; dislike to stranger, 63, 76, 217.
- Land League not cause of 1879 troubles, 27; Attorney-General's charge against, 28; agrarian crime before, 53; how it lessened crime, 80; what linked its leaders, 165; established, 179; resolutions, 180, 181; committee and officers, 183; appeal to Irish race, 183-187; rules, 187, 189; address to Irish farmers, 190, 191; Ulster tenants invited to lay aside religious differences in special address, 192-194; if criminal conspiracy, singular features, 195; evils may arise in the work of reform, 195, 196; in America, 198; American money for organisation and rents, 199; land reform programme, a remarkable

- document, 201-207; Mr. Parnell's speech on, 210-212; why were these documents not produced before? 213; its avowed means not illegal, 213; boycotting, 215; land-grabbing, 218; League did not make headway till Disturbance Bill rejected, 218; I. R. B. manifesto against parliamentary action, 219; Mr. O'Hanlan's resolution against League, 221; conspiracy law does not apply to, 225; unfounded charge, 227; League's actual described work, 228; circular to organisers, 230; leading men connected with, 236; officers arrested, 237-240; suppressed, 240; confusion follows, fate of books, etc., 241; raids and searches yield little, 249; table of crimes during and after League, 294; Coleman's evidence, 334; no evidence outrages paid for by, 334; Captain Slack's poor cases, 335; charge against, 562; the nine charges reviewed, 562-592.
- Landlord power a cause of crime, 46-48; in politics, 63, 64.
- Landlords, Protestant and absentee, 66; despots, 67; until 1881 no real check on, 68; neither erect nor repair buildings, 73; badly hurt and then mend, 78.
- Land Purchase Act 1885, 163.
- Land Reform, programme of League, 201.
- Land system in Ireland despotic, 47; produces wretchedness, 48; Ireland and England contrasted, 67, 115; Irish system condemned before and since the Union, 95; names of authorities condemning it, 96; no reform till 1870, 97.
- Land, the demand for, 43-62.
- Lane, Mr. J. W., case, 413.
- Law and slavery, 68.
- Leaders of Irish people, their action justifiable, 162, 163.
- Leaseholders' Bill, 276.
- Le Caron, 403, 404, 407, 451, 469; despatches valueless, 470; alleged interview with Mr. Parnell, 476; Devoy letter examined, 477, *et seq.*; his story tested, 513, *et seq.*; evidence against Land League, 567.
- Levellers, 55.
- Linen and woollen trade, 41-43.
- Litton, Mr., 256.
- Londonderry, Marquis of, rent cases, 325.
- Love of country in Ireland a misfortune, 51.
- Lowther, Mr., 152.
- Lucas, Mr., 35.
- M'CAFFERTY, Captain, 291, 617.
- M'Carthy, Mr. Justin, and the Byrne cheque, 591.
- Macartney, Mr., 255, 256.
- Macdonald, Mr., 1, 533; opinion of the forged letters, 555.
- Maguire, Dr., 452.
- Mahon, John, house searched, 251.
- Mahoney, house searched, 251.
- Mansion-House Fund, 153, 301.
- Marlborough, Duchess of, relief fund, 125, 153.
- Mannion (informant), 362.
- Martin, John, 33.
- Martyrs' fund, 502.
- Mathews, Mr. H., and Fenianism, 36.
- Mayne, Mr. T., 411.
- Mayo crimes examined, 336; murders in, 351.
- Milltown, Lord, 315.
- Misgovernment of Ireland blackest page in history, 41; a cause of crime, 48.
- Mitchel, John, 33.
- Moloney, Mr., 241.
- Mooney, Mr., 499; opening address, 500.
- Mulgrave, Lord, and *The Times*, the dinner to O'Connell, 5.
- Mulholland, Mr., 255.
- Mullet, 405.
- Mullets, 517, 518.
- Mulqueeny, 520.
- Murders in 1849 and 1850 compared with ten years of present inquiry, 91; from 1832 to 1845, 149; before, during, and after Land League, 247; Phoenix Park, 282; Lydens, 345, 361; Regan, 350; Fearick, 352; Dillon, 353; Frealey, 354; T. Barrett, 355; Mountmorres, Lord, 357; Connors, 363; P. Dempsey, 366; Sergeant Linton, 368; Peter Doherty, 368; Huddys, 369; Sergeant Kavanagh, 370; W. Burke, Corporal Wallace, 371; Mr. Blake, 372; Finlay, 373; Mr. A. Herbert, 376; C. Hickey, 379; Daniel Leahy, 380; Brown, 381; Curtin, 382; J. Fitzmaurice, 385.
- Murray, Rev. Mr., 351.
- NALLY, Scrab, 337, 352, 396.
- Naming, in speeches, 329; list of persons named, 330; Mr. Blake not named, 373.
- National League, crime during, 294; details of foundation, programme, articles, rules, address, 296-304; Cowper Commission blames, 315; Mr. Knipe on, 316; League regarded as tenants' salvation (Buller), 320; Plunkett's

- evidence, mere opinion, 332; outrages not connected with League, 337, 338, 339, 343, 347, 349; murders not connected with League, 351, 359, 361, 363, 368, 370, 372, 375, 379, 380, 381; League officials remonstrate with people in Curtin case, 384; defence of prisoners, 388, 390; Mr. T. Harrington refuses grant to tenants owing to disturbances, 428; League defended by Mr. Parnell, 447; American connection, narrative of, 437, *et seq.*
- Navigation laws, 41.
- Neligan, Mr., 315.
- New York address to Mr. Parnell, 453.
- New York Herald* fund, 153.
- North and south, difference of agrarianism in (Charlemont), 59.
- "No Rent Manifesto," 244; W. Redmond on, 422.
- OAKBOYS, 59.
- O'Brien, 33.
- O'Brien, Mr. William, 171, 174; arrested, 240; at Chicago, 508.
- O'Brien, Mr. P., case against, 434.
- O'Connell and Lord Mulgrave, *The Times* on, 5.
- O'Connell becomes Lord Mayor of Dublin, 44.
- O'Connor, Mr. Arthur, head of League, 238; books, 241; cheque, 273; case against, 418.
- O'Connor, Mr. John, 382, 383, 384; case against, 423.
- O'Connor, Mrs. Mary, house searched, 251.
- O'Connor, T. (informer), 333, 347, 427; ill, makes sworn statement, 429; letter to brother, 430; extract from evidence, 431.
- O'Connor, Mr. T. P., M.P., 487.
- O'Donnell v. Walter, citations from, 234, 564, 572.
- O'Donoghue, The, 255.
- O'Hagan, Mr. Justice, 34.
- O'Hanlan resolution against Land League, his letter, 221.
- O'Hea, Mr. P., M.P., case against, 413.
- O'Kelly, Mr. J. J., M.P., case considered, 409; and Le Caron, 476.
- O'Leary, Mr. John, 405.
- O'Malley (police witness) says crime always denounced, 235.
- Orange Society, 62.
- O'Reilly, Rev. C., 504.
- O'Reilly, Mr. J. Boyle, 487, 507.
- Organisation, open, crime greater without, 79.
- O'Riordan, Rev. Mr., strong speech, 377.
- O'Shea, Captain, on "No Rent Manifesto," 245; interviews in Kilmainham, 277; speech on, 278; says Mr. Parnell opposed to dynamite party, 571.
- Outrages, committees on, 83; Land Question at root of, 87; reckless charges about, 250.
- PALLAS, Chief Baron, 391.
- Parnell, Mr. C. S., comes to the front, 37; tried to create and foster opinion, 38; accomplished solid gain in ten years, 38; his American relief fund, 153; his family connections, 173; the tie between him and others, 174; his parliamentary action, the Mutiny Bill, 175; aimed at creating Irish opinion and an Irish party, 177; his visit to America, 197; Le Caron on, 199, 200; Bright's later fame cited in Mr. Parnell's favour, 200; Rotunda meeting on Mr. Parnell's return, land reform programme, 201; Fenians break up his meeting, 220; arrested, 240; suggest datum line for rents, 268; Ladies' Land League, 273; combination suggested, Arrears Bill advocated, 275; part of Bill adopted, 276; Kilmainham interviews, 276; released, 281; effect on of Phoenix Park murders, 283; visits America in 1879, 444; reply to a request for another visit in 1881, 445; central idea of his policy, 448; only one of sixty American speeches challenged, 449; the "last link" speech, 449; the reception committee, resolution, 452; New York address, 453; American Land League, 463; conventions, 469, *et seq.*; *Irish World* on, 471; Parnell on *Irish World*, 473; supposed Le Caron interview, 476, *et seq.*; speech denouncing P. Ford, 498; telegram to Philadelphia Convention, 502; inaction over forged letters justified, 525, 526; could have proved more forgeries against Pigott, 539; letter to League for grant, the Byrne cheque explained, 587.
- Penal Code of Ireland, 41; Froude on, 45; distinct character, Burke on, 46.
- Phillips, Mr., 238, 250.
- Phoenix Park murders, 282; Parnell manifesto on, 283; Davitt's letter on, 285.
- Physical force, Parnell against, 477; Davitt against, 496, 510.
- Pigott, Chief Baron, 389.
- Pigott, R., 16; not subpoenaed when inquiry began, 535; first statement to Mr. Soames, 536; interviews with

Messrs. Parnell, Lewis, and Labouchere, Soames and Houston privy to, 537; letters of November, 537, 538; known to be discredited, but *Times* makes no inquiry, 539; the story about the first batch of letters, 541-543; the second and third batches, 544; account of himself, correspondence with Mr. Forster, 545; with Archbishop Walsh, 546, 548; with Mr. Egan, 547; the reply to *Truth*, 550; interview at Mr. Labouchere's, the confession, 551; Shannon knew he had gone to Spain, 553.

Plea of *autrefois acquit*, 13.
Plunkett, Captain, 331.
Policeman, a Land Leaguer, 369.
Political System, vice of, that no free-will offerings to Ireland, 164.
Potato Crop, statistics of, from 1876 to 1879, 149; seeds supplied by League, 228.
Power, Mr. O'Connor, 208, 256.
Presbyterians from north of Ireland oppose British forces in America, 60, 61.
Property, rights and duties, 162.
Public opinion, focussed, prevents crime, 80.

QUOTATIONS—

American Land League, objects and rules, 463; address, 501.
Argyll, Duke of, on Disturbance Bill, 157, 158.
Attorney-General, on conspiracy, 227; "no single step" taken to denounce crime, 235; O'Donnell *v.* Walter, 234, 564, 572; charges "organised conspiracy," 570; Mr. Parnell knew of outrages, 574.
Bagenal, Mr., 7; on Land League in America, 198.
Bennett, Mr., on agrarian conspiracy, 78.
Bentham on associations hostile to executive, 313.
Bessborough Commission on Encumbered Estates Act, 257; Deasy's Act, 258; Land Act of 1870, 259.
Blackburne, Mr., on Whiteboyism, 71.
Bourke, Mr., 126, 127.
Brown, Rev. D., on constitutional remedy for wrongs, 589, 590.
Buller, Sir Redvers, on discretionary power, 318; on the tenant's view of National League as "their salvation," 320.
Burke, Mr., 133.
Chamberlain, Mr., on the Castle, 597.
Charlemont, Lord, 96.
Chesterfield, Lord, 54.

Quotations—

Clare, Lord, 96.
Clergyman, a, examined by Mr. Bright on Tenant League, 89.
Cobden, Mr., 8.
Collins, General, on Irish Question, 491.
Cowper Commission—Mr. Knipe on coercive legislation, 316.
Daley, Mr., 391.
Devon Commission Report, 99-103.
Drummond, Thomas, and Poulet
Scrope on rights and duties of property, 162.
Dufferin, Lord, 42, 43.
Fletcher, Baron, 62-64.
Forster, Mr. W. E., on his Compensation for Disturbance Bill, 155, 156.
Fox, Mr., on destitution in Ireland, 144.
Freeman's Journal, 279.
Froude, 42-45, 47.
Gordon, General, on need for drastic reforms, 147.
Grimshaw, Dr., on Irish crops, 150, 151.
Hancock, Dr. Neilson, 111, 121.
Hancock, Mr., 103, 110, 111.
Hansard, 148, 278.
Hartington, Lord, 32; on Ribbon Society, 92.
Kerry, Knight of, 58.
Kerry Sentinel, 386, 388.
Lecky, Mr., 31, 42, 52, 58-60.
Leonard, Mr., 129.
Lewis, Sir G. Cornewall, on causes of Irish disturbance, 66; law and slavery, 68; high rents, 69; the robust resist, 72; classes of crime, 73, 76; preventive crime, 75; Whiteboyism a trades union, 76.
Local Government Report, April 1880, 117; for 1881, 133.
Mackintosh, Sir James, on evil connected with good movements, 197.
Mooney, Mr. James, on Mr. Parnell, 500.
New York World, Davitt's letter to, 441.
O'Brien, R. Barry, on resisting tithe sales, 81.
O'Reilly, Mr. John Boyle, on Gladstone's speech and Home Rule Bill, 508.
Pallas, Chief Baron, on Lord Clanricarde, 391.
Palmerston, Lord, 46.
Parnell, New York address to, 453; Madison Square speech, 454.
Power, Mr., 125-127.

Quotations—

- Richmond Commission Report, 1881, why early report, 136; bad harvest in 1880, 137; on Encumbered Estates Act, 138; want of tenants' security, 138, 139; fear of increased rents, 139; state of Kerry, 140; borrowing of tenants, 141; state of small farmers, 142; Bright clauses, 142; raising rents in Donegal, 143, 144.
- Robinson, Mr., 128-132.
- Roughan, Dr., 120, 121, 124.
- Russell, Lord John, on the land-crawling, 148; homicides, 149. *Standard* (Davitt's letter), 285. *Times*, 5, 391, 580, 582.
- Walsh, Dr., on arrears, 266.
- Witnesses on distress of 1879, 133. Woulfe, Chief Baron, 38.
- RAFFERTY**, outrage two months before speech, 343.
- Rebellion of slaves worse than of free men, 59.
- Redmond, Mr. John, case against, 420; *Times* treatment of, 421; at Chicago, 508, 512.
- Redmond, Mr. W., case against, 397, 422.
- Reid, Mr., digest of evidence, 329.
- Rent, economic, 116; "No Rent Manifesto," 244.
- Rents, high, 69; enforcement of causes crime, 70; Cowper Commission on, 315; reduced in Land Court, 322-326; cause of, 327; Millstreet, 342.
- Reynolds, Miss, 273.
- Ribbonism, 88, 90, 92.
- Richmond Commission and Irish members of, 135.
- Robb, Mr. W., rent cases, 326.
- Roche, John, 373.
- Rossa, O'Donovan, 501.
- Royse, P. C., 341.
- Russell, Sir Charles, conversation with Irish peasant, 77-78; speaks for the land of his birth, 602.
- Ryan, Mr., evidence of, 273.
- SALA**, Mr. G. A., 551.
- Savings bank fallacy, 114.
- Searches, 250-253.
- Secret societies, effect of misgovernment, cause of crime, 51; in Kerry, 349.
- Sexton, Thomas, 167; succeeds Dillon at League, 238; case against, 422; at Boston, 504.
- Shannon, Mr., sees Pigott, 552; knew Pigott was leaving, 553.
- Shaw, Mr., 152, 176, 257.
- Sheehy, Mr. D., case against, 418.
- Sheehy, Rev. E., 487.
- Sheridan arrested, 239; case against, 398, 501, 575.
- Sheridan, Martin, house searched, 251.
- Sherlock, Sergeant, 255.
- Slack, Captain, trumpery cases, 336, 337; against Mr. T. Mayne, 411.
- Smith Barry, Mr. A. H., rent cases, 324.
- Smith case, 338.
- Smyth, Mr., 255.
- Soames, Mr., 1, 238, 436; Pigott's first statement to, 536.
- Speeches, the two most relied on by *The Times*, 397.
- Argyll, Duke of, Disturbance Bill, 157.
- Collins, General, 490.
- Davitt, M., at Navan, 492; against Finnerty, 509.
- Forster, Mr. W. E., on Disturbance Bill, 155.
- Parnell, Mr., Land Conference, 29th April 1880, 210; Rotunda, 8th May 1880, 219; last link, 449; Madison Square, 454.
- Redmond, John, 512.
- Statistics—Coercive Acts, 65; crimes in 1833, 79; in 1849, 90; Poor Law averages in 1880, 117; emigration 1879-80, 120; Donegal rents, 143; potato crop 1876-79, 149; general crops, 150, 151; evictions 1877-80, 156; ejectment notices, 161; Fenians, 200; crimes 1880-82, 246-248; Arrears Act and crime, 293, 294; voters in Ireland and England compared, 306; Irish polls, 309-311; rent reductions, 323-326.
- Steelboys, predecessors of Orangemen, 60.
- Steele, Mr., house searched, 251.
- Sullivan, 477, 482, 508.
- Sullivan, Mr. T. D., case against, 433.
- Suspects, maintenance of, 273.
- Swinford cases, 337.
- TANNER**, Dr., case against, 423.
- Taylor, Mr., 256.
- Tenant in Ireland, a labourer, 115.
- Tenant right moderates agrarianism, 59; lessens crime, 112.
- "Tenants Defence Association," 373.
- Tenants defended by League, 228.
- Tenants driven to hustings, 63.
- Tenant League, 85; diminished crime, 89.
- Tenants, securities for, suggested in 1852, 85.
- Threatening letters denounced by Davitt, 232; number of, 248.

- Threshers, 61.
- Times, The*, a company, attack on Lord Mulgrave, a keynote to Irish misgovernment, 5; attacks Irish priesthood, remarks on the famine and Young Ireland, 6; worst factor in Irish misgovernment, 6; Bagenal on, 7; misused its influence, 7; mental food of governing classes, 8; helps forward cases it opposes, 8; Soames's statement about League accounts, 238; Horan cheque, 436; witnesses to Irish distress cited, 133; its theory of combination amongst Irish leaders, 174; its theory of conspiracy unsubstantiated, 225-227; put in 440 speeches, 396; treatment of Mr. John Redmond, 421; Mr. Parnell's wisdom in not taking action against—the O'Donnell v. Walter case, 526-528; buys the forged letters—the prices, 532; second and third batch, 533; compact, 536; knew Pigott accused of forging letters in November, 538; holds back letters until February, 539; a fairer course suggested, 540; how "the whole fabric of calumny" arose, 556; disappearance of Pigott suggested reconsideration, but the case goes on, 561.
- Tithes, resisting sales for, 81; orders to landlords—servants leave, 82; anti-tithe resistance natural, 83.
- Tories seek help of Irish party in 1885, 9.
- Trench, Mr. Stuart, 461.
- Tully, 396.
- Tynan (No. 1), 291, 517.
- ULSTER, a majority of Nationalist M.P.'s for, 3.
- V. C. CIRCULARS, April 1880, 484; November 1881, 487; January 1882, 488; April 1883, 499; August 1884, 503; November 1885, 504; August 1886, 506.
- Village ruffians, Mr. Forster on, 242.
- WALSH, Dr., archbishop, correspondence with Pigott, 546, 548.
- Walsh, John, house at Rochdale searched, 252; Delaney meets, 517.
- Walsh, Rev. L., 474, 481.
- Whiteboyism, origin of, 54; Chesterfield and Lecky on, 54, 55; its crimes like those complained of now, 56; distress at bottom of, 58, 69; due to high rents and physical misery, 70-71; trades union (Sir G. C. Lewis), 75, 76.
- Woolen and linen trade, 41-43.
- YOUNG Ireland, physical force part unimportant, precursor of Parnell movement, its heroes, 33, 34; its literature, 34.

THE END