T. M. HEALY AND THE IRISH HOME RULE MOVEMENT - 1877 - 1886

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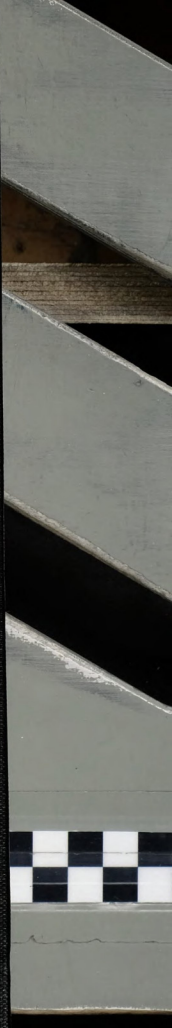

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ABSTRACT

T.M. HEALY AND THE IRISH HOME RULE MOVEMENT, 1877-1886

By

George Abbott Colburn

From the time of the first Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169, until the present day, the so-called Irish Question has concerned and troubled officials of the British Government in London. And over the centuries the riddle of England's relationship with the neighboring island remains unsolved. The number and complexity of the problems involved in ruling Ireland often have preoccupied the Government and caused severe frustration and agitation among Ministers anxious to consider what they believed were far more important domestic and foreign matters. In the years between the first signs of potato blight in 1845 and the 1922 treaty establishing the Irish Free State, Ireland was a constant source of discomfort for the various Liberal and Tory Governments. According to the historian L.P. Curtis, Jr., "the Irish Question occupies a unique place in English history. No other single issue so embittered feeling at Westminster in that [nineteenth] century." In March, 1887, a few months after the Irish Home Rule controversy had

shaken the foundations of the British political system, Lord Salisbury, a Tory leader, declared: "All the politics of the moment are summarized in the word 'Ireland'." In fact, however, the Irish Question had overshadowed almost every other political issue for ten years; no other decade in the Victorian era can equal the intensity of feeling aroused in this period of Anglo-Irish relations.

Between 1877 and 1887, the Irish Home Rule movement, led by Charles Stewart Parnell, grew from a small, badly divided and insignificant organization to a cohesive and disciplined Nationalist political party which held the balance of power in the British House of Commons. Because of its impact on British politics at this time, the origins, tactics and aims of the Home Rule movement have received considerable attention from British, Irish and American scholars in recent years. However, the role of Timothy Michael Healy, Parnell's most important lieutenant in this period, has not been the subject of any scholarly study. Healy's rise from a railway clerk who dabbled in Irish ghetto politics in his spare time to one of the most important politicians in the British Isles parallels the amazing development of the Home Rule movement as a powerful third force within the British political system.

The Home Rule movement of 1877-1886 successfully combined political and agrarian discontent and the threat of

accelerating agitation to win concessions from the various British Governments. Playing important roles in both aspects of the movement was Tim Healy. He was the propagandist for the militant Home Rule M.P.'s before embarking on an unorthodox but effective parliamentary career in 1881. While in Parliament, he continued his writing and was one of two men most responsible for publicizing and promoting the Home Rule cause and the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell. During most of this period, Healy also was one of the most colorful, effective and popular public speakers in Ireland and England. It likely was true that if the people of Ireland did not read what Healy had written, they probably heard him say it. This study clearly shows that, as a propagandist, parliamentarian and agitator, Healy's energy never flagged. Without his contributions, there is no doubt that the Home Rule movement would have suffered greatly.

None of Healy's private papers, destroyed at various times over the past hundred years, appear to have survived to the present day. Thus, the portrait of Healy which emerges from this study was fashioned from a variety of sources and has not relied on any single source for its inspiration. The private papers of many British politicians and Government ministers of this era were examined. Most important of these sources were the Joseph Chamberlain Papers, the William Gladstone Papers and the Herbert Gladstone

Papers. Also carefully scrutinized were the British and Irish newspapers which carried extremely thorough reports of Irish agitation in both the countryside and Parliament. The memoirs and authorized biographies of the key political figures of the era also provided important information for this study as did several scholarly studies. Healy's activities in the House of Commons were traced in Hansand's Parliamentary Debates.

In the end, a picture of Healy emerged which is at variance with the current conception of the man. From Newcastle of the mid-1870's until his confrontation with Parnell at Galway in February, 1886, Healy is the model dedicated and pragmatic Irish Nationalist who gave every ounce of his energy and talents to the Irish Home Rule cause. His contributions have been overlooked apparently as a result of his challenges to Parnell's authority in 1886 and 1890. Parnell's sudden death in 1891 after his ouster as leader of the Home Rule movement was a tragedy for Ireland and a disaster for Healy's historical reputation. In the years that followed his death, Parnell's contributions were exaggerated by romantic writers searching for a modern-day national hero and politicians; at the same time, Healy's contributions were either ignored or downplayed. His continuing--and controversial--involvement in Irish politics for more than thirty years after Parnell died eliminated any

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possibility that his early career would be evaluated in Ireland without emotion and prejudice. This study, then, describes and evaluates his contributions to the Home Rule cause in the crucial decade between 1877 and 1887 and attempts to restore the perspective any major historical figure deserves.

T.M. HEALY AND THE IRISH HOME RULE MOVEMENT - 1877-1886

By

George Abbott Colburn

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A THESIS

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DEDICATION

To the memory of my father who took up arms for Ireland after the parliamentary battle for Home Rule was lost.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I find it impossible to adequately thank the many persons who provided me with aid and comfort while this dissertation was in progress. I can only hope that my personally expressed gratitude was sufficient at the time it was offered. It is important, however, that I publicly thank Professors T.M. Bushell, my dissertation director, Madison Kuhn and Donald Lammers, all of Michigan State University. Their guidance during my graduate school career was indispensible.

I also am indebted to those staff members of the National Library of Ireland, the British Museum, the Birmingham, England, University Library and the Michigan State University Library who assisted me in my initial scholarly research effort. My appreciation must be expressed to the trustees of the British Museum and Birmingham University for granting me permission to quote from their manuscript collections.

Finally, to all my friends who read, edited, typed, made suggestions and gave encouragement during the past three years, I am forever grateful. You are responsible for the completion of this study; I am responsible for any shortcomings or errors which might be found in it.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

These abbreviations will be used throughout the text:

N.L.I. -- National Library of Ireland

B.M. -- British Museum

Note: The British spelling of words has been retained in all quotations.

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INTRODUCTION

In a brief span of ten years in the late nineteenth century, the Irish Question changed from a minor irritation for the British Government, to a malady so serious that the Government, it seemed, could not function properly without major corrective surgery. Such surgery involved granting Home Rule to Ireland. Because of the advanced state of the malignancy, leaders of both major political parties in Parliament, for many different reasons, seriously considered approving the drastic operation. In the end, it was the Liberal Party which took the risk and sought to remove the Irish Question from British politics. Those ten years, between 1877 and 1887, coincide with Timothy Michael Healy's first decade of involvement in British politics. During this period, he contributed significantly to the Irish Home Rule movement, first as a journalist, then as a land agitator, a parliamentarian and a lawyer.

An effective argument can be made that, during these ten years, the Irish people for the first time realized that they had the right and the power to demand national self-determination from the British Government. It can also be argued that, at the end of this ten-year period, Ireland had lost its best opportunity to attain that self-determination

for all the people of the small island. Yet, despite the coincidence of such a crucial period in the history of the British Isles, with Healy's prominence as an Irish National leader, there has not been a single scholarly study on Healy's role in the Irish Home Rule movement. The only books published to date about Healy are his own memoirs, the recollections of a daughter, some reminiscences of a friend and a popular biography. These books are all unsatisfactory for the serious student of the Home Rule movement and Anglo-Irish relations in this era as are the brief sketches of Healy offered in the memoirs of his contemporaries and in scholarly books dealing with other personalities or episodes of the 1870's and 1880's.

There is still another reason why Healy's early public life warrants a careful examination. A few years before he died in 1931, Healy mentioned that he considered himself "the most unpopular man in Ireland." Few people disputed that statement at the time and few in Ireland today who remember his name will take issue with it. Great popular love or great hate for a public figure always creates interest among students of history, and this writer is no exception. How was it possible, I wondered, that a man who was born into poverty a few years after famine devastated his birthplace in southern Ireland, and who rose to be the most important Crown official in the newly-created Irish Free State, could have earned such a reputation? On the surface, it would

seem that Healy should be one of those unique men who are remembered for earning esteem and honors in public office after overcoming great personal obstacles. Such a classic life story helps make history the fascinating subject it is.

The answer to my question concerning Healy's reputation, I discovered quickly, is found in the public's perception since the early 1890's of Healy's relationship to Charles Stewart Parnell, leader of the Irish Home Rule movement throughout the 1880's. As a journalist in the late 1870's, Healy introduced the Irish people to Parnell and quickly made them acutely aware of the young M.P.'s leadership qualities. Healy then served as Parnell's private secretary, worked as his political organizer, entered Parliament and shortly won National acclaim on his own merits, earning a position of popularity among Irish politicians second only to Parnell. By 1886, however, Healy had become disenchanted with Parnell's inattention to political work, his affair with a married woman and his apparent disdain for the Irish people. He suffered silently until the Irish leader unilaterally decided in early 1886 to support actively Captain William O'Shea, husband of his mistress and a former Liberal M.P., for an Irish Nationalist constituency. At this point, Healy chose to challenge publicly Parnell's decision even though, only a few months earlier, the results of the general election strongly suggested that Parnell's power was absolute in Ireland. The falling out between the two Nationalist leaders would profoundly affect--perhaps even alter--

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In his opposition to Parnell at Galway, Healy found himself in the distinct minority among Nationalist leaders. However, a few years later, in 1890, the positions of the two men were reversed after Parnell was named in a divorce suit brought by Captain O'Shea against his wife. Because Healy and Parnell were an extremely effective political team in the first half of the 1880's, the student of this era is prompted to speculate on what might have happened in 1890 if Healy had stood by Parnell, disregarded the Church's position, and ignored Gladstone's ultimatum to the Irish M.P.'s that Parnell step down as Nationalist leader. Healy considered such a course of action; but unfortunately for Ireland, a strong residue of ill will remained from the Galway by-election and he became Parnell's chief adversary. This ill will, perpetuated by Parnell's coolness toward Healy from 1886-1890, helped greatly to seal the fate of Home Rule for the next three decades. The wounds opened in the Home Rule organization in the aftermath of the divorce action never healed; in the end, even a limited form of Home Rule for only a portion of the island had to be won in bloody guerrilla warfare rather than in bloodless parliamentary battle.

The research that has culminated in this study, therefore, sought to determine as exactly as possible how and

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what Healy contributed to the Home Rule movement in its most vibrant, its most optimistic, its most impudent and its most crucial years. Any major historical figure deserves to be viewed with balance and perspective, and Healy most certainly has had neither in his lifetime and after. Thus, this study has painstakingly attempted thoroughly to describe Healy's role in all the major events between 1877 and 1887. His personal goals, his objectives for Ireland and for the Home Rule movement, his tactics as a propagandist, as a M.P. and as an agitator and his relationship with Parnell are examined carefully. Hopefully, such thorough documentation of Healy's influential role in the Home Rule movement will shed new light on this period of British history.

SECTION ONE

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CHAPTER I

THE EARLY YEARS

On 10 January 1881, twenty-five-year-old Timothy Michael Healy, new Member of Parliament for Wexford Borough, horrified the House of Commons by verbally assaulting Lord Hartington in his maiden speech.[1] The vicious personal attack on Hartington, an influential member of Gladstone's cabinet, was a good indication of Healy's hostility toward the British Government, an attitude formed in the famine-devastated south of Ireland and hardened in the Irish ghettoes of industrial northern England. In his early political career, hundreds of passionate speeches bristling with recriminations delivered both within and outside the House of Commons would illustrate the depth of his intense hatred for the rulers of Ireland. One of Healy's contemporaries commented that, in Healy's early days in Parliament, everybody in the House of Commons with the exception of some Irish members would have "joined in hanging T.M. Healy with a whoop."[2] That he could provoke such sentiment was gratifying indeed to young Healy,

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[1] Nation, 15 January 1881.

[2] William O'Brien, Recollections (London: The Macmillan Co., 1905), p. 249.

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and the noise that greeted his speech-making in Parliament was the highest compliment the members could pay him.[1]

Healy's life, which included an appointment as Ireland's first Governor-General, was unique, but his humble beginnings, his lack of formal education, his emigration and his involvement in the Irish Nationalist movement were not at all unusual for the young Irishman born in the decade following the Great Hunger.

Healy was born in Bantry, in the west of County Cork on 17 May 1855, to Maurice Healy and the former Elizabeth O'Sullivan. Like most Irish-Catholic landowners, the Healys lost their land after the introduction of the penal laws following the Battle of the Boyne in the early seventeenth century. Maurice Healy supported his family by serving as poor-law clerk of the Bantry Union, a job to which he was appointed during the famine when he was only eighteen years old.[2] The Healys, despite their poverty for two hundred years, held to traditions in the mid-nineteenth century which were alien to the poor farming masses of Ireland. Tim's grandfather, for example, was a Greek and Latin teacher.[3] Tim's father was so fond of the Greek language that he would read Homer far into the night and frequently would recite it

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[1] Ibid.

[2] T.M. Healy, Letters and Leaders of My Day (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1929), 1, p. 17.

[3] Ibid.

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to his children. He also taught his children some Latin and "played the violin with taste."[1] The Healy children did not know their mother for she died giving birth to twins in 1859. Only one of the twins, Maurice junior, survived.[2]

In politics, Healy recalled that his father supported the men who fought in the uprising of 1848 and considered Daniel O'Connell "a bit of a humbug."[3] This political militancy made a significant impression on young Tim Healy. But of far greater importance was the impact of his father's tales of Ireland's mass starvation in 1846-7. In his memoirs, Healy wrote: "My father's lips trembled when he recalled their horrors."[4] His father certainly knew the horrors; as clerk of the Bantry Union, he was directly concerned with the effect of the famine on the residents of that village. Bantry was one of the most severely stricken areas in Ireland,[5] and all of the adults who had survived had vivid impressions of the deaths and of the great pits where the hundreds of dead were buried hurriedly without coffins. Healy was so affected by the history of the famine in the Bantry area, which in

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[1] Ibid., p. 18.

[2] Maev Sullivan, No Man's Man (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd., 1943), p. 4.

[3] Healy, I, p. 18.

[4] Ibid., p. 16.

[5] James Donnelly, "The Land and The People of Nineteenth Century Cork" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Harvard University), passim.

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the 1860's, was "silent, and deserted and poverty-stricken,"[1] that, when he and his brother reached manhood, they raised a great cross at one mass grave to commemorate the unnamed dead.[2] The Irish laid the blame for the famine deaths and the resultant mass emigration at the door of England, and Healy's beliefs were formed in great part by this attitude.

Another influence in Healy's youth was his maternal grandmother, Jane O'Sullivan, who lived in the Healy home. Mrs. O'Sullivan was apparently a storyteller in the tradition of Irish women and, according to Healy, "kindled our minds with stories of her forebears."[3] Tim Healy's daughter wrote that Mrs. O'Sullivan's stories of "bold rebels who had fought and died for Ireland" made a great impression on her father.[4] Further to accent the contrast between Anglo-Saxon and Celt was Healy's Catholic upbringing. His religious beliefs remained strong throughout his life and influenced his political views on frequent occasions.[5]

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[1] T.P. O'Connor, Charles Stewart Parnell: A Memory (London: Ward, Lock, Bowden and Co., n.d.), p. 70.

[2] Sullivan, p. 4.

[3] Healy, I, p. 18.

[4] Sullivan, p. 5.

[5] Irish Independent, 30 March 1931. The author of Healy's obituary in this newspaper commented on his religious fervor in old age. See Walter Arnstein's The Bradlaugh Case: A Study in Late Victorian Opinion and Politics (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965) for a description of Healy's opposition to the seating in Parliament of Charles Bradlaugh, an English atheist.

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Hatred of English rule in Ireland and hatred of the English people were basic ingredients of at least the informal education of post-famine Irish children. Such indoctrination often led these children to adopt lawless and violent habits as adults. Healy, however, was to channel his hatred of England into what can be called a constructive effort, although, as will be seen, his uncompromising loathing of the ruling nation frequently led to excesses in both his speaking and writing. In describing Healy as a teenager, one of his contemporaries wrote that the young man was "proud, shy, brooding, full of a fierce sense of the wrongs of his country, and internally ablaze with all the fervid and despairing fury of the children of a land at once helpless and oppressed."[1] He hated the English, his contemporary stated, "with a vehement hatred."[2]

In 1862, when Healy was seven years of age, the family moved to Lismore, County Waterford, where his father had received a new appointment as poor-law clerk. This move was the first of many for the young and motherless Healy boys who never knew a stable home life. In the next few years, they would live with various relatives and, as teenagers, they would care for themselves in England. Healy's father remained at his position in Lismore until his death in 1906.[3]

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[1] O'Connor, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 71.

[3] Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton, Timothy Healy: Memories and Anecdotes (Dublin: The Talbot Press, Ltd., 1933), p. 11.

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Healy's formal education terminated when he was thirteen and its extent before then is unknown. He noted in his memoirs that he had "some" schooling with the Christian Brothers, apparently referring to a short stay at St. Colman's school in Fermoy, County Cork. In a laudatory article published to commemorate Healy's imprisonment in 1883, the Boston Republic gave a brief, but intimate view of young Healy at St. Colman's. In Fermoy, Healy lived with his Uncle Denis who held the same position there as Healy's father held in Lismore. The author of the article in the Boston, Massachusetts newspaper was not identified, but it is obvious that someone quite close to Healy supplied the information:

> As a scholar he was neither brilliant nor over-industrious. He was always ready-witted and occasionally clever, with a good share of sarcasm and not a little quiet humour. He gave no evidence of future greatness, and his schoolmates never suspected that he would develop into the broad and analytical statesman that he is, and become such a tremendous and potential force in the public life not only of Ireland, but of the world. 'The only thing,' writes a close friend of his, 'for which I thought him noticeable at school, was his great desire to have the hours for closing to arrive. Then our afternoons were spent in the field and groves and woods along the Blackwater, where we explored the recesses and caves, hunted for birds' nests and laid in stores of chestnuts, for which the young Healy had a decided weakness. Then he did not seem to have any thoughts about patriotism or statesmanship. The Fenian movement was at its height, and some of us boys expected a big fight at any moment. I was continually praying for it, but my friend Tim paid no attention to it.'[1]

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[1] Boston Republic, 17 February 1883.

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Tim's political awareness grew dramatically after he moved to Dublin in 1869 to live with his Aunt Catherine and her husband T.D. Sullivan, the publisher of the principal Nationalist newspaper in Ireland. Sullivan was well-known to most Irishmen at the time because of the popular Nationalist poems and songs he authored. Most of them appeared regularly in the Nation, a weekly newspaper which he and his brother A.M. Sullivan published. T.D. Sullivan's family also came from Bantry. Sullivan received his schooling from Healy's grandfather and married his teacher's daughter, one of the sisters of Healy's mother.[1]

In Dublin, Healy worked as a clerk in a business firm, but the job was not Healy's main interest. His recollections of this period are concerned only with the political events and figures which had impressed him. It was a time of extremely significant political activity in Ireland. Under Gladstone's guidance, the Church of Ireland recently had been disestablished. The movement to win amnesty for Fenian prisoners captured in the uprising of 1867 was gaining widespread support in Ireland as was a land protest for "tenant rights." Isaac Butt, head of both groups, had the support of the Sullivan newspaper. Also, during Healy's stay with the politically-active Sullivans, the Nationalist movement gained momentum with a number of by-election victories which prompted the foundation of an organization to promote Irish Home Rule. Illustrating his

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[1]T.P. O'Connor and Robert McWade, Gladstone, Parnell and the Great Irish Struggle (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1886), p. 406.

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important position in Irish politics, Butt also was picked to head this group.

Healy met Butt under circumstances embarrassing for the Irish leader. In September, 1871, Butt was nominated for Limerick City as the Home Rule candidate, but could not campaign because he was attempting to elude creditors.[1] Seeking refuge, he came to T.D. Sullivan's home where he was greeted by Healy in his uncle's absence. Butt, Healy, and Mrs. Sullivan then waited for Sullivan to return. In his memoirs Healy scornfully noted that when his uncle came home, "there the great lawyer sat to elude pursuit, saying kind words to my aunt."[2] Sullivan gave Butt train fare to Limerick where he campaigned briefly, avoided arrest and eventually was returned to Parliament.

Healy's uncle was a key figure in the Nationalist movement because his newspaper represented the spirit of the "Young Ireland" movement. The Sullivan brothers attempted to reflect "advanced" Nationalist views in the Nation and, by so doing frequently came into conflict with moderates and the conservative Catholic Church hierarchy. Healy recalls that his uncles were "sorely grieved" over the defeat of John Martin, an old "repealer," in the County Longford election of January, 1870, a few months after Healy had arrived in Dublin.[3] The defeat

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[1]David Thornley, Isaac Butt and Home Rule (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1964), p. 122.

[2]Healy, I, p. 19.

[3]Ibid., I, p. 18.

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was caused primarily by the clergy's preference for Gladstone's Liberal Party candidate.[1] A year later, Martin's triumph in County Meath illustrated that popular opinion had changed dramatically in favor of the idea of "Home Rule." The clergy remained neutral in this 1871 by-election.[2]

The year 1870 also marked the passage of Gladstone's Land Bill. The highly complex document hardly affected the tenant-farming masses of Ireland because of its unlimited opportunities for litigation and numerous loopholes for the landlords.[3] Nevertheless, by urging the bill's passage Gladstone had admitted that great inequities existed in Ireland. In addition, his laws which brought about the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and his Land Bill expressed new attitudes toward Ireland by many Englishmen. But for the Nationalists, such triumphs only led to greater demands, and T.D. Sullivan was especially important in this continuing struggle. He was a key figure in increasing public support for the new Home Rule movement to a base much broader than desired by the primarily Protestant and Conservative Home Government Association.[4]

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[1]Later, in court, Martin would be declared the winner. See Thornley, p. 73.

[2]Thornley, p. 114.

[3]Thornley, pp. 79-80; W.F. Bailey, The Irish Land Acts: A Short Sketch (Dublin: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1917), p. 17.

[4]Thornley, pp. 140 and 143.

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Healy's close affiliation with the newspaper family certainly influenced his personal ambitions. He began at this time to study shorthand, a skill utilized in both journalism and commerce; within a few years he was a shorthand expert.[1] This skill enabled him to consider job opportunities in England. Thus, in 1872, when he was seventeen years old, Healy left Dublin to live in Manchester with another relative, John Barry. A distant relative by marriage, Barry, the son of a Wexford man, was engaged actively in Irish politics in England. One political contemporary said Barry "may be considered the founder of the powerful political organization which has existed here since 1873."[2] In a few years, Barry and his young relative became close political collaborators, first in the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain and then as Parnellite members of Parliament. As well as being politically profitable, Healy's relationship with Barry would be financially rewarding in later life.[3] When Healy arrived in Manchester, Barry was laying the foundation of what was to be a tremendously successful business career; within a few years, the pressure of his work would cause him to give up many of his political activities.[4] But during

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[1]Rev. Harold Rylett, Contemporary Review, Vol. 135 (April, 1929), p. 486.

[2]John Denvir, The Irish in Britain (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1892), p. 264.

[3]North Mail, Newcastle, 27 March 1931; Healy, I, p. 30.

[4]Thornley, p. 294.

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Healy's years in the north of England, Barry was able to find time for both business and political activities.

It was Barry who was most responsible for the establishment of an English federation dedicated to Irish Home Rule based on existing Irish groups.[1] The Home Rule movement needed new direction because the Irish alliance with the Liberal Party which had produced the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland was disintegrating. Irish demands for amnesty for Fenian prisoners were not met; and Gladstone's Land Bill of 1870 had not satisfied the farmers of Ireland. When Gladstone's University Education Bill failed to please the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, the Prime Minister's alliance with the Irish shattered.[2] It was through Barry's efforts that the federation became a reality. In January, 1873, less than a year after Healy came to England, Butt, bowing to demands of Barry and militant Nationalists, agreed to the idea of an English organization designed to promote Irish Home Rule. It was Barry who did the groundwork, utilizing Butt's visit to Manchester as the occasion to establish the organization.[3] As secretary of the Manchester Home Rule Association, Barry organized a convention of delegates from the various autonomous city Home Rule associations. In August

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[1]Denvir, p. 264.

[2]Thornley, p. 151.

[3]Denvir, p. 265.

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at Newcastle, the organization of Irishmen in England was formally initiated with the election of a national executive council for the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain. Butt, as could be expected, was named President while Healy's relative was given the powerful position of secretary. Manchester, Barry's home, was chosen as headquarters of the Confederation.

Healy's benefactor in England also held a prominent position in the Irish Republican Brotherhood, popularly known as the Fenians. Facts about this secret organization are difficult to determine, but it is known that Barry sat on the all-powerful Supreme Council.[2] The Fenians were devoted to the physical overthrow of the British regime in Ireland and according to the organization's code, constitutional methods aimed at gaining Home Rule were abhorred. The single goal of the Brotherhood was national independence, but a number of its members, including John Barry, had begun to consider alternative methods of obtaining that goal.

In 1867, the Fenians promoted a revolution in Ireland. It failed miserably; the only tangible result was the execution of three Irishmen who had tried to rescue some Fenian prisoners in Manchester. The attempt, which resulted in the

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[1] Ibid., p. 267.

[2] F.H. O'Donnell, The History of the Irish Parliamentary Party, 1870-1890 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910), I, p. 161; T.P. O'Connor, Memoirs of an Old Parliamentarian (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1929), I, p. 45.

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death of a policeman, inflamed public opinion in England. The executions which followed in turn inflamed the Irish and made the executed men national heroes. This pathetic manifestation of the Fenians' revolutionary plan clearly illustrated that other methods had to be utilized until the British Government became embroiled in international difficulties. Such distractions in foreign affairs always tempted Irish revolutionaries to strike.[1]

When Healy arrived in Manchester, the memories of 1867 were still vivid. The Irish community was in a very militant mood and the ground in which to cultivate recruits for a new organization devoted to Irish Home Rule was quite fertile. Throughout that first year in Manchester, Healy observed Barry's efforts to organize the Irish behind Isaac Butt.[2] Barry and others, many of them Fenians, directed their efforts at getting parliamentary candidates in Great Britain to support the idea of Home Rule.[3] The militancy of the movement in England prompted most Irish politicians to remain aloof. Throughout its existence the Confederation reflected militant Irish nationalism.[4]

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1898), I, pp. 121-23; Thornley, p. 90.

[2]Healy, I, p. 30.

[3]T.W. Moody, "The New Departure in Irish Politics, 1878-9," Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd, ed. H.A. Cronne, D.B. Quinn and T.W. Moody (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1949), p. 309.

[4]Michael Davitt, The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland (London: Harper and Brothers, 1904), pp. 227-8.

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The house where Healy resided during his first months in England was a "centre of political activity"[1] where both Fenian organizers and Butt's supporters were frequent visitors.[2] Healy's extreme political views formulated in the Sullivan household during the previous two years were undoubtedly strengthened by living with his Fenian relative. Within a short time Healy became a Fenian.[3] Yet, like Barry, he ignored the "physical force" code of the society and concentrated on constitutional agitation. The affiliation of Barry and then Healy with both the Fenians and the Home Rule movement illustrates the split which destroyed the vitality of the Fenian organization in the 1870's. This split later forced the Brotherhood to compromise its principles when Parnell's great strength in Ireland became manifest at the end of the decade.

Because the Brotherhood was a secret society, the details of Healy's role in the organization are not known. Healy was not an active member for very long, but he remained sympathetic to the organization throughout his life. After becoming a barrister in 1883, Healy frequently defended suspects acused of membership in the Brotherhood. In fact, his first legal brief was the defense of an accused Fenian.[4] Also, it is

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[1]Healy, I, p. 30.

[2]Ibid., pp. 116-7.

[3]Boston Republic, 17 February 1883.

[4]United Ireland, 24 November 1884.

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well known that he was intimate with many of the World-War-I-era revolutionaries, most of whom were Fenians.[1]

By living with John Barry, the thread of militancy begun in Healy's own home was continued. Healy's father said he favored armed uprising over political talk. The Sullivans supported repeal of the union with England despite the opposition of the Catholic Church. Now in Manchester, Healy heard Barry and his allies lament the weak leadership of Isaac Butt. They supported Butt only for lack of a better person and when that person appeared on the political stage, it was Barry who acted to oust Butt from leadership of the Confederation.

In 1874, Butt agreed to use Irish voting power in England to obtain pledges from parliamentary candidates in England. This maneuver led some English M.P.'s to support a parliamentary "inquiry" into Home Rule for Ireland.[2] But the fact that most Englishmen who had taken the pledge did not honor it merely prompted a greater bias in Healy. Since childhood, he had been bombarded with anti-English views concerning the "plantations," the "starvation," the "Manchester Martyrs" and general English oppression and misrule. His family's bitter history, his hometown's devastation by starvation and his life with T.D. Sullivan and John Barry obviously created, first, political awareness and then, political militancy. By

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[1]The Times, 27 March 1931.

[2]Thornley, p. 228.

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the time he left the Barry home in 1873, at the age of eighteen, Healy was prepared to become completely absorbed in the movement. His political acumen and his personal skills made him a most valuable recruit for the cause.

Healy stayed in the Barry home for less than a year, and then moved to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, apparently because he could not find suitable employment in Manchester.[1] The city had a large Irish population and Barry had many connections there.[2] No doubt it was Barry's influence which enabled Healy quickly to become known in Irish circles and to become an important figure in the Home Rule movement within a few years. There is no question that Healy was an open and avowed Nationalist with intelligence and energy. But Barry's prominent position in the Home Rule movement was responsible for Healy's opportunity to demonstrate his considerable talent.

On his own for the first time, Healy's financial situation in Newcastle was precarious.[3] For a time, he lived above a boot shop with its owner and his large family.[4] He soon found steady employment, however, as a shorthand clerk for the passenger superintendent of a railway station. Healy kept the job, which paid eighteen shillings weekly, until he left for London in 1878.

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[1] Sullivan, p. 6.

[2] O'Connor, p. 101; Thornley, pp. 203-4.

[3] Sullivan, p. 6.

[4] Newcastle Newsletter, 27 March 1931.

Shortly after taking up residence in Newcastle, Healy helped to establish the Irish National Club and Literary Institute. John Barry also was listed as a founder.[1] For some time, Healy was the secretary of the organization, the political forum for the city's Irishmen. From this group came the founders of the Irish Tribune in Newcastle.[2] Healy gained valuable experience working for this newspaper, although his first writing of consequence was for the Newcastle Chronicle, an Irish-oriented newspaper.[3] Along with his regular job, his political activities and his writing, Healy also found time to master German and French and study Irish.[4] Healy's part-time studies also included science and he, along with his brother who had joined him in Newcastle, received course certificates. He also joined a volunteer army group, hoping that the drills would correct his stoop.[5] This energy, this ability to handle several enterprises simultaneously--and to handle them well--would characterize his entire public career, especially during the 1880's.

Healy's interest in parliamentary politics was whetted in June of 1874 when he accompanied Barry to London to hear

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Boston Republic, 17 February 1883.

[4] Eastern Daily, 27 March 1931; Belfast Irish News, 27 March 1931.

[5] Healy, I, p. 55.

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Butt's motion for an inquiry into the question of Home Rule for Ireland.[1] It was Healy's first visit to Parliament, but because of his relationship with Barry, Healy was not an ordinary spectator on that momentous occasion. The morning of the debate, Healy went with Barry as he sought support for Butt's motion from the Radical wing of the Liberal Party.[2] The quest proved almost fruitless; Butt's motion received the support of only ten English members. It was the first in a never-ending string of defeats for Butt and his newly-organized Home Rule Party.

A major problem for Butt's new party was that it had no time to prepare properly for the 1874 election, which saw Disraeli wrest power from Gladstone. Although Butt claimed sixty Home Rule candidates had been elected, only one-third of them actively would pursue the goal of the party in Parliament. Most of the so-called Home Rulers had paid lip-service to the concept of Home Rule in order to be elected. Immediately after the election, Barry, aware of the lack of organization, wrote Butt that "honest earnest Irishmen both at home and abroad are bitterly disappointed at the calibre of the majority of the men returned; the history of the next few years will endorse the correctness of their political foresight. It is said on all sides that you have not around you a sufficient number of the right stamp to keep the others

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[1] Ibid., p. 32; Sullivan, p. 10.

[2] Healy, I, p. 33.

in a straight line."[1] Within a few weeks the Sullivans, through their newspaper, were calling for Irish members to practice parliamentary "obstruction" because of the almost total English disinterest in Butt's request for an investigation into Irish dissatisfaction with their system of government.[2] In a short time, Joseph G. Biggar, M.P. for Cavan, answered the call by using "the forms of the House" to slow passage of a bill which renewed the special coercive powers of the Irish Executive office.[3] As Butt and the Home Rulers continually were frustrated at every turning by the Conservative ministry, the attraction of obstruction and the number who practiced it grew among the disgruntled Irish people. It appeared to them that some type of pressure had to be exerted in order to force the English politicians at least to consider Irish governmental grievances.

Healy, having been impressed with Butt's eloquence in making his motion for an inquiry, quickly tired of the continuing and overwhelming defeats suffered by a party which "consisted mainly of the landed gentry, with a few Nationalists thrown in."[4] Obstruction, then, immediately attracted Healy. Biggar's courage made him a hero in Healy's eyes, especially

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[1]Thornley, pp. 203-4.

[2]Nation, 28 March 1874.

[3]Thornley, pp. 235-6.

[4]Healy, I, p. 37.

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after the small, hunch-backed Ulsterman, a member of the Fenian Supreme Council, talked for more than four hours during the debate on an Irish coercion bill in April, 1875.[1] Healy's relatives at the Nation also approved of Biggar's activities in Parliament:

> Never hitherto has a British government found it so difficult to forge fetters for Ireland; and, we write, it is quite 'on the cards' that if they succeed in that odious task on the present occasion, it will be at the cost of such disorganization of 'public business' as will make a repetition of the performance in a future session a thing pre-eminently to be avoided.[2]

The Irish managed to stall the coercion bills for eight days in the committee stage by introducing fifty-nine amendments. The session, however, did not produce any Irish legislation, and there were definite signs that the Irish people were growing weary of such sterile sessions and of an Irish party wracked by dissension and absenteeism.[3] There was, for example, an attempt to raise money to settle Butt's many debts so he could devote more time to his parliamentary duties. The campaign for funds was a failure and it began to appear as if the people were looking for new and dynamic leadership.[4] This discontent was particularly strong among the exiled Irish in England where many branches of the Home Rule

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[1] Thornley, pp. 255-6; Healy, I, p. 40.

[2] Nation, 1 May 1875.

[3] Thornley, p. 261.

[4] Ibid., p. 264.

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Confederation passed resolutions urging the Home Rule members of Parliament to follow Biggar's lead.[1]

One Irish member who cast his lot with Biggar was the new member for Meath, Charles Stewart Parnell, who had made his initial address following Biggar's four-hour speech against further Irish coercive measures. Healy considered Biggar as leader of the obstructionists and Parnell an eager student of the Ulsterman. Healy once watched Parnell copying instructions from Biggar "to guide him as to the methods to be adopted the next day at Westminster."[2] Biggar, however, had few followers and was opposed by Butt, still undisputed as leader of the Irish Party. Although Butt's policy of "moral persuasion" no longer had political significance, his leadership was something to be endured for the moment.

The Irish people realized they were not receiving any concessions from the English for being good subjects. In July, 1876, the Nation, now fully under the control of T.D. Sullivan, called for the adoption of obstruction as Home Rule Party policy, while A.M. Sullivan, now a lawyer in London, attacked Butt in an American newspaper article for "debt, difficulty and dissipation."[3] At the same time, Barry and other Executive Council members of the Home Rule Confederation

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[1] Ibid., p. 270.

[2] Healy, I, p. 52.

[3] Thornley, p. 288.

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of Great Britain tried to convince the Dublin-based Home Rule League to endorse a more resolute policy at Westminster. To further their objective, the Confederation proposed a joint meeting of the two groups in Dublin. When League officials refused to cooperate, the Home Rule Confederation ignored them and planned its own convention in August in Dublin. Butt was prevailed upon to attend the meeting and was named president, but only "as a mark of respect."[1] The delegates ignored Butt's well known feelings and passed a resolution calling for "a much more determined attitude" in the House of Commons. The leading obstructionists Biggar, Parnell, and Frank Hugh O'Donnell were elected vice-presidents.

When the 1877 session of Parliament opened in February, it was clear that the Home Rule movement was disintegrating. Biggar, Parnell, and a handful of others had organized to obstruct parliamentary business. Deliberate obstruction of English legislation to Butt, however, was unthinkable, and he reproached his colleagues during an April debate in the House. Butt singled out Parnell, saying he "was not responsible for the honourable member for Meath, and could not control him."[2] Obstruction, however, continued unabated despite Butt's rebukes and the Government was forced to consider new standing orders. These new rules proved ineffective, and on July 31, an important appropriations bill was passed only

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[1] Ibid., p. 294.

[2] Ibid., p. 306.

after the Government members were organized into relays to wear down seven Irish obstructionists. The session began at 5:15 p.m. on July 31 and lasted until 2:10 p.m. the following day.[1]

Butt continued to act as the leader of the Irish members, but his support was disappearing rapidly. Edward Gray, publisher of the Freeman's Journal, a Nationalist Dublin daily newspaper, deserted Butt at this point and endorsed the obstructionist policy. The militant stand of the obstructionists was winning support of young and old in Ireland. The comments of one old, but still influential, Nationalist indicated the growing restlessness in Ireland:

> Parnell, M.P. for Meath, and Biggar, M.P. for Cavan, have been using the rules of the foreign house of commons to obstruct the business of that unfriendly institution. They are quite right to give it all the annoyance they prudently can. If the English insist on dragging Irish members over to London against the will of the Irish nation, it is surely the duty of our members to render their enforced presence there as great a nuisance as possible to the English enemy. Obstruction, truly! Why the foreign parliament is itself an obstruction to Irish business and Irish prosperity. They complain that we obstruct their Parliament. We complain that they have destroyed our Parliament, and if some of the results of that gigantic crime are inconvenient to themselves, this is indeed a very small penalty for their monstrous usurption of legislative power over Ireland.[2]

Despite such opinions from sectors which usually supported him, Butt continued to insist that the failure to

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[1] Ibid., 313.

[2] N.L.I., W.J. O'Neill Daunt Journal, MS 3042, 2 July 1877, p. 1052.

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obtain Irish legislation was due to obstruction. The widening split in the Irish party was visible to all at this time in the "letters" column of the Freeman's Journal, where Butt and Parnell exchanged criticisms.

During the 1877-78 recess, the battle for supremacy began in earnest. According to Healy, it was Barry's idea to depose Butt as leader of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain and to elect Parnell as Butt's successor.[1] Barry's actual role is unknown, but the Fenian-dominated Executive Council of the Confederation, which Barry controlled, believed the time had come to break with Butt.[2] The annual convention of the Confederation was scheduled for August 27 and 28 at the Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool. Healy, twenty-two years old and considered "the life and soul" of the Nationalist movement in Newcastle,[3] was a delegate to the convention for the third consecutive year.[4] Barry, a vice-president of the Confederation and a conspicuous personage on the platform,[5] made the motion that Parnell replace Butt as President of the Confederation for the coming year.[6] Healy does not

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[1]Healy, I, p. 54.

[2]R. Barry O'Brien, I, pp. 142-3.

[3]Denvir, p. 275.

[4]Sullivan, p. 11.

[5]Nation, 1 September 1877.

[6]Thornley, p. 331.

mention Barry's motion in his memoirs, but stated that "Barry parted sorrowfully with Butt, who had so often defended the Fenian prisoners from 1865 onwards."[1] Another observer noted that "the man who proposed the change bore to Butt that extraordinary affection with which this weak, kindly, unassuming, and childishly simple old man was accustomed to inspire nearly every man, and could with difficulty maintain his composure as he gave the tottering Caesar the fatal stab."[2] Parnell, the beneficiary of Barry's maneuvering on this occasion, did not forget what Barry had done, and years later after he was toppled from power, Parnell would sneer at Barry and call him the "leader killer."[3]

According to Butt and other participants,[4] the overthrow was planned. Healy, however, published a letter in his memoirs that he wrote to his brother after the close of the Liverpool convention which indicated Healy was outside the circle of decision-makers. Healy wrote that Butt did not want to be President for another year and that Butt "would have much pleasure in proposing Parnell's name for the Chair."[5]

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[1]Healy, I, p. 54.

[2]T.P. O'Connor, The Parnell Movement (New York: Cassell Publishing Co., 1891), p. 162.

[3]Healy, I, p. 54.

[4]William O'Brien, p. 212.

[5]Healy, I, p. 54.

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Even if Butt truly wanted to yield office, he certainly would not have proposed the young, outspoken challenger as his successor. The English press accurately interpreted the Confederation's action as a direct rebuff to Butt and his policies. No one at the convention opposed the Parnell nomination,[1] which was discreetly made the day after Butt left town.[2]

Healy, a major figure in the influential Newcastle delegation, was elected to the Executive Council of the Home Rule Confederation at this convention. The annual gathering of delegates from branches in England and Scotland elected a twenty-member governing body to serve with the paid officials. Half of the twenty were elected from the home base of the Confederation--then Liverpool--to facilitate the business of the organization.[3] Healy, now one of ten key officials from outside the home base, suddenly became one of the policy-makers of these militant Nationalists. To obtain such an important post, Healy certainly had to obtain the help of his prominent relative John Barry. The men who formed the Confederation's power structure, no doubt, were well acquainted with Healy through Barry. The most important aspect of this election, however, was that Healy now would be associated closely with Parnell and the Irish Parliamentary Party.

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 145.

[2]Denvir, p. 280.

[3]O'Donnell, I, p. 163.

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Healy kept his post on the policy-making body of the Confederation until the organization was revamped by Parnell in 1880.

Two days after the close of the Liverpool convention, Healy wrote to his brother some views on obstruction he had expressed, either by letter or personally at the convention, to his uncle, T.D. Sullivan. Healy referred to obstruction as a "temporary expedient" because the Liberals would certainly oust the Tories at the next election, and then in the new session the Liberals would need the help of the Home Rule Party. Obstruction, he reasoned, should be maintained in order to give the Irish people "some value for their money in the meantime, . . . to keep their appetite whetted, and prevent their growing impatient."[1] Commenting on Butt, still the parliamentary leader, Healy told Maurice, that "he is too soft and easily gammoned. He is clever, plausible, statesmanlike and eloquent, but he is not a leader of men. . . . Whether the Party goes in for obstruction or not, I would be in favour of getting rid of Butt, and the sooner the air is cleared by his retirement the better."[2] Healy obviously did not confine his views on Butt to letters and personal conversations, for Butt's supporters in Newcastle attacked Healy's position regarding the Irish leader. Healy, however, soon left such local antagonisms behind. Well known now in the

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[1]Healy, I, p. 55.

[2]Ibid.

"active section" of the Irish Party, with good connections in England and Ireland, Healy, trained in shorthand and experienced in journalism, clearly was a logical choice to become the parliamentary correspondent of his uncle's newspaper. In February, 1878, Sullivan offered the position to Healy at the rate of a pound a week. Healy's responsibility was to write a weekly column of parliamentary sketches. The Nation, always on the side of Irish activists, was becoming even more militant under the sole direction of T.D. Sullivan. By hiring a parliamentary correspondent with ties to the obstructionist wing of the party, Sullivan could promote more effectively the interests of the militants. Indicative of this new tone in the Nation is this passage of praise and advice for the six Irish members who kept Parliament in session on one occasion until 7:15 a.m.:

> It is long since we read anything which gave us greater satisfaction than the report of the proceedings of this very unexpected 'morning sitting.' It was like an exhilarating breeze from the hills or the sea. It sent the blood coursing more quickly through the veins. It made the heart throb with a delightful motion. . . . It should be ever remembered that the parliament gives no quarter to Ireland; it, therefore, deserves none at the hands of Irish members. Irish business has been steadily obstructed by it up to this week; let British business be now obstructed with equal pertinacity in return.[1]

In a letter to one old Nationalist, T.D. Sullivan, in fact, had expressed a preference for total separation from England, stating that federalism, the ideal of Butt and many

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[1]Nation, 7 July 1877.

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others, would ultimately lead to a separate nation.[1] Healy was aware of Sullivan's views; and although he might not have had specific instructions, Healy's fundamental task was to champion the activists and criticize the moderates. He would do his work well.

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[1]Thornley, pp. 268-7.

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CHAPTER II

HEALY AND THE NATION
1878-1879

Healy left Newcastle at the end of February 1878, and was welcomed warmly in London by Parnell and others in the small, activist band of Irish parliamentarians. Because of his activities in Newcastle and for the Home Rule Confederation, Healy was no stranger to these men. However, he shortly would become much closer to them as a result of his writings for the Nation, "the organ of the Obstructives."[1] There is no doubt that the activists needed Healy to interpret their activities to the Irish people, and it is obvious by his articles that they kept in close contact with him as he prepared his weekly column for the Nation. The only other significant Nationalist newspaper, the Freeman's Journal, still only infrequently endorsed the radical posture of Biggar, Parnell, and other militants. Healy, therefore, held a crucial position as the link between parliamentary militants and the Irish people.

Healy's memoirs indicate that he left Newcastle for London and a position on the Nation because of the offer made

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[1]Healy, I, p. 57.

by his uncle. He wrote that the proposed salary of one pound weekly seemed "colossal" for literary work.[1] It seems certain, however, that Barry arranged for Healy to obtain another job so that Healy could afford to live in London. Barry's employer, a Kirkcaldy, Scotland linoleum firm, had a London office and Healy was given a clerk's position in the firm's office.[2]

When Healy arrived in London, Butt still controlled the Irish Parliamentary Party. Parnell was biding his time, seeking to enhance his reputation with the people of Ireland while he waited hopefully for the 1880 general election to change the composition of the Irish party.[3] According to Healy, as early as August 1878, Parnell prepared a list of suitable candidates for the election. Although Healy thought Parnell's choices were poor, he wrote to his brother saying that they would be "better than the fellows now in."[4] Healy feared that Parnell's candidates would not be militant enough.[5]

Militancy now was the trademark of the Nation and Healy knew that he had license to attack the moderate Home Rulers

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[1] Ibid., p. 56.

[2] Boston American, 23 July 1916; Daily Telegraph, 27 March 1931.

[3] Thornley, p. 349.

[4] Healy, I, p. 64.

[5] Ibid., p. 67.

in the bluntest terms in his articles. In early March, a leading article entitled "The Drones of the Home Rule Party," urged the Irish electorate to treat frequently-absent Irish members as "traitors" at election time.[1] Healy's column from London began in the Nation on 23 March, two months after Parliament had convened. Hostility still existed between the two wings of the Irish Party. At the beginning of the session, Butt was in ill-health and unable to assume his parliamentary duties. Irish motions had no better success in this session, and the weakened state of the party was quite obvious to the Government. In his first column entitled "London Letter" and signed "From Our Correspondent," Healy reflected on Butt's absence and the crisis in the Home Rule Party. First, he claimed Butt's illness was not important for the party, and went on to explain why the party split was actually beneficial:

> There can scarcely be much doubt that the crises through which the Home Rule Party has passed have shaped it into a more effective weapon, if properly handled, for all purposes, offensive and defensive, than ever it has previously been. . . . The success of Mr. Parnell's efforts in improving English measures, reacting as they do on those affecting Ireland, and Mr. O'Donnell's comprehensive view of his duties toward the Anglo-Irish Empire, have opened the eyes of many persons to possibilities of legislative effort hitherto unthought of. . . . it is natural after recent divisions that there should be irritation at the remissness of individual members; but the broad fact, I think, remains that, taken together, despite defection and desertion, the National Party is now a greater power for service to

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[1] Nation, 2 March 1878.

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> Ireland, after its period of sturm und drang, than even when it first commenced its mission fresh from victory at the hustings, and before a single cloud appeared to dim its horizon.[1]

Discussing Government agreement to a motion by A.M. Sullivan calling for chaplains for Catholic sailors in the Royal Navy, Healy wrote that "the concession was made only after a threat of 'obstruction' so that those who put the least liberal construction on the promise of the Government, will, I think, be the least disappointed."[2] In fact, the Irish had given notice of forty amendments to the Naval estimates, thus informing the Government of the seriousness of their intentions on the chaplain issue. Healy's first column ended on a note of optimism, saying, "as Ireland is sure before long to solve the problem of finding seventy or eighty determined men to represent her, the day of ultimate and entire triumph cannot be very remote."[3] Seven years later, eighty-six "determined men" represented Ireland, but the "ultimate and entire triumph" was not achieved at that time, a misfortune which plagues Ireland to this day.

On page one of the 23 March issue, the Nation endorsed the activists and all that Healy had written. The concession by the Government, the newspaper stated, ought to "embolden"

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[1] Ibid., 23 March 1879.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

the obstructive section "to further efforts of the vigorous and determined kind in support of Irish interests."[1]

In April, Butt resigned as party leader, but then was convinced by the majority conservative wing of the party to remain with the understanding that he could not attend Parliament on a regular basis.[2] Although the Nation urged Butt to remain as party leader,[3] Healy scoffed at the resignation announcement. Butt claimed that ill-health motivated his resignation; but Healy wrote: "The skill and labour which he has given to the conducting of some recent law cases in Dublin preclude the idea of any incapacity on that score."[4] He then proceeded to advise Butt about party policies: "If he would but feel the pulse of the country on the question of the inauguration of a vigorous parliamentary campaign, great benefit would undoubtedly arise."[5]

In the months ahead, Healy's attacks on Butt would sharpen. Healy's general criticisms of Butt and party policy corresponded with the Nation's editorial views. On the other hand, Healy's columns called attention to personalities, both obstructionists and "do nothings," and, for this reason,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Thornley, pp. 347-8.

[3] Nation, 13 and 27 April 1878.

[4] Ibid., 13 April 1878.

[5] Ibid.

certainly caused greater controversy than the Nation's leading articles.

During this early period, Biggar received most of Healy's praise, although the columns indicate that Healy clearly was aware that Parnell would make the best leader of an active party.[1] At times, it seemed as if Healy felt that his task was to prepare the Irish for a great new leader invincible in the enemy's arena:

> Mr. Parnell 'under fire' is a sight to see, and one is strongly reminded, by his demeanour on such occasions, of the American's celebrated description of Daniel in the Lions Den; but in this case with a distinct difference in the fabled attitude of the lions, for the coolness and unconcern are all on the side of the honourable member for Meath. Three times in the course of the debate 'on a Mutiny Bill' the Secretary for War, Mr. Hardy, fell foul of him, but each time the result left Mr. Parnell master of the situation.[2]

In this column, Healy lionized the other key obstructionists, Frank Hugh O'Donnell, John O'Connor Power, and Biggar. Typical of Healy's unreserved affection for the Member for Cavan was the fact that although Biggar did not participate in the debate, Healy nevertheless praised him for what he certainly would have done if he had been there. As usual, Healy drew conclusions about the effects of obstructionist policy as if a much larger group of Irish activists were sitting at Westminster. "The Government," he wrote, "instead of

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[1]Healy wrote to his brother on 10 May and 1 June about Parnell's leadership abilities. See Healy, I, pp. 62-3.

[2]Nation, 30 March 1878.

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having to resort to morning sittings to expedite business would, in a short time, be obliged to give Irish members both morning and evening sittings somewhere else."[1] The formula which would produce a Parliament in Dublin was simple enough, according to Healy:

> Parliament suffers from a glut of business, which it only gets through in a scamping kind of way by the connivance of those concerned. The interests of the people of these countries require that it should do more work. If more work be given it, the machine, overweighted, will break down. Result---Home Rule. Q.E.D.![2]

Disraeli's ministry, however, could not be intimidated into concessions by a few men, although in the summer of 1878, the Government did propose aid for denominational education. The proposal, in direct contrast to the Liberal Party's stance, might have been a device to prompt the Catholic hierarchy into showing its gratitude by keeping a lid on Home Rule agitation. One clear result of the proposed legislation, however, was to reveal the growing cleavage in the Home Rule movement. Both wings of the party publicly claimed credit for an Education Bill which had been introduced by the Government without warning to the Irish members. The obstructionists, denied the glory of winning this concession in parliamentary struggle, nevertheless, legitimately could claim some credit for the Tory decision, because the Government's wanted

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

to avoid parliamentary troubles during the crisis in Eastern Europe. Healy, quite naturally, gave full credit for the bill's introduction to the obstructionists, and, at the same time, scorned Butt and his policy of "conciliation":

> If the Education Bill becomes law . . . the Irish electors should remember that it is solely due to the adoption of a determined attitude in Parliament by four or five members this session. For the four or five previous years Mr. Butt, at the head of forty or fifty men practising the policy of conciliation, got nothing, and can point to no legislative result. . . . Some of the do-nothing party, however, may be audacious enough to claim part of the credit of any concession that is made, which is entirely due to the work of men who, 'through long days of labour and nights devoid of ease,' never ceased to harass an administration the least favourable to Ireland of any that ever held office.[1]

Again, Healy singled out Parnell for praise and implied that the Member for Meath was the one person primarily responsible for the bill:

> We are beginning to miss the lively Irish nights at Westminster provided by Mr. Parnell for the general entertainment. He himself remains quietly looking on since his success in extorting the Education Bill induced him to give the enemy a truce, and now a species of bovine obstruction occupies the hours.[2]

The Tory Education Bill was significant. In fact, David Thornley, professor at Trinity College, Dublin, claims it was "the one Irish measure of importance passed in the lifetime of Butt's party."[3] However, Parnell's "truce" with the

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[1] Ibid., 13 July 1878.

[2] Ibid., 27 July 1878.

[3] Thornley, p. 366.

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Government was not just in gratitude for the bill, as Healy indicated in his column. Equally as important as the bill in keeping the Irish quiet was the fact that a select committee was considering new rules which could keep obstructionists from undermining the work of Parliament.[1] The Irish activists most likely decided it was wise not to antagonize the members of the committee.

Despite this major piece of legislation for Ireland, Butt's party could not be saved. Butt's support for British policy in Eastern Europe proved fatal to his Irish leadership. As his position became clear, Healy and the Nation stepped up their attacks in order to destroy the personal affection the Irish nation still extended to Butt--if not to his policies and his party. In Healy's columns, Butt's position invariably would conflict with Healy's interpretation of Irish patriotism. At first, Butt was only indirectly attacked; it was the "party" and party policies which were condemned in the Nation. Almost immediately after taking his position with the newspaper, Healy condemned the Home Rule Party for not offering amendments to the Queen's Address.[2] On 27 April, Healy charged that the party had no courage because it failed to publicize the alleged misdeeds of the Earl of Leitrim, a County Donegal landlord, who had been

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[1] Ibid., p. 359.

[2] Nation, 13 April 1878.

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murdered.[1] Healy's attacks on those not among the "fighting party" continued every week. In one column, he commented that the Irish M.P.'s without the "heroic spirit" had adopted "a foreign standard of opinion and behaviour" because they lived in London for six months of the year.[2]

After Butt "resumed" the leadership of the party, Healy began to denounce the policy of the party as the policy of Butt. At the same time, the Nation urged that the ranks of the activists be increased in coming elections and, at one point, ridiculed the idea of Butt's party introducing a Home Rule motion. The Nationalist newspaper warned the Irish people that such a motion would be a device to fool the electorate into thinking the party members actually were committed to Home Rule.[3] When Butt decided not to introduce a Home Rule motion because, he claimed, the House had been irritated by the obstructionists in the party, Healy ridiculed him:

> This [attitude], of course, is a matter for the exercise of individual opinion, and one upon which Mr. Butt's opinion as leader is paramount, yet it is worth while pointing out, as a curious fact, that all this deference to tone and calculation of times to secure what is known as a favourable hearing, have never won a single vote for the Home Rule motion from an English member. Some dozen or so of British M.P.'s have, it is true, always supported Mr. Butt on a division,

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[1] Ibid., 27 April 1878.

[2] Ibid., 4 May 1878.

[3] Ibid., 1 June 1878.

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> but from every one of them a Home Rule pledge has been extracted at the time of his election by the Irish voters of this country.[1]

The Nation's attitude toward Butt was growing clearer with each passing week. When Parnell's resolution to obstruct all requests for "supply" by the Government was rejected by the Home Rule Party, a leading article hotly contended that those bound by "true patriotism" were forbidden to follow the rules of a "foreign and hostile assembly."[2] It is not surprising, therefore, that the newspaper exploded in condemnations when Butt's private negotiations with the British Government were made public and when he publicly supported the British foreign policy vis-a-vis Russia and Turkey.

On 22 June, Healy denounced Butt's plea to the Government to pass the education measure before introducing the Queen's College estimates. Butt knew that the obstructionists planned to act on the college estimates and he wanted a quiet Commons in order to induce the Lords to accept the Education Bill. Direct in his condemnation, Healy wrote that Butt's action was "his first essay at leadership this session. . . . It is one which he might very well have let alone."[3] Healy accused Butt of the greatest crime an Irishman could commit--giving "aid and assistance to the [British]

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[1] Nation, 1 June 1878.

[2] Ibid., 8 June 1878.

[3] Ibid., 22 June 1878.

Government."[1] Bluntly, Healy offered Butt some advice regarding the mood of Ireland:

> Instinctively, right or wrong, our people range themselves on the side of the men that give the most strenuous opposition to those whose mastery over us has been acquired by force and fraud. These men are now known as Obstructives, and Mr. Butt would do well to recognise the existence of the sentiment, and its force.[2]

The following week, the Nation endorsed Healy's view in a leading article, and, in the weeks ahead, Healy continued his attack on Butt. In his "London Letter," of 13 July, Healy, in mocking tones, reflected on Butt's behavior in connection with a bill which Healy called a "harmless sham." Healy first noted that Butt "strolled in to his post about eleven o'clock, after having been orating on the glorious traditions of the House of Commons with great effect at a public dinner."[3] According to one historian, Irish public opinion was "scandalized" by the event which Healy so casually described.[4] In a particularly devastating style, Healy continued to describe Butt's activities that evening in the House.

> When the House went to a division on the motion for adjournment [a favorite obstructionist tactic, but this time Butt used it], how pleasant it was to see Mr. Butt acting as Obstructionist co-teller with Major Nolan. His face was radiant, and cheered even the determined gloom of Mr. McCarthy Downing. Indeed, the Home Rule

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., 22 June 1878.

[3] Ibid., 13 July 1878.

[4] Thornley, p. 361.

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> leader appeared to enjoy the novelty so much that in all probability a little more frequent exercise in the division lobby would be the very thing to restore him to perfect health.[1]

Certainly, Butt was not in good health; but in the face of hostile comments such as those by Healy, he tenaciously continued to pursue a policy of conciliation. Healy's memoirs help explain what a tough adversary Butt was even in 1878, the last year of his life. When a vacancy occurred in New Ross, County Wexford, Parnell persuaded a wealthy Dublin merchant to seek the seat. The merchant, a supporter of activist policy, had aided some Italian artists whose work had been damaged in transit to the Dublin Exhibition of 1865. For his help, the merchant received a citation from King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy. Butt, who hoped to frustrate Parnell's first attempt to increase the activists in Parliament, endorsed the Tory opponent and sent an associate to inform the electors that Parnell's candidate was a "Garibaldian" and a "Mazzinian." Healy believed that this appeal to the Catholic electorate was responsible for the triumph of the Butt-endorsed candidate.[2]

During the summer months, Healy's attacks on Butt became more personal. Healy noted the favorable prospects for the Education Bill and sarcastically commented that the Government failed to show any gratitude to Butt for his aid. Butt, Healy

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[1] Nation, 13 July 1878.

[2] Healy, I, pp. 65-6.

wrote, ". . . got up and shook hands with himself for the performance."[1] But it was when the Liberal Party brought a formal motion of censure against the Government that Butt finally destroyed himself as the leader of the Irish nation. During the debate, Butt spoke and voted with the Government, actions perfectly in line with his opinions formed decades earlier.[2] On 10 August Healy, in the Nation, wrote that, "the leader of the party went over bodily to the camp of the enemy." For Healy Butt's action was a magnificent opportunity. No longer did Healy have to stretch a point. Butt had left himself wide open to a spirited frontal attack:

> The spectacle of the leader of the Irish people presenting the incense of their approval at the shrine of Jingo, shows us what we have been spared by his absence on previous similar occasions. How rapturously the Tories cheered his speech! And how delighted he was by their cheers! Poor stuff, though, it was, and poor indeed compared with the eloquence of the same Isaac Butt pleading for the Irish cause. . . . Can it be the Tories who have changed, or Mr. Butt?[3]

Healy did not confine himself merely to writing about Butt's action in the House. As a member of the Executive Council of the Home Rule Confederation, Healy offered a condemnation of Butt which was duly passed. The resolution read:

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[1] Nation, 20 July 1878.

[2] Thornley, p. 361.

[3] Nation, 10 August 1878.

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> That the support continually given to the Ministry on every important occasion is contrary to the principle of independent opposition, upon which the party was established, and that this executive views with apprehension and sees grave reasons to regret the present attitude of Mr. Butt toward the Tory Government.[1]

Healy's motion certainly reflected majority opinion in Irish circles of Butt's cooperation with the Government. The Tories at this time were beseiged with problems in foreign and imperial relations, and the great majority of Irishmen believed that British problems abroad gave Ireland the "opportunity" to gain concessions from the embattled Government.

On 16 August, Parliament was prorogued until December when it was reconvened to consider the Afghan War. In his column on 24 August, Healy again attributed the "comparatively fair show of legislative work" to the "truce" brought about by the Education Bill. He also correctly predicted that the Tories would introduce a University Education Bill for Ireland in the 1879 session in order to appease the Irish and assure another productive session.[2] In the same column, Healy dreamed about a "true" Irish party which would not be appeased by a Government dedicated to maintaining oppression in Ireland:

> Taken altogether, the Home Rule Party has been redeemed from discredit by the action of a handful of its members; but the country will probably have by this time concluded that, as the

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[1] Ibid., 17 August 1878.

[2] Ibid., 24 August 1878.

events of the session have shown, it cannot be relied upon to act as a national party in English crises. Out of mere Whig and Tory elements a national Irish party can never be constituted.

> Listening to a droning speech the other night in a deserted House . . . my fancy peopled the empty benches with the members of such a party. In it were no drones, or do-nothings, no tricksters or tale-bearers, no self-seekers or sycophants, but every man was an honest man who loved his friends and hated his enemies, and I missed from it no faces that I regretted, and there was no Sherlock and no Phil Callan. No man of them ever rose to speak against his fellow, and the whole number was as one for Ireland's sake. And methought at last I heard a great cry, and knew that the cause at last had triumphed. Which is an allegory.[1]

Healy, however, did not believe his dreams would come true without hard work. In his next column, he urged that political pressure be exerted by the Irish electorate in England, claiming such pressure could convince thirty or forty English M.P.'s to take the Home Rule pledge.[2] He also reminded his readers that twenty-five additional seats for the Liberal Party would evenly divide Parliament and that only Ireland could benefit from a situation where Irish M.P.'s held the "swing" votes.[3] On another occasion, Healy, having evaluated carefully the political scene, concluded that in a evenly-divided Parliament, the Tories would do more for Ireland in order to win Irish aid in the fight to "maintain the Church and kindred institutions" under attack from the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., 31 August 1878.

[3] Ibid., 21 September 1878.

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Liberals.[1] Several months earlier, he had tested the idea on his brother, saying that Disraeli saw the Irish as "indispensable. . . . His University Bill should, therefore, be better than Gladstone's."[2] Healy's conclusions regarding the possibility of Irish dealings with the Tories is just one example of his frequently appearing analyses of the constantly shifting political landscape at Westminster. These articles indicate that Healy spent much time participating in sessions with men of the Irish party's active wing. In his memoirs, Healy claimed that, during this time, he was "Parnell's closest counsellor."[3]

While Healy's articles illustrated the planning being done by Irish activists for the coming session and general election, Butt and his followers attended to more mundane matters. The Home Rule League in Ireland was breaking up; its paid employees were given notice and they, plus others from the party, scrambled for places on the seven-man Intermediate Education Board provided for in the Education Bill.[4] As the date of the general election neared, Parnell and the other activists attempted to strengthen their positions in the eyes of their countrymen. An important aspect of Parnell's strategy was the decision to hold the annual convention

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[1] Ibid., 7 September 1878.

[2] Healy, I, p. 66.

[3] Ibid., p. 72.

[4] Thornley, p. 366.

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of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain in Dublin for the second consecutive year. The convention provided a good platform for the activist philosophy and put pressure on Butt. When Butt refused to allow the Home Rule League to participate in the convention, his position was further discredited, particularly by Healy and the Nation. Week after week, Healy hammered away at the need for the two groups to sponsor a national conference.[1] Finally, two days before the convention opened, when it was clear that Butt would not participate, Healy quoted an unnamed source that Butt had given up on Home Rule:

> Thus in his view it seemed useless to make any further effort to rally his [Butt's] followers, and he could therefore only let things quietly drift. Having no programme to lay before the country, and no policy except to wait for something to turn up, there was no inducement for him to take action, and the line proposed by others he felt to be distasteful.[2]

Healy concluded by saying that, "A leader was a leader, or he was nothing." Due to Healy's lack of documentation, the article could be considered a "smear," and a call for Butt's ouster. It is quite obvious that Butt was ineffective. His only policy was to court the Conservatives who, of course, were well acquainted with the deep division within the Home Rule Party and were not likely to be influenced by Butt's support.[3]

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[1] Nation, 21 September; 5 and 12 October, 1878.

[2] Ibid., 19 October 1878.

[3] Thornley, p. 366.

The convention, sponsored solely by the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain, took place on 21 and 22 October. At the public demonstration in downtown Dublin on the second day, the Confederation's activist policy was endorsed and the lethargy of the Home Rule League's council condemned. In the wake of the meeting, activists like T.D. Sullivan embarked on a campaign to "reform and extend" the League. The hand-picked League Council, however, still followed Butt, and the League remained in his control. This control meant nothing to Butt except that Parnell, unanimously re-elected the Confederation's president, could not use the Irish organization for his own purposes.[1]

Now in the last months of his life, Butt published four "position papers" on his parliamentary policy. These showed Butt especially feared the revolutionary nature of the land war called the "New Departure," which had been adopted by American and Irish Fenians and members of the active wing of the Home Rule Party.[2] The Nation, unimpressed with Butt's condemnation of the activists, charged him with intentionally neglecting to comment on the "do-nothings" in the party.[3] Later, the newspaper commented that Butt had offered "a somewhat rose-coloured review of the results achieved for Ireland

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[1] Ibid., pp. 369-71.

[2] New York Herald, 26 October 1878.

[3] Nation, 16 November 1878.

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by the formation of the Home Rule Parliamentary party."[1] In response to Butt's third paper, the Nation carried a leading article with the headline, "The Failure of Mr. Butt."[2] Finally, on 28 December, the Nation pronounced its final verdict: "What is beyond question is that, by one means and another, in Parliament and out of it, Mr. Butt has so acted as to bring paralysis upon the movement."[3]

In the meantime, the Tories had called Parliament back into session to consider the Afghan War. One week prior to the opening of the session, Healy reminded the Irish public that patriotism meant obstruction of the Government's request for special war funds. He pointed out that "once in every generation Providence seems to send her [Ireland] an opportunity."[4] In addition, Healy implied that Butt had been "bought" by the Government which was "assured of his neutrality."[5] The price, Healy said, was an Irish University Bill. Healy then went on to suggest that Irish "non-opposition . . . is worth a much bigger price to the Tories just now." However, to Butt, it was treason to the Empire even to consider obstruction of supply in wartime. But the Irish public,

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[1] Ibid., 30 November 1878.

[2] Ibid., 7 December 1878.

[3] Ibid., 28 December 1878.

[4] Ibid., 30 November 1878.

[5] Ibid.

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like Healy, viewed England's troubles as Ireland's opportunity, and, self-assured, Healy moved again to attack the dying Butt. Healy was so outraged by Butt's stance and so certain Butt had little support, that he opened his "London Letter" of 7 December by stating, "The mantle of O'Connell is in pawn with the Jews!"[1] Healy stated that Butt's open cooperation with Disraeli would cost Butt the leadership of the Home Rule League if a national conference were called. Healy stated, "Treason has done its worst."[2] In the coming weeks, Healy lashed out at Butt's desertion of Irish interests in Parliament. Nevertheless, when Butt finally called a meeting of the Home Rule League in February, 1879, his men on the council rallied to defeat Parnell's motion for a more active policy by a 32 to 24 vote.[3]

Parliament resumed its deliberations on 13 February and there was no mention of Irish legislation made in the Queen's Address. Healy observed that, "the gentlemen of the policy of conciliation are having a severe fit of the cold shivers."[4] He continued by lamenting that the winter had been wasted because the leader of the Irish party was certain that "we were about to witness a return of the golden age."[5] One

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[1] Ibid., 7 December 1878.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Thornley, pp. 375-6.

[4] Nation, 22 February 1879.

[5] Ibid.

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particular section of this "London Letter" was especially devastating as Healy heaped scorn upon the dying Butt:

> The blank refusal of a University Bill and the defeat of the franchise motion with added circumstances of contumely are sufficient testimony to his political sagacity, while not a single plea remains to set against his recent counsels of inaction, except those of the veriest West-Britonism. But it is idle to bewail the past, and needless to talk of Mr. Butt. The past has gone by, and he with it, and we pass on.[1]

In the last sentence, Healy neatly evaluates the condition of Butt and his Home Rule League at the beginning of 1879. At this time, a new movement in the rural areas was beginning to take hold in Ireland. This "New Departure" in Irish opposition to British rule was led by Michael Davitt, a Fenian ex-convict, and it was so powerful that the activist Irish M.P.'s were forced to join or be forgotten. The era of conciliation was officially over and Butt's death in May 1879, made the transition to a more aggressive Irish policy easier. Healy, young, aggressive, and politically aware, paused to pay tribute to Butt, but also to evaluate him:

> Butt did much to shape the politics of his time into a truer mould, and laboured hard in his country's cause. He gave practical direction to the national aspirations, rekindled patriotic fire, and then, aided by the spirit he evoked, then?---Then he failed! Before his death so long had he accustomed Irish patriots to look elsewhere for a leader, that now these men will miss him least. Yet they are but carrying on and continuing the work commenced by him, and this though he had almost given it over. . . . At present we are more alive to the mischief wrought by him than to the good. But that a great Irishman it is who now lies dead there can be no

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[1] Ibid.

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doubt. Every quality . . . he had, save one, though the want was fatal. Patience, pains, experience, tact, a winning way, and eloquence--all these were his. But of the hard-set grit of resolution none he had.[1]

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[1] Ibid., 10 May 1879.

CHAPTER III

"THE NEW DEPARTURE"
1879-1880

In 1879 a new problem and a new force appeared in Ireland and greatly changed the nature of Anglo-Irish politics. The problem was an agricultural depression (caused by bad harvests and the availability of cheap American grain), which resulted in evictions and the threat of starvation for thousands of dispossessed farmers and their families. The problem is illustrated in this mid-year observation by an Irish landlord:

> Fine spring weather. Prices of farm produce so low that my son looks despairingly at our future. He renews his opportunity to emigrate to America, saying the diminished receipts and increased taxes will make it impossible to remain here permanently.
> . . . . . .
> Talk---bad times, bad harvests, low prices, high taxes, agricultural distress, commercial failure.[1]

In response to this all-too-familiar problem, Irish farmers, in greater numbers than ever before, clashed violently with a Government determined to uphold the rights of private property. This response to impending calamity was in stark

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[1]N.L.I., W.J. O'Neill Daunt Journal, MS 3042, 15 May and 2 June, 1879; pp. 1100 and 1102.

contrast to that of the Great Famine years, but the threat of even greater violence was the farmers' most potent weapon. This weapon was utilized by an alliance among the militant Home Rule parliamentarians, separatist Fenians, and the farmers aligned in a land-oriented organization soon to be called the Land League. This alliance in a short time virtually would prevent the machinery of the British Government from functioning properly in both Ireland and Westminster. Healy was vitally involved in this New Departure in Irish politics as an agrarian agitator, a propagandist for the movement in his Nation column, and an influential figure with the parliamentarians. Although Healy would not become a Member of Parliament until 1881, he was urged by Parnell to seek the vacant seat for the Borough of Ennis, County Clare, in July 1879.[1] It is clear that, during the life of the New Departure, he influenced decisions in the active wing and served as one of Parnell's key advisers.[2]

In reality, the three-sided alliance was an unofficial agreement to cooperate, at least temporarily, to improve the lot of the Irish peasant.[3] The key figures involved in the

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[1]Healy, I, p. 68. T.D. Sullivan advised Healy not to run because there was no chance to win in a borough with 300 land-owning voters. Unfortunately for Healy, his uncle miscalculated and Parnell's candidate won.

[2]O'Connor, The Parnell Movement, p. 196.

[3]My explanation of the New Departure is based primarily on a brilliant synthetic essay by Prof. T.W. Moody of Trinity College, Dublin, published in Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd.

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negotiations which led to the agreement were Parnell, John Devoy, a Fenian exiled from Ireland by the British in lieu of a prison sentence, and Michael Davitt, a Fenian who, in 1879 had been paroled recently after seven years in prison for IRB activities. Davitt was the impetus for the land agitation, the central and unifying tactic of the New Departure. In 1878, he tried to induce Parnell to join the IRB, making it clear that his goal was a cooperative movement of Irish Nationalists. Then, late in the summer of 1878, Davitt went to the United States and won the support of Devoy and other Fenian leaders there for his plan of a united movement led by Parnell. In October, Devoy made known his terms for the New Departure in a telegram sent to the Supreme Council of the IRB and printed in the New York Herald. The terms included Clan-na-Gael's (the Irish-American Fenian group) support for the Irish activists in Parliament in exchange for Parnell's agitation for peasant proprietorship. Debate on the terms raged in the Irish press, but Parnell remained silent. In December, Devoy left New York for Paris, where he hoped to negotiate the terms of an agreement with Davitt, Parnell, and the eleven-man Supreme Council of the IRB. The January meeting in Paris which Parnell did not attend proved to be inconclusive. Although the IRB council overwhelmingly opposed Devoy's plan, individual members were not prohibited from supporting the movement. However, the Council did not soften its position on the parliamentary oath:

Fenians could not take the oath of allegiance to the Crown required of all M.P.'s.[1]

Disillusioned by his failure, Davitt returned to Ireland, turned his energies to the agrarian crisis in Ireland and began to organize the distressed farmers in Mayo, his native county. By organizing the farmers, Davitt hoped to pressure the landlords to agree to significantly lower rents. The Davitt-inspired agitation, aided by large numbers of Fenians, spread quickly throughout the West of Ireland and received the public support of Devoy and the American Fenians. Encouraged, Davitt brought Devoy and Parnell together for the first time on 7 March in Boulogne. The discussions continued in June when Devoy illegally entered Ireland and met Parnell for a conference at Dublin's Morrison Hotel. When Devoy returned to the United States, he believed that Parnell had agreed to the New Departure. Davitt, however, later contended that Parnell had agreed to be a "friendly neutral," but that he would support the idea of a peasant proprietorship in Parliament. Parnell certainly could not divorce himself from the land agitation if he hoped to be a popular leader, but he certainly could not bind himself to a revolutionary movement if he wanted to pursue his work in Parliament.

In July, Davitt broke with the IRB and, in August, he formally organized the Land League of County Mayo. With

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[1]Healy's benefactor in England, John Barry, for example, was forced to quit the IRB when elected to Parliament in 1880.

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Davitt's energy and with American money flowing in from Devoy's Irish-American organization, the movement's strength grew in the West. Despite his aloofness, Parnell, accepted as leader of the New Departure by both Devoy and Davitt, officially took control when the Irish National Land League was inaugurated formally in October. Parnell, as will be seen, used Davitt's creation, Devoy's money, and Fenian manpower until 1882 when he decided that the movement was becoming too revolutionary. Then, in a brilliant maneuver, Parnell would channel the energies, finances, and hopes of the organization into a constitutional movement for Home Rule.

Healy, despite his comment that he was Parnell's "closest counsellor" in 1879, relates no first-hand information of the land movement and Devoy in his memoirs; the common term "New Departure" is never mentioned. The only mention in his memoirs of Davitt during this period is in a letter Healy wrote to his brother Maurice in February, 1879. In the letter Healy said that he "had much work to discover Davitt's whereabouts" before locating him in Paris.[1] In the same letter, Healy speculated that Devoy was also in Paris, indicating that he (Healy) had some knowledge of the negotiations taking place. In the Nation, Healy's column never mentioned the

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[1]Healy, I, p. 66. The Davitt Papers are in the possession of Professor T.W. Moody at Trinity College and he informed me that there are no references to Healy during this period. Personal interview, Dublin, 13 August 1968.

New Departure in any connection, although it was being publicly discussed. Healy's weekly "London Letter" continued to discuss only parliamentary matters and he applauded, as usual, the obstructive tactics in Parliament of Parnell, Biggar, O'Donnel, and A.M. Sullivan.

However, in his memoirs, Healy made note of John O'Connor Power's speech at Irishtown, County Mayo, on 19 April and gave O'Connor Power credit for founding the land movement. According to Healy, it was O'Connor Power, not Davitt or Parnell, who "gave birth to the Land League, and made history."[1] The meeting addressed by O'Connor Power was called to protest rack-renting by the local Irish Roman Catholic priest who had inherited an estate from his brother. A twenty-five per cent reduction in rents was granted because of the meeting.[2] O'Connor Power, the M.P. for Mayo, did not attend the second meeting at Irishtown because Davitt also planned to be there.[3] Loathed by Parnell for his pro-English politics and overshadowed by Davitt, O'Connor Power soon broke with the land movement.

After Butt's death in May, 1879, the Home Rule League had to choose a new leader. Parnell was aware that he did

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[1] Ibid., I, p. 73.

[2] Davitt, pp. 146-8.

[3] Healy, I, P. 74. Davitt missed the first Irishtown meeting--which he had organized--because he missed a train.

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not have the votes to win the chairmanship at that time, and thus, he voted with the majority in electing William Shaw, M.P., president of the Munster Bank. The other nominee was Mitchel Henry, an Englishman who represented an Irish district. Henry's rule, Healy claimed, "was likely to be effective," while Parnell favored Shaw "whom he knew he could oust."[1] Healy wasted no time in warning Shaw that the Nation's "London Letter" would scrutinize carefully his activities in Parliament.[2] A week after his warning, however, Healy made it clear in his column that he had already made a decision on the new Irish leader:

> Mr. Shaw stated the other day that it would be a very long time before any satisfactory measure of land reform was enacted. He told a profound truth, for, if the 102 other Irish members were like him (and a tithe of them are not so good), neither this generation nor the next would ever be likely to see it![3]

At this time, however, Parnell and his allies in Parliament were much more interested in events occuring outside the Home Rule League and Parliament. Evictions in Ireland in 1878 had more than doubled since 1877.[4] With this fact in mind, and after carefully considering clerical opposition to the land movement and Fenian participation in it, Parnell

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[1] Ibid., p. 68.

[2] Nation, 31 May 1879.

[3] Ibid., 7 June 1879.

[4] J.L. Hammond, Gladstone and the Irish Nation (2d ed.; London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1964), p. 175.

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agreed to lend his name to Davitt's program.[1] Great anxiety about the harvest and prices gripped the farmers of Ireland in the spring of 1879 and, by publicly showing sympathy with their plight, Parnell was assured of their gratitude and support. His support came at the risk of clerical censure--from the pulpits in Mayo, most priests had denounced the Irishtown meetings--but it was a well-calculated risk.

Parnell appeared on 7 June at Westport, County Mayo, despite the public objections of the Archbishop of Tuam, who had denounced the entire land movement in decisive terms, saying it would lead "invariably to disaster and to the firmer riveting of the chains by which we are unhappily bound as a subordinate people to a dominant race."[2] Though Davitt later clashed with Parnell on issues and policies, in 1904 he wrote in glowing terms about Parnell's decision to attend the Westport meeting:

> Here was a leader at last who feared no man who stood against the people, no matter what his reputation or record might be. . . . It was Mr. Parnell's first momentous step in his progress towards the leadership of a race mostly Catholic, and I have always considered it the most courageously wise act of his whole political career.[3]

Parnell told 8,000 tenant farmers at Westport what became the

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[1] Davitt, pp. 151-2.

[2] Ibid., p. 153.

[3] Ibid.

watchword of the movement: "Hold a firm grip on your homesteads and lands."[1]

The Nation gave the meeting extensive coverage, but ignored it in its leading articles, most important of which charged England with "perfidy" regarding an Irish University Bill.[2] The following week, the Nation printed general comments on the controversy prompted by the violent anti-Government language used at the meetings of tenant farmers in the West. Still biding his time, T.D. Sullivan did not mention Parnell's name in the article. Healy, too, avoided the land movement in his writings, concentrating instead on the proposed Irish University Bill which he called "joking by Act of Parliament."[3] The Freeman's Journal, according to the memoirs of one of its reporters, practically ignored the Mayo meetings.[4] The Westport meeting, however, prompted the Freeman to warn the people "against language of violence or menace," and thereby aligned itself with non-Nationalist newspapers which denounced the meeting in no uncertain terms.[5]

Despite the neutral and negative attitudes of the press, Parnell's speech at Westport made him a popular leader.

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 9 June 1879.

[2] Nation, 14 June 1879.

[3] Ibid., 5 July 1879.

[4] William O'Brien, p. 221.

[5] Norman D. Palmer, The Irish Land League Crisis, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 136.

Another triumph followed in July when his hand-picked candidate won an amazing victory at the polls. Lysaght Finigan, an unknown London journalist actively supported by Parnell, was elected in Ennis over William O'Brien, Q.C., a moderate Home Ruler who had the backing of the Home Rule League's council and the Freeman's Journal. Even a dedicated and optimistic Nationalist like T.D. Sullivan was surprised that a Parnell supporter could win in a borough of 300 voters because of the highly-restrictive suffrage requirements.[1] Parnell, who had failed to elect a supporter in an election the previous year, had taken a risk in Ennis, but he probably was seeking evidence that his political stance was gaining acceptance, even among the moderates who held the right to vote. With a general election near, Parnell needed an indication of public sentiment. After the election, he said: "If Ennis had been lost I would have retired from public life, for it would have satisfied me that the priests were supreme in Irish politics."[2] The priests and the Catholic Church hierarchy had supported O'Brien, a well-known and respected Catholic barrister, and despite his loss, clerical influence in Irish politics was to be illustrated graphically in the bitter post-election controversy.

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[1]Healy, I, p. 70.

[2]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 191.

Finigan agreed to carry the Parnellite banner in Ennis, apparently at Healy's suggestion.[1] Both men were journalists and had served together on the Executive Council of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain for at least a year.[2] Personal appearances by Parnell and the Nation's support aided Finigan's campaign. On 19 July one leading article in the Nation solidly backed Finigan and Parnell while another challenged the Freeman's fear that the obstructives were imperiling Irish legislation. The latter article concluded: "We would exhort them [the activists] to do their duty manfully; and we declare to them that the Irish people are willing to face the consequences." The fact that E. Dwyer Gray, the publisher of the Freeman and an M.P., became the target of barbs from Healy at this time illustrates the division between Nationalists. In his Nation column of 26 July, Healy initially applauded Gray's obstruction in Parliament of the police estimates for Ireland, and then pointed out that Gray followed dual policies--one for Tipperary, his constituency, and one for his newspaper.

> One [policy] is largely Whiggish, the other is thoroughly national, and it would therefore be impossible that Obstructive speeches made for one constituency should chime harmoniously with logicless articles written for another, in praise of do-nothings and their ways. No straightforward politician can pursue a dual policy, and Mr. Gray should opt. He may himself advocate and carry on 'obstruction' in

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[1] United Ireland, 29 August 1885; Healy, I, p. 69.

[2] Nation, 13 August 1878. According to Healy he roomed with Finigan in 1880. See Healy, I, p. 96.

> Parliament, but he does so inconsistently with the extreme pressure he has brought to bear in various ways to exclude its supporters from the House, so as to make the Home Rule party little better than a closed preserve for the Whigs till their accession to office.[1]

Healy, of course, had in mind the Gray's support of O'Brien in the Ennis election. Appearing on the day of the election, this "London Letter" ridiculed O'Brien, a Crown Prosecutor, as a Whig who "has done nothing and will do nothing."[2] Lysaght Finigan, however, was "ready and eager to assist in the most arduous measures that may be necessary to achieve Irish freedom in the House of Commons."[3]

The antagonism between Gray and the supporters of Parnell, certainly accentuated by Healy's published remarks, erupted publicly in the aftermath of Finigan's extraordinary triumph in Ennis. In its first issue after the poll was declared, the Freeman accused Parnell of calling the moderate Home Rulers "cowardly Papist rats."[4] Healy asserted in his memoirs that it was a phrase "invented" by Gray to ruin Parnell, a Protestant, as the leader of Catholic Ireland.[5] In his memoirs, William O'Brien, a reporter on the Freeman in 1879, stated that Parnell, in the division lobby of the House

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[1] Nation, 26 July 1879.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Freeman's Journal, 28 July 1879.

[5] Healy, I, p. 70.

of Commons, certainly had used the word "rats" but that Gray had been "mistaken" in thinking he had heard the epithet "Papist."[1] A close associate of Parnell said the words printed by the Freeman's Journal were spoken, although not by Parnell, at a meeting of Irish M.P.'s which broke up in anger and confusion.[2] Obviously in reference to the same meeting, Healy wrote to his brother saying that Parnell had admitted calling Gray "a damned coward" when the publisher voted with the majority against Parnell's resolution to obstruct the Queen's College estimates.[3]

No matter what really happened, the Freeman's charge touched off an acrimonious debate. At its first opportunity, the Nation replied to the charge, stating that the Freeman's Journal purposely distorted the meaning of Finigan's triumph so the clergy would continue to antagonize Parnellite candidates.[4] "Glory to Ennis" was the headline on the primary leading article, and it asserted the Freeman's charge was "a malicious piece of work."[5] In his column, Healy saw Finigan's triumph as a significant setback for a Whig plot to fill seats of Irish constituencies with nominal Home Rulers. He

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[1]William O'Brien, p. 223.

[2]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 192.

[3]Healy, I, p. 72.

[4]Nation, 2 August 1879.

[5]Ibid.

then went on to castigate Gray for his newspaper's role in the controversy which followed the election:

> Selfishness and duplicity never die. The men who were driven to such an extremity of crooked device in their reckless struggle for mastery as to get the contest luridly pictured up in the Freeman's Journal as one between priests and patriots are capable of further efforts.
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> . . . . . .
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> As an explanation of the sorry figure cut throughout this matter by Mr. Dwyer Gray, member for Tipperary, Nationalist, and occasional Obstructive, the story here is that the seeming support he gave to Mr. Parnell's policy was caused by the necessity which to him seemed uppermost of weakening the influence of Mr. Butt.[1]

In his memoirs, Healy noted that he was the one designated to compose the denials of the Freeman's charges against Parnell.[2] Based on his column, it also appears that Healy was given the task of defaming the reputation of the Freeman's publisher. The column elaborated greatly on Gray's apparent political position, with Healy explaining that Gray, a Liberal Party supporter, only gave support to Parnell and the active wing in order to lessen the influence of Butt, a Tory supporter. When Butt died, Healy pointed out, Gray's support of Parnell "was rudely withdrawn, being neither given nor taken away for principle's sake."[3] Healy wrote that if Finigan had

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Healy, I, pp. 70-71.

[3] Nation, 2 August 1879.

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not won in Ennis--and thus exposed Gray's intentions--it would have been almost impossible for a non-Whig "to secure the favour of the Dublin daily."[1] This "eye-for-an-eye" retaliation by the young writer might have been prompted by T.D. Sullivan's assurance that Parnell did not use the epithet, although the Nation's publisher had noted that on one occasion in public Parnell had been "decidedly imprudent" when referring to the clergy.[2] The sophisticated political interpretation Healy gave of Gray's actions also might have been based on Sullivan's views. The publisher told Healy that he felt Gray wanted to lead the Irish Party so he could "make himself a sort of dictator worthy of high consideration from the Liberals when they come into power."[3]

The controversy died hard. The issue simmered for weeks in the Nationalist press. In the 9 August issue of the Nation, a leading article again attacked Gray and the Whig plot to control the Irish party. T.D. Sullivan even was moved to verse:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Healy, I, p. 71.

[3] Ibid., p. 72.

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The Whigs are sad and very mad
Since Ennis did so gloriously,
They laid their plan and sent their man
To take the town victoriously:
Their ancient tricks of politics
They thought they could begin again,
Till Parnell came and spoiled their game
With Gallant Lysaght Finigan.
The dashing Lysaght Finigan
The slashing Lysaght Finigan
The gay, the grave,
The bold, the brave,
Lieutenant Lysaght Finigan.[1]

In the same issue, Healy lashed out at Gray for another article in the Freeman's Journal which alleged that Parnell had repeated the epithet in a speech at Limerick. Calling the charge "gossip" and a "cock-and-bull" story, Healy demanded that Gray apologize because there was no evidence to substantiate the charge printed in his newspaper. Then, in some detail, Healy attempted to prove that Gray, not the London correspondent, was responsible for the attack on Parnell. The same 9 August column also indicated that the controversy had some effect on the policy of the activists. The Government's University Bill, Healy wrote, would not be obstructed so that no charges could be made against the active wing if the bill failed. "Let it pass by all means, say they; it may mend matters; worse it cannot make them," Healy stated.[2]

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[1]Finigan was quite a handsome man who had served in the French Army during the Franco-Prussian War. Soon after the election, he was admitted to the English Bar.

[2]Nation, 9 August 1879.

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Finally, Archbishop Croke of Cashel interceded and persuaded the antagonists to halt the public squabble. Healy, however, had the final public say on the issues. In his "London Letter" following the conciliation, Healy wrote, in a cordial style, that Gray ought to know that members of his newspaper staff were being influenced against the Nationalist cause by "Castle gold."[1] Healy noted in his column that William O'Brien, Q.C., the loser in Ennis, dispensed patronage to one member of the Freeman's Journal staff who influenced the newspaper's content, according to Healy, through the use of "suppressions, misplacings, and skillfully-contrived typographical arrangements."[2] Other reporters on the newspaper, Healy said, earned "a very handsome yearly sum" for doing Crown reports. Healy's column concluded that, "if the story given is true, it seems scarcely in accordance with the fitness of things that a stream of Government gold should thus find its way into the pockets of the managers of a national newspaper."[3] Writing in his memoirs a half-century later, Healy commented indirectly on the same problem: "I had to frame them [Parnell's denials of Gray's charges] so that the words telegraphed could not be turned into 'pie' by

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[1] Ibid., 16 August 1879.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

the editor, with whose skill in running one sentence into another to make nonsense I was familiar."[1]

Although Healy wrote in his column that "Mr. Parnell's friends are quite willing to let "bygones by bygones,"[2] his personal hostility toward Gray remained. In a letter to his brother, Healy said that Parnell ought to force Gray out of Parliament if he did not change his attitude:

> The Freeman takes care always to make as little of Parnell as possible. It is a rage, and if Parnell had any statesmanship he would go to Gray and insist that the paper should be properly conducted, down to the smallest details, on pain of Gray's being driven out of parliamentary life.
>
> Were I Parnell, I would threaten Gray with standing against him myself, if necessary. I would teach Gallagher [Freeman's editor] how to dot his 'i's.' He should be given to understand that Parnell would no longer tolerate the snub of seeing enemy paragraphs and letters get a prominent place, while ours are stuck in a back page.[3]

According to a Freeman reporter, it was Gray who lost in the controversy because "the affair had excited popular suspicion of Gray and the Freeman to an alarming pitch."[4] No doubt Parnell was grateful for the effective counter-attacks of the Nation and his London propagandist.

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[1]Healy, I, p. 71.

[2]Nation, 16 August 1879.

[3]Healy, I, p. 76 [22 October 1879].

[4]William O'Brien, p. 223.

Other events were taking place in Ireland during this time, however, which were more important than Parnell's conquest of Ennis or the continuing struggle for supremacy of the Irish Party. These events would transform completely Irish politics in a short time. Nature in 1879 was working against the farmers of Ireland and thus gave strength to Davitt's movement in the West.[1] Prices for the agricultural products of Ireland continued to drop as foreign foodstuffs lowered market prices. Blight again hit the potato crop, and rain drenched the hay and corn. The horrible spectre of 1847 haunted the people of Ireland and spurred agitation, particularly in the densely-populated West.[2] The press in Dublin and London, during the summer months, began to take notice of the land meetings and the violent, threatening language used there. The matter was raised in Parliament, but James Lowther, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, ridiculed the meetings and the men who organized them, indicating that the problem was not serious.[3] Despite the implications of his 7 June speech at Westport, Parnell hesitated to become an integral part of a movement still strongly opposed by the clergy and the moderate Nationalists. Through the summer, Davitt, determined to enhance the movement by adding the

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[1]The movement was confined to Counties Mayo, Galway, and Roscommon.

[2]Palmer, pp. 156-7.

[3]Annual Register (1879), p. 65; Davitt, p. 157; Healy, I, p. 74.

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attractive and popular Parnell, continued to put pressure on the Government. Growing numbers of the lower clergy and even a bishop were won over by the size of the crowds at land meetings and the belief of the Irish peasants that their only recourse was organized agitation.[1]

As the summer progressed, the discontent increased. Davitt formulated a plan for the land movement to unite the various local "tenant defence" societies under one organization with a central, policy-making committee in Dublin. The scheme was feasible because the Convention Act of 1793 which had prohibited nation-wide organizations had been repealed recently.[2] On 16 August at Castlebar, County Mayo, the county's tenant groups united in the National Land League of Mayo.[3] Parnell continued to procrastinate, but it was becoming obvious that he either must join or be swept aside by the land movement. He continued to address land meetings organized by Davitt, and in Dublin on 21 September, he called on the Irish people to use the power they possessed to redress grievances.[4]

In 1888, to a parliamentary special commission, Parnell explained that he hesitated to associate with the type of

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[1]Davitt, p. 158.

[2]Annual Register (1879), pp. 73-4.

[3]Davitt, p. 169.

[4]Palmer, pp. 138-9; Nation, 30 September 1879.

organization proposed by Davitt partially because of advice he once received from Butt. Parnell had urged Butt to extend the Home Rule movement by organizing branches of the Home Rule League throughout the country. In reply, Butt pointed out that the League's Executive Council in Dublin would then be responsible for every foolish action by branch members. Parnell, however, told the commission that "ultimately I saw that it was necessary to take the risk."[1]

Throughout August and September, the rain was as constant as Government denials that any potentially serious problem existed.[2] With the potato crop rotting in the fields and the turf too wet to be used as fuel,[3] Parnell finally agreed to head the organization envisioned by Davitt. The representatives of the tenant associations also agreed to merge their organizations into the new one. Parnell, an aristocrat, Protestant, and a large land owner, accepted the presidency of a movement which was composed primarily of people who were peasants, Catholic, and landless. But Parnell made it clear that the platform of the Irish National Land League should emphasize constitutional goals, not revolutionary ones. A compromise placed both the leaders of the

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[1]Lord Eversley (George J. Shaw-Lefevre), Gladstone and Ireland (London: Methuen Ltd., 1912), pp. 100-101.

[2]Davitt, p. 168.

[3]Annual Register (1879), p. 92.

land movement and Parnell's parliamentarians on the League's executive committee.[1] The League's constitution called for the destruction of landlordism by non-violent means within the law, but, as the League grew in strength and influence, these rules were ignored. When the direction of the group changed, Parnell felt it necessary to destroy the Land League and establish instead a purely constitutional organization which he could control completely.

On 29 September 1879, Parnell called a conference in Dublin for 21 October. The announcement, sent to prominent Irish Nationalists, also stated that Irishmen abroad would be asked for funds to support the land agitation. At the meeting in the Imperial Hotel, differences were submerged and the Irish National Land League was formed. Parnell publicly proclaimed the organization's objectives:

> That the objects of the league can be best attained by promoting organization among the tenant-farmers; by defending those who may be threatened with eviction for refusing to pay unjust rents; by facilitating the working of the Bright clauses [in the 1870 Land Act] to land as will enable every tenant to become the owner of his holding by paying a fair rent for a limited number of years.[2]

Parnell was duly elected president--a tribute to the amazing growth of his popularity--and then he requested authorization of the League to visit America "for the purpose of obtaining assistance from our exiled countrymen and other

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[1]Davitt, pp. 170, 176.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 22 October 1879.

sympathizers."[1] The final resolution, which Parnell reluctantly agreed to, clearly stated that the League's funds could not be used for parliamentary purposes. It was, according to Davitt, "a concession to extremist prejudices in the United States."[2] The Irish Parliamentary Party, of course, still was controlled by "moderates" and Parnell needed funds to unseat these men, but suspicion of parliamentarians, no matter how militant, was still so strong Parnell could not halt passage of the resolution.

Healy was not at the meeting, no doubt because of his job in London, and because Parliament was not in session, he did not write about the historic event. The Nation, slow to comprehend the vitality of the land movement, finally had declared in early October that the agitation might produce positive results, including "a representation in Parliament capable of working out for this country the full measure of national freedom."[3] T.D. Sullivan continued to place political reform before land reform. When a Nation article described a land demonstration, it also would usually praise Parnell for his skill in using the demonstration for

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Davitt, p. 173.

[3] Nation, 4 October 1879. John Devoy, an enthusiastic proponent of the New Departure, explained his case the same way to skeptical separatists who believed land reform could best be handled by an Irish Parliament after political independence was gained.

parliamentary gains. On one occasion, the newspaper claimed Parnell was the heir to Daniel O'Connell.[1] It was not surprising, therefore, that T.D. Sullivan was appointed to the Land League's policy-making council. Privately, at least, Healy had some reservations about the land movement and Parnell's role in it:

> I have not made up my mind about Parnell's character, and have felt inclined recently to assume a critical attitude towards his doings. As a parliamentary leader he is unequalled, but for action out of doors he would require guidance from abler men. No sensible or sagacious politician would have gone at that Convention [which organized the Land League] with a rush, as he did, without rhyme or reason.[2]

Such "sensible" advice for politicians was easy to offer from an office in London. When Healy actually became involved in the land movement in Ireland, he quickly forgot his own advice and became more direct and violent in his speeches than Parnell was in the movement's initial stage.

From the landlords' viewpoint, the land movement was headed by "anti-rent" agitators who were blamed for increased violence, commonly called "agrarian outrages." Landlords who buckled under the pressure of organized tenants always explained that rent would have been reduced earlier if the agitators had not caused trouble. However, the fact was that the tenant-farmers of Ireland finally were able to meet the

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[1] Ibid., 17 October 1879.

[2] Healy, I, pp. 67-8 (9 November 1879).

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landlords on fairly even terms because they had a powerful organization and able leaders ready to act in their behalf.[1] By November, the Government acknowledged the power of the new agrarian organization by deciding that punitive measures were necessary to control it. Thus, on 19 November, Chief Secretary Lowther ordered the arrest of Davitt, James Daly, a publisher of the Connaught Telegraph and a key figure in the Western agitation, and J.B. Killen, a Dublin barrister. The official charge was that the three had used seditious language at a land meeting in County Sligo two weeks earlier. Parnell, however, was left free to travel around the country urging defiance of Irish landlords and British rule generally. This paradox caused at least one English publication to express puzzlement:

> The invective against the landlords and landlordism which brought Daly, Killen, and Davitt within the grasp of the law could be distinguished only by legal technicality from the more clever invective which the leader of the movement was able to devise without endangering his liberty.[2]

In reality, the language used by the three arrested men was just amplification of Parnell's advice to the farmers to hold onto their land, even if they could not pay their rent.

Commenting privately on the arrests, Healy revealed he was quite worried that Parnell foolishly might be lost to the parliamentary movement. He believed the resources available

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[1] Palmer, p. 142.

[2] Annual Register (1879), p. 97.

to the Government through the Coercion Act could destroy the movement if they were utilized:

> With regard to the Land agitation, the game is 'touch and go.' Vigour by the Government would squelch it. Anyone can govern with a state of siege. English opinion and the English Parliament would back up whatever was done. The Lord-Lieutenant, by a proclamation, can suspend the Constitution in every county, and arrest whomsoever he pleased, and keep them in duress, without form of trial.
>
> What will 'the force of opinion' avail against soldiers and prison bars? It's all right for Davitt, Daly, Louden and the rest to talk sedition. It is their metier. But I can't help regarding it as unfortunate that a man so useful as Parnell (while he remains outside jail walls) should be placed in a position of jeopardy at a time when the elections may occur any hour. The moderation of his own language does not avail him a bit, if a charge of 'conspiracy' is framed, as then one man is indictable for another's words. It is possible that the policy Parnell has pursued may carry the day; but the fact that under the Coercion Act the Executive have the movement in the hollow of their hands forewarns people who, if they are not strong, must at least be cunning.[1]

Healy's dismay over the growing militancy of the land movement was based on his belief that the parliamentary movement created by Biggar and Parnell would be shattered if Parnell were arrested. The reliance of the whole Nationalist cause on one man was considered "almost a calamity" by Healy who explained his views in a letter to his brother:

> I regard it as almost a calamity that our political interests compel us to idolize this man in public, so insecure do I feel as to the possible protrusion of those 'feet of clay' at any

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[1]Healy, I, pp. 77-8 (24 November 1879).

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> instant before the crowd of worshippers, whom it would drive into irreverent and unriskable derision.[1]

Stating that his opinion was not "immature," Healy added that he felt it "a matter of duty" also to inform T.D. Sullivan of his views. Yet, a few months later, he eagerly aided Parnell's mission to America and, soon thereafter, agreed to go on the firing line in Ireland's agrarian campaign.

Based in London, Healy obviously was not aware that the Government's exceptional powers were not capable of dealing with the land agitators. Healy would soon learn that the arrests made by the Government only strengthened the movement. As one observer noted: "The jail-gate is the Triumphal Arch of Irish conquerors. They might have been speechifying for years without acquiring half the power the Castle people have given them."[2] Parnell understood the mood in Ireland and acted quite differently than Healy desired. At the jail gate, he scoffed at the arrests; outside the Assize Court where the three were tried, he held a meeting to denounce the Government's jury-packing.[3] The trial itself illustrated Parnell's strong hand, for the prosecutors could not seat an impartial jury.[4] In this first encounter between the Government and the

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[1] Ibid., p. 78, 4 December 1879.

[2] William O'Brien, p. 231.

[3] Ibid., p. 233.

[4] Davitt, pp. 181-5.

Land League, the League clearly triumphed. The arrests had not cowed the League or Parnell. Throughout Ireland and England, protest meetings continued and the crowds grew. A meeting at Balla in County Mayo held to protest against a scheduled eviction was so large that, even with a large contingent of troops on hand, eviction orders scheduled for serving on the meeting day could not be delivered.[1] The conduct of the huge crowd was as orderly, enthusiastic, and legal as Parnell had asked. It was, he said, "the turning point" of the land movement.[2] It also was becoming clear that rents were being reduced from ten to fifty per cent where League organizers applied pressure.[3] The movement had the numbers, the organization, and the leaders; it only lacked money. After the state prosecutions had been dropped for lack of a jury against Davitt, Daly, and Killen; Parnell and John Dillon left for the United States, hoping to alleviate the financial problem. However, much of the money raised would go for relief of the starving peasantry, and funding the political coffers of the League would have to wait until the crisis had passed. On 27 December 1879, Parnell and Dillon sailed for New York, arriving on 2 January. Healy joined

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[1] Annual Register (1879), pp. 99-100.

[2] Davitt, p. 179, quoting the Freeman's Journal of 22 November 1879.

[3] Palmer, p. 147.

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them five weeks later and became, for the first time, closely identified by the general public with the land movement in Ireland.

CHAPTER IV

WITH PARNELL IN AMERICA, 1880

The British Government in mid-winter still failed to recognize the fact that Ireland was on the verge of another great catastrophe. For this reason, the Nation warned the Government that Irishmen would not die as they did in the Great Hunger of the 1840's: "They are not content to perish of hunger in the midst of plenty, and if they must die they will die not like lambs or calves, but like Men."[1] By the end of January, the Nation began listing the names of those who, it claimed, had died of starvation the previous week. It also called upon the Irish parliamentarians to act in unity during the crisis.

> Whatever the shortcomings of individual members may be, we expect that in this hour of national peril, if the Government should again attempt to repeat its manslaying policy of '47, the voice of every member of the Irish party will be raised to swell the note of determination and convey to the ears of our rulers the resolve of the whole Irish people that 'IT SHALL NOT BE DONE.'[2]

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[1] Nation, 10 January 1880.

[2] Ibid., 17 January 1880.

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With Parliament in recess until 5 February 1880, Healy's "London Letter" was temporarily discontinued. Prior to Parnell's request that he come to America, Healy's political activities were confined to the Executive Committee of the Home Rule Confederation to which he had been re-elected in August.[1] Healy and the officers of the Confederation continued their attempts to organize a viable pressure group for Irish Home Rule. In Liverpool in January, they urged the Irish residents to vote for a Liberal candidate who had agreed to an endorsement--albeit a weak one--of an inquiry into Home Rule for Ireland.[2] Although the Liberal candidate was defeated by 2,200 votes out of 50,000 cast, the fact that he had felt obligated to make the "pledge" made a strong impact on English political observers.[3] At Sheffield, a Liberal candidate was victorious and the Irish took credit for his triumph.[4]

In his only column on parliamentary activities of the new session before he left for America, Healy praised two men much maligned in previous columns, William Shaw and E. Dwyer Gray. The reason for Healy's favorable attitude was the fact that these two moderate Irish members were primarily

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[1] Ibid., 16 August 1879.

[2] Ibid., 31 January 1880.

[3] Annual Register (1880), p. 12; R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 210.

[4] Annual Register (1880), p. 7.

responsible for prolonging the debate on the Queen's Address over four nights. The gravity of the distress in Ireland, according to Shaw and other moderates, was not comprehended fully by the Government, and sufficient steps were not being taken to remedy the situation. The Irish members, acting more or less in unity, also continued to attack at every opportunity the Government's Relief of Distress Bill as totally inadequate. Despite this resistance, the bill was passed by the end of the month.

During the debate on the bill, Gray made, according to observers, "one of the most temperate and most impressive speeches in the course of the debate."[1] The impact of the speech was great because Gray, as Lord Mayor of Dublin, was chairman of the Dublin Mansion House Relief Fund, one of two major funds established to alleviate the famine conditions in Ireland.[2] Gray's warning that "famine was not merely imminent, it was already upon the people"[3] and similar pronouncements by the moderate Home Rulers began to convince the Government of the seriousness of distress in Ireland.[4] In Ireland, the farmers were taking matters into their own hands,

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[1] Ibid., p. 13.

[2] The other fund was headed by the Irish Viceroy's wife, the Duchess of Marlborough. See Freeman's Journal, 7 January 1880.

[3] Annual Register (1880), p. 13.

[4] Ibid., p. 14.

following the Land League's advice to keep a "firm grip on your homesteads." Process servers, even those aided by policemen, were finding it difficult to serve their eviction notices because of the obstructive actions of large groups of farmers. But families, in growing numbers, were evicted and those who were not, were hungry. One observer noted that, in some areas of the West, the people were too weak to frighten away the rats which had begun to attack them.[1]

The Freeman's Journal, Gray's newspaper, warned against the use of violence by farmers, "imploring the people to everywhere preserve a peaceful attitude. Any act of violence can do no good--it must do much harm."[2] That the agitation was doubly disturbing to a certain number of Irishmen is evident in these comments by an old and respected patriot:

> Visited the graves of my darling infants [2 grandchildren who had died]. Perhaps it had been well for myself to have been called from this world in infancy. I don't like Parnell's agitation of a peasant-propriety--not from any objection to a peasant propriety if it grew up naturally and gradually. But to make it a prominent topic can serve no other purpose than to scare the landlords from Home Rule. They will say that bad as is the English usurption in Ireland, it is not so bad as compulsory expropriation.[3]

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[1] William O'Brien, p. 234.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 12 January 1880.

[3] N.L.I., W.J. O'Neill Daunt Journal, MS. 3042, p. 1114, 11 December 1879.

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Because of outraged public sentiment over Government inaction, however, the Freeman's Journal was forced to call for strong action within the law:

> We must not, however, be taken as counselling them to suffer their wrongs in silence. It is their duty to exhaust every constitutional method in attempting to secure in the present reproductive public works, the future reform of the land laws.[1]

Throughout the winter, the newspaper attacked the Government attitude regarding famine conditions again developing in Ireland. Like the Nation, it saw the possibility of another "Great Hunger":

> Wild indeed is the delusion of her Majesty's Government if they imagine that their whole duty to Ireland is done when they hurry police to the West, and sow Connemara with new barracks. To repress disorder is not the sole duty of a Government--it is bound to remove the causes from which disorder springs; and in this case, when that cause is an appalling national disaster, the Government of the day will incur an awful responsibility before God and man if it does not, even at the eleventh hour, fling to the winds its shameful apathy and roll back the tide of Famine now threatening vast districts of this island. What is happening has an ominous resemblance to that which occurred immediately previous to the dark days of '47.[2]

The newspaper urged the Government to step in and supplement private charity "which can do much, but . . . Government aid alone can effectually grapple with the existing crisis in

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 12 January 1880.

[2] Ibid., 5 January 1880.

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Ireland."[1] Parnell, of course, was influenced by these events in Ireland. The original purpose of his visit to the United States had been to raise money for land agitation. Conditions, however, obviously dictated that the money be spent to help keep the farmers and their families alive.[2]

A week after the new parliamentary session began, Healy received a telegram from Patrick Egan asking him to join Parnell in the United States. Egan, an ex-Fenian leader who had endorsed the "New Departure" and was the Land League's treasurer, later took credit for Healy's new and more important role in the Irish land movement. Interviewed in 1916, Egan explained that Parnell had not asked for Healy's help, but had asked Egan to "send us a secretary by next steamer."[3] Healy's memoirs, however, suggest that Parnell made the decision: "On Friday, 13th February 1880, a telegram reached me from Egan that Parnell cabled wanting me to join him."[4] It is odd that Parnell did not wire Healy directly if he wanted him specifically, but whatever the case, John Barry gave his young relative a release from his clerical position, and Healy departed immediately.[5] On the morning of 14 February,

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[1] Ibid., 7 January 1880.

[2] Davitt, pp. 193-4.

[3] Boston American, 23 July 1916.

[4] Healy, I, p. 79; see also Davitt, p. 207.

[5] Boston American, 23 July 1916.

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Healy was in Dublin and, the next morning, he sailed for the United States. The rush to catch the steamer was so great that he, in a letter, asked his brother to tell T.D. Sullivan that his "London Letter" would be suspended.[1] In the same letter written the night he left for Dublin, Healy commented critically on Parnell's dilemma in America: "I cannot understand Parnell. He should have taken Finigan with him, to begin with. Now he finds out his mistake."[2]

Parnell and Dillon's problems were recalled by Egan in the 1916 interview:

> From the hour of their arrival in New York they were swamped with telegrams and letters from almost every city in the country asking for visits from the Irish envoys.
>
> Neither Parnell nor Dillon had the faintest idea of what they were doing, as they accepted those invitations. As an example, they would place themselves tonight in Brooklyn, tomorrow night in Boston, the next day in Washington, the day after in Pittsburgh, the following night in Chicago, the night after that in Montreal, with an engagement in the morning at Quebec. Of course, they could not do this.[3]

Healy made a definite and positive impact, according to Egan: "On his arrival he took hold of all the correspondence, straightened things out, and for the rest of Parnell's tour

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[1] Healy, I, p. 79.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Boston American, 23 July 1916.

was of the greatest assistance."[1] Egan was so impressed by Healy's contributions to the success of the tour, that he urged Parnell to run Healy for the Wexford vacancy later in the year instead of John Redmond, son of the deceased incumbent.[2]

Although he was hardly an "insignificant scribbler"--in the words of one Parnell biographer[3]--Healy was, nevertheless, unknown to leaders of the Irish-American organizations. Therefore, no one was on hand to greet the Nation's parliamentary correspondent and member of the Home Rule Confederation Executive Committee when Healy's ship docked in New York after its nine-day voyage. Healy made his way to the office of the New York Herald, a strong supporter of moderate Irish demands, and, from there, he was able to locate John Devoy and Parnell's sisters, Fanny, a poet, and Anna, a devoted Irish Nationalist.[4] Supplied with a railway pass,

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[1] Ibid. T.P. O'Connor agreed with Egan's view, commenting in one of his books that in a short time Healy was "reducing chaos to order." See Charles Stewart Parnell: A Memory, p. 73.

[2] Ibid. Healy's gratitude for Egan's activities on his behalf may have motivated Healy's defense of Egan in Parliament more than a year later. When one moderate Irish M.P. asked the House to deny Egan the right to visit Parliament, Healy replied that the Land League treasurer would soon gain admission as a member of the House--by taking over Healy's seat--if the House decided to deny him visiting privileges. Healy's challenge was not taken up by the House. Nation, 4 June 1881; Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, V (1881), 1667-95.

[3] Jules Abels, The Parnell Tragedy (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966), p. 83.

[4] Healy, I, p. 80.

Healy then traveled west to Davenport, Iowa, where he met Parnell and Dillon and was quickly told of all their difficulties.

Parnell not only had been having trouble with his scheduling in the United States; much more serious was the diversity of opinion among the Irish-American leadership regarding Ireland's current problems. The Herald's publisher James Gordon Bennett, for example, believed that Parnell planned to use the money raised on the tour for land agitation, not relief, and so informed his readers.[1] The Herald also had its own Irish relief fund to which Bennett had subscribed generously. In the radical Clan-na-Gael, not at all in favor with the moderate Irish-Americans, there were powerful figures who were jealous of Parnell's popularity and the success of the Land League. There was also acute disagreement over the decision to support the New Departure. The chairman of the Clan Executive Council was particularly hostile because Parnell stated publicly that the money would be used only for relief.[2]

In Dublin, the moderate Freeman's Journal utilized press dispatches which indicated Parnell was not making a very good

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 3 January 1880.

[2] William O'Brien and Desmond Ryan, eds., Devoy's Postbag (Dublin: C.J. Fallon, 1948), p. 475; Freeman's Journal, 7 January 1880; R. Barry O'Brien, I, pp. 201-2.

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impression in his public appearances.[1] In fact, Parnell's speeches which attacked the landlord system and which stated that Home Rule was the "ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim" caused his tour to be called a "triumphal procession."[2] Through his strong speeches Parnell sought to satisfy radical Irish-American opinion. He assured his audiences that a triumph of the land movement would lead to Home Rule and that violent revolution was not necessary. He called on the Irish in America to "act with prudence when the contest would be hopeless and not rush upon destruction."[3]

The tour was disorganized and fraught with the danger of alienating one group or another, but it was also an unqualified success. At the public meetings, Parnell's appeal for funds was strengthened by the appearance of major dignitaries, either persons of Irish background or politicians needing the Irish vote to remain in public office. The money actually was collected by Parnell and Dillon after the speeches. Dillon's gaunt appearance helped make this method successful.[4] Despite Parnell's dispute with the Herald, governors, generals, mayors, and public figures such as Henry Ward Beecher and Wendell Phillips appeared with Parnell on his visits to

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 7 January 1880.

[2] R. Barry O'Brien, I, pp. 203-4.

[3] Ibid.

[4] William O'Brien, p. 239.

various American cities. By the end of the tour, Parnell had raised $200,000.[1] The existence and success of the Herald Fund, plus the combined efforts of the two relief groups in Dublin, enabled Parnell and the Land League to use more money for agitation than originally planned.[2]

Despite the Freeman's Journal, Parnell's image in Ireland was enhanced by reports in the Nation which noted in great detail his tremendous receptions in 62 cities.[3] The crowning triumph of the tour was Parnell's invitation to speak in the United States Congress, a tribute to Irish-American political strength.

Healy soon realized how successful the tour was and wrote his brother that "I am astonished at what I hear and see in its [the National movement under Parnell's command] favour."[4] Healy said that when he reached Parnell, he [Parnell] immediately counselled him to begin inviting subscriptions for the political objectives of the Land League because "funds enough were already collected for distress in Ireland by the Duchess of Marlborough, by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, by the

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 204.

[2]William O'Brien, p. 240; Healy, I, p. 86, stated that the admission money for the rallies usually went to the Land League and the collection to the Relief Fund.

[3]The Nation was also critical of the Freeman's attitude toward Parnell's tour. See 7 February and 28 February 1881.

[4]Healy, I, p. 81.

Herald, and himself."[1] Obviously, the reality of famine conditions in rural Ireland had made little impact on Healy, a city-dweller since his childhood. His attitude would change when he returned to Ireland to begin a rural agitation campaign in the areas near his famine-decimated birthplace.

Parnell, Dillon, and Healy traveled through Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and then into Canada. At a huge rally at Montreal on 8 March, Healy, due to Dillon's absence, made his first public speech and called Parnell "the uncrowned king of Ireland," a label which became widely-used, although it had been previously applied to Daniel O'Connell.[2] On the same evening, the tour came to a sudden and unexpected end. Having arrived back at the hotel after the rally, the Irish envoys received a cablegram from Biggar which stated that Parliament had been dissolved. Parnell decided to return at once to Ireland to organize the general election campaign, but he asked Dillon to stay behind and keep the American movement going.

According to the Nation, Parnell originally had planned to leave Healy in the United States as well. A dispatch sent on 10 March, perhaps from Healy himself, said that Parnell "starts at once for England, leaving Mr. Healy, of the Home-Rule Executive, and who recently joined the member for Meath,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Davitt, p. 206; Healy, I, p. 83.

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to take charge of the arrangements which the latter had made when intelligence of the dissolution reached him."[1] In a letter published in his memoirs, Healy indicated that Parnell was somewhat undecided about the matter: "If Parnell returns to America I am to come with him, and he speaks of sending me back immediately after the elections, in any case, though how that will be I don't know, as his ideas are never very determinate."[2]

Healy did return with Parnell, while Dillon remained in America for five more months, speaking throughout the country to Irish groups.[3] Parnell and Healy entrained for New York City from Montreal immediately in order to take passage on a ship which departed 10 March. There was scant time to establish properly an American organization loyal to Parnell and his objectives; but, in the hours remaining, the two men laid the foundation of the American Land League. Parnell had planned to meet on 18 March with representatives of the various Irish-American groups to organize an American Land League, but the dissolution of Parliament forced him to call the representatives to New York on twenty-four hours' notice. On the morning of his departure for Ireland, Parnell gathered with 150 Irish-American leaders in a New York hotel. According

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[1] Nation, 13 March 1880.

[2] Healy, I, p. 88.

[3] In the election, Tipperary elected the absent Dillon to Parliament.

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to one personal account of the meeting, Parnell told the delegates that Healy had drawn up a plan for an organization which called for a central council in the major city of each state. The account continued:

> Mr. T.M. Healy then read the constitution he had sketched out for the American organization of the Land League, apologising for the hasty draughting necessitated by a sudden departure. After considerable debate, the resolutions were carried.[1]

At the meeting, an organizing committee was established to carry out the proposals; and then Parnell and Healy were given a triumphal send-off in a blinding snow-storm.

The words "considerable debate" in the account of the meeting emphasized the delicate position of Parnell among the Irish-American leaders. According to Barry O'Brien, a close associate of Parnell, the meeting was dominated by Fenians. Those favoring Parnell's constitutional approach had come at Parnell's "special request," but the Fenians had the votes to capture control of the seven-man organizing committee and obtain the vital post of treasurer for John Devoy. O'Brien points out that the "revolutionists" were, as a result, in the dominant position in the American Land League while "constitutionalists" dominated the Irish Land League, even though the most active members in the Irish countryside were Fenians or ex-Fenians.[2]

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[1] Irishman, 27 March 1880.

[2] R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 207.

The various viewpoints emotionally and passionately motivating the different Irish-American groups and leaders certainly caused stress and strain during Parnell's stay in the United States. There is no record, however, of Parnell losing his composure during frequent and probably heated meetings with Clan-na-Gael members. Healy, on the other hand, succumbed to the pressure of the constant ideological and tactical conflicts. The editors of John Devoy's letters said that Healy wrote to Dr. William Carroll, chairman of the Clan Executive, "a curt note" which, according to Devoy, greatly offended the doctor.[1] The editors did not offer the letter in evidence, but it does not seem out of character for Healy to react rashly to someone antagonistic to the Irish leader and his Irish policies. Whether Dr. Carroll, already highly critical of the New Departure and Parnell's leadership, actually was alienated by Healy's letter or merely utilized it as another reason for breaking with Parnell is a matter of conjecture. In writing to Devoy, however, he did place great emphasis on Healy's letter.[2] On 23 March, just a few days after Parnell arrived back in Ireland, the Clan chairman openly divorced himself from the Parnell movement. Healy commented a few months later that Carroll had taken an "absurd pique" against the Land League because he considered

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[1] W. O'Brien and D. Ryan, I, pp. 333 and 504.

[2] Ibid., p. 520.

it an "opposition shop."[1] This view is confirmed by several of Dr. Carroll's later letters to Devoy.[2]

Healy's role in the hectic conclusion of the trip was typical of his activities during his three weeks in America. He answered letters, planned the schedule, organized the meetings and wrote many of Parnell's speeches and interviews for the press. He recalled in his memoirs that, "a quiet half-hour or a five-minute rest was unknown."[3] When he returned to Ireland, he was identified in the press as Parnell's "private secretary."[4] Actually, Parnell planned for Healy to go to work for the Land League as "organizing secretary" and to go into Parliament at the first opportunity.[5] It was the end of Healy's career as a commercial clerk; from this point, he occupied a major position in the Irish land movement and, in a short time, in the Parliamentary Party as well.

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[1]Healy, I, p. 96.

[2]W. O'Brien and D. Ryan, I, p. 333.

[3]Healy, I, p. 86.

[4]Irishman, 27 March 1880.

[5]Healy, I, p. 88.

CHAPTER V

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1880

The sudden dissolution of Parliament surprised not only Parnell in America, but almost everyone in the British Isles.[1] In the House of Commons on 8 March, Tory leader Sir Stafford Northcote[2] explained that dissolution had been delayed until Parliament could sanction the measures regarding Irish distress, which had been instituted by the Government during the recess. The Government, Northcote said, had discharged its responsibilities regarding the Irish crisis, and thus, it was time for the six-year-old Parliament to be dissolved. Although in a somewhat different context, Beaconsfield also focused on Ireland in his explanation for the dissolution. In fact, his explanation was an election manifesto, couched in the form of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, the Irish Viceroy. In the letter Beaconsfield referred to the recent Government relief measures, to the solution of Irish educational problems, and to the concern which the administration had shown for

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[1] Annual Register (1880), p. 30.

[2] Disraeli, the Earl of Beaconsfield since 1876, was obliged to confine his activities to the House of Lords.

Ireland during the past six years. The crux of the document showed that the Tories hoped to fight the campaign solely on the issue of Ireland:

> Nevertheless, a danger, in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine, and which now engages your Excellency's anxious attention, distracts that country. A portion of its population is attempting to sever the Constitutional tie which united it to Great Britain in that bond which has favoured the power and prosperity of both.
> . . . . . .
> The immediate Dissolution of Parliament will afford an opportunity to the nation to decide upon a course which will materially influence its [The United Kingdon's]future fortunes and shape its destiny.
> Rarely in this century has there been an occasion more critical. The power of England and the peace of Europe will largely depend on the verdict of the country.[1]

Recalling the recent by-election in Liverpool and Liberal candidate's pledge for an inquiry into Home Rule, some political observers interpreted Beaconsfield's statement as suggesting Liberal complicity with the Home Rulers in their desire to "disintegrate the United Kingdom."[2] Liberal leaders, Lord Hartington and Gladstone, were quick to deny the Tory interpretation of events in Ireland and to elaborate on what issues they felt were at stake in the election. In Gladstone's address to the electors of Midlothian, he spoke out in direct, forthright language:

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[1] Annual Register (1880), p. 32.

[2] Ibid.

> Gentlemen, those who endangered the Union with Ireland were the party that maintained there an alien Church, an unjust Land Law, and franchises inferior to our own; and the true supporters of the Union are those who firmly uphold the supreme authority of Parliament, but exercise that authority to bind the three nations by the indissoluble tie of liberal and equal laws.[1]

In this address and in subsequent speeches, Gladstone hammered at the failings of the Tory Government, not only in Ireland, but more importantly in the area of foreign affairs.

In the campaign itself, Ireland failed to become politically controversial for British electors; the Tory strategy had failed.[2] The major effect of Beaconsfield's manifesto was to stir the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain to pass a counter-manifesto which called on all Irish electors to vote for the Liberal candidates regardless of whether they made any Home Rule pledge.[3] Speculation thus grew that no party would be returned with a majority large enough to be independent of the Irish Home Rulers.[4]

Healy and Parnell arrived in Queenstown (now Cobh) aboard the White Star steamer Baltic early Sunday morning, 21 March. The trip across the Atlantic was uneventful, according to Healy, who, in a letter written during the voyage, stated

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[1] Ibid., p. 34.

[2] Eversley, p. 107; Hammond, p. 162.

[3] Nation, 13 March 1880.

[4] Annual Register (1880), pp. 42-43.

that "all interest in life centres on meals, which I devoutly partake of."[1] The only other interest for Healy was the fact that Parnell's youngest sister Theodosia, a completely apolitical person in startling contrast to other members of the family, was also on the ship bound for Paris. Although it must be an error of omission, Healy indicated that politics did not concern him during the voyage.[2] However, Parnell already had informed Healy that he (Healy) would be the Land League's organizing secretary.[3] Certainly the two men had much to talk about with the election immenent. Parnell himself could not help but ponder the likelihood that the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party might be his shortly if enough supporters of his "active" policy were elected to Parliament. At this time, Parnell was already the leader of the Irish in Great Britain and of the land movement in Ireland.

According to Healy, Parnell was bitterly disappointed that no one was on hand to meet the ship. Healy recalled in his memoirs that for the first time, he saw "the true character of one who was outwardly a man of bronze."[4] Perhaps Parnell

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[1]Healy, I, p. 88.

[2]In Ireland, "some arrangements had been made about contests and candidates, chiefly by Messrs. Davitt and Biggar," according to Andrew J. Kettle. See Material for Victory, ed. Laurence J. Kettle (Dublin: C.J. Fallon, Ltd., 1958), p. 24.

[3]Healy, I, p. 88.

[4]Ibid., p. 89.

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revealed his feelings to his friends upon arrival, because a newspaper reporter in his story of the event, lengthily explained in detail why the popular, young leader had been ignored.[1]

Queenstown was thronged with people who knew Parnell's ship was expected; the delegation of Davitt, Biggar, T.D. Sullivan, Finigan and others had been in the town for two days awaiting the ship's arrival. In Cork, Parnell was met at the train station by an estimated 30,000 admirers.[2] His return was not entirely triumphal, however. Also meeting him in Queenstown were several representatives of the IRB Supreme Council who presented him with a statement indicating that the group had rescinded its resolution to allow Fenians to participate in the New Departure. The document stated that "it is utterly futile to seek for any practical national good through the means of parliamentary representation."[3]

That evening at a banquet hosted by the Cork Farmers' Club and attended by 110 guests including Healy and other key lieutenants, Parnell lashed out at the Freeman's Journal for misrepresenting his actions and speeches in America.[4] The newspaper, perhaps intimidated by Egan's threat of a

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[1] Cork Examiner, 22 March 1880.

[2] Nation, 27 March 1880.

[3] R. Barry O'Brien, I, pp. 212-13.

[4] Nation, 27 March 1880; Davitt, p. 226.

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massive demonstration against it,[1] replied with praise of Parnell's mission and regret over his comments in Cork: "We regret to think that Mr. Parnell would, either directly or indirectly, imagine that 'lies' were circulated about him in his absence through mediums which are as favourable to the causes he advocates as he is himself."[2]

The leading article explained in diplomatic terms that the newspaper and Parnell did not always agree, but that "these differences must, we suppose, be accepted as inseparable from politics as long as independence of thought and action is permitted to public men."[3] During the election campaign, the newspaper would show respect for Parnell's hold over the Irish people.[4] On 14 April, in commenting on Parnell's third personal triumph at the polls, a leading article noted: "Mr. Parnell now enjoys a popularity almost unprecedented, together with great political power."[5] The article continued with a plea to Liberals and moderate Home Rulers to give Parnell a chance: "To those who apprehend that Mr. Parnell may be carried away from the regions of common sense into visionary and utterly unworkable theories, we say--wait!"[6]

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[1]Davitt, p. 227.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 22 March 1880.

[3]Ibid.

[4]See, for example, leading articles on 30 March and 13 April.

[5]Freeman's Journal, 14 April 1880.

[6]Ibid.

Parnell had other difficulties to overcome after his return. The feud with the only daily Nationalist newspaper, the suspicion of moderate Home Rulers, and the hostility of the IRB were serious problems, but not as crucial as the lack of campaign funds for the general election. The land League's resolution that Parnell had supported at the founding convention in October now returned to haunt him. He had raised $200,000 in America, but he could not use it to aid candidates he endorsed for Parliament. With only seven of the 103 incumbent Irish M.P.'s dedicated to his program, Parnell could not possibly win control of the Home Rulers without campaign funds.[1] The financially independent candidate was not likely to be a Parnell supporter.[2]

After a week of wrangling, Parnell finally convinced the men who controlled the money in the Land League to "loan" him some money for the campaign. Davitt said Parnell received £2,000, but Healy stated it was £1,000.[3] The arguments over

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[1]Approximately sixty of the Irish M.P.'s called themselves Home Rulers; the others sat with either the Tory or the Liberal party.

[2]For a thorough examination of the financial status of the Home Rulers, see Chapter One of Conor Cruise O'Brien's Parnell and His Party, 1880-90 (London: The Oxford University Press, 1957).

[3]Davitt, p. 234; Healy, I, p. 90; Kettle, p. 25. Davitt wrote that it was Parnell's arguments which were decisive; Healy credits Patrick Egan, who actually controlled the pursestrings in Paris; Kettle noted it was an attack on Parnell by a priest-inspired mob that prompted Davitt to intercede. In any case, the League officials hostile to the parliamentarians were called by Healy "a little knot of nobodies in Dublin." Healy, I, p. 95.

funds wasted valuable campaigning time, and Parnell quickly tried to catch up by criss-crossing Ireland in a special train to seek support for his candidates. One associate stated Parnell did not sleep in a bed during the most hectic ten days of campaigning in early April.[1]

Recollections of that general election by people involved with the Parnellite campaign supply a glimpse of Healy's role. One account asserted that Healy was in Dublin answering Parnell's mail and making on-the-spot decisions for the inaccessible leader. Healy's willingness to take responsibility for these decisions was credited with the return of a militant Parnellite over a Catholic landlord in Roscommon. Signing Parnell's name to a telegram, Healy replied to a group of Parnellites without a candidate: "Am sending James O'Kelly, a good man---PARNELL." The recommendation for the unknown O'Kelly carried him into Parliament a few days later when the poll was declared.[2]

Parnell, who had allowed himself to be nominated for both Meath and Mayo due to the scant time available for finding suitable candidates, also was nominated for Cork City by a group of Tories. Cork Conservatives hoped that Parnell's name on the ballot would prompt many Liberal voters to desert

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 221.

[2]Roscommon Herald, 28 March 1931. O'Kelly soon occupied an influential position within the Home Rule organization and was one of the few men in whom Parnell confided.

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their candidate and allow the Tory candidate to win one of the two seats.[1] The Tories gave a known Nationalist £250 to have Parnell nominated. When the scheme was exposed prior to the election, the man turned the money over to Parnell. The immediate reaction from Parnell's supporters was to fling the money back at the Tories, but Healy's advice to keep it and use it for campaign expenses was accepted. As it turned out, Parnell, aided by the Tory money, was returned at the top of the poll, receiving more votes than the Tory and the Liberal combined.[2]

Healy also frequently travelled the country with Parnell to organize public rallies. He was, for example, at Enniscorthy, County Wexford, when Parnell was manhandled by a mob. According to Davitt, Healy was one of several persons who formed a "body-guard" around Parnell after he had had one pant-leg torn "from the boot to the waist" and had been splattered with rotten eggs.[3] But Parnell was rewarded amply

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, I, pp. 215-19; Healy, however, wrote in his memoirs that Parnell's friends in Cork urged him to run. See Healy, I, p. 91.

[2]Ibid., pp. 218-222.

[3]Davitt, pp. 235-6. A few years later Healy would privately confide to an English M.P. that this incident soured Parnell forever on the Irish people--Algar Labouchere Thorold, The Life of Henry Labouchere (New York: C.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), p. 254. Parnell's fury at the insult was not shown in public (See R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 213; Healy, I, p. 91), but he told Davitt that he wanted him to organize a counterdemonstration "strong enough and determined enough to deal with O'Clery [the incumbent, a Catholic and Whig, who supposedly organized the attack] and his gang." Davitt, fearing a blood bath, declined. See Davitt, p. 237.

for his discomfort when the County Wexford poll was announced. His two candidates won easily, with John Barry heading the poll.[1] While the Nation fumed over the mob's attack on Parnell, the Freeman's Journal soberly assessed Parnell's political strength after Wexford:

> The utter defeat of the Chevalier O'Clery who only scored 457 votes . . . must be taken as one of the strongest evidences yet given of the hold of Mr. Parnell over the constituencies. The row at Enniscorthy and attack on Mr. Parnell, with the responsibility for which, rightly or wrongly, the Chevalier was fixed in the popular mind, clearly led to his rejection.[2]

Although Parnell had overcome the clerical opposition from the Right and Fenian rowdyism from the Left in Wexford, he did not have similar success in County Cork. Healy was one of several key associates Parnell sent to Cork to aid the campaign of Andrew Kettle whom Parnell chose to run despite the candidacies of two moderate Home Rulers (often called Whigs by the followers of Parnell), one of whom was William Shaw, the chairman of the Home Rule Party.[3] The four bishops

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[1] In commenting on the election, the Nation on 17 April called the attack on Parnell "the most disgraceful incident recorded in recent Irish history" and stated it would "for all time be known as the Enniscorthy outrage." R. Barry O'Brien (See R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 213) said that Fenians, seeing Parnell as a threat to their philosophy, were responsible.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 13 April 1880.

[3] R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 221. In his memoirs, Healy appears to take credit for Kettle's candidacy (See I, p. 92), but Kettle (p. 29) said Parnell forced him into the race and he (Kettle) was delighted he lost.

of County Cork publicly sided with the moderates, and priests were sent to stand guard at all polling booths on election day.[1] Kettle finished third in the poll, missing election by only 151 votes. The Freeman rejoiced in the results the day after the poll, but then in a subsequent leading article gave a lukewarm endorsement to the overall Parnell-led agitation in Ireland:

> While we cannot commit ourselves to anything like a formal sanction of every utterance of Mr. Parnell or some of his friends during the agitation, we think it probably will be conceded that the net result of that agitation has, on the whole, been beneficial, both as compelling landlords to do their duty, and forcibly awakening public attention to the absolute necessity of immediate and radical legislation on the Irish Land Question.[2]

Healy also served as Parnell's spokesman to the press during the campaign. When the Cork Examiner's report of a Parnell speech in Mallow seemed to misrepresent his remarks, Healy wrote to the newspaper to clarify the issue.[3] A short time later, Healy was involved in a "letter war" in the press over Parnell's treatment of a defeated M.P. The incumbent member from County Leitrim said that Parnell had denounced him "in the most vituperative, coarse and intemperate language" because he would not stand for a different constituency and then entered a candidate into the Leitrim election

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[1] R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 220; Kettle, p. 31.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 16 April 1880.

[3] Letter of 14 April, printed in the Nation, 17 April.

who caused his defeat.[1] The incumbent also stated that Parnell threatened to "pick holes in my coat" if he did not retire. Healy replied in great detail, denied the charges and implied the man was distorting the truth. The candidate's agent in turn said Healy had slandered the candidate. The war of words came to a close only when the Freeman's Journal added a note to still another letter, saying that "any further correspondence on this subject must appear in our advertising columns." The newspaper, however, did print a short note from Parnell on the subject. Parnell said his purpose was not to correct "misstatements about myself," but rather to point out that Healy was not his "paid secretary." Healy's position, Parnell stated, was "entirely honorary."

Healy, however, certainly was not as self-sufficient as Parnell's letter indicated. It was absolutely necessary that he be paid for his work with Parnell and the Land League during the campaign. In his memoirs, a letter dated 5 June stated that he received £140 for his work "at home and abroad."[2] In October, Healy wrote that he received another £150.[3]

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[1]The correspondence is printed in the Freeman's Journal on 21, 22 and 23 April; in the Nation, 24 April and 1 May.

[2]Healy, I, p. 95.

[3]Ibid., p. 100.

In the general election the Liberals swept into power with an amazing majority of 106, that left them well able to rule without the assistance of the Irish Home Rulers. In the previous Parliament, the Tories had held a majority of 101. To the dismay of Queen Victoria, William Gladstone, the Liberals' "Grand Old Man" who disestablished the Church of Ireland and produced the 1870 Land Act for Ireland, was the new Prime Minister. W.E. Forster was Gladstone's choice as Chief Secretary for Ireland. Lord Cowper was the new Irish Viceroy.[1]

Gladstone's appointment of Forster was designed as a conciliatory move toward the Irish. Forster had distinguished himself in relief work during the 1847-48 famine and was remembered well in Ireland.[2] The new generation of Irishmen who sat in Parliament, however, were not at all pleased, according to the Times, because of "the firm attitude he assumes in reference to the policy of obstruction."[3] Outgoing Chief Secretary James Lowther thought Forster a good choice for the post and his inflexible position regarding Irish rule makes the reservations of the Home Rulers more understandable.[4]

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[1] Annual Register (1880), pp. 55-6.

[2] T. Wemyss Reid, Life of the Right Hon. W.E. Forster (London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1888), I, pp. 166-203.

[3] Times, 3 May 1880.

[4] N.L.I., Lowther to Burke, MS 8501 (7), 30 April 1880.

In Ireland, it was not clear whether the Parnellites or the moderates had won control of the Home Rule delegation. Parnell, it seemed, had the definite allegiance of twenty-four M.P.'s, nineteen of whom were elected to Parliament for the first time. In the group of fifty-nine Home Rulers elected (a total of 102 M.P.'s were elected for Ireland), twenty-one others were definitely in the moderate camp. The affiliation of the remaining fourteen was indeterminate, but most of these (and two moderates) were gradually drawn into the Parnellite orbit as popular support for the active wing continued to grow.[1]

William Shaw, who had been elected the Home Rule Party's sessional chairman in January, called a meeting of Home Rule M.P.'s for 27 April in Dublin's City Hall to elect a chairman for the upcoming session, and to discuss other matters relating to the party's parliamentary policy. Parnell, however, objected to the meeting, because a Land Conference was scheduled on 29 April, many M.P.'s were not in Ireland, and the composition of the new Cabinet was not known yet.[2] Several other M.P.'s objected, and the Freeman's Journal, upset at Parnell's attitude at first, said that, "it might

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[1]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 26.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 20 April 1880.

be just as well to abandon it."[1] Shaw persisted, however, and the meeting was held on 27 April. Only twenty-one Home Rulers showed up. The election of a new chairman, therefore, was postponed until a more convenient date.[2]

The Land Conference was held as scheduled in the Rotunda, Dublin, to consider a plan of legislative land reform. Along with Parnell, Davitt, Egan, and three others, Healy was a member of the committee charged to prepare the program for the conference.[3] Davitt asserted that Parnell suggested nothing at the pre-conference planning session other than a recommendation that Butt's Land Bill be reintroduced. Davitt credits a barrister, J.J. Louden, "aided by Mr. Healy's sharp intelligence, and assisted by some suggestions on my part," as the chief architect of the scheme which came out of the meeting.[4] The most important aspect of the proposals finally adopted was a land purchase scheme. Parnell, after much wrangling with Davitt, decided that tenants should be able to purchase their land from the landlords based on twenty-five

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[1] Ibid., 21 April 1880.

[2] Healy, I, p. 93, stated that Parnell left Ireland after the general election for a rendezvous with a barmaid in Manchester; and, in his absence Shaw was again appointed chairman at the meeting on the 27th. There was no vote, however, and Shaw remained the Chairman. See Freeman's Journal, 28 April; Nation, 1 May.

[3] Davitt, p. 241.

[4] Ibid.

years' rent. Davitt had wanted lower terms and refused to sign the document which the committee would offer to the conference.[1] For Davitt, the goal was nationalization of the land, a plan inspired by Henry George.[2]

On the way to the Freeman's office with the draft of the committee proposal, Healy said he changed the purchase price to twenty years because he knew that Parnell and the movement he headed "would be harmed if an offer of twenty-five years' purchase was published."[3] Healy stated: "I knew that Parnell, although he would not yield to Davitt, would accept the fait accompli."[4] The published proposal did, indeed, call for twenty years' purchase which the conference and Davitt accepted. The Freeman's Journal, reflecting moderate opinion, called the scheme "utterly impractical."[5] The newspaper, at the same time, reiterated its belief that the "3 F's" were the solution to Ireland's land problems. Davitt replied by calling the Freeman the "greatest enemy of the land program."[6]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 243-4.

[2] William O'Brien, p. 269.

[3] Healy, I, p. 92.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Freeman's Journal, 30 April 1880.

[6] Times, 4 May 1880. The three "3 F's" were an Ulster custom which gave tenants certain rights which included the right to continue occupancy at a fair rent, and the right to sell improvements when the farm was given up. The three chief principles embodied in this custom were known as "Fair Rent, Fixity of Tenure, and Free Sale."

With the Land League's objectives a matter of record, public attention now turned to the political arena. Parnell had been elected for Counties Meath and Mayo and the City of Cork. He chose to represent Cork because he believed that, in the two counties, his hand-picked choices would be returned without opposition. In Mayo, the home of the Land League, Parnell recommended Isaac Nelson, a Protestant minister from Ulster, who was returned without a contest.[1] In Meath, however, a problem arose. A.M. Sullivan was the choice of the clergy,[2] while Healy was Parnell's choice.[3] Sullivan, had been returned for County Louth in the election, but had resigned his seat when the electors returned Philip Callan, a man personally repugnant to Sullivan, as the other county M.P. Parnell had no enthusiasm for Sullivan, who had been a strong supporter of Butt, but he told a conference of clergymen that he would agree to their choice. To Sullivan, Parnell's speech and an ensuing clerical resolution of support seemed to indicate that cooperation with Parnell was mandatory.[4]

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[1]Palmer, p. 151.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 5 May 1880.

[3]A few months later, the Press Association would say that Parnell had several constituencies lined up for Healy. See the Cork Examiner, 27 October 1880. The Daily News on 27 October reported Healy was Parnell's candidate in King's County before the incumbent accepted the Parnellite program.

[4]The two men had differed before; Freeman's Journal, 8 May 1880.

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Therefore he refused the endorsement. T.D. Sullivan later explained his brother's point of view, saying Parnell's demand for cooperation was "hard on a man who had given so long a period of independent, unswerving and consistent labour to the Irish cause."[1]

A few days after Sullivan refused to run, it was reported in the press that a number of Meath electors had asked Healy to represent the county and he had agreed.[2] In the Nation, Healy for the first time was identified in detail for the public. On page one, the newspaper stated Healy's position as "one who has been so prominently associated with the member for Cork in his labours both in America and in Ireland."[3] In its primary leading article, it was pointed out that the clergy's recommendation for Sullivan to cooperate with Parnell was made on their own initiative. It then continued in the most laudatory terms to support Healy's candidacy:

> He is a man young in years but old in political wisdom, one whose opinions are consulted by the foremost men of the advanced Irish party, and whose thoughts and acts have had much to do in bringing that party up to its present standard of numbers and efficiency. . . . He has worked incessantly in organising the splendid success

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[1] T.D. Sullivan, A.M. Sullivan: a Memoir (Dublin: T.D. Sullivan, 1885), p. 136; Nation, 15 May 1880.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 12 May 1880.

[3] Nation, 15 May 1880.

which has crowned the Parnell policy at the general election.[1]

While the Freeman's Journal failed to comment on Healy's candidacy, the Irishman, the organ of the Fenians, under the headline "Another Stranger," identified Healy as "Mr. Parnell's secretary (without pay)" and hoped that "Meath had yet enough of spirit to reject the claimant whose only recommendation is presumption." The newspaper endorsed the candidacy of a "Mr. Drake" who was never further identified.[2]

Sullivan, however, was in the process of changing his mind when Healy's candidacy was announced. A letter saying that his withdrawal statements had been misinterpreted prompted another meeting of the county clergy. Healy attended this meeting. A "long and animated" discussion followed the reading of Sullivan's letter and provoked strong opinions by some that Sullivan not be endorsed.[3] Only nine of forty-four priests, however, supported Healy in the crucial vote (with one vote for Mr. Drake). Then, a resolution was passed which stated that Sullivan's letter met the requirements of their previous resolution of support.

The affair caused no editorial comment in the Nationalist press and Sullivan was returned unopposed. The Freeman's

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Irishman, 15 May, 1880. The major Dublin newspapers ignored the events in Meath except to mention the final result in which Healy did not figure.

[3] Nation 22 May 1880; Freeman's Journal, 18 May 1880.

Journal, delighted that a moderate had secured one of Parnell's seats, commented: "One of Parnell's seats could not be better bestowed--say rather, won by independence of character and sterlingness of political creed."[1] The Nation made no mention of the confused events preceding the election, but merely printed Sullivan's speech to the Meath electors after the declaration of his unopposed election. Interestingly enough, the speech failed to mention either Parnell or Healy.[2]

While the clergy were seeking to resolve the matter in Meath, Parnell was elected chairman of the Irish Home Rule Party, thus establishing a unified command to pursue Irish national aspirations. Thus, Parnell, by the Spring of 1880, headed the land movement in Ireland, the political organization of Irishmen in England, and the Irish parliamentarians, who, more or less, favored the nebulous concept of Home Rule.

It is the contention of T.P. O'Connor that Healy was largely responsible for the decision to propose Parnell as leader of the Irish Home Rulers at this particular time. The decision, O'Connor said, was made by nine men at Dublin's Imperial Hotel the night before the party meeting. Healy was the only non-member of Parliament at the small gathering and O'Connor said that: "Tim Healy urgently advocated the leadership of Parnell; and, undoubtedly, his infectious vehemence

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 21 May 1880.

[2]Nation, 29 May 1880.

had much to do with the resolve then and there made for the first time, to propose Parnell."[1]

Parnell's triumph was anything but overwhelming. The issue was decided by five votes, twenty-three to eighteen. The Freeman's Journal was not pleased, but did not despair, commenting: "On the whole we think that this result was, if not the best which could have been arrived at, not unsatisfactory."[2] The newspaper, however, did not hesitate to say that "we would have preferred to have seen Mr. Shaw elected."[3] Shaw agreed to serve under Parnell but said his decision did not mean he would support Parnell's principles.[4]

Probably in an effort to inhibit Parnell, the Freeman's Journal then launched an attack on his land proposals and his political tactics. Publisher E.D. Gray, the leading Liberal supporter in Ireland, obviously was distressed that Parnell had run James J. O'Kelly against the Liberal Solicitor-General in Mallow. An article called the candidacy of O'Kelly "ill-advised and ungracious" and pointed out to the Parnellites that the Government should not be attacked before it was given

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[1] O'Connor, Charles Stewart Parnell: a Memory, p. 80; the same author mentions the incident, but not Healy's role, in the Parnell Movement, p. 196.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 18 May 1880.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., 19 May 1880.

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a chance to state its Irish policy.[1] Actually, Parnell and all the Home Rulers would follow this line of reasoning in the coming months. Westminster had its usual calming influence on Irish extremists, but it was evident that all Irishmen were hopeful that Gladstone and the Liberals would pass measures which truly would alleviate the great distress in the country. Gladstone was highly regarded in Ireland for his previous Irish legislation; parliamentary obstruction, without giving the Government a fair trial, would have been folly.[2] The Irish, however, did not realize that Gladstone, concerned about the military situation in Eastern Europe, was not aware of the magnitude of the Irish crisis. The new Prime Minister felt that a reform of his 1870 Land Act would be enough to satisfy and pacify Ireland.[3] Gladstone soon would learn that he had miscalculated badly.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Conor Cruise O'Brien, pp. 44-5.

[3] Hammond, p. 165.

CHAPTER VI

THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT MAY-SEPTEMBER 1880

Parliament officially opened on 29 April, but there was no real activity until the Queen's Address was read on 20 May. The Irish members came over to England immediately after their conference and heard, with varying degrees of dismay, that the Liberals had no plans for Ireland other than to let the Coercion Law lapse on 1 June and to extend the borough franchise. However, the Times, no doubt reflecting a widespread sentiment, expressed shock at the Government's plan to govern Ireland under ordinary law:

> The rent agitation of late is more acute and violent and there appears more excitement among the masses of the Irish people than has prevailed for some considerable time. Such a moment would not seem well fitted for dispensing with existing precautions.[1]

The newspaper also was disturbed that Parnell, not Shaw, whom the Times said was "respected for his knowledge of men," led the Irish delegation to Westminster.

Because the Liberal Party's decision reflected unfavorably on their Irish policy, the Tories, led by the Duke of

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[1] Times, 15 May 1880.

Marlborough, former Viceroy of Ireland, and Beaconsfield, objected vociferously to it.[1] The Irish militants, moreover, also were unhappy and they criticized the Government, in moderate terms, because nothing was mentioned in the Queen's Address about the critical conditions in Ireland.[2] Healy pointed out in his memoirs that a newly-planted potato crop would not be ripe until August and "hungry June and July" had to be faced.[3] At the same time, there were 100,000 tenants in arrears of their rents and liable to eviction.[4] Yet, the Government offered neither a relief plan nor a plan to resolve the land question. Clearly, the new Government had means of obtaining information regarding the situation in Ireland; at least two members of the Cabinet were receiving information from a private source in Ireland. In particular, Jonathan Pim, a Liberal M.P. for Dublin, tried to warn the Government of the possible consequences if action were not taken. In April he wrote Chief Secretary Forster:

> The extreme Home-Rulers under Parnell have thoroughly beaten not only the Liberals, but the Moderate Home-Rulers even where the latter were strenuously supported by the Roman Catholic Bishops and clergy. . . . I look upon

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLII (1880), 78-93.

[2]Ibid., 108-167.

[3]Healy, I, p. 94.

[4]Hammond, p. 175.

the condition of the country as being worse than I ever knew it.[1]

To Lord Hartington, the most important Whig in the Liberal Government, Pim wrote a few days later: "The feelings excited are quite as strong as they were in O'Connell's time and the policy to be pursued in order to control them requires the most careful consideration and the soundest judgement."[2]

Parnell and the Irish members who followed his lead showed a willingness to work with the Government and gently prodded the Liberals with suggestions to overcome the present difficulties in Ireland. During the debate on the Queen's Address, Parnell asked the Government for a temporary act to suspend for two years the power of eviction for non-payment of rent while a measure establishing peasant ownership rights was being worked out.[3] The Irish speakers said they understood that the new Government could not produce a comprehensive plan for Ireland on such short notice, but asserted an indication of the Government's intention was needed. Forster, for his part, indicated a willingness to discuss the concept of non-eviction and the Irish withdrew their resolution.[4]

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[1]N.L.I., Pim to Forster, MS 8669, 12 April 1880.

[2]Ibid., 14 April 1880.

[3]Times, 21 May 1880.

[4]Annual Register (1880), p. 70.

The Irish, however, were not united in their demands on the Liberal Government. Shaw illustrated the split in basic philosophy by sitting among the Liberal majority with a dozen of his colleagues. Commenting on this action in his first column for the Nation since his departure for America, Healy stated that Shaw's "acute chagrin" on being ousted as sessional chairman prompted the decision of the "relics of a former period" to join the Liberals.[1] In this column, in what was to become a regular practice, Healy explained the rationale for certain actions taken by Parnell and his followers. On this occasion, it was the dilemma of the Parnellites regarding the Liberals. Pointing out that obstruction was fine with the Tories in power because "it was certain they never cherished any good intentions towards Ireland," Healy said the same method was not feasible with a "would-be friendly administration." He did not excuse, however, the Government's failure to offer a land bill; but he did express optimism that a temporary measure would be provided "for tiding the suffering Irish peasantry over the coming Winter." Such a measure, he stated, would give the Government "the benefit of every doubt they are entitled to."[2]

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[1] Nation, 29 May 1880. In a leading article in the same issue, the newspaper warned that "Whig Home Rulers are as objectionable as Tory Home Rulers, and Irish patriotic constituencies will extend to the one set of politicians just as little toleration as they have hitherto extended to the other."

[2] Ibid.

This explanation to Ireland for the lack of aggressiveness on the part of the former obstructionists would be repeated many times by Healy in his weekly "London Letter." Parnell, the country would be told, had perfectly good reasons for his actions, and would produce results without militancy. Using the hypothetical impatience of Biggar, still his favorite obstructionist,[1] as a starting point in one column ("He wonders what all this peace is about."), Healy explained Parnell's philosophy in the new Parliament:

> Since his election to the leadership Mr. Parnell seems to keep mindful of the fact that he has been placed at the head of (to phrase it gently) a composite party. No longer is he to enjoy his individual tastes in harassing our benevolent rulers and providing his country with satisfaction, but is obliged to remember that the whole of his flock are not so advanced as himself, and that it becometh not the chief continually to go down with the footmen to the battle. . . . The post to which Mr. Parnell has been appointed is, at any time, a difficult one, and a needless accentuation of divergence--the marking off of so distinct a line of cleavage in the party at the outset--is both unseasonable and ungenerous.[2]

Whether such explanations were good enough for the more militant Land Leaguers in Ireland is doubtful. Healy, certainly aware of this fact, tried to sweeten the pill of conciliation with the Liberals by asserting that Parnell's decision to sit with the Government would soon produce results. And he promised as well that, as soon as conditions returned to normal in Ireland, "it would be simply an absurdity for a

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[1]See, for example, Nation, 10 July 1880.

[2]Nation, 5 June 1880.

party seeking the legislative independence of their country, and wielding the tremendous power practically in their hands, not to instantly subject the House of Commons to the garotte."[1] As if he too were worried about the lull, Healy closed his column with a dramatic flourish:

> That Carthage must be destroyed if College Green is to be restored is, therefore, a formula needful to be kept in petto by hon. active members in this time of truce. When suitable legislation will have put out of date the question, 'What have you done to obtain justice for the Irish farmer?' now proposed to representatives, then will have come the time when 'What have you done to destroy the House of Commons?' will appear a very proper interrogatory.[2]

The Parnellites hardly were trying to destroy the House of Commons at this time; instead they worked to force the Government to show its hand regarding Ireland. For this purpose, they introduced a Land League-inspired bill to amend the 1870 Land Act to allow compensation for farmers evicted for any reason.[3] The 1870 Land Act refused compensation for those evicted who were a year behind in their rent payments, if the courts ruled the rent had not been raised to an "exorbitant" figure.[4] Unprepared for such a demand, Forster,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Davitt, p. 260.

[4] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLII (1880), 1284.

nevertheless, said he "would not oppose the principle of the Bill" and asked time for the Government to consider the matter.[1] Healy appeared to be overjoyed that the Irish finally had made a move. In addition, he was pleased that one night the Irish had kept the House in session until 3 a.m.:

> The Irish Party has taken its first fall out of the Government. Their attempt to wriggle out of the very modest demand for a day to discuss Mr. O'Connor Power's Land Bill resulted in a demonstration which seems to have brought Ministers to their senses. 'You have humiliated Mr. Gladstone,' complained a high official after the debate of Friday to one of the Irish party, expecting apparently, that some apology for that great crime and misdemeanor would be offered. Instead of this, however, promptly made answer the Irish member to the high official, 'And served him right too.'[2]

Again, Healy was attempting to satisfy the militant elements in Ireland with any available scraps which could be found lying about the House.[3]

On 15 June, Forster informed the House that the Government could not agree to the second reading of O'Connor Power's Land Bill. At the same time, he said a new clause would be proposed in the Relief of Distress Bill to aid the tenant "ejected" for non-payment of rent in those areas hit

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[1] Annual Register (1880), p. 77.

[2] Nation, 12 June 1880.

[3] On 21 June, the Dublin correspondent of the Times quoted Flag of Ireland and Irishman to show the dissatisfaction of "advanced" Nationalists with the "idleness" of the parliamentarians.

hardest by crop failures and that a commission was to be established to investigate the shortcomings of the 1870 Land Act.[1] The Irish were not impressed with Forster's announcements. The relief measure was based on a previous Tory bill designed to create jobs by lending money to landlords. The commission was to be headed by Lord Bessborough, an Irish landlord, and William Shaw was to be one of the five members.[2] Expressing the Parnellite view, Healy called the relief measure "shoddy" and an "admitted failure" and urged private agencies in Dublin to quit thrusting the "begging-box into the face of the world" for such relief if the Government "perservered in pushing the inadequate scheme."[3]

Gladstone's Government, however, had greater problems. The Times called the Irish proposal "a scheme of most dangerous confiscation" despite "unfortunate" conditions, and this view was echoed in most large-circulation newspapers in England.[4] Despite this alarm, the Government, for procedural purposes, introduced a separate Compensation for Disturbance bill on 17 June rather than attach it to the Relief of Distress Bill.[5] Disturbed by what he considered a lack of

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CLIII (1880), 75. A short summary of the 1870 Land Act and why it failed is provided in W.F. Bailey's The Irish Land Acts.

[2]Times, 20 July 1880.

[3]Nation, 12 June 1880.

[4]Times, 12 June 1880.

[5]Ibid., 18 June 1880.

gress and a dearth of excitement, Healy expressed his
bt at this time that "a single bill of any kind will be
sed this session" and explained the problems that Forster's
measure would encounter:

> The strength of the Government will be severely tested when Mr. Forster's new Compensation for Disturbance Bill is under debate. The pure Whigs [in the Liberal Party] certainly will not vote for it; and, if it survives the obstruction which the Tories intend to offer, the Ministry have grave doubts about its fate in the Lords.[1]

Healy also began to show considerable impatience with
Irish parliamentary policy. He still defended Parnell,
in rather unconvincing fashion:

> The result of his election [as chairman] will probably be that instead of their [party members] being dragged up to his level he will be pulled back in line with them. . . . Indeed the chairman must always be fettered by his position from taking any course save that sketched out by the party as a whole, and thus the Obstructive disappears in the leader.[2]

ıing the Liberal Government "anti-Irish," Healy stated
position: "In my belief, therefore, nothing but pressure
gain anything for the country, and the party seems to be
ng its time if it does not set about it at once."[3] He
suggested to the Irish members which bill to pounce on,
ng them to obstruct the Government for "a couple of

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[1] Nation, 26 June 1880.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

›nths" on the supply vote for the Royal Irish Constabu-
ıry.[1]

After three nights of debate, Gladstone and Forster,
ded by fifty-one Irish votes, were able to win approval
r the second reading of the Compensation for Disturbance
ll on 5 July by 295 to 217.[2] One of Gladstone's Cabinet
nisters resigned because of the bill[3] and more than fifty
berals deserted the Government leadership on the crucial
te.[4] While he voted for the bill, Parnell made a show of
ssatisfaction and warned that "if the government does not
ing forward satisfactory proposals we shall know how to
oceed."[5] Nevertheless, the Government, braced by its
rge majority, refused to support a Parnell-sponsored relief
ll because they felt a good harvest was at hand.[6] Glad-
one also agreed to a new interpretation of a section of
e Compensation Bill which, the Irish maintained fatally
akened the bill. The Irish Attorney-General said that no
ıant could claim compensation for eviction if the landlord

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[1]Ibid.

[2]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, III (1880), 1726.

[3]Times, 10 July 1880.

[4]Annual Register (1880), p. 84.

[5]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, III (1880), 1213.

[6]Ibid., 1347.

ad given him permission to sell his holdings.[1] Parnell ould not influence the Government to change its view on he "permission to sell" clause or to extend the bill to ver tenancies valued over £30.[2] On the motion that the use go into Committee on the bill, Parnell and his follow- s demonstrated their token opposition by abstaining from e vote.[3]

In Committee, the Government at first agreed to a Tory oposal to limit the compensation to holdings valued at £15 d under, but later withdrew support in the face of Irish position. Parnell then was successful in having the vernment replace the "permission to sell" clause with a tter-phrased statement. The Irish expressed their satis- ction by voting with the Government on the third reading. e vote in favor of the bill, 304 to 237, showed a signifi- nt division in the Liberal Party, a fact which greatly engthened the position of those who opposed the bill in e House of Lords.

In his column, Healy ridiculed Forster's zig-zag course the bill, commenting that he "had blundered stupidly" in dling it.[4] The column traced the fluctuations of the

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[1]Annual Register (1880), p. 84.

[2]Times, 9 July 1880; Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 48.

[3]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, III (1880), 1987.

[4]Nation, 17 July 1880.

ernment on the bill which had so badly hurt the chances

its approval in the Lords:

> First, we learned from the Queen's speech there was to be no land bill at all this year; second, Mr. O'Connor Power's bill was hesitatingly nibbled at and dropped in timidity at a word of condemnation; third, an imitation clause of his bill was introduced into the Government Relief Bill; fourth, this procedure was ruled out of order by the Speaker; on the ground that the clause had nothing to do with relief and was not in line with the rest of the measure, whereupon a separate bill embodying it was introduced; fifth, to please the Whigs and prevent further resignations the bill is nullified by a clause of the Attorney-General's; sixth, to placate the Home Rulers this clause is dropped altogether; seventh, and the last scene of all this strange, eventful history (up to to-day), Mr. Gladstone gives notice this morning of an amendment excluding all holdings above £30 from the operation of the bill.[1]

y continued by scorning the indecisiveness of the Liberals:

> No stability, no firmness, no principle, is shown in their proceedings from first to last, and nobody knows what is going to happen next, or what vital proviso will be introduced or surrendered. This mode of carrying on the Queen's Government in Ireland is what is called Liberal statesmanship, and no doubt it would be very amusing but that the lives and fortunes of the Irish tenants form the subject of the fun.[2]

Healy, however, did not limit his criticism of the bill

ıe Ministers in charge of it. The leader of the Irish

s on one occasion came in for direct criticism because

ıe way he handled the matter at one stage. Healy, who

ıildly disagreed with the conciliatory policy of Parnell

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

previous weeks, obviously was disturbed when the Irish
der imposed time limits on the speeches of his follow-
during the final stage of debate in Committee. He was
ed to rather extravagant prose to make his case, and to
ise obstructionist Joseph Gillis Biggar:

> The domain of Mr. Biggar had not been treated courteously in this bill, and its watchful representative determined that at least a foreign legislature should pay it a tribute of obeisance by a march through the lobbies. But sternly came the whispered mandate of the chief. 'Withdraw Biggar!' and admitting of no parlay. Never had a devoted follower been called upon for such a sacrifice as this. Withdraw his amendment--he, J.G. Biggar, who had taken more divisions and worried more Ministers than any man since Hampden, and that too upon occasions of lighter purpose than the present! Is it now, indeed, that he must yield, when there is question of his own cherished Cavan? It was a terrible moment. Revolt, with all its promptings, surged for one instant through his mind, and then, as loyalty reasserted itself, a shock of despair passed down his faithful spinal marrow. 'Parnell, Parnell,' he tried to gasp, 'I don't like to withdraw.' In good truth, he did not. But perish self in times like this, and the command, 'Withdraw, Biggar!' fell once more--a leaden message--upon his ears. The fiery pride of Cavan was quenched. Droningly the chair put the question without challenge, and then more monotonously still the craven words, 'Amendment by leave withdrawn,' were pronounced in careless official tones--tones that told no story of a valiant soul in agony, somewhere upon the benches below the gangway on the Opposition side of the Commons House of Parliament, this Monday night.[1]

The same column lavished praise on Arthur O'Connor for
egarding "the helm" and speaking forty-five minutes "to
great content of Mr. Biggar" prior to forcing a division
n amendment to the bill. In summing up the battle over

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[1] Ibid., 24 July 1880.

he preamble to the Compensation Bill in the early morning
ours, Healy directly dissented from Parnell's tactics.
arnell felt the preamble's wording, which stated that com-
ensation could only be awarded for "failure of crops" was
oo limiting. Gladstone refused to change the wording and
arnell acquiesced, without a division or attempting to pro-
ong debate for another day. Healy was exasperated. He had
ot understood the reasons for limiting the speeches of the
tivists and, in print, he appeared to be even more perplexed by this failure to fight:

> Why the Irish leader did not thereupon move to report progress, and insist on the Government taking time to consider the point, I cannot understand. Such moderation in dealing with railing old Gladstone, and endurance of his buffets under the unjust charge of obstruction, when as a matter of fact he had all night been trying to restrain his followers, is quite a new feature in his character. I suppose it was in the future interests of the tenants that he refrained even with the provocation offered him, to say or do anything to irritate the Prime Minister. If so, the selfsacrifice was evident, but on any other grounds Mr. Parnell's meekness is impossible to explain.[1]

ly obviously felt that Irish pressure on the Government
ld again prompt them to change course and he clearly
ted his view:

> For my part, I don't believe any good comes of moderation in dealing with the unscrupulous classes who compose English governments. If the Home Rule party had insisted on having the preamble postponed, and then kept the House a few days longer discussing the proposed alternative therein, without doubt the virtuous Gladstone and the contemptible crew of trimmers along with

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[1] Ibid.

him in the Ministry would have yielded, as they always do, to force majeure.[1]

Such adverse publicity, no doubt, at least partially explains Parnell's aggressive tone on the speaking platforms of Ireland once Parliament recessed. Public complaints from two Irish M.P.'s who felt that Healy had unfairly criticized their conduct in the House indicated that Healy's column was being read carefully.[2] Privately, Healy also expressed disillusionment with Parnell's leadership. In an undated first letter to his brother, Healy speculated about the reasons for Parnell's shoddy handling of parliamentary matters:

> I am glad you think Parnell has been doing well. For myself, I have been rather dissatisfied, and have told him so. Over the House of Lords business this week I certainly thought he would keep fighting a few nights to draw attention to the subject, but he absolutely discouraged anything approaching obstruction, and laughingly told Barry that, if John got up to speak, he would cry, 'Divide!' as he wanted to take a division and go away. Why is this?
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> There must be a lady in the case, else he would not be in such a hurry to leave the House as he had been, two or three times this week! I wanted him badly to keep the House sitting til Sunday on the Appropriations Bill, and he almost promised to do so.[3]

Shortly after the Compensation for Disturbance Bill passed the Commons, the Lords approved the Government's

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Nation, 26 June and 31 July 1880; the M.P.'s were T. H. O'Donnell and Capt. William O'Shea.

[3] Healy, I, p. 98.

elief of Distress Bill.[1] The Compensation Bill, however, as quite another matter in the Lords. For weeks, the imes had been hinting that the bill would be killed in the ords[2] and letters published in the newspaper reinforced this iew. One writer, asserting that he was a disenchanted iberal M.P., said that there was not "any reasonable pros- ect of the Bill passing the House of Lords."[3] Even before ie third reading of the bill passed the lower House, the mes justified the Lords' throwing out the bill:

> The exercise of the suspensory power acknowledged to be the constitutional as well as the strictly legal right of the Upper House would be easily justified. We do not think that the House of Lords . . . would have reason to fear either a popular outcry or a vindictive attack on the part of the ministry if the Bill should be rejected.[4]

few days later, having sounded out peers of both political filiations, the Times correctly predicted the Lords would ject a motion for the second reading of the bill "by a nsiderable majority."[5] The Irish Chief Secretary certain- had no illusions about the course of the bill. In a let- to his undersecretary, he said he was "relieved" that

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, IV (1880), 1776.

[2]See, for example, issue of 8 July 1880.

[3]Times, 13 July 1880.

[4]Ibid., 20 July 1880.

[5]Ibid., 23 July 1880.

litary arrangements were being made in Ireland because fear the Lords will throw our bill out."[1] At the same ne, reports from Ireland indicated that conditions had proved in the rural areas and that the money from charity sufficient to meet all pressing needs.[2] By the time the l was sent to the Lords on 2 August, the Times was call- it "the gravest question that has come before the House Lords for 10 years past."[3] And in case any Lords were ering in their determination to reject the bill, the news- er reminded them that an election had not been fought on Irish land issue and that the Government majority of 170 dwindled to sixty-six (fifty of these were Irish) on s particular bill.[4] The Times called on the Lords "to rcise its legitimate authority as an independent branch the Legislature."[5]

Healy, reflecting the opinion of many in the advanced ion of the Irish Party, wrote that rejection likely would efit Ireland and "would not be deeply deplored by many of Irish Party."[6] After commenting that monetary aid from

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[1]N.L.I., Forster to Burke, MS 8501 (6), 28 July 1880.

[2]William O'Brien, p. 267, agrees with the regular rts carried by the Times.

[3]Times, 2 August 1880.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Nation, 31 July 1880.

bill would be less than a week's aid from the Land League, ly said that rejection would "justify and strengthen the umnal agitation for complete land reform, certain to take ce in anticipation of next year's promised Land Bill."[1] icipating a rejection in the Lords, Healy prophesied that h action would "get Gladstone's back up" and prompt him prepare a thorough-going measure for next year." He also hopeful that, with popular support for an anti-Lords sade, Gladstone might be able to purge a good number of s in his party.[2]

On Monday, 2 August, the scene was set amid the gilded deur of the House of Lords. The gallery of the House was vercrowded that extra police were called in. The Times rter, impressed that a parliamentary debate had become a al occasion, wrote:

> The House of Lords last evening presented a crowded and more than usually brilliant appearance. On but few occasions within living memory has the Peeresses Gallery been more largely attended. When all the benches were completely filled, the wives and daughters of Peers were contented to stand in the open doorways.[3]

he Lords, this was a crucial moment in their history. e Times had indicated repeatedly, the Lords felt the nsation Bill threatened their very existence. Recalling vent, Healy, who had attended, said the alarm among the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Times, 3 August 1880.

pertied class was so great that the Duke of Norfolk, "a erate and benevolent" peer, travelled from Lourdes to op- e the measure.[1]

Those who had come that evening to witness history be- made, however, were disappointed. Because Lord Gran- le, Liberal Party leader in the Lords, spoke long and nestly in favor of the bill, no vote was possible.[2] Again, unusually large numbers," the spectators returned the t evening and, shortly before one a.m., cheered loudly h the bill was rejected by an enormous majority which in- ded Whigs and Liberals.[3] In two nights, the House of ds had rejected a measure which had taken the lower House e than a month to pass. Healy's earlier comments that h action would give impetus to land agitation in Ireland expressed again in the Nation's issue following the re- ion. A leading article said the Irish M.P.'s in Parlia- needed outside assistance to gain their objectives:

> In other words, the key of the position is in Ireland, and in the hands of the tenant-farmers

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[1]Healy, I, p. 96.

[2]The Times commented on 3 August: "Granville's argu- s have not converted anyone . . . the Disturbance Bill s directly to check emigration, the only effectual remedy a state of things which is a scandal and a nuisance, and h must, if left unchanged, continue to breed new and e mischiefs." On 7 August, the Times said the existence oor and unsuccessful" people was "a law of nature" which overnment sought to reverse in Ireland.

[3]Times, 4 August 1880.

themselves. Self-reliance is now for them the necessary virtue, and the wisest counsel they can get is that contained in the time honoured saying, 'Aid yourselves and Heaven will aid you.'[1]

In the wake of the rejection, Healy again advised Par-

l on what policy to pursue:

> Mr. Parnell's course is clear. It is to vigorously assail the estimates connected with the Government of Ireland, especially the police votes, while his men will hold out. . . . They are bound to show how they resent the workings of English rule upon our country. . . . If, therefore, the Government will not give a clear undertaking that Ireland, is not to be freed from the grievances of a system which owing to the force of English public opinion are non-existent for Englishmen themselves, the Irish party must only pitch in and make things disagreeable. A Government wielding sovereign power cannot be allowed to shirk its responsibilities. Without the police and their rifles it would be impossible to carry out unjust evictions in Ireland, and these must be the subject of attack by the Irish party.[2]

is column, submitted on the evening of 3 August, Healy

ectly predicted the policy which would be agreed on at

eting of Parnellite M.P.'s on 6 August. The resolution

ed on 6 August hinted at agitation by the M.P.'s in Ire-

once the session ended.[3]

In the House, Parnell did not allow himself to be goaded

any precipitate acts despite the fact that agitation in

nd had accelerated. Part of the reason for worsening

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[1]Nation, 7 August 1880.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Freeman's Journal, 7 August 1880.

ditions in Ireland was the return of John Dillon from rica. In mid-July, he and Patrick Egan had told a Land gue meeting in Dublin that farmers ought to "hold the vest" and the Nation agreed conditionally to this radical cept:

> We do not advocate dishonesty. But we have always held, and we hold now, that the Irish peasantry are not morally bound to pay all their rents, or any of their rents, if the result of paying would be to expose themselves to famine and pestilence, and we feel confident that it is nothing more than this just and simple doctrine that is preached by Mr. Dillon and Egan.[1]

on explained that evictions should be resisted because ure to pay rent was not a crime, but was caused by con- ons which were an "Act of God." Explaining American at- des, he claimed those who had contributed funds to keep Irish peasants alive would be upset greatly if they learn- he people had allowed themselves to be evicted. He called firmness and assured the audiences that the landlords i be forced to settle with their tenants.[2]

Prompted by such speeches and the Lords' hostile action, er dispatched 1,000 marines to Ireland to deal with the ng number of disturbances.[3] In a letter to his under- tary, Forster said: "A few soldiers would probably

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[1] Nation, 24 July 1880.

[2] Times, 22 July 1880.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, (1880), 464.

ffice. It would show that we were determined to make the
obeyed."[1] He also promised to keep a close watch on
lon who continued to make inflammatory speeches both in
outside the House of Commons. The Lords' action had
en strength to men of Dillon's persuasion and "War to the
fe" was declared, prompting the disquieting reports flow-
out of Ireland to increase sharply. Summarizing the
iod, the Annual Register stated:

> There were riots at evictions; tenants who had ventured to take the place of evicted occupiers were assaulted, their property damaged, their bricks burnt, their cattle maimed; there was a mysterious robbery of arms from a ship lying in Queenstown harbour, and it was said that a plot had been discovered for the blowing up of Cork barracks.[2]

fact, the arms robbery started rumors that the Fenians
on the verge of a major uprising.[3]

The strength of the Land League grew dramatically as the
nts viewed the organization as their only hope of salva-
. Healy recalled that League branches were even estab-
ed in a county like Wexford where there was no distress.[4]
the Times Dublin correspondent continued to write that
e never was a "more perfectly tranquil" time in Ireland,[5]

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[1]N.L.I., Forster to Burke, MS 8501 (6), 3 August 1880.

[2]Annual Register (1880), p. 102.

[3]Palmer, p. 158.

[4]Healy, I, p. 97.

[5]Times, 7 August 1880.

lthough he admitted the good harvest would not enable the armer to pay debts and feed his family at the same time.[1]

At Westminster, however, Parnell moved cautiously and, ccording to one historian, showed his "fine political ouch."[2] Two days after the rejection of the Compensation ill, he asked the Chief Secretary if "in view of the rejec- ion by the House of Lords of the Compensation for Distur- ance Bill he proposed to employ the constabulary and mili- ary forces of the Queen for the purpose of assisting at the viction of tenants who can be proved to be unable to pay heir rents?"[3] Forster had been agitated greatly by the ords' action, but he had no choice but to answer that the overnment would protect "the officers of the courts of law the execution of the law."[4] Parnell thus placed the onus the coming evictions squarely on both the Government and e landlords, not the landlords alone. The Times cheered rster's "firm and manly answer" because "crimes and out- ges in that country are often checked in their origin by a splay of resolution on the part of the Executive."[5] The

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[1] Ibid., 10 August 1880.

[2] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 50.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, V (1880), 314.

[4] Times, 6 August 1880.

[5] Ibid.

mes, however, was concerned greatly about the rumors of struction on the Irish estimates which the Government would on introduce. In his column, Healy assured his readers at the Government would get a "mauling" once the Irish lice estimates were brought up.[1] At the same time, his k was to explain the calm which had prevailed at West- ster since the defeat of the Compensation Bill. After firming that criticisms of Parnell's conduct were being rd, Healy stated that the Irish leader now was unleashed ause the Liberals were unable to provide any worthwhile sure for Ireland. Again, Healy suggested what should be e by maintaining that "a policy of all-round obstruction . . . the wisest and most result-producing for every Irish erest in the long run."[2]

At the Home Rule Confederation's annual conference at castle-on-Tyne, more pressure was placed by the exiled h on Parnell to follow a more militant policy in the e of Commons.[3] Dillon's violently anti-Government ches also brought pressure to bear on the Irish leader, cially when he (Dillon) took his seat for Tipperary and n to speak in the House. On 10 August, Dillon shocked

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[1] Nation, 14 August 1880.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. Parnell was re-elected president at the confer- and Healy was re-elected to the Executive Committee.

House with the language he used in warning of "bloodshed massacre" to come in Ireland.[1] A few days later, he e one of the most inflammatory speeches of the whole land paign which one historian stated "probably caused almost much consternation among the Parnellites as it did in ernment circles."[2] Forster, believing he had acted with or in the Irish cause, responded to the speech by saying s wickedness can only be equalled by its cowardice."[3] nellites, hesitant to support Dillon's speeches before, vigorously defended him for seven hours in the House.[4] next day Parnell carried out the wishes of the Home Rule ederation by initiating a discussion of Home Rule.[5] As of his reply, Forster promised the Irish that if the rnment could not maintain order in Ireland, Parliament d receive a special call in order to sanction special cive powers.[6] The Chief Secretary also hinted that a Bill would be forthcoming.[7] The Irish response was

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, (1880), 786.

[2]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 52.

[3]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, (1880), 1371-73.

[4]Ibid., 1870-1935.

[5]Ibid., 2009-2059.

[6]Annual Register (1880), p. 103.

[7]Times, 27 August 1880.

eble--a token two-day obstruction of the Irish police esti-
tes.[1] It was obvious that Parnell was still attempting to
rk with the Government, although the Irish had made the
use sit for almost twenty-one hours on one occasion. The
vernment, for its part, threatened the House of Lords with
loss of power after they had rejected an Irish Voter Regis-
ation Bill; Forster did not, however, agree to Irish de-
nds and resubmit the bill.[2]

Healy's interpretation of these events was that Parnell
ght have been duped by conciliatory aspects of the Chief
cretary's speeches. Although promising that Parnell would
ad "more vigorous action on next year's [police] estimates,"
d that he had planned to obstruct for "at least a week,"
aly expressed the opinion that "too much weight was at-
ched to the declaration [of Forster] by Mr. Parnell." He
inted out that Biggar, Barry, Dillon, Finigan and Arthur
Connor, all Healy heroes,[3] used "active pressure on their
ader to influence determined hostilities."[4] While not

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,
VI (1880), 658.

[2]Annual Register (1880), p. 104.

[3]Dillon's firey speeches obviously appealed to Healy:
llon will make a considerable figure in the House after
ile, as his outspokeness will win his position." See
ly, I, p. 98 (letter in August 1880; no date given).

[4]Nation, 4 September 1880.

demning the others in the Parnellite entourage, Healy
in placed himself to the Left of Parnell and the major-
of Home Rulers in the active wing:

> The rest showed only loyalty to follow whatever course might be decided on, and however admirable is such conduct, from the point of view of discipline, yet a display of more active conviction by a larger number would have led to more definite results.[1]

only thing that pleased Healy about events at this time
that obstruction had finally been practiced by a uni-
d group of Irishmen (nineteen participated) and that the
ernment, after twenty-one hours, had been forced to ad-
n on Irish terms:

> It was unmarred by a single regrettable incident or sign of weakness, owing to the absence of the humbugs of the Irish representation; and the effect of the undivided front, discipline, and determination of the Irish party will be felt on the Government and the House for many a day.[2]

Before he finished writing about the 1880 session, Healy
d reiterate this conviction, saying that the brief ex-
e of obstruction was helpful because "it tested the entire
inery through which men hope ultimately to achieve Irish
."[3] Healy again called for more unity and discipline so
the obstructive machinery could function properly. In
to obtain this unity, he indicated that the Parnellite

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

'.'s needed prodding by outside forces:

> In theory the efficacy of action by such a body can be proved beyond all question. Tried by practical experience, however, the evidence of session after session goes to show that, unless some stricter discipline and sharper methods be adopted, it will take at least a generation before any respectable result is achieved for Irish independence, unless some quickening influence from without hastens the march of events.[1]

ticularly irritating to Healy was the fact that Parnell ld not influence the Home Rulers to stay in London until end of the session. Because the party members had scated, there was no force to prevent the Government from ignng the House of Lords' rejection of another Irish measure:

> Had each man been at his post, and if Ministers saw themselves confronted by a solid phalanx of sixty Irish members determined not to let the Appropriation Bill go through until the Registration Bill and the other rejected measures were reintroduced, and forced, if need be, down the throats of all the Lords in Christendom, the Government, rather than keep the House interminably sitting, would have executed a graceful backdown, and in one shape or other these bills would now be Acts of Parliament.[2]

was not critical of the men who had to leave to earn a ng and he implied that payment of Irish members would nt such problems from arising in the future. His statewas a forerunner of a soon-to-be introduced Parnellite k" which asked the people of Ireland to aid their repretives financially so that grievances could be handled

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[1] Ibid., 18 September 1880.

[2] Ibid.

ter at Westminster. Healy's earlier assurance that ob-
uction practiced by an "undivided front" would be felt
the Government "for many a day" well-described the domin-
aspect of the next session. Obstructive tactics prac-
ed by a small band of Irishmen would disrupt Government
ness so severely that significant alterations in tradi-
al House rules would have to be made. Healy would be a
er of the House when it reconvened and would play an
rtant role in the upheaval which he had predicted.
re he entered Parliament, however, he became a national
for his role in the land agitation of the fall of 1880.

CHAPTER VII

ARREST AND ELECTION TO PARLIAMENT

On 7 September 1880, Parliament was prorogued and the ding Parnellites returned to Ireland to fulfill a promise "place themselves at the disposal of their country."[1] nell, however, was unavailable; he retired to his estate the Wicklow Hills without giving any indication of his ition on the land agitation.[2] The situation was critical. story of Captain Boycott's problem with Lord Erne's ants was now several weeks old[3] and the tales of "agrar- outrages" were multiplying.[4] Despite the fact that the vest was excellent, the cry in the West for the past month been "hold the harvest."[5] Frequently, those who had been cted were aided by their neighbors to reap the crop in

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 7 August 1880.

[2] Katherine O'Shea, Charles Stewart Parnell: His Love y and Political Life (New York: George H. Doran Company,), I, p. 141.

[3] See, for example, the Times, 23 August 1880.

[4] John E. Pomfret, The Struggle for Land In Ireland, -1923 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930), 42.

[5] Davitt, p. 266.

defiance of the police.[1] On many occasions, the legal papers could not be served on a tenant because hostile crowds blocked entry to his quarters. Murders and attempted murders of landlords and their agents, of course, were not unknown.[2] Patrick Ford's Irish World was being circulated throughout Ireland and inflamed the public against landlords. The militant allies of Parnell eagerly were fanning the fires of deep discontent in the rural areas.

It was imperative for Parnell to act if the movement was to be controlled and its energy channelled into a unified effort. Finally, ten days after he returned from London and seven weeks after the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, Parnell forthrightly stated his views. At Ennis, in County Clare, standing in front of the O'Connell monument in the center of the city, Parnell officially inaugurated the policy of "boycotting." He told the audience that a person who bid for a farm from which his neighbor had been evicted should be placed into a "moral coventry, by isolating him from his kind as if he was a leper of old--you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it that there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame, as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men and to transgress your unwritten

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[1] Ibid., p. 267.

[2] Palmer, p. 161; Davitt, pp. 268-9.

code of laws."[1] Five days earlier in County Mayo, an American Fenian had given the same advice,[2] but it was Parnell's "cold and systematic" statement which gave the doctrine a tremendous impetus.[3] Parnell also told the crowd that "the measure of the Land Bill next session will be the measure of your activity and energy this summer."[4] The growing strength of the Parnell-led land movement was illustrated at Ennis when eight priests appeared on the speaker's platform with the Irish parliamentarian. Now, the Freeman's Journal moved solidly into Parnell's camp by carrying a laudatory article the day after Parnell's speech. Parnell's unequivocal statement, of course, insured his uncontested leadership of the militant Land League.

From this point on, every Sunday throughout Ireland, great meetings were held to hammer home the Land League's policies while across the sea the English press echoed the denunciations of the Irish Tory and Liberal journals. The Times, for example, stated that Parnell had initiated "a war of classes."[5] Despite such outcries the Government

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 20 September 1880.

[2] Davitt, pp. 267-8. The American was James Redpath, a journalist, who dedicated his Talks About Ireland (New York: P.J. Kenedy, 1881) to Davitt. Redpath was sent to Ireland in February, 1880, by the New York Tribune to report on the famine.

[3] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 54.

[4] Freeman's Journal, 20 September 1880.

[5] Times, 20 September 1880.

could do nothing to stem the tide; the success of the agitation was soon apparent. In the third quarter of 1880, there had been 3,447 evictions; in the last three months of the year, only 954.[1] The Government, quite naturally, was under heavy attack in the English press for its inability to deal with the agrarian "anarchy." The Times, which had been writing for weeks about the complete tranquility of Ireland, now revealed that the landlords in the west of Ireland were in a state "bordering on panic."[2]

A frenzied reception for Parnell by an estimated 100,000 persons in Cork on 3 October reminded the English of Parnell's tremendous power. The Nation commented on the Cork reception: "Not since the era of the repeal movement--with the single exception of the celebration of the O'Connell centenary--was such a demonstration witnessed in Ireland.[3]

Healy, probably assured of compensation for his work by Parnell, had returned to Ireland late in September after attending a London meeting of the Executive Committee of the Home Rule Confederation.[4] Parnell, already busy with Land League work in Ireland, requested Healy to give up his work in England to "organize Wexford" for the League.[5] Counties

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[1] T.P. O'Connor, The Parnell Movement, p. 231.

[2] Times, 28 and 30 September 1880.

[3] Nation, 9 October 1880.

[4] Ibid., 25 September 1880.

[5] Healy, I, p. 99.

like Wexford, little touched by the agricultural depression and blight, were particularly important links in the Land League's quest to become a truly national organization. Healy accepted and his work in Wexford would lead him to a much more important position in Irish affairs. Because of his work, when Wexford's representative in Parliament died a few weeks later, Healy became an obvious choice to succeed him.

Healy spent approximately three weeks in Wexford, and then was assigned to organize the district which surrounded his birthplace, Bantry, a remote section of West Cork County.[1] Healy's radical political views became known widely in the next few weeks, primarily because he was involved in several incidents which were publicized in the major newspapers of the area. His organizing tactics, however, were typical for a Land League agitator.

Healy's first meeting in the Bantry area took place on the day after an unknown person attempted to murder the agent of a County Cork landlord. The assailant fired on Samuel P. Hutchins, J.P., as he was being driven to a tenant's home to collect the rent. The shot missed Hutchins, but killed his young driver.[2] The Freeman's Journal expressed the attitude of most Parnellites by decrying the murder because it would wreck the cause of the tenants and "gladden the hearts of

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[1] Ibid., p. 101.

[2] Cork Examiner, 18 October 1880.

their enemies," and suggested that the Land League offer £1,000 reward for the apprehension of the murderer.[1] The Nation and the Cork Examiner had similar leading articles.[2] Healy, however, was in no mood for conciliatory talk in the impoverished rural areas of West Cork. With four priests on the platform and in front of approximately 8,000 people, Healy denounced Hutchins, not the murderer, in the most extreme language, paying only lip service to moderation by stating he "deplored this occurrence."[3] Many in the audience were hearing of the murder for the first time, and Healy's dramatic speech likely turned them against Hutchins. Saying he had seen the young driver "weltering in his blood," Healy asked: "How long should this go on; how long should they have this crimson stain upon them?" In Healy's mind, there was no doubt that the attempt on Hutchins' life had been justified:

> At the very last sessions Mr. Hutchins had processed against two of his tenants; they asked for time to pay their rent, but he . . . would give them no time (groans). The result was now seen in the stiffened corpse that lay in the police barrack at Aghaveel and Mr. Hutchins might thank God that it was not himself that lay there.[4]

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 18 October 1880.

[2] Cork Examiner, 18 October 1880; Nation, 23 October 1880.

[3] Cork Examiner, 18 October 1880.

[4] Ibid.

Healy did not hesitate to use names; specific oppressive actions of land agents S.M. Hussey and J.E. Barrett also were denounced in strong language. Healy concluded by promising that the Land League would compel farmers to give up land they had taken from other tenants who had been evicted. Although it was not carried in the newspaper report, Healy also named a farmer in the area who had taken over the farm of a tenant evicted for not paying his rent. Healy told the crowd that he would visit the man and make him a living example of the Land League policy, which local residents could remember when Healy had departed.[1]

The shooting of the driver and the activities of Healy and another Land League organizer greatly excited the tenants of West Cork. The next Sunday meeting was planned for Castletown Berehaven and preparations by a jittery Irish Government included dispatching a gunboat to the town. Noting this extraordinary precaution, the Cork Examiner commented on Land League activities in the area:

> This [sending the gunboat] is owing to the state of the country. Some Land Leaguers who have threatened farmers who took the holdings of evicted tenants, will, it is said, figure at the Bantry Sessions on Monday, as defendants, informations having been sworn against them by a farmer named Manning.[2]

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[1] Ibid., 16 October 1880.

[2] Ibid., 23 October 1880.

The article referred to Healy and John W. Walsh of Dublin, who were in the process of visiting all farmers in the area accused of taking over farms where the previous tenants had been evicted. The threat of arrest for Healy and Walsh was, of course, very real. Pressure on the Government to do something about the inflammatory oratory and activities of the Land League in Ireland was mounting, and it was predicted widely that prosecutions were being prepared.[1]

On Sunday, 24 October, at Castletown Berehaven, a town located forty-seven miles from the nearest railway station, Healy increased the tempo of his invective against local landlords despite the fact that an iron gunboat filled with 80 policemen was docked within "storming distance" of the town square.[2] A number of fires and cattle mutilations had taken place in the area over the previous few days which served to increase the tension. The Cork Examiner reported that 5,000 persons attended the meeting despite the fact that the area was "thinly populated" due to the barren and rocky nature of the landscape. No one was "under the influence of drink, however," the newspaper account said, and the meeting

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[1] Daily Express, quoted in Cork Examiner, 22 October 1880.

[2] Cork Examiner, 25 October 1880. Newspaper accounts rarely mentioned gunboats being used by the Government, although several years later a tragedy involving a gunboat was widely reported. In September, 1884, a gunboat with 58 soldiers and police on board was sent to aid in the eviction of tenants owing £76, 5s. The boat, which was valued at £50,000, sank and 52 of those on board died. United Ireland, 27 September 1884.

was completely orderly. Healy was reprimanded mildly for his actions the previous week when The Very Rev. Canon Carmody declined to chair the meeting because he did not agree with "all the principles of the Land League." Undeterred, Healy immediately attacked the assignment of extra police to an area where the people already were oppressed. He said the police were responsible for the recent burnings, and concluded: "The cows' tails were cut off to make ox-tail soup for the officers."[1] Healy also refused to let the Hutchins case fade; he was delighted to tell the crowd that the land agent, a man who claimed to be "without an enemy in the world," had taken refuge in Dublin.[2] Hutchins had been physically attacked at fair day the previous week, and Healy, it would seem, was at least partially responsible. In his speech, Healy again attempted to justify the murder

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[1] Ibid., 25 October 1880. Healy also reported the police involved in the gunboat expedition to the Irish Chief Secretary for violating regulations. In a letter to Forster, Healy stated that fifteen or twenty policemen from the gunboat had attended Mass that Sunday morning wearing bayonets. Healy told Forster that during the past parliamentary session, he had heard the Chief Secretary tell the Irish representatives that the police were not allowed to wear bayonets while attending church services. Healy included the name of the officer who allowed the police to attend Mass so attired. The officer had admitted his order to Healy when Healy showed up after Mass at the police barracks to complain. Nation, 30 October 1880.

[2] Ibid., 9 December 1880. The Nationalist newspaper quoted the Irish Times which reported that Hutchins was forced to flee to the police barracks in Charleville after an attack by residents who ran off his cattle. He then left the area to take up residence in Dublin.

attempt, stating that one murder hardly equalled 2,470 evictions which, he claimed, were "sentences of death."[1]

Generally, Healy's speech focused on Lord Kenmare, the major landowner in the area, who recently had built a great house on his estate. After claiming that the land of Ireland belonged to the people, "given them by God," Healy cited several cases in which rents on the Kenmare land far exceeded the Government's evaluation of the property. Lord Kenmare, Healy said, was a particularly repulsive landlord even though he and his kind asserted they were "pious Catholics." The tale Healy proceeded to tell was designed not only to set the tenants against the landlords but also to build their resistance to the conservative preaching of the Catholic Church's hierarchy. From his remarks, it appears that Healy was influenced by living with Lysaght Finigan, a militant anti-clerical:[2]

> Having built this house [valued at £100,000], and being a pious Catholic--somehow these bad fellows were always pious Catholics (laughter)--he brought three bishops by special train to bless it. Whilst that ceremony was proceeding, a strange scene was being enacted not very far from Lord Kenmare's house. A man named Daniel Connor, Derryarcane, a tenant of Lord Kenmare's, was lying sick of hunger in his bed. He had five children crouching around him in their miserable little hovel before a little fire made of green furze sticks; the children had not a rag on them except some few tatters around their loins; their limbs were angular with hunger and

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 54.

> famine, and while Lord Kenmare was getting a blessing for himself and his mansion, Dan Connor and his children were dying. The people were in such an emaciated condition that that day the father was removed to the workhouse, where he died of impoverishment and want ('shame, shame'). While my Lord Kenmare could spend his money on his mansion and on his special train, Dan Connor and his children were starving. Were they going to allow that state of things to continue? ('no, no').[1]

The anti-clerical overtones of the speech came through clearly--even to the peasant farmer--in Healy's conclusion:

> If Dan Connor's ghost were to haunt Lord Kenmare, or if, in his dying moments he was wild enough or foolish enough to curse the man who brought him to that pitch, he [Mr. Healy] believed his curse would be much more potent before the throne of God than the blessing (by special train) of all the bishops in the world (cheers).[2]

Healy's attack on those in the Church hierarchy who collaborated with the landlord class certainly must have shocked the priests in attendance. Because most parish priests were the sons of peasant farmers, they sympathized with most of Healy's views. However, they most likely had not experienced such a denunciation of the Church. It certainly was noticed elsewhere in the country; one priest later denounced Healy to his face at Sunday Mass.[3] Crown officials also were following with great interest Healy's public utterances and private movements and, two days after

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[1] Cork Examiner, 26 October 1880.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 17 November 1880; Healy, I, p. 103.

his Castletown speech, the resident magistrate arrested Healy at Roche's Hotel in Glengariff, a town located on Bantry Bay halfway between Castletown and Bantry.[1] From this same hotel three weeks later renowned General "Chinese" Gordon wrote a devastating letter to the Times exposing the horrible living conditions of the peasantry which gave credibility to the protests by Healy and other agitators.[2]

Although the magistrate who made the arrest had been in charge of the police at the meeting the previous Sunday, the arrest warrant did not mention anything Healy said, although many assumed this to be the case.[3] As the Cork Examiner had predicted, Healy was charged with intimidating Cornelius Manning, a farmer who had taken a tenancy where the previous occupant had been evicted.[4] A sub-inspector and sub-constable immediately took Healy to Bantry where two merchants quickly arranged sureties.[5] In his account of the arrest,

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[1]In honor of Healy, a mountain pass in this area was given his name after the Irish Free State was created.

[2]Times, 3 December 1880.

[3]Cork Examiner, 27 October 1880.

[4]John Walsh, Healy's partner, was arrested the next day in Cork City.

[5]In his memoirs (I, p. 101), Healy maintained that he was arrested because he had denounced the death of a farmer named McGrath who had been unable to pay his newly-increased rent and was evicted. He and his family had taken refuge under a boat and the man, Healy stated, soon died of exposure. Healy touchingly commented: "He received the last rites of

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Examiner's correspondent wrote that the charge against
was "of the most ridiculous and trumpery description,"
he predicted that there would be no conviction.[1] The
day, the Bantry Land League branch met and not only
icized the arrest, but denounced Manning for taking over
farm and "making a groundless charge against Mr. Healy."[2]
press report, noting that Bantry was Healy's birthplace
that he had many relatives in the area, commented on
town's "excitement." It was clear that life for farmer
ing was going to be quite uncomfortable in the future.
In a newspaper interview, Healy admitted talking with
ng, but denied threatening the man. He also admitted
ting" others in the same circumstance and receiving no
aints from them about his action. According to one ex-
ly complete newspaper report, Healy said he felt the
had convinced Manning to relinquish the holding if the
he paid to the land-agent were returned. Healy said

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urch in pouring rain, under the priest's umbrella."
onths after Healy's arrest, on 28 July 1881, the con-
ive Daily Express reported that the "notorious Michael
h" of Bantry had been arrested at his farm for the
time since he was first evicted and that it took forty
men and eighty soldiers to carry out the order on this
on. The resident magistrate who arrested Healy also
e force which evicted McGrath for the fourth time.
e of this McGrath's notoriety, Healy might have con-
persons when writing his memoirs about this era. I
find no mention in the press of a McGrath who died
he circumstances Healy described.

ork Examiner, 27 October 1880.

bid., 28 October 1880.

his driver had heard the conversation because Healy had
ructed him to pay close attention to the negotiations.
Warrant, however, maintained that Healy did "unlawfully
mpt, by threats and menances, to compel one Cornelius
ing to quit his farm . . . and did also deliver . . . a
age threatening him with injury and damage unless he
up his said farm."[1] A leading article in the Nation
cated that Healy, indeed, did threaten Manning:

> Mr. Healy advised Manning to give up the farm which he had so improperly taken; he represented to him that it would be well nigh impossible to obtain important reforms for the tenant class if members of that class were found ready to snatch at what are called evicted farms, and he intimated that in the present state of popular feeling any man guilty of such conduct would probably find that he had placed himself in an unpleasant position. Truer words would not be spoken, better advice could not be given to Manning by his dearest friend. . . . Why should not Manning be told the plain truth that his conduct, if persisted in, would expose him to public odium? Surely to inform him of these facts was a fair and honourable, and, we might say, kindly act towards him.[2]

Healy blamed his arrest, not on Manning whom he said
een coerced into making the charge, but on the "spite
indictiveness" of two land agents for Lord Kenmare
l and abetted by the Government."[3] It was noted in the
alist press that the rent for the farm which Manning

Irishman, 30 October 1880.

Nation, 30 October 1880.

Cork Examiner, 28 October 1880.

d taken was £103 a year although the Government valuation s £50.[1] After McGrath had been evicted, Manning paid a ne to the land agent and was given legal control of the rm.

On the Sunday following Healy's arrest, an "indignation eting" was held at Kealkill, a village between Bantry and chegeelagh in the sparsely-populated region where Lord nmare reigned. A speaker's platform was erected on the ope of a hill in sight of the Manning farm and Carriganass stle, the residence of a land-agent for Lord Kenmare. Prior the meeting, the land-agent appeared and was promptly at- cked by two men in the audience. The men were arrested ickly and the land-agent departed. John Walsh, Healy's nd League companion, and Thomas Sexton, a former Nation porter who recently had been elected to Parliament with rnell's endorsement, spoke; but it was Healy who was the atured attraction of the meeting. In the course of a long eech, Healy described his mission in County Cork, denied at he had threatened Manning and told the people to pay more than Griffith's land valuation (the standard used the Government) for their farms and not to take over a rm from which a tenant had been unjustly evicted. A most teresting aspect of the speech is Healy's description of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Irishman, 30 October 1880.

his role among the farmers. As he explained it, he merely was trying to clarify their rights under the Bright Clauses of the Land Act of 1870. These provisions allowed tenants to bid as a body for an estate for sale and, thus, frustrate an agent who also wanted it. Healy said his teaching had worried the local land agents and that "they wanted him out of the way."[1] Manning, he said, had been pressured by the magistrate and the police to make the charges against him in order "to stop the truth" being told to the tenants of the area. He assured the audience that "if they [Healy and Walsh] did wrong in visiting Corley Manning they would repeat the wrongs."[2]

In this speech, Healy, who later would gain fame and Gladstone's respect for his comprehension of the complex Land Bill of 1881, showed that he had a well developed knowledge of the land laws before he went to Parliament. People benefitted from his work as an agitator in County Cork because it was based on the law (although the law was rarely utilized). A few months earlier, Healy had passed the Bar's preliminary examination in London,[3] and his speeches indicated that he was beginning to establish himself as the legal expert in the Land League and the Home Rule Party.

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[1] Nation, 6 November 1880.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Healy, I, p. 95.

On 1 November, the day after his speech, Healy and Walsh were brought before the magistrates in Bantry and committed to trial.[1] One landlord newspaper reported that "great excitement prevailed in the town, it being a Catholic holiday."[2] Inside the overcrowded little courthouse, a worried Manning requested police protection, asserting that Healy would have him boycotted.[3] In the Nation, the report of the proceedings stated that Manning denied initiating the charges against Healy, and asserted that he would not have made them if the resident magistrate and a police officer had not asked him. Also, the article fumed, the same magistrate who had "prompted" Manning "occupied a seat and adjudicated in the case!"[4]

After the hearing, Healy and Walsh traveled to Cork and then entrained for Dublin.[5] Healy wrote in his memoirs that

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 2 November 1880.

[2] Daily Express, 2 November 1880.

[3] Police protection for frightened tenants and landlords was a matter which was beginning to cost the Government dearly by the autumn of 1880. To watch over one of Healy's meetings, a gunboat and 80 policemen were sent; to protect the fifty Orangemen who harvested Capt. Boycott's crop, 1,000 soldiers and police were needed. An excellent description of the Boycott episode is found in Palmer's The Irish Land League Crisis, Chapter X.

[4] Nation, 6 November 1880.

[5] Cork Examiner, 3 November 1880.

rnell had summoned him to Dublin,[1] and a reason for the mmons is easy to discover. W.A. Redmond, the M.P. for xford Borough, had died the previous day and Parnell ob- ously wanted to fill the vacancy with someone he could ly on and knew would be a good worker. Healy not only d Parnell's confidence, but also had become a national ro literally overnight because of his arrest. Because vernment action against the leaders of the land agitation s expected at this time, Healy's arrest opened the flood- tes of applause, indignation, and speculation. That Healy's me was not on the Attorney-General's arrest list, and that aly's arrest was purely a local concern did not matter to e public at large. The 30 October issue of the Nation rried a two-column drawing of its parliamentary writer on ge one with an article under the headline, "The First rest: Mr. T.M. Healy." Prior to that date, the Nation rely utilized illustrations. The newspaper also carried leading article concerning the arrest, which boasted that jury could be found in Cork to bring in a guilty verdict. ewhere, the coverage of Healy's arrest was also exten- e. The Cork Examiner and Cork Daily Herald, because of ir proximity, covered the events thoroughly. The Freeman's rnal, the day after the arrest, showed an understanding of situation by pointing out in a leading article that the est's "significance is diminished by the fact that it

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[1]Healy, I, p. 102.

seems to be a proceeding on the part of a private individual rather than a State prosecution."[1] Nevertheless, there was significant amount of space utilized in identifying Healy as a land agitator, Parnell's private secretary, and an unsuccessful Parnell-endorsed candidate for Meath. The London correspondent of the newspaper reported that no excitement due to the arrest had been apparent in London because very few Government officials had heard of Healy.[2] Dublin's Daily Express, militantly hostile to the Land League, however, stated that the London newspapers placed "extraordinary stress" on the arrest.[3] While cheering the arrest of the two Land League agitators, the newspapers prodded the Irish Executive to be even more resolute. Healy's sudden prominence also prompted the Daily Express to report his speech at the "indignation meeting."[4] In two important London newspapers, the arrest of Healy prominently was reported on page two. The articles made a point to link Healy to Parnell. The Daily News, a Liberal Party journal, even printed Healy's two-week-old speech at Bantry and carried a third story on another page.[5] There was no leading article in the Daily News

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 27 October 1880.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Daily Express, 27 October 1880.

[4] Ibid., 1 November 1880.

[5] Daily News, 27 October 1880.

concerning the arrests of Healy and Walsh; but the previous day, the principal one had said there was "no doubt" the Government planned to move against the "leaders and principal speakers" of the Land League.[1] The Standard, a Tory journal, called Healy's arrest a matter of "first importance" because "it will decide the legality of the denunciations of the so-called 'land-grabbers' now hurled from every platform in the country."[2] Coverage of the legal proceedings, of course, continued in all newspapers.

In Dublin on 26 October, the news of Healy's arrest excited the city and touched off speculation that the expected clamp-down by the Government had begun. The Land League officers were meeting when the news reached them and most felt their arrests were imminent.[3] The Irish Times, noting that the Land Leaguers were puzzled by the "suddenness and peculiarity" of the arrests, went on to denounce Healy in the strongest terms despite the fact that his name had never appeared in their columns before. In a leading article, the newspaper referred to Healy's speech at Castletown Berehaven (printed in the same issue), saying that "it far exceed in Land League utterance and aim any of those delivered upon other platforms. Its main feature is that it deals with

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[1] Ibid., 26 October 1880.

[2] Standard, 27 October 1880.

[3] Cork Daily Herald, 27 October 1880.

articular cases, and mentions names of those landlords and armers who have become obnoxious to Mr. Healy's censure."[1] bviously distressed over the state of the country, the rish Times, a reputable, if conservative, newspaper, also tated that Healy's case would be made into a "test case" y the Land League, "the first in the battle of Socialism gainst individual liberty."[2]

With such publicity being given to Healy's arrest, it s easy to understand Parnell's willingness to disregard a etter from John Redmond claiming his father's seat and sking Parnell's support.[3] It was a unique opportunity for arnell, knowing his arrest was imminent, to flaunt his ower in the face of the Liberal Government by sending his rivate secretary, under indictment, to Parliament. Armed th Parnell's personal assurance that another seat would be cured for Redmond at a more opportune time,[4] Patrick Egan, e Land League's most efficient organizer,[5] went to Wexford

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[1] Irish Times, 27 October 1880.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Denis Gwynn, Life of John Redmond (London: George G. rrap Co., 1932), p. 45.

[4] Ibid., p. 46; Healy, I, p. 102. Healy stated that he plied to Redmond saying "I would do my best to secure him nomination later on."

[5] R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 241.

to "spy out the land."[1] Egan found the city ready for a Parnellite candidate, Healy well known by the residents, and Redmond willing to step aside in the interests of the Nationalist cause. Parnell had made his feelings clear in a letter to the local newspaper, saying that he was sending Egan to learn "local opinion." However, he believed, "it would be of great importance for a national point of view that Wexford should return as her Member to the House of Commons the first State prisoner of the Whig Government."[2] Publicly now, Parnell said if Redmond would step aside, "he would be entitled to our support at the next vacancy."[3] The significance of Redmond's decision was not forgotten by Healy, who, years

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[1]Healy, I, p. 102: Irish Times, 6 November 1880. One aspect of Egan's mission was to urge the farmers in the area around Wexford to make it clear to the town's shopkeepers that continued trade involved support of Healy, not Redmond, by the borough's Home Rule Club. The club was a moderate organization of non-farmers controlled by the shopkeepers who probably tended to shy away from a "radical" figure like Healy.

[2]Gwynn, p. 46, quoting the Wexford People.

[3]Ibid. It did not take long for Redmond to obtain a seat. He was nominated by the New Ross Home Rule Club and endorsed by the national Land League organization. He was returned unopposed less than three months after the Wexford election. Nation, 5 February 1881.

later, still felt obligated to the man who had allowed him to enter Parliament unopposed for the first time.[1]

Parnell's motives in Wexford were well-known, especially to those in Dublin Castle and those who supported the Irish administration. After facetiously noting that the late M.P.'s son "has now earned immortal honour by giving way," the Irish Times correctly analyzed Parnell's motives in Wexford:

> The particular design is to make a demonstration against the so-called Liberal Government . . . Healy is to be the symbol of protest. . . . The anger of the League against the Government has by accident found at once a special aim, and the return of Mr. Healy will be represented as the particular retort of the Parnellite party to the prosecutions, and as proof of its undiminished power--unless, indeed, Mr. Healy should be successfully opposed.[2]

The tone of the leading article showed that the newspaper highly doubted that Wexford would reject Parnell's choice.

The Wexford election, set for mid-November, took on even greater importance when the speculation about a Government "swoop" ended on 2 November with the arrest of fourteen

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[1]N.L.I., Healy to Redmond, Ms 15196, 1 October 1885. Healy wrote in his memoirs that he believed Redmond was considering the possibility of ignoring Parnell's wishes. A letter of 10 November 1880 to his brother stated: "Had he [Redmond] got any encouragement from them [The Wexford Home Rule Club] he would have gone forward in spite of Parnell." See Healy, I, p. 102. It is a fact that Redmond had begun canvassing and had received "ample assurances" of support from his father's constituents. He greeted Parnell's decision "with dismay," according to his biographer. See Gwynn, p. 47.

[2]Irish Times, 6 November 1880.

prominent Land League members who were charged with conspiracy to violate the laws of Ireland. Specifically, the warrant charged the fourteen with preventing the payment of rents and obstructing the serving of eviction papers. The arrests were part of a final effort by the Government to rule by ordinary law in Ireland. In reality, the Irish administration was preparing a show trial which would prove that coercion, i.e., "special law," must be reintroduced in Ireland. The Government knew it would not get convictions against Parnell and his lieutenants. Chief Secretary Forster was aware that coercion probably would heal many wounds between moderate and radical in Ireland but felt that such a price had to be paid to satisfy incensed public opinion in Great Britain.[1] During the period when Healy was agitating West Cork County, Forster was urging a distracted Gladstone to consider "special legislation in the most high-handed fashion" if the Government was to survive the winter in Ireland.[2]

While Parnell, Dillon, Biggar, T.D. Sullivan and the others were awaiting trial, Healy would be elected to Parliament. On 7 November, the Home Rule Club of Wexford Borough, having heard John Redmond withdraw in favor of Healy, unanimously adopted Healy as its candidate.[3] Redmond, a House of

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[1]Reid, pp. 255-8, reprinted several letters from Forster to Gladstone.

[2]Ibid., pp. 260-1.

[3]Nation, 13 November 1880.

Commons clerk, speaking at the foot of his father's memorial, bowed out gracefully, saying: "If he was elected it would have no significance outside the town, but by electing Mr. Healy they were striking a blow in this ancient town that would be felt in the three kingdoms."[1] In his remarks, Healy continued the theme by stating: "let me say that I stand here as the enemy of the British Government in Ireland and upon that policy I shall act. . . . I shall follow the leader of the Irish people, sitting in opposition with him."[2] He also was explicit about his party's objectives, saying that he would try to further the cause "towards the grand goal of Irish independence."[3]

The idea that Healy would be an unrestrained adversary of the Government was endorsed by T.P. O'Connor, a Parnellite M.P. who appeared to endorse the candidate. Indicating that Healy's future colleagues in Parliament were aware of his intensity, O'Connor said: "I can back him to be the most troublesome customer the House ever saw. . . . When Mr. Forster will hear that Mr. Healy has been returned he will go out of the country."[4] In view of what soon would happen between Healy and Forster in Parliament, O'Connor's prediction was amazingly accurate.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

The significance of the Wexford rally and Healy's remarks about Irish independence was not lost on the alert Irish Times which devoted a full column to the various speeches.[1] One Nationalist newspaper, however, ignored the oratory and merely commented that Healy would be returned unopposed because of Redmond's retirement.[2] Quite clearly, the newspaper which had Fenian ties was not at all pleased by another example of Parnell's burgeoning power.

As was predicted, Healy was sent to Parliament without the trouble of an election when no one contested his nomination. While the Nation lavished praise on the new member for Wexford Borough,[3] the Freeman's Journal used the election as a touchstone in an attempt to comprehend what was happening throughout Ireland. First of all, the newspaper examined the extraordinary circumstances of Healy's election:

> So well known and popular a local man as the lamented Mr. Redmond had to fight his way to a seat first in 1874, and again in 1880. And yet Mr. Healy, a stranger to the town, till a few months ago a stranger to politics, a man still in early youth [twenty-five years old], and without, we believe, any of those recommendations in the long purse or broad acres which once were so potent, goes down to town, and comes back with the new, 'Veni, Vidi, Vici, I was returned unopposed.' More than this: from the moment of his appearance on the scene there

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[1] Irish Times, 8 November 1880.

[2] Irishman, 13 November 1880.

[3] Nation, 13 November 1880: "Gifted with abilities of a high order, well educated, a capable writer, a bold and incisive speaker, earnest and energetic and a patriot in every fibre of his being." It is interesting to note that Healy was considered only a "capable writer" by the Nation editor, his uncle by marriage.

> never was a moment's thought of serious opposition--the new representative of Wexford was de facto member for the borough from the moment he arrived in the town.[1]

The Freeman, since the arrest of Parnell and his Land League colleagues, had moved closer to the militant Nationalists, even starting a fund for the defense of the accused. Further comments on Healy's election illustrate that E.D. Gray, the publisher, had almost completely deserted his Whig principles and bowed to the power of Parnell's appeal to the Irish people:

> Now there is no mystery whatever about this success of Mr. Healy's. The reason is patent to all mankind. He was elected for the town of Wexford because he is Mr. Parnell's secretary, because he is a Land Leaguer, because, must we add, he had made himself obnoxious to the authorities, and is at this moment awaiting trial on an agrarian charge. This is the short, plain, simple explanation of the whole matter. In a word, the return of Mr. Healy at one end of the country is of the same importance as the fact that at the other end of the country noted Orangemen are appearing in scores at Land League meetings and cheering for the League. . . . There never was such a spirit in Ireland as exists at this moment. . . . The great stirring up of the people's mind is accompanied by incidents which every good Irishman deplores but no more absurd idea can be formed of the movement than the popular English idea, according to which the land agitation is a mere string of outrages.[2]

aly's election, then, had emphasized Parnell's power in tholic Ireland; but, as indicated in the article, Parnell so had plans to bring the movement to the Protestant North.

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 25 November 1880.

[2] Ibid.

In a short time, Healy, again because of his reputation, would be the vehicle used to demonstrate to the Government that, even in the Unionist strong-hold of Ulster, Parnell and his organization were a force that could not be taken lightly.

Although Healy stated in his memoirs that no English newspapers reported his election,[1] the Daily News, a journal with strong Government ties, printed a short article on the election which pointed out that Healy was Parnell's private secretary and under prosecution by the Government.[2] None of the major newspapers, however, bothered with editorial comment on the ramifications of the unopposed election of a militant Parnellite to a seat in a calm district which had been held previously by a moderate Nationalist.

Healy himself had no illusions about the reason for his election. He understood completely that it was Parnell's victory, not his. In his memoirs, he commented: "On reaching Wexford, I found the townspeople in my favour--not for anything they knew of me, but because I had been arrested and helped Parnell in America."[3]

Having secured the nomination in Wexford, Healy returned his task of organizing the farmers of Cork County. Because

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[1]Healy, I, p. 103.

[2]Daily News, 25 November 1880.

[3]Healy, I, p. 102.

of his arrest, Healy's speeches had been publicized widely, and while this prompted large turnouts for Sunday rallies, it also attracted more vigilant opposition. Healy's plan to attend Mass in the town of Cullen prior to a Land League rally on 15 November prompted Cannon Griffin of nearby Millstreet to replace his curate at Cullen for the service in order personally to denounce the Land League, Parnell, and Healy from the pulpit. Not satisfied with attacking Healy in person, the incensed Cannon sent a copy of his sermon to the Cork Examiner which duly printed it.[1] The remarks of the Rev. Cannon Griffin, probably toned down for publication, graphically illustrated that the land movement still had serious obstacles to overcome in such a highly-religious country: "This instruction is meant as spiritual food for the souls of his [the Cannon's] flock during the week, and deprivation of it may be to many the cause of sin."[2]

In his sermon, Cannon Griffin said he agreed with the bishops who had condemned the Land League "which I hesitate not to say has caused so many deplorable crimes through the country, and paralysed industry and trade."[3] In an attempt to damage Parnell's reputation he pointed out that the Irish

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[1] Cork Examiner, 17 November 1880.

[2] Ibid. The clergy were the principal movers of an indignation meeting to protest against a threatening letter sent to Lord Kenmare, a favorite Healy target. Cork Examiner, 17 November 1880.

[3] Ibid.

leader had land holdings and noted that Parnell was supporting "the notorious atheist, Bradlaugh." The priest also indicated that the Parnellites would not cooperate with the Government in any serious effort to settle the land question, an accusation often heard during this period. Finally, speaking directly to Healy, the Priest accused him of "gross insult" to three Catholic bishops who had blessed the new home of Lord Kenmare.[1]

However, 10,000 local farmers not intimidated by the sermon or inclement weather, turned out that afternoon for the rally, greeting Healy with "tremendous cheering."[2] One Catholic priest spoke in favor of the Land League and its policies, and four others wrote letters of support and apologized for their absence. Even if he had wanted, Healy could not shy away from what was surely a widely discussed matter. He hardly had begun his speech when someone shouted from the crowd: "What about Cannon Griffin?" Urging the crowd to let the subject drop "because it would be a matter of great inconvenience," Healy nevertheless made it clear how he viewed that morning's affair: "He . . . in connection with other members of the Land League, were publicly calumniated

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., 16 November 1880.

n the altar of God."[1] He said that if he replied, it would ead to "deplorable results;" but he could not resist adding is view that a chapel should not be turned into "a place of olitical harangue" and that a public platform was not the lace "to correct the statements made in the House of God."[2] he remainder of his speech was devoted to telling the arge assembly of farmers that they should save what was eeded to support their families (twenty or twenty-five hillings per week) and let the landlord have what money was eft, if any. The press reported his plea, not for "just ents," but for the overthrow of the landlord system:

> It was time that the tenant farmers of Ireland should rise up in their millions and tell these miserable handful of landlords that they were determined to live in their own country no matter what became of them.[3]

The following two Sundays, Healy gave speeches in Wexord. During the week, he continued his work in Cork County nd thus did not join Parnell for a foray in Ulster nor ttend the Land League's mid-week meetings in Dublin.[4] In ne first week of December, Healy attended his first Land eague meeting in Dublin and urged the committee to make the oycott" of undesirables more effective. He pointed out

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Nation, 20 and 27 November 1880.

that Captain Boycott had been able to sell his cattle by bringing them to Dublin where he found a co-operative Scotchman.[1] A few days later, he returned to Cork to hear the foreman of the Grand Jury throw out the indictment which offered no evidence to support a charge of force against Healy and Walsh. Later in the day, however, the authorities returned with a corrected indictment.[2] While awaiting the 15 December trial date, Healy addressed the usual Sunday rally, this time at Castlebridge, near Wexford, and said: "Your vehement cheers must reach the jurors of Cork. We are stronger than the Government."[3] The usual uniformed police reporters were on hand for the meeting, and the new M.P., growing more sure of himself in public, gave them seats on the platform so they could hear him better.[4] Such arrogance indicated that Healy was confident about his upcoming trial; but he still attempted to induce Parnell to appear in Cork the day of the trial, perhaps in hopes of influencing the jury. In a letter to his mistress, the wife of Captain William O'Shea, M.P. for County Clare, Parnell said he would delay his visit to London and go to Cork because it was of "utmost importance to secure an acquittal and not merely a

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[1] Ibid., 4 December 1880.

[2] Cork Examiner, 10 December 1880.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 13 December 1880.

[4] Nation, 18 December 1880.

disagreement."[1] He never arrived, however, probably reconsidering his decision after posting the letter. As it turned out, Healy did not need Parnell to win a "not guilty" verdict in the next-to-last trial of Land League agitators the Irish administration would attempt. Healy's acquittal reinforced Forster's belief that habeas corpus had to be eliminated to break the power of the land movement.

Healy and Walsh had been charged with violating the White-boy Code which was passed by the Westminster Parliament during severe agrarian disorders in George III's reign.[2] The eighteenth-century statute attempted to deal with persons who "rise and assemble" and by "force, threats, or menaces endeavour to compel any person to quit his dwelling-house or farm."[3] If convicted, Healy could have been "transported" for seven years and would have been liable for whippings at the discretion of the court.[4] Healy, however, was in slight danger of conviction. A frightened Cornelius Manning told the court that he was not threatened by the language used by Healy and Walsh and that "it certainly inspired no terrors" in his

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[1] O'Shea, I, p. 153. Parnell's letter was dated 13 December.

[2] Two years later, Healy would be arrested for violating law passed during the reign of Charles II.

[3] Cork Examiner, 16 December 1880.

[4] Ibid.

ind.[1] In fact, Manning testified that he looked upon the onversation with Healy "as advice given . . . in his own nterest as a tenant farmer."[2] It appears that Manning had eard Healy's speech of 1 November and decided that Healy's ersion of the visit was correct.[3] Obviously, Manning's eighbors also had been talking to him. Counsel for the de-ense called no witnesses, but the prosecutor prolonged the rial by reading excerpts from Healy's speeches in the Bantry rea. The jury of eleven Catholics and one Protestant de-liberated one hour before returning the "not guilty" verdict.[4] he Cork Examiner fretted the next day that the Government ould use the trial as an example that Irish juries would ot convict land agitators and thus conclude that coercion as once again necessary. The newspaper, however, defended he verdict, commenting that Healy and Walsh did not consti-ute an illegal "rising and assembly."[5] It also pointed out hat the farmer who the Government said was threatened denied . Violently denounced by Parnell nine months earlier when returned from America, the newspaper now was willing to

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Nation, 6 November 1880.

[4] Daily News, 16 December 1880.

[5] Cork Examiner, 16 December 1880.

lefend the right of popular agitators like Healy to speak as hey wanted. Moderation, it continued, was "desirable, but t is not possible, and freedom of speech would be reduced o a mockery if men were to be harrassed with prosecutions or every hard word they may deem it necessary to say of a ystem or an individual."[1] In conclusion, the article de- ried the prosecution of the Land League agitators because t was an "attempt to fetter an agitation the aim of which s a great public good."[2]

The Nation, of course, was ecstatic about the verdict n Cork. Like the Examiner, it chose to refer to the trial s the first of the "State prosecutions" and concluded that he "defeat of the Government" meant that the land movement ould be strengthened and extended greatly.[3] In a leading rticle, the Nation illustrated why the Government would soon bandon ordinary law (and rights like jury trials) when it tated that the "legal campaign against the land agitation" as shown to be inadequate.[4]

The decision of the jury in Cork was greeted by great heering in the courtroom. An enthusiastic crowd escorted he men to the Victoria Hotel where they were treated to arangues from Healy from the open windows of his room.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Nation, 18 December 1880.

[4] Ibid.

Later in the evening, the crowd returned with bands to sing Nationalist songs and emphasize their allegiance to the Land League cause.[1] Healy, whom the Cork residents knew as a fiery and earnest land agitator, was buoyed by the Government's apparent helplessness in the face of the movement and clearly stated the Parnellites' ultimate objective in a speech that evening. To the poor downtrodden men who had tilled the soil all their lives, he said that "it mattered little" to him how the land question was settled because "he was not a farmer." There was a more important goal:

> But it mattered a great deal how the national cause was to be settled; for he was one of those who expected before very long to see Ireland a nation once again; and it was only because he believed landlordism was the mainstay of British rule that all earnest efforts should be directed to overthrow that system, in order to more speedily overthrow British rule.[2]

The fact that many Parnellite leaders were not farmers and were willing to do almost anything to obtain "Home Rule" always would tend to be a decisive factor in the Nationalist movement of the 1880's. However, rarely were any Land League orators quite as candid as Healy was that evening of celebration in Cork.

The crowds gathered not only in Cork the night of 15 December, but also in Lismore where Healy's father still

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[1] Standard, 16 December 1880; Cork Examiner, 16 December 1880.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 16 December 1880.

lived. Healy traveled the forty miles to Lismore that night to see the great demonstration of support for the Land League. There was a torchlight parade, brass bands, and thousands singing and marching. Healy, the hero of the fete, reportedly did not offer any more speeches that night.[1] However, the celebrations touched off by the acquittal made the Government even more concerned about its diminishing authority in Ireland.

In reviewing what took place at the trial, the Daily Express, the landlords' major voice in Ireland, reluctantly noted that "the evidence was conflicting as to what occurred in the interview," before stating that Healy should be brought to trial for the language of his speeches if "the Crown were disposed to deal very strictly with the members of the Land League."[2] Such outcries by public opinion makers like the Daily Express very shortly would force the Government to act. The Daily News, a strong supporter of Gladstone, emphasized that the Land League's agitation if it continued on its present course would bring harsh Government action. The newspaper carried a story on the trial but did not mention Healy's name in a leading article which appeared the same day, calling on the Land League "to forget its impossible dreams" and, instead, to work to bring law and order to the country.[3] The

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Daily Express, 16 December 1880.

[3] Daily News, 16 December 1880.

rticle concluded: "They misjudge the temper of the English f they think they can keep it up. The Government is resolved o uphold law and order in Ireland."[1] Due to its close association with the Liberal Government, the newspaper obviously was aware of the contemplated action against Parnell and he Land League.

In Ireland, however, the leaders of the land movement ave no thought to a slow-down in the agitation. Healy illustrated that the Land Leaguers were not listening to counels of moderation when he gave a speech in his father's own on 18 December. Again, he talked in specifics; the landords and land agents of the area were denounced by name. The rincipal theme underlying his Sunday afternoon speech was: Even a good landlord is a bad one."

> Against the present Duke of Devonshire nothing can be said; but he came of a questionable stock [English landlords] and acquired his forty thousand acres in a very questionable manner. The duke was a good landlord, his agent was a just man, but what security had the tenants that the next duke or the next agent would be men of an equally satisfactory type. . . . He advised them never to rest until the baneful system of landlordism had been uprooted.[2]

fter Christmas, Healy returned to Dublin to help plot Land ague and parliamentary strategy and to be on hand for the ening of the state trials against the Land League leaders 28 December. For use at the trial, Parnell asked Healy

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Nation, 25 December 1880.

to write a historical summary of the agrarian question because counsel for the accused Peter O'Brien Q.C., was so unacquainted with the problem. After the trial, Healy's work was published as a ninety-eight page book which sold for one shilling.[1]

As in the South of Ireland, the mood of Dublin was most favorable toward the "traversers" who had spent every Sunday for weeks on platforms throughout the country gathering support for the movement by denouncing landlordism and the Government. Because of this favorable atmosphere, Parnell chose the day before the trial opened to meet with the Irish Parliamentary Party to consolidate his control of the party. Freeman publisher and Dublin Lord Mayor E.D. Gray presided over the gathering of thirty-eight M.P.'s (of sixty-five Home Rule members from Ireland) who re-elected Parnell unanimously as sessional chairman. Healy, Parnell's private secretary, was elected as one of the party's two secretaries. The meeting's significance was embodied in a resolution passed which stated "that all Home Rule members should henceforward sit in opposition."[2] The moderate, Liberal Party-oriented members now were forced to make a decision; and, in

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[1]Why there is an Irish Land Question and an Irish Land League (Dublin; M.H. Gill and Son, 1881). In 1886, just prior to the Home Rule election, Healy expanded the book to 162 pages and published it under the title, A Word for Ireland.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 28 December 1880.

a few weeks, Shaw and eleven followers formally seceded from the Home Rule Party to sit with the followers of Gladstone.[1]

The trial of Parnell and the thirteen other Land Leaguers lasted until 23 January because the Land League decided to turn the trial "into a vast commission to receive evidence on the land laws, and thus expose the conduct of the Irish landlords to the world."[2] On the opening day of the trial, twenty-four M.P.'s and a great crowd escorted the accused to the Four Courts. It was obvious to all that no jury in Dublin would convict the fourteen national heroes even though the Government assigned its top law officials to handle the prosecutions. When Parliament was opened on 6 January, Parnell showed his contempt for the power of the Government by leaving Dublin with the other accused M.P.'s to pursue parliamentary business. He only returned to Dublin to hear the verdict on 23 January. The jury deliberated six hours that day and then concluded they could not agree. One member, however, cried out that ten of the twelve were in favor of acquittal (eight members were Catholic).[3] Dublin was rocked with a tremendous demonstration when the news was announced.

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[1] Ibid., 17 January 1881.

[2] Davitt, p. 273. One day during the trial, Thomas Brennan, a Land League secretary, brought one hundred inmates of a workhouse to testify. He claimed all had been evicted. Davitt, p. 294.

[3] Ibid., p. 294.

The Gladstone Government had anticipated the verdict. By the end of November, the Cabinet had decided to accept the recommendations of Forster and Lord Cowper, the Viceroy, that coercion laws were absolutely necessary. In a letter to Gladstone on 7 December, Forster had made it clear how he would use his special powers: "Parnell and Co. will rule the country until we can lock up these outragers who are his policemen."[1] A badly-divided cabinet, however, also resolved on a strong Land Bill and rejected Forster's demand to re-assemble Parliament in early December to grant him coercive powers. At the other extreme, The Cabinet also refused to accept Joseph Chamberlain's demand that the landlords be prohibited from evicting tenants until the proposed land Bill became law. And despite Chamberlain's outspoken view, Gladstone reluctantly agreed that coercion would come before land reform.[2]

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[1]British Museum, Gladstone Papers Add. MSS, 44,158, fol. 35.

[2]J.L. Garvin, The Life of Joseph Chamberlain (London: Macmillan and Co., 1932), I, pp. 325-32; Reid, pp. 269-74; Hammond, pp. 194-8.

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER I

THE LIBERALS' COERCION BILL
JANUARY - FEBRUARY, 1881

The strongly-expressed opinions of the Irish administra-
n at Dublin Castle[1] finally had convinced the Cabinet to
ee to suspend the Habeus Corpus Act in Ireland and to
p jury trials in certain "troubled" districts. The
eroy's admission that "the greater part of the country is
er the absolute dominion of the Land League" was undoubt-
y true.[2] In the eyes of men like Lord Cowper, the League,
course, was undermining the law of the land and had to be
hed. The logic was simple: ordinary laws had not pre-
ed the spread of the Land League's influence, so extra-
nary laws had to be enacted. Turning this belief into
however, was complicated greatly by the obstruction
ics of Irish M.P.'s on the floor of the House of Commons.
success of obstruction by an expanded group of militant

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[1]For a sound article on the administration of Ireland,
R.B. McDowell's "The Irish Executive in the 19th Century,"
n Historical Studies, IX (March, 1955), pp. 164-80.

[2]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 259.

rishmen during the 1881 session would infuriate further a reat many Englishmen who already thought of the Irish as a ace with a "diseased mind," and a "mental and moral malady," o did not deserve the positive legislation planned by adstone.[1] Ireland, on the other hand, would take great ide in the actions of the Parnellite M.P.'s in the hostile ena of Westminster and continue to close ranks around the n who truly was becoming the "uncrowned King" in this tur-lent time.

As usual, prior to the opening of Parliament, the Times, a leading article, correctly predicted the main features the upcoming session: a coercion bill, reform of the 1870 d Bill, obstruction by Irish members, changing of House es in order to proceed with necessary business.[2] At the e time, the columns of the Times were filled with letters the agitation in Ireland, the state trials in Dublin and violence in the rural areas.[3] One social note in the

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[1] Times, 1 January 1881.

[2] Ibid., 3 January 1881.

[3] Even old Nationalists who owned land in Ireland were rwhelmed by indiscriminate violence which they blamed on Land League. One such Nationalist wrote "Dan Conner's e is threatened, because he evicted a worthless drunken nt, for whom he had built a house at a cost of £250. walks about armed and protected by policemen. An agrarian er was committed last night. It seems to me that the etrators of such outrages think that they act in the rests of the Land League." N.L.I., W.J. O'Neill Daunt nal, MS 3042, 17 October 1880, pp. 1139-40.

mes prior to the opening of Parliament illustrated the epth of the Irish problem. Among a large party of sports- en and neighbors present at an annual gathering on the tate of a Leicestershire landlord was Captain Boycott. e health of the self-exiled Irish land agent "was cordially unk," but, in reply to a suggestion that another expedition formed to "rescue" his farm, Boycott "discouraged the oject as dangerous and very costly under existing circum- ances in Ireland."[1]

In his initial report of 1881, the Times' Irish corres- ndent contended that the previous year's distress "was ggerated" and that ungrateful farmers had used the income m a bountiful harvest to arm themselves.[2] Every day dur- early January, the Times carried similar stories ob- usly designed to intensify anti-Irish feelings. Its lead- articles always included one on Ireland. The newspaper med to be preparing its readers mentally for a difficult uggle in Parliament, and its use of highly-questionable icles and arguments indicated that it feared the strength the Irish adversary.

Healy had not come to London until at least 5 January, day before the opening, because he attended a Land gue meeting in Dublin on 4 January. His final days in

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[1] Times, 3 January 1881.

[2] Ibid.

eland had been busy; one day could even be called eventful. the Sunday prior to the opening of Parliament, the Irish ecutive had given its resident magistrates power to halt veral of the usual Sunday afternoon land rallies. Healy d Michael Davitt, certainly two of the best known Nation- ist agitators, were speaking at one of the "proclaimed" etings. After listening to Davitt harangue the crowd, the gistrates moved in and ordered the meeting to halt just as ly came forward to speak. When the 10,000 persons in the dience objected, the magistrates threatened to use force the crowd did not disperse. With the situation deteriorat-, Healy urged the audience to go home peacefully. Finally y did so, but not before the police garrison in the nearby n summoned reinforcements from another district.[1]

On Thursday, 6 January, Parliament assembled to hear the eral Government's plans for its first full session de- ibed in the Queen's Address. If coercion had not been so minent in the Liberal Party's plans for Ireland, the mises made certainly would have been greeted warmly by the sh. In addition to coercion, the Government said it would roduce a Land Bill and bills to change the grand jury and county government systems.[2] But, because the months of tation in Ireland had changed substantially the mood of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., 6 January 1881.

people, the Home Rule Party could no longer be moderate survive as the people's representative. In the 1880 sion, Parnell had moved cautiously to prevent severe ob- uction; now, despite Liberal promises, he knew it was olutely necessary to practice vigorous obstruction. In speeches in Ireland, he vowed to oppose forcefully the osed coercion plan.

An upsurge in crime and violence necessitated coercion, rding to the Queen's Address:

> Agrarian crimes in general have multiplied far beyond the experience of recent years. Attempts upon life have not grown in the proportion as other offences; but I must add that efforts have been made for persons' protection, far beyond all former precedent by the police, under the direction of the Executive. I have to notice other evils yet more widely spread; the administration of justice has been frustrated, with respect to these offences through the impossibility of procuring evidence; and an extended system of terror has thus been established in various parts of the country which has paralyzed almost alike the exercise of private rights and the performance of civil duties.[1]

is time, Davitt estimated that the Land League had 1,000 hes in Ireland and that 200,000 American members sup- the organization's executive council with ample funds.[2] s memoirs, Davitt referred to the local branches as tees of "public safety" which tried "offenders" who,

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[1] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, (1881), 5.

[2] Davitt, p. 301.

onvicted, usually were boycotted.[1] Landlords in Ireland finding it difficult, if not impossible, to negotiate s on the security of their property because, quite simply, land was not secure. Yet, the landlords desperately ed money because many tenants refused to pay their rents. rance on property in Ireland could be obtained at this only at very high premiums.[2]

The fact that 879 "outrages" had been reported by the rnment in Ireland during December but only 80 suspects been brought to trial certainly vindicated for English- the hard line advocated by Forster and Cowper.[3] The ral Government, however, pressed forward simultaneously its plan to revise thoroughly the land law in Ireland. overnment's decision was based on the recommendations of us special committees, particularly the one headed by Bessborough. According to this committee: "A thorough ery general change in the system of the land tenure imperatively required."[4] The Queen's Address reflected overnment's attitude:

recommend you to undertake the further develop- ent of its principles [the Land Act of 1870] in

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Ibid., p. 311.

Palmer, p. 166.

Ibid., p. 169.

Ibid., pp. 236-9.

a manner conformable to the special wants of Ireland, both as regards the relation of landlord and tenant, and with a view to effective efforts for giving to a large portion of the people by purchase a permanent proprietary interest in the soil.[1]

The Tories were prepared to accept the new coercion ures and to cooperate generally with the Liberals concern- Ireland; but they could not refrain from pointing out they had been correct in warning the country that the rals should not have allowed the Tory coercion law to e.[2] Sir Stafford Northcote, Tory leader in the Commons, ed Government laxity for allowing the Land League to be- "the real government of Ireland."[3] He also stated that sion of land laws "was not the way to deal with the evil, lay far deeper."[4] Gladstone defended the delay in re- ing coercion and the need to change the Land Act, main- ng that in the latter case, the provisions of his 1870 re "have been insufficient and almost entirely inopera- "[5] After the Tory and Liberal spokesmen finished their c statements on the Queen's Address, several Irish

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[1] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, (1881), 6.

[2] Ibid., 19-25 (speech in the Lords by Beaconsfield).

[3] Ibid., 102.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 120.

eakers rose to condemn the provisions outlined in the speech. very normal first day of debate closed a few minutes after dnight with T.D. Sullivan promising that coercion would not fect affairs in Ireland and that, "at the expiration of at coercive legislation, Ireland would be in a worse state an she was in today."[1]

The next day, the followers of Parnell began the anticied obstruction. It was a mild beginning; Parnell offered amendment to the Queen's Address which stated: "But we mbly assure Her Majesty that we are convinced that the peace l tranquility of Ireland cannot be promoted by suspending of the constitutional rights of the Irish people."[2] In course of his remarks which opened the second day of ate on the speech, Parnell said the only purpose of the d League was to prevent rack-renting and to work to obtain rights of tenants to become owners of their farms. Parl attributed the Government's view to a conspiracy of the lish press.[3] He pleaded with the Government in the most ible terms not to "plunge into the abyss" by implementing rcion:

> I entreat the House to pause before it plunges into the abyss before it, and enacts coercion for Ireland. The right honourable Gentleman at the head of the Government had a chance of propitiating Ireland. He was nearer it than he

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[1] Ibid., 144.

[2] Ibid., 192.

[3] Ibid., 193-4.

thought; he had, perhaps, the best chance of persuading the Irish people that this House was desirous of making good and just laws for them; but if he brandishes the weapon of coercion at these people, the result will be that he will make it still more impossible for him to do that. He will never do it by coercion or terror; he might have had a chance of relieving Ireland by goodwill--a generous, a true, and a noble policy. But you have never been able to rule the Irish people by terror and coercion, and you never will be able to so rule them.[1]

The debate lasted the rest of the evening and was ad-
rned until Monday, 10 January. Because the Irish speeches
ed an excited tone, it was generally expected that debate
he Queen's Address would be finished with a minimum of
y.[2] Such optimism proved to be unwarranted, however.
terred by a prominently circulated letter from the Pope
he Archbishop of Dublin which called on the Irish people
avoid all illicit agitation and all revolutionary schemes,"[3]
Parnellites prepared to defend the land movement and
le fiercely and tenaciously the Government's plan to
n it. Within a month, the Irish tactics would force the

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[1] Ibid., 203.

[2] Times, 7 January 1881.

[3] Ibid. So encouraged was the Times by the "almost
ous" attitude of the Irish M.P.'s, the Pope's letter,
he Government's firmness regarding Ireland that it
lated that Parnell "may find popular support in Ireland
ling under his feet."

ernment to push through radical changes in parliamentary cedure.[1]

On Monday, the mood of the Irish M.P.'s changed drama- ally. After a party meeting in the morning, the Irish notice of fifteen questions. In all, there were thirty- questions that day, the Irish figure being greatly out roportion to their numbers in the House. The use of the tion period to fill hours of House time would continue e a favorite tactic of the Irish. After the Irish had ed Monday night away, Gladstone rose to state that he ed to introduce the Coercion Bill the next day. In order ccelerate matters, the Prime Minister moved that all r business be put aside until the debate was completed. ell, in a conciliatory speech, agreed, saying he merely t "a full opportunity for a fair discussion of the ques- "[2] But, as the fourth night of debate on the Queen's ss neared an end, Parnell's amendment still had not come division. Near midnight, the Marquis of Hartington, tary of State for India and the son of an Irish landlord extensive holdings, took charge of the ministerial bench.[3]

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[1] For an examination of the Irish use of obstructive amentary tactics in the 1870's and 1880's see David ley's "The Irish Home Rule Party and Parliamentary Ob- tion, 1874-1887," Irish Historical Studies, XII (March, pp. 38-57.

[2] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, (1881), 450.

[3] Hartington's views on Ireland were more Tory than l. See Bernard Holland's The Life of Spencer Compton, Duke of Devonshire (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1, p. 266.

rtly after this juncture, Healy made his maiden speech in House, a speech which mocked all the time-honored tradi- s of that assembly.[1] The new M.P.'s first few sentences the House like a bomb burst:

> Mr. Speaker, if the noble Marquis thinks he is going to bully us with his high and mighty Cavendish ways, all I can tell him is he will find himself knocked into a cocked hat in a jiffey, and we will have to put him to the necessity of wiping the blood of all the Cavendishes from his noble nose a good many times before he disposes of us.[2]

Cries of "order" and "withdraw" from the Liberal back- ers greeted Healy's reply to Hartington's long speech in se of the Government's coercion plans. The India Secre- who had been Irish Chief Secretary a decade earlier, harged that "midnight assassins and the ruffian who in- the humble cottage, disguised, at midnight," ruled nd. To restore "the substance of liberty" for the reds of thousands" in Ireland, Hartington said that a

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It is possible that some of the non-Irish Members of ment were prepared to accept radical utterances from In Dod's Parliamentary Companion, Healy described f as "an advanced Liberal in favour of Home Rule for d, and of the Land League organization." All the supporters of Parnell termed themselves "Liberals." was the only Parnellite who mentioned the Land League moted Home Rule in the book. See Michael MacDonagh, me Rule Movement (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1920),

William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 249. Hansard s most of Healy's colorful language. Its summary of eech does very little to explain the loud reaction of se. Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, (1881), 540.

mporary abridgement" of some forms of liberty was abso-
ely necessary.[1]

In his reply, Healy called Hartington "the Representative Coercion in the Cabinet" and offered case after case, in-ding his own, as examples which proved that the people of land possessed only a "shadow" of liberty. He charged t the Government could find no one in Ireland to defend its e except paid Crown officials:

> He would tell the noble Lord that if his evidence were ten thousand times better than it was the Irish Members would be justified in resisting to the last gasp any attempt upon the lives and liberties of the Irish people.[2]

ing up to his task, Healy responded to Hartington's com-nt that the Irish did not trust the Government:

> He did not think the noble Lord need go very far to find the cause of this doubt and distrust of the Ministry. He distrusted it when he found the noble Lord in it; and he distrusted the intentions of any Ministry to propose a good Land Bill for Ireland which had in it a preponderating element of landlords.[3]

y continued by ridiculing the idea of "ordinary law" ever ting in Ireland. He pointed out that under his recent tment he would have been whipped if convicted and said

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, I (1881), 540. Hartington had supported Forster's call oercion in December. See Holland, I, pp. 329-337.

[2]Ibid., 543.

[3]Ibid., 544-5.

ıt land meetings were dispersed by threats of wholesale

·der:

> But it [ordinary law] was not good enough for the noble Lord. He wanted something still more extraordinary. He wanted to have [Irish] liberties at the disposal of the meanest policeman or the meanest magistrate, the most contemptible magistrate, who might have a personal grudge against any one of them.[1]

concluding the speech, Healy flaunted the power of the

ł League at the Government, saying the Irish M.P.'s and

League were not intimidated:

> They [the Government] had taught them that, by combining amongst themselves, they were a power which the Government, and its military, and all the forces at its disposal, could not overcome. The people of Ireland felt it; and they would go on teaching them that in that system of combination they had their only salvation.[2]

Healy's speech, of course, delighted the Nationalist

s, but it even prompted a notice in the Liberal Pall Mall

tte. In its comments on the debate, the newspaper said

y's attack "gives pretty strong proof this early that

newest recruit is at least as bitter as any of his col-

ues."[3] Almost all the press reports, including the Irish

, commented on the high quality and power of Hartington's

ch, which was well received by both Liberals and Tories.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., 546-7.

[3] Pall Mall Gazette, 12 January 1881.

n view of this, the Nation commented on its correspondent's nitial effort in the House:

> Most members are reluctant to follow a big gun of that kind, but Mr. Healy opened on him with as little concern as if it was an Irish bailiff or process-server he had to reply to, and he delivered his hits straight home. Needless to say that he was enthusiastically cheered by his Home Rule colleagues, who heartily welcome to their ranks so skillful and so spirited a combatant for the cause of Ireland.[1]

The Freeman's Journal was almost as enthusiastic, comnting that Healy "administered to the noble Marquis a sound stigation, delivered with the apolmb of an old debater. e Marquis of Hartington plainly winced under it, to the no all amusement of the Irish members."[2] For the next few ghts, Healy was content to try the patience of the entire ise, especially the Speaker, with frequent interjections ch disrupted debate. On the fifth night of debate, sard commented that "Mr. Healy rose, and proceeded to ress the House irrelevantly upon the Question." Interted by the Speaker, Healy refused to withdraw until he blamed Gladstone, Chamberlain, and Bright for allowing "coercive section of the Cabinet" to take charge of the ceedings.[3] The new M.P. also was adept at using the right

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[1] Nation, 15 January 1881.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 12 January 1881.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, II (1881), 571.

a private member to question the Government officials, ticularly the Irish Executive's staff. One newspaper ort offers an excellent description of Healy at work in House:

> Mr. Healy has two questions which fill more than one of the large pages of the vote paper, into which he has imported bodily verbatim reports, extracted from local papers, of two cases tried at the last assizes. As Mr. Healy insists on reading his questions in a slow and solemn manner, causing every word to sound full on the ears of his audience, and as he allows plenty of time to elapse between each sentence to permit the House to follow at his heels, the cause of Obstruction will be greatly promoted by even Mr. Healy's labours.[1]

When the eighth night of debate opened, Gladstone imme- ely expressed his exasperation, saying that Irish motions, ches, and tactics were "aimed at no practical conclusion, ble of producing no practical conclusion, capable of ering no useful object whatever."[2] To this statement, on, T.D. Sullivan, Arthur O'Connor, O'Connor Power, and lly Healy replied. Elderly Radical John Bright, a sup- er of the coercive policy, was Healy's special target on occasion. He charged Bright with being anxious "that wretched people should be driven out of their hovels r Majesty's troops" and that the "mouths" of the Liberal 's Radical wing were shut because "they had in their

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[1] Daily Express, 17 January 1881.

[2] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, I (1881), 869.

ıths the plums of office."[1] In his speech, Healy was even ɔmpted to offer a doggerel verse: "As bees on flowers ıse to hum, so Whigs in Office, straight are dumb."[2]

By the tenth night, 12 January, the Speaker, pressed a ruling on an Irish amendment, was forced to admit that amendment was "in point of form, regular."[3] He went on comment, however, that if "a similar delaying course of ion were pursued . . . the Address to the Crown could dly be carried within the compass of the Session."[4] ally, on the eleventh night, the Irish allowed the debate the Address to end. On the same night, Healy illustrated belief that Parliament still should be used as a vehicle improving conditions in Ireland. Supported by meticulous umentation of his subject, Healy introduced a bill to ıd the coroner's law for Ireland.[5] Healy's industry which ıuced this thoroughly researched measure would be more y appreciated by the Liberal Government in the forthcoming te on the Land Bill.

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[1] Ibid., 892.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 1003.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 1090. The bill eventually passed and the ıers honored Healy for his role.

On 24 January, the Government finally was able to bring its Coercion Bill, entitled "The Protection of Person and ›perty (Ireland) Bill." The stringent measure provoked a ·ious reaction from Parnell's followers. The obstructive tics of the Irish which followed far exceeded those prac- ed during the debate on the Queen's Address and would ce the Government to alter the tradition-bound rules of House. Presenting the bill, Chief Secretary Forster ed statistics and cases of Irish outrages; and Healy, ustrating his disdain for House tradition, interrupted Chief Secretary twice, on one occasion to scoff at a strate's report by shouting: "He was a landlord."[1]

More serious trouble from Healy was in store for the rnment. The next night, after Biggar, Healy's favorite , was suspended by the Speaker, Healy quickly moved for urnment. He then began a running battle with the Speaker[2] hich he sarcastically paid tribute to Gladstone, saying e was "some satisfaction that the right hon. Gentleman rime Minister had not to play the odious part of execu- r on this occasion."[3] Healy, was fortunate that he was named" as well by the Speaker.[4] Later in the evening

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[1] Ibid., 1223.

[2] Ibid., 1350-1.

[3] Ibid., 1351-2.

[4] T.P. O'Connor, Gladstone's House of Commons, p. 115.

ter Gladstone refused to allow the House to adjourn at its ual hour, Healy attacked the Prime Minister:

> The right hon. Gentleman had chosen an early day in the new year, and had at length given to the Irish Members a fair taste of what they might expect under his enlightened Liberal Government. . . . Approaching the question in a more serious spirit, perhaps he might be permitted to express his regret that some names which in former days were considered honoured names in Ireland--such as the names of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright), and of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government--were now becoming names of reproach.[1]

ly went on to charge Gladstone with "holding a revolver the head of the Irish members and saying to them, 'Pass lotion, or down you go.'"[2] Further outraging the Liberals, ly added: "Probably, ere long, Her Majesty's Government ht propose to erect a gallows in the Lobby, in order that y might carry out in perfection their new system of coer- n."[3] When Healy attempted to explain the "bogus" nature many "threatening letters" cited by the Chief Secretary his call for coercion, the Speaker interrupted, but it three warnings to silence Healy.[4] The exchange took a hour of the House's time.[5] At 7 a.m., still in his

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, II (1881), 1386.

[2]Ibid., 1388.

[3]Ibid., 1389.

[4]Ibid., 1390.

[5]T.P. O'Connor, Gladstone's House of Commons, p. 116.

lace, Healy told the Chair that "the most cogent reason" or adjourning was that "hon. Members were sleepy."[1] The tatement prompted Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice to protest to the hair, charging that Healy's comment was not in order. Healy, ensing another opportunity to squander time, curtly answered hat he "thought the number of snubs the noble Lord Fitz- urice had received from the Chair would have induced him allow a new Member some consideration."[2] The sharp reply uched off another argument, this time with several M.P.'s, ich helped pass the early morning hours. Finally, after enty-two hours, on Wednesday afternoon, Parnell agreed to ll off obstruction if Gladstone would delay consideration the Coercion Bill until Thursday. The Prime Minister's ply was affirmative, despite the protests of Liberals and ies alike, because "the Wednesday sitting, I may say, has appeared. It is non-existent."[3]

When the House returned on Thursday evening, Healy was dy with three detailed questions for the Chief Secretary the Solicitor General of Ireland about the lack of Catholics various minor administrative posts in Ireland.[4] This

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, II (1881), 1443.

[2]Ibid., 1444.

[3]Ibid., 1461.

[4]Ibid., 1494-1500.

ng's debate was significant due to John Bright's attempt tionalize his position on coercion for the Irish members requently were quoting from his Anti-Corn Law League hes.[1] The same evening, Henry Labouchere, another al, urged the Government to bring in the Land Bill e imposing coercion.[2] On the third night of debate, tone and Parnell clashed over the wording used in a h by the Irish leader.[3] Healy joined the heated ex- e by challenging Gladstone's crime statistics accumu- since the foundation of the Land League.[4] Clearly indi- g that Healy already had made his mark in Parliament, lderly Prime Minister paused to give a little friendly e to the young M.P. from Wexford who, he said, "has dy given indications which promise for him considerable nence."[5] After his conciliatory remarks, Gladstone ed for "tolerance" from Healy when others were express- pinions. But Healy, infuriated that his hostile com- had produced such an unexpected reply, twice interjected,

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[1] Ibid., 1555-66.

[2] Ibid., 1510-27. Pro-Irish speeches similar to this lped Labouchere later to become an intermediary between leaders and the Liberal Government, a role he thoroughly d, especially when dealing with Healy.

[3] Ibid., 1691-4.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 1699.

e have got none."[1] Unflustered, Gladstone continued with
s report on crime in Ireland and no further interruptions
re recorded. The debate this Thursday evening was again
journed without a division.

The sitting of the House of Commons on Monday, 31 January,
ld mark the high point of obstruction and be, as well, the
inning of the end of obstruction as an effective weapon
Irish M.P.'s. Gladstone opened the sitting by saying
t the Government "shall be prepared to take whatever steps
, on the whole, seem to be for the best to deal with ob-
uction." A little later, he stated that he planned for
House to vote on the introduction of the Coercion Bill
evening. Gladstone was informing the House that he was
ared to wait almost indefinitely without adjournment in
r to obtain a division. After an adjournment motion had
defeated at 7 a.m., according to one observer, "the House
left in the possession and at the mercy of Mr. Healy."[2]
the Deputy Speaker said to Healy early that morning, "I
t say he is out of order; but the hon. Gentleman is
g the patience of the House by his remarks."[3] he nicely
d up the attitude of the Ministry toward the Parnellites.
nting on Forster's "crass ignorance" about conditions in

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[1] Ibid.

[2] T.P. O'Connor, Gladstone's House of Commons, p. 120.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, (1881), 1886.

Ireland, Healy received a warning from the Chair which he accepted; he then immediately proceeded with another attack on the Government.[1] By such methods, Healy spent two and one-half hours on his feet.[2] As usual, when he ran out of denunciations, Healy relinquished the floor by moving for adjournment. Other Irish M.P.'s then could speak in support of the motion. With almost thirty Members prepared to join in such tactics,[3] Parliament could be kept in session continuously and be unable to consider its normal business.

After twenty-four hours of Irish obstruction, the irritation of the House could no longer be restrained. When Healy rose to speak on an adjournment motion, a number of Members created such an uproar that he could not finish his first sentence. Cries of "Oh, oh!" and "Divide" greeted Healy's attempt to speak. He persisted, however, and his remarks prompted several interruptions by the Speaker. Infuriated M.P.'s shouted for the Speaker to "name" Healy so they could suspend him.[4] The debate became so chaotic at this point that Hansard noted: "Great uproar, the Strangers in the Gallery standing up."[5] Still, the Government allowed

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[1] Ibid., 1884.

[2] MacDonagh, The Home Rule Movement, p. 149.

[3] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 58.

[4] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, LVII (1881), 1940.

[5] Ibid., 1942.

the debate to continue without naming Healy or anyone else. However, in private, when the sitting had passed the twenty-four hour mark, the Speaker Sir Henry Brand demanded that drastic measures be taken, and Gladstone agreed.[1]

After 41 hours of debate, on resuming the Chair on Wednesday at nine a.m., the Speaker stated: "I decline to call upon any more Members to speak, and at once proceed to put the Question from the Chair." This sudden turn of events in the House of Commons prompted the ever-vigilant Healy to race to a nearby hotel to awaken Parnell, but before they could return, the Irish amendment under consideration was rejected by a vote of 164 to 19 and the introduction and first reading of the Coercion Bill were approved by the Chair without a division.[2] The Speaker's unilateral action caused an uproar in the House and the remaining Irish members, according to Hansard, stalked out, crying, "Privilege! Privilege!"[3]

The Government, however, was not finished. Gladstone followed the Speaker's action by saying that the second reading of the Coercion Bill would be taken up at noon the same day. He then proceeded to introduce two resolutions which

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[1]John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903), III, pp. 52-3. In describing this event, Morley quotes from Speaker Brand's diary.

[2]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLVII (1881), 1940.

[3]Ibid., 2035.

would prevent further obstruction of the measure. They delegated to the Speaker the power to end debate and to call immediately for a vote on the question if the House declared "public business is urgent." Then, after more than forty-one hours of continuous sitting--the longest time in Parliament's history--the House was adjourned. Shortly thereafter, when the Government opened consideration of its new procedures, the small, weary band of Parnellites were in their places. A.M. Sullivan, a moderate Irish M.P., quickly moved to adjourn the House and the irritated Gladstone referred to such motions as "public nuisances."[1] A number of other Irish members followed Sullivan before Healy got up to state that the Prime Minister "and his hon. Friends near him were 'public nuisances.'"[2] Pointing out that he had been in the House for forty-eight continuous hours except for five hours of sleep, Healy concluded by saying, "therefore, on the grounds of cruelty to animals alone, they were entitled to demand an adjournment."[3] It wasn't long before the Government consented and the House adjourned at 6 p.m.

The next day, 3 February, the Irish M.P.'s who followed Parnell's lead made a dramatic gesture by defying parliamentary rules. But although their power in the House had been

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[1] Ibid., CCLVIII, 17.

[2] Ibid., 26.

[3] Ibid., 27.

weakened seriously, they did not desert Parliament as many extremists in the Land League desired.[1] This decision was clear the day after the Government had decided to act forcefully to crush obstruction by the Irish. On that day, it became known that first steps had been taken against Irish agitators outside Parliament. During the Question Period, Sir William Harcourt confirmed that Michael Davitt had been arrested for violating his "ticket-of-leave."[2] Then, as soon as the wildly cheering M.P.'s could be calmed, Gladstone was called on to present planned alterations in the rules of debate. Before the Prime Minister could utter a sentence, John Dillon interrupted and refused to withdraw despite strong warnings from the Speaker. Dillon was then "named" by the Speaker and ordered to leave by an overwhelming vote of 395 to 33. When he refused to leave, the Sergeant-at-arms was called, amidst great cheering, to escort out the Irish M.P.[3] This event was only the beginning of what Hansard calls the "greatest excitement and confusion."[4] A.M. Sullivan,

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[1]Davitt, p. 302. Parnell specifically rejected Davitt's plan for a walk-out by the Irish M.P.'s when the Coercion Bill passed the House.

[2]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLVIII (1881), 68. Illustrating the split in the Liberal Cabinet, Harcourt and Gladstone only reluctantly agreed to the arrest of Davitt, making provision that his detention be as comfortable as possible. A.G. Gardiner, The Life of Sir William Harcourt (2 vols.; London: Constable and Co.), I, p. 425.

[3]Ibid., 69-70.

[4]Ibid., 68.

illustrating the infuriated mood of even the Irish moderate wing, then forcefully persuaded the Chair to listen to his arguments in defense of Dillon's right to speak.[1] Parnell, who had earlier agreed that defying the Speaker should be a personal decision,[2] then rose and dramatically stated: "I beg to move that the right hon. Gentleman (Gladstone) be no further heard."[3] Cries of "name him" filled the chamber and the Hansard reporter states: "From this incident forward, the Business of the House proceeded under indescribable confusion."[4] After being warned three times by the Speaker, Parnell finally was named.

On the division which concerned the ouster of Parnell, A.M. Sullivan informed the Speaker that the Irish M.P.'s would remain in their places "as a protest against the illegality of the proceedings."[5] After the vote, Parnell, following Dillon's example, obliged the Sergeant-at-arms to make a show of force before leaving the chamber.[6] Lysaght Finigan

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[1] Ibid., 69-71.

[2] R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 286.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLVIII (1881), 72.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 74.

[6] Ibid., 78.

was the third Irish M.P. to be named and ordered to leave; again the Irish refused to go into the division lobby. The Speaker, therefore, proceeded to name all the Irish M.P.'s, including Healy, in a single motion. After the vote, each member was requested to leave and, on refusing, was escorted out by the Sergeant-at-arms and his associates.[1]

With the thirty-six Irish obstructionists out of the House, Gladstone proceeded with his resolution to limit debate if the House agreed "that the state of Public Business was urgent." After agreeing to a Tory amendment that a three-to-one majority in a minimum House of 300 Members was necessary to empower the Speaker to limit debate, the resolution passed as did another which declared the Speaker should be given the new authority immediately.[2] At the opening of the next day's sitting, the Speaker acted, declaring "that no motion for the Adjournment of the House shall be made, except by leave of the House, before the Orders of the Day or Notice of Motions have been entered upon." The Government now was assured of passing its Coercion Bill without undue delays.[3]

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[1] Ibid., 81-8.

[2] Ibid., 155-6. The Tory leadership had been told earlier of the Government's plan to change the rules. The amendment, then, was not unexpected. Morley, Life of Gladstone, III, p. 53.

[3] Liberal opinion outside Parliament was by no means united behind the Government in this change of rules or on the Coercion Bill. See Annual Register (1881), pp. 48-50.

In his column for the Nation, Healy reflected on the scenes of that memorable sitting:

> That cheer [when the announcement of Davitt's arrest was made] no Irishman who heard it will ever forget, nor will it readily be forgotten by the Irish people. I heard but one other like it in the House of Commons, and that was when Mr. Parnell announced that there was great distress among the farm-labourers in Ireland, consequent on their being thrown out of employment by the landlords. . . . The House is now under the dictatorship of the Speaker. For the first time in its history one man has the power to arrest action, to stop its discussion, to stifle its voice. Its freedom is gone, its glory is departed . . . but Ireland has nothing to regret in this matter. The British House of Commons is not Ireland's friend. . . . And now this self-imposed degradation of England's free and ancient legislature is but one of the penalties which she is having to pay for her tyrannical endeavor to keep the Irish nation in a condition of subjection.[1]

Healy's antics in the House, of course, had delighted the Nation. The newspaper was proud to reprint some of his more shocking language. For example, he at one point referred to an Irish judge as "an ornament to Egypt, for a greater old crocodile never lived on the banks of the Nile."[2] In endorsing such ribald remarks the Nation commented that Healy would

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[1]Nation, 12 February 1881. These comments invite speculation about Healy's attitude toward Davitt's proposal that Irish M.P.'s abandon the House of Commons. Six Irish M.P.'s had joined Parnell for a conference on the matter in the Westminster Palace Hotel and, according to Davitt: "Mr. Parnell was not adverse to this extreme policy, but one or two influential colleagues were very strongly so, and no decision was arrived at." See Davitt, p. 302. Healy's memoirs shed no light on his feelings about this subject.

[2]Nation, 5 February 1881.

continue to speak "plain Saxon" in the House because "Irishmen rather like such irreverence in such a place, and heartily sympathize with the spirit at the bottom of it."[1] Healy's speech-making, according to a contemporary journalist who watched him in action, "was an extraordinary blending of scortching satire, melting pathos, and infectious humour--not the result of carefully prepared distillation, but pouring forth from a most original and fertile mind, with all the spontaneity and inexhaustibility of a nature spring."[2] The Liberal Government, however, did not appreciate Healy's oratorical talents at this time. The Nation on 5 February, quoted an unnamed source as saying that Liberals had protested against Healy's language to the Home Rule Party; and that the Irish "have expressed themselves as entertaining as much displeasure at Healy's conduct as any other members of the House."[3] The Irish would not, according to the report, publicly rebuke Healy as the Liberal representatives wanted. If Healy actually was criticized privately by Parnell and others, it would not be surprising, because a strong conservative strain existed in the Irish party. Parnell frankly voiced such sentiment when he told the Freeman's Journal the morning after the mass removal of Irish members that "we

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[1] Ibid.

[2] MacDonagh, The Home Rule Movement, p. 136.

[3] Nation, 5 February 1881.

must do our duty and return to Parliamentary activities."[1] The party, according to Conor Cruise O'Brien's analysis of its members, was hardly prepared to take a revolutionary step like secession from Westminster.[2] The people in Ireland, however, had to be offered something in the place of secession. Therefore, in a manifesto to the Land League a short time later, Parnell declared that the agitation would be widened to include "the English masses . . . and effect . . . a junction between the English masses and Irish nationalism."[3] The Irish leader openly rejected secession and revolution in the manifesto, but warned the League that little could be expected from parliamentary action for the time being.

As if to accentuate his continued adherence to political radicalism, Parnell then traveled to Paris and openly met with certain well known French revolutionaries. This activity was censured by the conservative Archbishop of Dublin and thus kept Parnell's reputation safe among the more radical members of the Land League.

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 5 February 1881.

[2] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 61.

[3] Nation, 19 February 1881; Davitt, pp. 307-8.

CHAPTER II

PARIS INTERLUDE, FEBRUARY, 1881

One sunny afternoon in July, 1880, Katherine O'Shea drove to the House of Commons determined to meet Charles Stewart Parnell who had ignored invitations to several of her social gatherings.[1] She was successful and, by the autumn of that year, Mrs. O'Shea was both mistress and nurse to the young, but ailing Irish leader. Their relationship, which lasted until Parnell's death in 1891, destroyed the strength of the Irish Home Rule movement when it was made public by Captain William O'Shea's divorce suit in 1890.

In the summer of 1880, Healy was already critical of Parnell's willingness to neglect his parliamentary duties for the companionship of a woman whose identity was unknown to Healy at this time.[2] When Parnell's affair with Mrs. O'Shea became known to the party's hierarchy, it cast a long shadow over the relationship of the Irish leader and his youthful adviser. Mrs. O'Shea's impact on Parnell's life first caused a party crisis at a Paris conference and then

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[1] O'Shea, I, p. 126.

[2] Healy, I, pp. 93, 98.

led to a rift between Parnell and Healy. The consequences of this falling out, however, would not be seen for several years.

The Paris Conference of Land League leaders was prompted by the Government's imposition of cloture to pave the way for the Coercion Bill to become law. With the threat of a major Government crackdown hanging over them, and with Davitt, the chief organizer in jail, the Land League leaders had to take immediate steps to keep the movement alive. They quickly chose Paris as a meeting site to meet and plot strategy. Healy, not a member of the League's Executive Council, went to Paris because he was Parnell's secretary. On Friday, 4 February, the day after the Irish Home Rulers were expelled from the House, Healy, Biggar, Dillon, T.D. Sullivan, and James O'Kelly left London and their parliamentary duties to join the non-M.P.'s who sat on the Executive Council of the League. Parnell was to follow the next day.[1] Never in robust health, Parnell likely was persuaded by Mrs. O'Shea to recuperate from the exhausting House sessions by staying at her home in Eltham, a London suburb, before travelling to Paris.[2] It was not until a week later that Parnell appeared in Paris. Parnell did not contact his anxious colleagues in Paris and

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[1] Ibid., p. 107.

[2] Mrs. O'Shea's husband, Captain William Henry O'Shea, Liberal M.P. for Clare, resided in London while Parliament was in session; the couple no longer lived as husband and wife.

they knew nothing of his whereabouts. Parnell's neglect of his responsibilities as party leader was not unusual, but his followers were not prepared for this episode.[1] The Paris meeting, they felt, was too important for Parnell to ignore wilfully.

In Paris, the Council members waited, carefully reading the London newspapers in the hope of learning Parnell's movements. Press reports showed that he was not in Parliament; yet there were no reports that the Government had arrested him. Healy, along with the other M.P.'s, fretted about public reaction in Ireland to their absence from Parliament while the Government proceeded with its Coercion Bill for Ireland. Inquisitive newspaper reporters from London who came to Paris and joined French reporters in a search for Parnell added to their discomfort.

The impact of Parnell's disappearance in Ireland and England as well as on his colleagues in Paris was considerable. As leader of the militant wing of the Irish parliamentarians, he was a well-known public figure throughout the British Isles and thus an unexpected plunge from view stimulated much public discussion. Because no one actually knew Parnell's whereabouts or his plans, the press reports for the week Parnell was missing are confusing, misleading, and distorted.

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[1]Typical of Parnell's neglect was his complete disinterest in correspondence. He delegated authority to Healy to open and answer all his mail, no matter how important. This fact played an important role in the Paris episode. See Healy, I, p. 108.

In Ireland, the Freeman's Journal reported daily on Parnell's movements, but these articles appear to be "covers" provided by the newspaper's London correspondent. According to one prominent Land Leaguer, T.P. O'Connor, an M.P. and a Parnell ally, was the Freeman's London correspondent. Hansard shows that O'Connor participated in House debates during the week Parnell was missing (4-12 February).[1] On 8 February, a Freeman's Journal article said Parnell had gone to Paris on business concerning the Land League's treasury. The next day, the London correspondent wrote that Parnell had decided to go to Frankfurt because Land League funds had been placed in a bank there. The Nationalist newspaper on 10 February carried a Press Association story which stated that Parnell had arrived the previous day in Dover by French mail packet and had gone immediately to London.[2] On 11 February, another Press Association story reported that Parnell was in Paris. To confuse further readers, the Freeman's Journal also printed a Daily Telegraph report that a warrant had been issued for Parnell's arrest. From London, another story the same day stated that "idle gossip" was beginning to circulate

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[1]Kettle, p. 41; Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLVIII (1881), 352, 533.

[2]Like the wire-service system today, such stories frequently originated from reports carried in member newspapers. The fact that the Press Association reported Parnell's arrival does not mean one of its reporters was an eye-witness to the event. Obviously, the story could have been "planted" with an Association reporter eager for news about Parnell's whereabouts.

because Parnell, Healy, and O'Kelly had not been in the House all week. The Nation also commented on the London gossip and ridiculed the popular notion that Parnell either had fled due to fear of arrest or had run off with Land League funds. One London story had Healy, John Barry, and O'Kelly joining Parnell in flight.[1]

On Saturday, 12 February, the Freeman's Journal London reporter wrote that Parnell, Dillon, Biggar, O'Kelly, Brennan, Egan, Mat Harris, and J.J. Louden had arrived at the Gare du Nord in Paris the previous night at 6:30. The next day, the correspondent corrected the report, saying someone in the Dublin newspaper office had changed his story:

> What I wrote was that they [Dillon and Biggar] had arranged to meet him [Parnell] on Saturday night. Mr. Parnell is not expected in Paris until Saturday morning and Mr. Dillon was in the House at the last division just before 1 o'clock on Saturday.[2]

Obviously, the correspondent's article had been altered greatly. This incident suggests that earlier reports also had been "doctored." The fact that the correspondent was allowed publicly to place the blame on the newspaper indicates that he was angered greatly, perhaps because of frequent tampering with his articles. However, the Freeman's Journal at

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[1]Nation, 19 February 1881.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 14 February 1881. The amended story was certainly necessary in regard to Dillon. He participated in the committee debate on the Coercion Bill both Thursday and Friday, 10-11 February. Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLVIII (1881), 570, 675.

this time did not attempt to clarify its confusing daily reports on Parnell printed during the previous week.

According to Healy, Parnell arrived early Sunday morning, 13 February.[1] A Reuter's telegram from Paris on Sunday confirms this fact.[2] The meeting of the Land League Executive Council took place that Sunday afternoon.[3] Nevertheless, due to Parnell's stature as a major public figure, the curiosity regarding his absence lingered. On Tuesday, 15 February, the London Daily News published a long leading article on the disappearance of the Irish leader entitled, "Where is Mr. Parnell?". The next day, the same newspaper reported that "a credible authority" said Parnell had been in London twice since his disappearance. The same day (16 February), the Freeman's Journal carried a report of the Sunday meeting in Paris held at the Hotel Brighton where the Irish were staying.[4]

Obviously attempting to clear up the confusion caused by the previous week's articles, the Freeman's Journal also printed a Press Association article that attempted to explain

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[1]Healy, I, p. 109.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 14 February 1881.

[3]Ibid., 15 February 1881; Nation, 19 February 1881.

[4]The hotel, on the Rue de Rivoli, still exists, but its records date only to 1914, and there is no way to check on the comings and goings of the Irish M.P.'s and Land Leaguers. Letter from J. LaRoche, 16 August 1968.

Parnell's activities prior to his arrival in Paris on Sunday. According to the report, two special representatives of the Association were sent to the Continent on Saturday, 12 February. The article stated that Parnell, when interviewed at Calais early Sunday morning, told the reporters that he had just arrived from Boulogne where he had been visiting his sister. He explained his disappearance by saying he had been in Frankfurt depositing the Land League's funds.[1] The report then naively concluded: "In this way the hon. Member completely disposed of the many rumors current in London last week, that even his own party did not know where to find him." Inasmuch as the Irish Times used the same story, the report from Calais most likely was authentic. The Irish public might be satisfied, but in London, the Daily News, for example, merely said that Parnell was obviously in Paris "now". It did not bother to utilize the Press Association story which contained Parnell's personal alibi.[2]

That the earlier press reports of the Freeman's Journal were erroneous, if not deliberately misleading, is given credence by the fact that Mrs. O'Shea in her book on Parnell, published no letters from Parnell during the week in question.

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[1]T.P. O'Connor had claimed Parnell was in Frankfurt in one of his Freeman's Journal articles.

[2]Daily News, 16 February 1881.

On his next visit to Paris later that same month, Parnell wrote frequently, more than once a day on occasions. These letters, one signed "always your husband," were published by Mrs. O'Shea.[1]

Healy's story of that week in Paris which appeared in his memoirs is the only complete version now extant. It is worth repeating here, although other participants offered somewhat different accounts of this Paris episode, because relations between Healy and Parnell were significantly changed by events in Paris. Healy, still serving as Parnell's secretary, possessed a number of letters which were addressed to Parnell in a woman's hand. Although he had Parnell's permission to read all correspondence, Healy said he refused to open these letters which had been arriving regularly for the previous two weeks. After a week in Paris and without a clue to Parnell's whereabouts, O'Kelly and Egan asked Healy if he had any letters which might help clear up the mystery of Parnell's absence. Told about the letters, the two men asked Healy to open them. Healy refused, saying it would take a resolution from the Land League Executive Council to change his mind. A resolution was duly passed, stating that it was in the "national interest" for Healy to turn over one of the

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[1]Mrs. O'Shea, I, pp. 165-7. In his memoirs, Healy maintained that the Freeman's Journal helped to "camouflage" Parnell's movements during a second visit to Paris in February. It is likely that Healy's criticism of the newspaper should be in connection with the first visit. See Healy, I, p. 113.

letters to the Executive Council. Healy's stipulation that only Egan and Dillon[1] see the letter's contents was agreed to.[2]

Explaining his action, Healy stated in his memoirs: "I was young--not yet twenty-six, and they wielded national authority. Besides, concern for Parnell was uppermost in their minds."[3] An address taken from the contents of the letter was turned over to Healy and Biggar, who were told to return to England and find out if the woman could lead them to Parnell. Healy said that as he and Biggar were leaving the hotel's courtyard, a cab arrived. Seeing Parnell inside the cab, Healy and Biggar turned back. Parnell went quickly to his room. When Healy knocked a few moments later, Parnell replied with a snarling, "What do you want?". Inquisitive remarks from Healy prompted Parnell to slam the door in his secretary's face.[4]

Healy's account differed from one offered by Andrew Kettle, a member of the Land League Executive Council, who

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[1]If Dillon had left London immediately after the 1 a.m. adjournment of Parliament Saturday, he could have been in Paris for an evening meeting Saturday.

[2]F.S.L. Lyons, John Dillon's biographer, accepted Healy's version of the letter crisis and suggested the letter was from Mrs. O'Shea. See John Dillon: A Biography (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 47.

[3]Healy, I, pp. 108-9.

[4]Ibid., p. 109.

had gone to Paris, though not in the company of his colleagues. According to Kettle, he accidently met Parnell on the Dover-Calais packet and travelled with him by train from Calais to Paris, arriving late one night. He said that when he woke the following morning at the hotel, "Tim Healy came rushing into my bedroom to know where the blazes did I find him [Parnell]." Kettle said Healy then remarked: "We were going to get detectives to look for him. We thought he was done away with."[1] A Press Association story confirmed that Parnell and Kettle travelled together.[2]

At the Land League meeting Sunday afternoon, Parnell did not explain his absence, but instead read to his colleagues a Land League manifesto which called for continued parliamentary activities and for widened agitation in England.[3] It was approved and agreed that Dillon would assume Davitt's position as chief organizer and that Patrick Egan would remain in Paris to make that city the financial headquarters of the Land League.[4] Finally, Parnell rejected the idea of going to the United States to raise money. He also quashed

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[1]Kettle, pp. 43-4.

[2]Nation, 19 February 1881.

[3]According to Kettle (p. 45), Dillon believed the author was "Kitty" O'Shea.

[4]Davitt, p. 306. There is no mention of Frankfurt in any reports on the meeting. It was a foregone conclusion that Paris would be the Land League's headquarters.

lingering hopes of some that he would support an Irish boycott of Parliament.

On Monday night, Healy and Biggar returned to London and their work in the House of Commons.[1] When Parnell returned, Healy informed him that he was resigning as his secretary because he needed more time for his parliamentary duties and legal studies. He promised Parnell that he would find a suitable replacement. In his memoirs, Healy said the real reason for resigning was his distress caused by the letter-opening incident. Healy emphasized that Parnell's rudeness in Paris was unusual, that he was not reproached for turning over the letter, and that his relations were "cordial as ever" with Parnell until the Galway election of 1886.[2]

Once back in London, Biggar, according to Healy, could not resist the temptation to visit the Holloway address taken from the letter in Paris. Healy said Biggar discovered a poverty-stricken woman with an infant there. Healy wrote in his memoirs: "Her needs were provided for, and she was told where to apply should she require further help."[3] Healy's story about the woman and Biggar's visit is usually considered pure fantasy today, although there is no solid evidence to prove he did

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 15 February 1881.

[2] Healy, I, pp. 109-10.

[3] Ibid., p. 110.

not tell the truth.[1] Accounts by Davitt[2] and T.P. O'Connor, who were not in Paris, do not identify the author of the letters, but suggest that Mrs. O'Shea is the woman involved. In his memoirs, Healy flatly stated that Parnell was with Mrs. O'Shea, not the "forlorn lady" during his disappearance.[3] Thus, in Healy's version, the letters were from Holloway, not Eltham or London. But Davitt stated: "None of his [Parnell's] most intimate associates had hitherto suspected the liaison in which he was found entangled. It was a painful discovery, for it was the first cloud that had fallen menacingly over what had promised to be the most successful political career."[4] In his biography of Parnell, T.P. O'Connor also failed to identify the letter-writer as Mrs. O'Shea, but, again, Mrs. O'Shea most likely is the person referred to when O'Connor stated: "It was the first warning the Irish party had of the opening of the tragedy that finally engulfed Parnell and went near to engulfing Ireland."[5]

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[1]John Dillon's son recalled that his father mentioned that the Paris crisis was connected with an illegitimate child being fathered by Parnell. The address, however, was Birmingham, not Holloway. See Lyons, p. 47(n.).

[2]Davitt, p. 306. Although in jail at the time, Davitt certainly would have been informed as to what happened in Paris. Exactly who provided the information is now known, however.

[3]Healy, I, p. 110.

[4]Davitt, p. 306.

[5]Quoted in Abels, p. 114.

Based on the evidence it appears clear that Parnell was with Mrs. O'Shea, and that the accounts by Davitt and O'Connor were colored due to Mrs. O'Shea's later involvement in Parnell's personal life and political career.

Having returned to Westminster from Paris on 14 February, the Irish M.P.'s found that the Coercion Bill was in the third night of Committee discussion. Healy and Biggar immediately entered the discussions which centered on amendments offered by the Irish for every section of the bill. Healy, too, quickly resumed his belligerent attitude which had led to Gladstone's reprimand almost two weeks earlier. It was not long before the House expressed its disapproval of Healy by loudly urging the Chairman to rule him out of order after one exchange with the Solicitor-General of Ireland.[1] Accepting the outcries as a challenge, Healy told the House that, when the Irish M.P.'s returned to Ireland, they would advise the tenants "if threatened with famine, to pay no rent. Not only did they think it right, but they considered it their duty to give this advice."[2] He continued by commenting on the impending coercion and "law and order" in Ireland:

> It might be said that they [the Irish M.P.'s] would be disturbing 'law and order.' For the law and order that had existed in Ireland for the last few hundred years he had a great contempt, and he would have very little hesitation

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLVIII (1881), 814-24.

[2]Ibid.

> in doing a great deal to disturb the maintenance of that law and order.[1]

A short time later, he told the Attorney-General for Ireland: "It was all very well for the right hon. and learned Gentleman to tell them that they would honestly carry out the Act. He did not believe in the honesty of the Government. The carrying out of the law would be in the hands of the most dishonest class in Ireland."[2]

Clause by clause, word by word, the Irish verbally examined the proposed bill, keeping it in Committee for eight nights. Despite the continued absence of Parnell from the House, Healy, the Sullivan brothers, T.P. O'Connor, Lysaght Finigan, Arthur O'Connor and Biggar were in place night after night for the discussions.[3] The Nation reported that Parnell did not return from Paris until Friday, 18 February, the first night his participation in discussion of the Coercion Bill is noted.[4] On Saturday night, Parnell crossed to Ireland to participate in a major demonstration at Balla, King's County, on Sunday. He returned to Parliament for two nights, and then was off to Paris again.[5]

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[1] Ibid., 824-5.

[2] Ibid., 851.

[3] Davitt (p. 310) said that Parnell was in Ireland consulting with Dillon, new organizer of the Land League. See lso, Lord Eversley, p. 142, who agreed with Davitt. Eversley was an M.P. at the time.

[4] Nation, 26 February 1881; Great Britain, 3 Hansard's arliamentary Debates, CCLVIII (1881), 1241.

[5] Ibid., 1446.

Healy said that he tried, but to no avail, to prevent the Irish leader from withdrawing again from the Commons battleground. Apparently it was James O'Kelly, a colorful ex-soldier and journalist then living with Healy, who influenced Parnell's decision to return to Paris. In a short time, O'Kelly became the most trusted of Parnell's advisers.[1] Healy wrote in his memoirs that this second trip to Paris by Parnell "disgusted" the active wing in the Home Rule Party because of "our leader's neglect of things that mattered."[2] While Healy was speaking at an anti-coercion rally in St. Helena's Gardens in London on 23 February, Parnell left for Paris. The Coercion Bill had been presented the previous night to the House by Committee in somewhat altered form. Before Parnell returned on 3 March from this visit, coercion would be the law of the land in Ireland.

In the House of Commons on 24 February, the bill passed 281 to 36. It was rushed through the House of Lords in three consecutive session days, receiving final approval during a rare morning session on 2 March. Before 6 p.m. of the same day, the Coercion Bill received the Royal Assent and became law at once.

On his second February visit to Paris, Parnell encouraged publicity because one major purpose of the trip was to

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[1]Healy, I, pp. 112-13.

[2]Ibid., p. 113.

stimulate interest about Irish grievances in the French press.[1] The day he arrived, Parnell was interviewed at the Hotel Brighton by a Le Triboulet reporter, who was accompanied by the Viscount O'Neil de Tyrone, a direct descendant of the great Irish hero.[2] O'Kelly and Egan also were on hand for the interview. Le Triboulet, a monarchist newspaper, reproached Parnell for contacting Republicans and anti-clerical personalities on his previous visit to Paris. The newspaper was pacified somewhat, however, by Parnell's announcement of his plan to visit the Archbishop of Paris the next day. Le Monde, another unfriendly journal, showed its disapproval of Parnell by reporting the Archbishop of Dublin's denunciation of the Irish leader's Paris activities.[3] According to the Freeman's Journal, Parnell had a successful interview with the Archbishop of Paris, but no French newspaper reported the event.[4] L'Union, however, confidently reported Parnell

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 24 February 1881. Only the monarchist, anti-English Le Triboulet had an Irish correspondent. (See article on the death of Marshall Ney by Ivan de Woestyne, 25 February 1881.) Parnell was confident of support in the French press because in Dublin on Sunday, 20 February, Le Constitutionnel reported: "Nous avons pour nous, dit M. Parnell, les trois quarts des journaux francais." The article was carried in the French newspaper on 23 February, but it is misdated as 25 February.

[2] Le Triboulet, 25 February 1881.

[3] Le Monde, 25 February 1881. On 25 February, Le Monde told its readers a letter from Parnell to Victor Hugo had been released, "main nous nous empressons de ne pas la reproduire."

[4] Freeman's Journal, 26 February 1881.

would not be able to see the Archbishop:

> On lui prête l'intention de faire une visite a l'archevêque de Paris; nous ne savons ce qu'il en est, mais son entrevue M. Henri Rochefort n'est pas oubliée et ne lui fait pas honneur.[1]

The same information was carried in an article by the Paris correspondent of London's Daily News on 26 February. That same day, the Pall Mall Gazette reported Parnell himself had notified the Central News Agency that the interview had taken place. According to a French report, it was Justin McCarthy who informed the London newspapers that the interview was held.[2]

It is Healy's contention that Parnell left Paris several days before he reappeared in London on Thursday, 3 March. He maintained in his memoirs that, once Parnell had made his presence known in Paris, he deserted O'Kelly to return to Mrs. O'Shea.[3] On Wednesday, 2 March, the Daily News reported that the Irish M.P.'s, faced with a second coercive measure, were searching frantically for Parnell:

> Up to a late hour last night no answer had been received from Mr. Parnell to the telegrams despatched on Monday night [28 February] urgently requesting his return.[4]

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[1] L'Union, 26 February 1881. The interview with Rochefort was published in Rochefort's newspaper, L'Intransigeant, on 16 February. On that first visit Parnell also met with Victor Hugo and M. Clemenceau. See the Daily News, 16 February 1881.

[2] Le Constitutionnel, 27 February 1881.

[3] Healy, I, p. 113.

[4] Daily News, 2 March 1881.

Nevertheless, letters published in Mrs. O'Shea's memoirs indicate that Parnell was not with her. One letter from the Hotel Brighton to Mrs. O'Shea is dated 1 March and states that Parnell was planning to return to London on Thursday, 3 March.

On 1 March, Sir William Harcourt, the Home Secretary, had introduced the second coercive measure, known popularly as the Arms Bill. The bill would give unlimited power of search to Irish officials seeking to enforce the laws which prohibited the ownership of weapons. The sale of weapons also would be prohibited in Ireland, according to the bill.[1] Harcourt had the majority of the Cabinet convinced that a conspiracy directed by American Fenians had been launched in Ireland and England. Again, Gladstone and Chamberlain opposed the idea of more coercion.[2] Harcourt tried to soothe his dissenting colleagues by claiming that "coercion was like caviar; unpleasant at first to the palate, it becomes agreeable with use."[3]

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[1]Chief Secretary Forster had hurried to Ireland after the passage of the Coercion Bill in order to direct the arrests of key Land Leaguers. Thus, Harcourt had charge of the second bill. See Eversley, p. 143.

[2]At this time, the officials of the Liberal Government impressed Healy. Men like Gladstone, Bright, Chamberlain, Cannerman, Forster, Dilke, Trevelyan, and Harcourt occupied the Front Bench. When Healy commented "that's a powerful overnment," Biggar replied: "Not at all, mister. That's erely a row of jealous individuals." Healy, I, p. 115.

[3]Gardiner, I, p. 426.

In a rush to pass this companion piece of coercive legislation, the Government immediately declared "urgency" on 1 March; and, by 2 a.m., the House had agreed to the first reading. With everyone expecting adjournment, Healy rose to ask the Ministry why the traditional motion to meet at 2 p.m. on Ash Wednesday, the following day, had not been made. Healy's challenge forced the Government to ask House approval for the regular meeting time.[1] The snub implied in the Government's action added insult to the injury of stringent coercion. The Nation commented that the Liberals felt an Irish coercion measure "was a more important and holy work than attending Lenten Services."[2]

According to the record, Healy was not in the House on Ash Wednesday, but he and Parnell were in their places on Thursday, 3 March. Early in the debate, Healy verbally lashed the sponsor of the second coercive measure for his fallacious interpretation of Land League principles. Despite some diplomatic retreats in the face of threats from the Chair, Healy eventually earned a second suspension. However, it was Dillon who initiated the uproar in the House at this sitting. He opened the debate by objecting to statements concerning John Devoy and the Land League made by Harcourt in previous house sessions. He concluded by regretting the Irish people's

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CLVIII (1881), 2024.

[2]Nation, 5 March 1881.

inability to wage a civil war.[1] The Speaker called on Dillon to withdraw his statement; he did so, but at the same time warned the Government that the coercion acts would destroy the constitutional agitation promoted by the Land League and drive the people "back to the dark ways of assassination."[2] Immediately, Harcourt was on his feet to demand the debate be closed because a Land League official was expounding a "doctrine of treason and assassination."[3] Dillon objected, saying the Home Secretary's explanation was "a gross misrepresentation" of his comments. The Speaker and Harcourt, however, were resolute in their decision not to return the floor to Dillon. After two Irish M.P.'s had disassociated themselves from Dillon's language,[4] Healy rose and stirred the House even more than Dillon. He said that if he were evicted from his home in Ireland by an armed party, "he would shoot as many [of the party] as he could."[5] To justify his views, he quoted Wellington: "If you wish for peace you must be prepared for war."[6]

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CLIX (1881), 157.

[2]Ibid., 159.

[3]Ibid., 160.

[4]One of the two was E.D. Gray, published of the Freeman's Journal.

[5]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CLIX (1881), 165.

[6]Ibid., 166.

The Wexford M.P. then directed his remarks at the Home Secretary, saying Harcourt's statement that the Land League professed a doctrine of assassination and treason "was a deliberate untruth."[1] A collective howl of rage went up from the Liberal backbenchers; and the Speaker quickly reprimanded Healy, commenting: "It is un-Parliamentary, and the hon. Member must withdraw it [the statement]." Healy agreed, but added in almost the same breath that Harcourt's statement "was distinctly untrue." This outburst provoked cries of "Name!" from the assembly. The Speaker again interrupted Healy to warn him that if he contested the authority of the Chair once more he would be suspended. Healy then tried a different tack; he pointed out that assassinations had been curtailed drastically since the Land League was formed, but one assassination had caused a great sensation in England. Healy said, however, the victim's cruelty had "marked him out . . . for the bullet of the assassin."[2] He then charged Harcourt with making "breaches of truth" and reminded the House that the Home Secretary had made similar comments about the statements of Irish members. The Speaker again warned Healy, and Healy again withdrew his statement. Healy began anew, but, before he had proceeded very far, he said the Home Secretary had earlier spoken with "his usual disingenuousness." Exasperated, the Speaker promptly "named" Healy; the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

House, with pleasure, then expelled him by a 233 to 15 vote.[1]

Healy's actions on this occasion illustrated the double-standard the House used to deal with members. He had watered down considerably the "deliberate untruth" statement, but could not express his conflicting viewpoint in a way acceptable to the Chair. It was obvious that the Government wanted to take care of the Irish business so other, more important business could be considered. In commenting on Healy's dilemma, the historian J.L. Hammond noted that on 28 January, Gladstone quoted Parnell's famous boycott speech at Ennis. Parnell objected to the quotation, saying that the newspaper report Gladstone used was in error. According to Hammond, Gladstone behaved on this occasion "as if there was one law for the Irish members and another for the English."[2] Parnell's disclaimer was not accepted by the Prime Minister and Hammond concludes: "If Parnell had been an English member, there is little doubt that his disclaimer would have been accepted and the argument resumed on that basis. Thus Healy was not allowed to call Harcourt disingenuous, but Gladstone thought himself entitled to treat Parnell as a liar."[3]

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[1] Ibid., 168.

[2] Hammond, p. 214. The author commented that "no two months were more hateful" than the two months spent on the coercion debates.

[3] Ibid., p. 215.

On 4 March, the Arms Bill was read a second time without significant debate. When the House cleared after that important division, Healy introduced the second reading of his Coroners Bill to a nearly empty chamber. The measure proposed to increase the payments to Irish coroners and provide salaries instead of fees. The Irish Solicitor-General and the Irish Attorney-General opposed Healy's measure, but Healy received significant bi-partisan support. One leading London newspaper, which called the opposition of the Irish Executive "strange," said Healy's performance was impressive:

> The result was that he wiped out his suspension of Thursday by a Parliamentary victory on Friday. The Government had to give way, and the second reading was carried. . . . Mr. Healy looked as happy as a fateful countenance will allow, and the House generally seemed inclined to regard him as an enfant terrible who had earned by repentance the right to be taken out of the corner.[1]

In the same parliamentary report, the newspaper commented that Parnell's first major speech "for some weeks" was not an impressive effort. The reporter stated: "He seemed overburdened by ill-digested matter."[2] A short time later, the Nation's "London Letter" commented on Parnell's physical appearance, saying he was "looking poorly. His face has a bloodless and waxy appearance, and he seems to have lost much of the energy and spirit he displayed in the earlier part of

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[1] Pall Mall Gazette, 5 March 1881.

[2] Ibid.

the session."[1] The writer then added: "If he brings in a really good land bill I think he will pull up in health, but if he brings in a bad one the troubles that will inevitably ensue can hardly be conducive to his mental or bodily comfort."[2]

When the Arms Bill was considered in Committee on Monday, 7 March, Healy stayed well within the bounds of House regulations, although his first speech of the evening had indicated that there might be a repetition of his previous trouble with the Chair. He commented "that the ignorance of the Home Secretary with regard to Irish affairs, was, no doubt, the reason why he had stubbornly resisted all Amendments."[3] Harcourt, however, was not baited; in fact, he soon promised Healy that his [Healy's] ideas regarding a portion of the bill would be included in the final measure. Healy then graciously withdrew his amendment, saying he believed the Minister could be trusted.[4] When Harcourt persisted with his conciliatory

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[1] Nation, 19 March 1881.

[2] There is no way to know if Healy resumed the writing of the "London Letter" column for the Nation after he returned from the United States in March of 1880. Due to his work in Parliament, with the Land League and the Home Rule Confederation, as well as legal studies, it seems unlikely. Also, T.D. Sullivan, the Nation publisher, was an M.P. and in a position to write the column although the veiled criticism here of Parnell is reminiscent of some of Healy's early columns. Perhaps, too, Sullivan and his nephew co-authored the column.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLIX (1881), 480.

[4] Ibid., 489-90.

attitude, Healy complimented him, expressing his satisfaction "at the excellent spirit shown by the right hon. and learned Gentleman in accepting this and other Amendments."[1] The pleasantries continued and the Arms Bill was reported out of Committee on 9 March, and passed the House on 11 March.[2] The bill stated that anyone in a "proscribed" district who was "reasonably suspected" could be arrested during the next eighteen months; that arms could not be possessed for the next five years and that trial by jury was extinct.

The first arrests under the coercion acts came quickly; but the Nation, with obvious satisfaction, noted that the agitation continued to grow, that "monster meetings" were still being held and that the Ladies Land League, headed by Miss Anna Parnell, was "making wonderful headway."[3] Healy personally challenged the power of the Chief Secretary by speaking at a St. Patrick's Day celebration in a proscribed

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[1] Ibid., 513. Harcourt's attitude toward the Irish M.P.'s was completely different from Forster's. While the Irish Chief Secretary constantly professed his sympathy for Ireland, Harcourt used language that was hostile, blunt, and often outrageous. The Irish knew what to expect from Harcourt and they came to respect him as a tough adversary. They grew to despise Forster for his hypocrisy.

[2] Ibid., 867.

[3] Nation, 19 and 26 March 1881. Archbishop McCabe of Dublin bitterly attacked the Ladies Land League in a letter read in all Irish churches on 13 March. The letter prompted a spirited defense of the women by the Sullivan brothers.

district in County Galway. The young M.P. opened the meeting by saying: "We are told that we dare not come into a proclaimed district to hold a meeting. My answer to that is here we are."[1] Such defiant remarks, of course, drew great cheers from the audience and prompted Healy to continue in the same vein. The newspaper report noted: "He would go back to Mr. Forster and tell him that the people of the county of Galway despised both his threats and his coercion."[2]

Despite such bombastic public speeches, however, Healy was planning to return to Westminster, not to agitate, but to devote his whole energy to produce a Land Act which he hoped would improve greatly the lot of Ireland's tenant-farmers.

While Healy earnestly prepared for the debate on the expected Land Bill, he also found time to compile a detailed book on the coercion debate.[3] The purpose of the book was to discredit the Irish moderates by showing how they had spoken and voted on coercion. Not surprisingly, the record showed that the author was one of the most active Irish members. He had voted on 119 of the 144 divisions and was absent from the House only twenty-five times. Parnell, on

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 18 March 1881; Irish Times, 18 March 1881.

[2] Ibid.

[3] A Record of Coercion, ed. T.M. Healy (Dublin: R.D. Webb and Son, 1881), 144 pages.

the other hand, had voted sixty-five times and was absent seventy-nine times. Healy had spoken in the House 104 times, second only to T.P. O'Connor's 116. Parnell had addressed the House ninety-two times. In the coming months, Healy would be just as active in the Land Bill debate. His untiring effort to obtain for the farmers of Ireland the best possible land measure earned him the respect of Gladstone and the entire House of Commons. In addition--and extremely important for his political career--Healy won the admiration of tenant-farmers in every province of Ireland. Michael Davitt, who was frequently at odds with Healy, would write in 1904: "Mr. T.M. Healy's great chance was to come in the promised land bill, which was to make fame and reputation for him in a single session."[1]

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[1]Davitt, p. 310.

CHAPTER III

GLADSTONE'S LAND BILL
MARCH - AUGUST, 1881

As the Irish members had predicted, the primary effect of the coercion laws was to increase drastically the number of evictions. In the last quarter of 1880, the Land League's power had caused the number of evictions to drop to less than 1,000. In the previous quarter, almost 3,500 tenants had been evicted. Now, in the first quarter of 1881, the landlords, protected by the Government's new powers, began to evict those who still had not recovered enough from the depression of 1879 to pay their back rents. In the first quarter of 1881, 1,732 tenants were evicted. When coercion took full effect in the second quarter of the year, the number of evictions rose to an astounding 5,262.[1] In early April, the Nation reported that landlords were "literally showering notices to quit over Mayo and Sligo," and then ominously noted that "fatal consequences have resulted."[2] Not surprisingly, the increase in evictions was accompanied by an increase in violence. In Mayo, for example, a small

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[1] T.P. O'Connor, The Parnell Movement, p. 231.

[2] Nation, 9 April 1881.

party of police helping to serve eviction papers was met by a hostile crowd. The officer in charge ordered his men to fire, and two Land Leaguers were killed. The crowd then mobbed the police, and stoned to death the officer in charge.[1] Similar confrontations were taking place throughout Ireland despite the Government's round-up of "reasonably suspected" local leaders of the Land League. As the Irish had also warned, the arrests of key Land League officials meant more outrages were committed by persons previously held in check by the League.[2]

As the violence in Ireland escalated, Parnell again faced a major policy crisis. In February, he had managed to pacify the Land League militants after he had rejected their proposal to boycott Parliament. Now, his policy toward the Government's Land Bill would be closely scrutinized by the militants still greatly displeased by Parnell's moderation in the House. To keep firm control of the movement, therefore, Parnell openly could not support the Liberals on this measure, especially at a time when Dublin Castle's power had been increased greatly and the number of evictions was climbing rapidly. On the other hand, the moderates in the party and the League certainly would urge Parnell to cooperate with Gladstone to improve the dreadful condition of the tenant-farmer in Ireland. As early as December, 1880,

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[1] Annual Register (1881), p. 207; Davitt, p. 316.

[2] Davitt, p. 316.

Davitt had predicted a "serious split" in the League if the Government introduced a Land Bill based on the "three F's," i.e., fixity of tenure, fair rent and free sale. While the League officially endorsed the concept of land purchase, a great many of its members would be delighted with a guarantee of the three F's.

Although Gladstone had openly opposed the three F's concept as late as 1880, his bill would guarantee them.[1] Thus, Parnell's prediction to Irish peasants in September "that the measure of the land bill of the next session will be the measure of your activity and energy this winter" had been fulfilled. The Prime Minister admitted in 1893 that "without the Land League, the Land Act of 1881 would not now be on the statute book."[2] Forster, for one, put great pressure on Gladstone to incorporate the three F's in the land measure,[3] and two Royal Commissions concurred with The Chief Secretary's view.[4] Gladstone's conversion apparently did not take place until February, 1881, and he had great difficulty eliciting Cabinet support for the more radical Land Bill.[5]

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[1]Palmer, p. 248.

[2]Pomfret, p. 158.

[3]Reid, II, pp. 286, 292-3.

[4]Annual Register (1881), pp. 79-81.

[5]Eversley, p. 146.

The Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal, resigned the day after Gladstone introduced the bill, terminating a political relationship of twenty-nine years with the Prime Minister.[1] It was with some reluctance that Hartington agreed to remain in the Cabinet.[2]

On the day that the Arms Bill received the Royal Assent, Gladstone informed the House that the Land Bill would be introduced on 7 April. Assuming that the new bill merely would amend Gladstone's 1870 Land Bill, the Land League urged continued agitation. The Prime Minister was not expected to admit that his earlier legislation was an utter failure. The Nation expressed widespread sentiment in Ireland when it said that, whether the Land Bill was weak or strong, "we shall inevitably be driven back once more into the hopeless position from which we have emerged." No one in Ireland--landlord or tenant--really expected a truly "strong" bill and, thus, the Nation encouraged "a belligerent policy steadfastly adhered to."[3]

On 7 April, the day before adjournment for the Easter recess, Gladstone introduced his Land Bill in a two-hour speech which was greeted with a virtually unanimous "tribute"

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[1]Annual Register (1881), p. 89; Eversley, p. 147.

[2]Hammond, p. 216.

[3]Nation, 26 March 1881.

from the crowded House.[1] The proposal as outlined by the Prime Minister was tremendously complex, but the salient points were clear enough. Fair rents were to be determined by a three-member Land Commission, the chairman of which would be a Judge of the Supreme Court. These "judicial rents" would not be changed for fifteen years, during which time there would be no evictions except for non-payment of rent. Irish farmers, however, would be able to sell their tenant-right even if the Court approved the landlord's request for eviction. The Commission also would have power to advance tenants three-fourths of the money to purchase a holding from a landlord willing to sell. The Commission also could purchase an estate and sell it in small lots to the tenants, again advancing them three-fourths of the needed money. Another Commission prerogative was to establish sub-commissions as needed to carry out its functions in the various sections of the country. The aspect of the bill which made money available to the Commission to aid emigration would be attacked harshly by the Irish M.P.'s.

The London press, for a change, had been unsuccessful in ferreting out the details of the land measure before Gladstone's speech and, thus, the public was unprepared for such an extreme proposal. One Liberal M.P. called the measure "a coercion bill for landlords."[2] An Irish agitator

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[1] Annual Register (1881), p. 83.

[2] Hammond, p. 215.

termed it "a legislative sentence of death by slow processes against Irish landlordism."[1] Parnell, replying to Gladstone's speech, took a cue from the surprised Tory leader, Sir Stafford Northcote, saying: "It would not be fair either to the Government or the Bill to express any opinion on it until they [the Irish members] saw the measure in print."[2] Clearly, Parnell desperately needed time to consider his next step because to have condemned the bill "would have been an act of insensate folly; to have accepted it cordially might have made the Government feel that they had conceded too much, and would certainly have caused divisions in his own ranks."[3] Parnell wisely resolved to do nothing for the moment. He had until April 25, the day the Government would propose the second reading of the bill, to decide on a policy.

In Ireland, the Freeman's Journal stated that any measure which assured the three F's "must be of enormous value."[4] In the rural areas, however, some Nationalist newspapers like the Derry Journal, reflecting the hostility toward a Government which supported coercion, said the bill was less than expected, and should not be accepted as a final solution.[5]

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[1]Davitt, p. 317.

[2]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1881), 933.

[3]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 293.

[4]Annual Register (1881), p. 88.

[5]Ibid.

The Nation criticized aspects of the bill, but the language of the leading article suggested the newspaper was restraining its enthusiasm:

> It gives recognition to most important principles, and contains proposals of the utmost value to the Irish tenantry. The business of the country and of the Irish members will be not to reject the measure, but to amend it.[1]

Further, the article optimistically expressed the belief that Gladstone would be agreeable to Irish amendments which corrected obvious flaws in the Land Bill.

In promoting the Land League in Ulster prior to Gladstone's speech of 7 April, Healy expressed his belief that Gladstone, "the first of living statesmen," would introduce a bill which would "go far to give peace and security to the Irish tenant-farmers."[2] Such a bill should be credited to the Land League, Healy stated, because it "had brought the most resolute landlords to their knees."[3] On 17 April, Healy's remarks at a rally in Gorey, County Wexford, strongly suggest that he already had decided to work for passage of the Land Bill. Prior to his speech, Healy listened to his

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[1]Nation, 16 April 1881.

[2]Healy wrote in his memoirs that the Freeman's Journal had received a copy of Gladstone's Land Bill prior to 7 April from Phillip Callan, M.P. for Louth, who had stolen a copy of it from the Attorney-General's office in London and sent it to Dublin. Healy did not claim, however, to have seen the bill in advance. See Healy, I, p. 120.

[3]Nation, 2 April 1881.

good friend John Barry, County Wexford M.P., argue that Gladstone's bill was "far short" of expectation. Barry was followed by G.M. Byrne, the other county M.P., who said "there would be no settlement of the land question unless peasant proprietary was established."[1] Healy, unlike his two colleagues, chose instead to emphasize the value of the bill:

> [The bill as pronounced] did away with capricious raising of rent. . . . Before the rent was raised the landlord must give notice to the tenant, and it must be brought before the court to try if the rent was fair or not. If the court was fairly constituted it would confer a great boon on the tenant.[2]

At the same time in Glasgow, Parnell was criticizing aspects of the bill, but not condemning it.[3]

While Parnell and Healy tried to find the middle ground on this issue, extremists like Dillon indicated by their speeches during the recess that no compromise with the Liberals was possible. At a meeting of the Land League Executive in Dublin on 12 April, Dillon, in the presence of Parnell and Healy, said he would never vote for the bill "knowing as I do that I would only be helping to rivet the collar of the master around the tenants."[4] Less than a week

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[1] Ibid., 23 April 1881; Freeman's Journal, 18 April 1881.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Annual Register (1881), p. 89.

[4] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 66, from Freeman's Journal, 13 April 1881.

later, Dillon told the farmers of County Donegal that, if they accepted the bill, "they were going blindfolded into a worse state of slavery than they ever were in before."[1] In the same county three weeks earlier, Healy had described the bill in optimistic terms.

A Land League Convention was called for 21 and 22 April in Dublin to establish policy on the Land Bill. More than 1,000 delegates from every province of Ireland attended and, in the end, accepted the moderate counsel of Parnell. An open conflict took place, however, when Dillon, Thomas Brennan, a League secretary, and "a large section of the gathering" sought approval of a motion to "advise" the Irish M.P.'s to oppose the bill.[2] The convention finally decided merely to urge the M.P.'s to seek amendments in the Committee stage because the bill fell short of Land League principles.[3]

The extremists, however, did not give up the fight. Dillon did not return to Parliament with his colleagues on 25 April but stayed in Ireland to agitate among the farmers. After several violent speeches, he was arrested on 2 May under the provisons of the Coercion Act. Parnell once again was placed in an extremely delicate situation. If he did not respond to the arrest, he faced defection of the large

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[1] Ibid., from Freeman's Journal, 19 April 1881.

[2] Nation, 30 April 1881.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 23 April 1881.

and extremely important militant wing of the League which remembered Parnell's promise in January to initiate a strike against rent when the first arrest under the Coercion Act was made.[1] Although he was not the first arrested, Dillon was certainly the first major figure to be affected by the new law. Parnell decided that the necessary act of defiance would be merely a symbolic gesture, not something that would alienate the Government. At a meeting of the Home Rule Party on 5 May, Parnell proposed that the Irish not support the second reading of the Land Bill. He suggested that the party walk out in a body to protest Dillon's arrest and the inadequacy of the bill.[2] In order to assure support from his moderate followers, Parnell had to "startle" them with the threat of resignation if his resolution was not approved.[3] Even though no Irish Whigs attended the party meeting, only seventeen of thirty-two "active" M.P.'s in attendance supported Parnell's harmless gesture.[4] It is Conor Cruise O'Brien's contention that more of the M.P.'s would have

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[1]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 60.

[2]Nation, 7 May 1881.

[3]Ibid., 14 May 1881; T.P. O'Connor, Memoirs, p. 178; R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 294.

[4]The Nation reported the vote was 17 to 12 with three M.P.'s walking out without voting. Conor Cruise O'Brien quoted the Freeman's Journal of 6 May 1881 which reported the vote was 18 to 12.

opposed the more radical gesture of secession from the House.[1]

Surely, it was "one of the very darkest hours" for the developing Parnellite party because the decision of non-support for the Land Bill was greeted with dismay in most quarters in Ireland. Parnell won Healy's support for his resolution, but T.D. Sullivan opposed it and A.M. Sullivan had spoken publicly in favor of the bill during the recess.[2] It was not surprising, then, that the Nation expressed a negative attitude toward Parnell's proposal. A leading article commented that it would have been better to "let members of the party act at their individual pleasure at that stage of the measure; after which it would have been the duty of all to unite in an earnest endeavour to effect those amendments in the measure which are so generally demanded in this country."[3] The Freeman's Journal and Dr. Croke, the "Land League Bishop" of Cashel, both condemned Parnell's action.[4] Feelings ran so strong on the issue that Parnell was forced to write an open letter to the press to explain

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[1]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 67.

[2]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 295. Both Sullivans respected the party's decision. See Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXII (1881), 928.

[3]Nation, 14 May 1881.

[4]William O'Brien, Recollections, pp. 311-13.

how insignificant his walk-out proposal was.[1] The reaction in Ireland also inspired some Irish M.P.'s to compose a resolution condemning Parnell, but Healy, T.P. O'Connor, Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Sexton managed to quash it before it was made public.[2]

Meanwhile, Healy was seriously preparing for the debate on the Land Bill, utilizing his brother, a solicitor, for critical suggestions.[3] Parnell's decision to oppose the bill's second reading, therefore, must have been particularly unsettling for Healy, who, one contemporary claimed, held in contempt those "picturesque patriots" lodged in Kilmainham Jail for their extraparliamentary activities.[4] Awaiting the crucial Committee stage, Healy did not become involved in the debate on the second reading which took eight nights to complete. He was in the House every night, however, questioning members of the Irish Executive on a wide range of topics. On 19 May, when the division on the second reading of the Land Bill took place, the Government easily won approval, 352 to 176. Parnell, Healy, and thirty-three other

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 11 May 1881.

[2] Nation, 14 May 1881.

[3] Healy, I, p. 120; T.P. O'Connor, Memoirs, p. 179. Healy gives credit to his twenty-two year-old brother for most of the amending proposals he made in the House. See Healy, I, p. 125.

[4] William O'Brien, Recollections, pp. 309-10.

Irish M.P.'s, however, walked out without voting, an action which was agreed to only reluctantly by a number of prominant members. Earlier in the day, E.D. Gray, publisher of the Freeman's Journal, proposed at a party meeting that the Irish call for an adjournment of debate so that the party could decide what action should be taken on the second reading. A.M. Sullivan supported the motion. Before the motion could be considered, however, Healy amended it: "That we do not feel justified in delaying the second reading of the Land Bill for the purpose of holding another party meeting to reconsider a subject decided at its previous meeting."[1] Support for the amendment came from Biggar and the motion as amended was passed.[2] Later in the two and one-half hour meeting, Biggar's motion obligating the minority to respect the majority's decision also was passed. In a public letter to his newspaper, Gray claimed he agreed to the majority's decision "as the lesser of two evils."[3]

The walk-out later in the day was a significant triumph for Parnell because there was speculation that he would not be able to induce more than ten or fifteen of his followers to join him in defying the Government on such an important

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[1]Nation, 28 May 1881.

[2]There was no mention in the press of the actual vote count.

[3]Freeman's Journal, 20 May 1881.

measure.[1] Shaw and his eleven followers, who had seceded from the Home Rule Party after Parnell's election as chairman, supported Gladstone as did fourteen others who considered themselves members.[2] Two days after the vote, the London correspondent of the Freeman's Journal expressed relief that the Government had managed a large majority on the second reading. This vote allowed, he said, the issue of the Irish walk-out to be forgotten. In the correspondent's column, the attitude of the newspaper's publisher was explained clearly:

> I am bound to say, as far as I can see, the majority of the members who abstained would not have done so if they were not coerced by the pressure put on them by the threat of Mr. Parnell's resignation, and for the sake of future unity, I earnestly trust a strain of this kind will not be put on them again.[3]

The inability--or unwillingness--of the newspaper to comprehend his motives most likely prompted Parnell to begin thinking seriously about establishing his own Nationalist newspaper. In a few weeks, the arrangements for such a newspaper

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[1]A report from the London correspondent of the Nation, 28 May 1881.

[2]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 67, noted that Capt. William O'Shea, the husband of Parnell's paramour, was the only one of the fourteen to survive the 1885 general election. In that election, O'Shea's constituents in Clare failed to re-nominate him. Then, running as a Liberal in Liverpool he was defeated, despite Parnell's help. Finally, he won in Galway as Parnell's personal choice.

[3]Freeman's Journal, 21 May 1881.

had been made; in less than three months, the Parnellite United Ireland was being published.[1]

In Committee, the Land Bill was scrutinized closely by both Irish and Conservative M.P.'s many of the latter believing the bill was the beginning of "communism" in the United Kingdom. Before the bill finally received the Royal Assent, it would occupy Parliament for fifty sittings. On the first night in Committee, seventy pages of the notice-book were filled with 834 amendments. Such a response meant that all Government time, including morning sittings, would be needed to consider the measure. The Committee stage commenced on 26 May, and, by 3 June, when the House adjourned for the Whitsuntide holidays, exactly six lines of the proposed bill had been accepted.[2]

During the short recess, Parnell addressed a rally in Hyde Park where he asserted that the Land League's "fair rent" watchword would become "no rent" if coercion were applied recklessly by the Government and if exorbitant rents were continued.[3] Healy, during the same period, raced to Ireland to test the intentions of the Chief Secretary, an Englishman he especially loathed. This particular dispute with Forster began a few days earlier in the midst of a long

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[1]William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 297.

[2]Annual Register (1881), p. 101.

[3]Ibid.

debate over the arrest of Father Sheehy, a radical Land League priest, in County Limerick. In the House, Healy expressed an opinion of Forster in language which shocked the House:

> The Chief Secretary of Ireland was a very dull man, and his policy in Ireland of arresting the most respectable and worthy men in the country was stupidity followed by stupidity.[1]

Later, in a speech defending his actions, Forster was interrupted constantly by taunts from Healy. Finally, when Healy cheered as Forster quoted a Land League speech, the exasperated Chief Secretary said: "If these are his sentiments perhaps he will go to Ireland and express them."[2] Healy said no more that evening, but accepted the challenge at the first opportunity and dared the Chief Secretary to arrest him under the sweeping provisions of the Coercion Act.

In a speech at Swords, County Dublin, on Sunday, 5 June, Healy was as outrageous as ever. As he had shown during his organizing activities in County Cork the year before, Healy was especially devastating when he dealt in personalities. He opened his speech at Swords by informing the crowd that he was there to reply specifically to Forster's challenge. Healy emphasized his courage and encouraged their sympathy by pointing out his vulnerability. The newspaper report stated:

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXI (1881), 989.

[2]Ibid., 1242-3.

> Although he was here in response to the challenge, he considered it one of the most truculent and indecent acts ever perpetrated by a great Minister of the Crown--for it was a challenge very much as if a man, caparisoned in full armour, challenged another man, naked and defenseless, to mortal combat.[1]

It is unlikely that more than a handful in the audience knew what "caparisoned" meant, but everyone clearly understood Healy's point. The brash, young M.P., according to the report, continued:

> He would tell them what was thought of Mr. Forster in England. . . . The House of Commons were shaking their heads, and applying some very uncomplimentary adjacentive [sic] to him. The man was absolutely rendered desperate, and was walking about Dublin Castle tearing his hair.[2]

The Chief Secretary, Healy said, reminded him of a rhyme from the time of James II, and only two words needed to be changed to make it apply to the present:

> There was an old prophecy found in a bog,
> That Ireland would be ruled by an ass and a dog.
> And now this old prophecy has come to pass,
> For Cowper [Irish Viceroy] is a dog and Forster
> is an ass.[3]

The Irish Times called the speech "extraordinary," but made no editorial comment on it.[4] Both the Nationalist Nation and the Conservative Daily Express said there were rumors that

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[1] Irish Times, 6 June 1881; Freeman's Journal, 6 June 1881.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

Healy's speech would be considered in the House.[1] The Government, however, did not want to create any further problems in Ireland by arresting an Irish M.P. closely linked with Parnell. Forster's challenge obviously had been a tactical error which Healy exploited to great advantage; the Government did not want to supply Healy with further oratorical ammunition. His point emphatically made, Healy immediately returned to more constructive endeavors in the House.

Healy's work in the House on the Land Bill was summarized appropriately by his parliamentary colleague T.P. O'Connor: "Time after time Mr. Healy proposed amendments, while most of us stood apart, conscious of our ignorance of the complicated measure."[2] Another colleague calls the bill "in large part the creation of Mr. Healy and the Irish party."[3] According to an English M.P., Healy "won a great reputation by the ability, legal knowledge, and dexterity of debate he showed in the discussion."[4] A clause introduced by Healy which ordered the Land Courts not to consider improvements made by tenants when setting rents, was accepted by the Government and it became popularly known as "Healy's Clause."

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[1] Nation, 11 June 1881; Daily Express, 7 June 1881.

[2] T.P. O'Connor, Memoirs, I, p. 179.

[3] Justin McCarthy, England Under Gladstone (London: Chatto and Windus, 1884), p. 145.

[4] Eversley, p. 156.

Thus, the Wexford M.P.'s name became fixed firmly in the general public's mind. Gladstone paid tribute to Healy's comprehension of the complex measure by letting it be known that, besides himself, only Healy and Attorney-General Hugh Law understood all the details of the bill.[1]

It has been contended that Healy acted alone in his efforts to improve the bill, but Andrew Kettle said he encouraged Healy to attempt to alter certain aspects of the bill because "Healy could be counted on to ignore the Party and display his ability."[2] William O'Brien said Healy was a "wilful young rebel" who expressed "perfectly voluptuous delight" with his own mastery of the bill and, therefore, ignored "all broader considerations of National policy."[3] In his analysis of the Home Rule Party's actions in the Committee stage of the Land Bill, historian Conor Cruise O'Brien concluded that Parnell and his followers, directed by Healy, were "defending the government text against amendments from the right."[4] This view might be correct in a general sense, but the record of the Land Bill debate clearly shows that Healy frequently did not accept the role of obedient lieutenant. Some of Healy's more extreme amendments

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Kettle, p. 51.

[3] William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 297.

[4] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 68.

encouraged the House to accept more liberal language at times, but it was primarily Healy's expertise that won concessions for the Irish farmer from the Government.

Early in the debate, Healy showed the House what to expect during the three months of the remarkable "One Bill Session." His tactics included a skillful use of obstruction, but it was his thorough knowledge of the bill, his uncanny oratorical skill and his ability to start a time-consuming uproar in the House which frequently prompted alterations in a section of the bill. On numerous occasions, to expedite House business, the Government would compromise; but Healy, due to his extreme language, never appeared to compromise his position as spokesman for the militant, dissatisfied minority. On 27 May, he began the evening by calling a major section of the bill "worthless." Then, he became engaged in a battle with the Speaker who had ruled out of order a rather ridiculous amendment made by Healy. Healy's language and disregard of the Chair, of course, threw the House into an uproar which forced the Ministers to sit idly waiting for order to return. To inform the Government that he was not totally unhappy with the bill, Healy praised the "large amount of time and study and patience spent [by the Government] on the bill."[1] In the end, the Government accepted a portion of Healy's argument and the House was able

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXI (1881), 1468-1523.

to move ahead with its consideration of the bill.[1] It was not until late July, when the Government began to accept amendment after amendment offered by Healy, that the newspapers, both Nationalist and Conservative, were able to look past Healy's bombast and consider his remarkable achievements.

Although both the left and right wings of the Irish Party were committed to aid the Government to pass the Land Bill, Healy rarely agreed to any portion of the bill. He seemed to understand the value of unrelenting, time-consuming pressure on the House. Almost every night, on almost every clause, Healy would argue for a different word, a different phrase, an additional clause or the omission of a word or phrase. He never altered his tactics or decreased the pressure even when opposed at different times by his kinsmen, his colleagues, Parnell, Gladstone, and the entire House of Commons. The intense campaign he waged in Committee earned large dividends for Irish farmers and, at the same time, left him free to be openly critical of the bill as it was being shaped in the House and when it became law.[2] The responsibility for the bill, he would often say, rested solely with the Government.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vols. CCLXII, CCLXIII, CCLXIV (1881), passim.

[3] See, for example, Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXII (1881), 390.

Despite the frequent use of unequivocal language, Healy and the Irish early in the debate proved that they would do nothing to imperil the Government measure. On a Liberal M.P.'s motion to exclude from the bill all Irish estates where improvements were made and then maintained by the landlords, the Irish voted with the Government and the section escaped emasculation on a narrow 225 to 200 vote.[1] Shortly thereafter on a motion which obviously had the unified support of Liberals, Healy voted against the Government. He even had the audacity to declare that the bill he had helped save a few moments earlier was "restrictive of liberty."[2] What probably appeared to many as a propensity for talking too much and too violently was part of a well-defined plan of battle to win all possible concessions from a Government desperate to pacify Ireland in order to attend to pressing domestic and foreign affairs. It is likely that, in most cases, Healy had Parnell's blessing, but he rarely was assisted by Parnell.[3]

One extremely important compromise which the Government made concerned rents in arrears and followed the outline of

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[1] Ibid., CCLXII (1881), 681-737.

[2] Ibid., 746.

[3] In his memoirs, Healy recalled a fruitless appeal he made to Parnell at this time: "If you would only sit beside me, Gladstone will take my amendments, even though you don't say a word." Parnell's interests were elsewhere, of course, but the record shows that Healy did quite well by himself. See Healy, I, p. 124.

a suggestion made by Healy during a long discussion on the question beginning Friday, 17 June. Healy, at that time, had pressed his point despite Gladstone's refusal to discuss specifically the matter and despite Parnell's open opposition. The discussion of the clause centered on the fact that only "present tenants" would enjoy the benefits of the proposed bill. Healy moved to change the wording to "any tenant," claiming that Irish landlords easily could eliminate all present tenants by evicting everyone, at least for a short period of time. The process of evicting tenants, he asserted, would be quite simple because most tenants in Ireland were still in arrears of rent from the bad seasons of 1878-9.[1] Gladstone replied that Healy's remarks were out of place; but when Healy, T.P. O'Connor, and others refused to relent, Gladstone tried to reassure them of his good will:

> It would not be in the view of the Government desirable that the Bill should ultimately be so framed as that future tenancies should grow out of transactions connected with arrears of rent. The creation of future tenancies, wherever they arose from default by the tenants, should be through defaults subsequent to the passing of the Act.[2]

Accepting Gladstone's assurance, Parnell rose and suggested that "his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford should not further occupy the time of the Committee by pressing his

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXII (1881), 805-9.

[2]Ibid., 814.

Amendment."[1] Healy bluntly refused the advice of the party chairman, saying he thought Parnell "had been a little too hasty in acceding to the suggestion that the Amendment be withdrawn, for the Amendment was of wider scope than he seemed to think."[2] Certain that his amendment was vital, Healy suggested that his position had strong support: "It was one of the Amendments which the Irish Hierarchy had stated to be of vital importance, and was one upon which the acceptance of the Bill by the Irish Members depended."[3] His comments indicate that Parnell was not well schooled in the bill's language and was not aware of sentiment regarding this portion of the bill. It is doubtful that Healy would have had the courage to speak out in such a manner if he were not on solid ground. Parnell did not make any further remarks. Healy retained the floor after Parnell's comment, determined to emphasize his point and make certain that Gladstone's assurances had made an impact on everyone. He told the Ministerial Bench to be more amenable in the future to Irish proposals for alterations or be aware that the "silent support" for the measure would disappear.[4] He then reworded

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., 815.

his amendment on arrears, but the Attorney-General for Ireland perfunctorily rejected it. The discussion terminated when the Government agreed to Biggar's motion that "progress be reported"; Healy, thus, had an entire weekend to prepare to assault further the Government's position.

On Monday, Healy's position had not appreciably softened, indicating that consultations with Parnell either did not take place or that he had won his point. The solution he offered the House on the arrears problem was for the Government to pay the landlords one-half of the rent owed by tenants.[1] Healy pointed out that the Irish administration was spending more money on troops who helped serve evictions than would be necessary to solve the continuing arrears problems. Government officials did not take issue with Healy's point; Gladstone, however, reiterated his previous assurances, again failing to offer any specific changes in the language of the clause. Perhaps attempting to drive a wedge between Parnell and Healy, he also noted the disagreement on Friday over his "good advice."[2] Undaunted, Healy adhered to his regular tactics and forced the House to divide on his amendment even though it had no chance of passing. Two weeks later, however, the Government agreed to an arrears plan much like the one he had suggested.

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[1] Ibid., 862.

[2] Ibid., 868.

On 6 July, Chief Secretary Forster announced to the House Committee the Government's proposal regarding arrears. Asserting that the Cabinet had given the matter "serious consideration," Forster said it decided "to give a fresh start, if it is possible, to those tenants in arrears."[1] This "fresh start" would be made possible, he said, by giving the Land Commission the authority to advance landlords fifty per cent of all arrears due for the bad agricultural years of 1878 and 1879. A tenant's 1880 rents, however, must be paid fully in order to qualify for the reduction. The landlord, in return, would "give a release in full to the tenant for all arrears."[2] The landlord would repay the money to the Government over fifteen years, and the tenant would have the sum spread over his rent for fifteen years to repay the landlord.

Healy was not in the House when the unexpected announcement was made. On 1 July, he had returned to Ireland to stir public opinion against the bill. The next day, Sunday, he accompanied John Barry, Thomas Sexton, and John Redmond to a meeting of Redmond's constituents in New Ross. Beautiful weather and the appearance of four M.P.'s attracted a huge gathering who heard Healy attempt to deflate hopes that the Land Bill would be beneficial:

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[1] Ibid., CCLXIII (1881), 160.

[2] Ibid., 163.

> The Land Bill, insufficient and inadequate as it was when introduced, was in the hands of that alien assembly, the English House of Commons, getting worse and worse every day. Gladstone acted in this matter like a huckster, who asked twenty shillings for an article for which he was willing to take seven or eight. The way the Land Bill had been handled should be a lesson to them not to rely upon the word of any British Minister, but upon their own determination and on the powerful organization the Land League which their enthusiasm had created.[1]

Healy's speech at New Ross reflected his uncompromising tone (not his actions) in the House. On one occasion in the House, he accused Gladstone of collusion with the Tories against the Irish, claiming the Prime Minister was making deals on the Land Bill which favored landlords with Tory affiliations.[2] On another occasion, he called the bill "an apology for Feudalism."[3] Later, he stated the bill was getting "more and more worthless as it proceeded."[4] Another time, Healy bluntly told Gladstone that the bill was so altered by amendments it "would not be worth the paper it was printed on."[5] As the amendments accumulated, Healy said the bill was becoming so complicated that the old belief in Ireland that every man had an guardian angel would not help

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[1] Irish Times, 4 July 1881.

[2] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXII (1881), 915.

[3] Ibid., 1173.

[4] Ibid., 1194.

[5] Ibid., 1208.

tenants because "henceforth every tenant would stand in need of a guardian attorney."[1] Reproaches from Parnell and his colleagues did not seem to affect Healy;[2] he continued his time-consuming tactics every day the bill was considered.

Healy had remained in Ireland following his New Ross speech and, on Tuesday, 5 July, chaired a Land League meeting in Dublin where strategy concerning the coercion law was discussed. As pointed out in the Nation, enforcement of the Coercion Act was no longer aimed at "dissolute ruffians and village tyrants" but at the leaders of the Land League.[3] The previous month Forster had admitted that he was "arresting all those central and local leaders of the Land League who can be reasonably suspected of incitement to violence."[4] The Chief Secretary, on the verge of despair because of his failure to halt rural terror, accelerated his campaign of suppression in Ireland when he learned that, in the second quarter of 1881, with coercion in full effect, the number of outrages had increased more than twenty per cent over the year's first quarter. The total figure had tripled from the previous year.[5]

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[1] Ibid., 1424.

[2] Ibid., 1533-5; 1200.

[3] Nation, 9 July 1881.

[4] Reid, II, p. 323.

[5] Ibid., p. 326.

In the House, progress on the bill was slow despite Gladstone's concessions to both Liberals and Tories worried about the rights of property owners in Ireland. Healy returned to Westminster on 7 July in time to help prolong discussion on Clause twenty-five for two sittings. This action caused Gladstone to lament that the Irish were showing no gratitude for the consideration given Ireland by the other 550 representatives. From his bench, Healy interjected, "Not a bit."[1] The Wexford M.P. also verbally abused Forster again and his "indignant language" delighted the Nation. The newspaper informed its readers that Healy "pleasantly suggested that the unfortunate gentleman might be sent to Hong Kong."[2] Healy's remarks, however, were just a prelude to a major effort he planned on Clause twenty-six which concerned Government-assisted emigration.

Discussion of Clause twenty-six began on the twenty-fifth night of Committee debate devoted to the Land Bill. Healy indicated almost immediately that he was in a cantankerous mood. When Gladstone spoke against a Tory amendment, saying, "if we had no other desire in our minds than to see the people of Ireland cleared off the soil of Ireland, we might have contrived some better and some less cumbrous

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 658.

[2]Nation, 16 July 1881. During this period, the newspaper was urging the Irish members to pressure the Government further.

process than emigration," Healy blurted: "Buckshot."[1] A short time later, Healy deliberately harassed the Chairman.[2] No real progress was made at this sitting which concluded after 1 a.m. At noon the same day, Healy and Biggar were in their places, but the Ministers arrived late. The two Irishmen, therefore, moved adjournment of the House and provoked a pointless discussion.[3] A short time later, the tardy Prime Minister agreed to Healy's motion that emigration be strictly voluntary and arranged only on a collective basis.[4]

Healy next sought to get the Government to agree to a "fixed sum" subsidy to be allocated over a specified number of years. In the midst of his plea, Healy showed how abruptly he could change positions when he really desired Government support. He flattered Gladstone by asking: "Other Governments would succeed the excellent Government of the Prime Minister; and what did they [the Irish M.P.'s] know about them?"[5] Healy proposed an annual emigration fund of £25,000 although he said his own conviction was that "one farthing" would be more consistent with feelings on the matter in

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 687.

[2]Ibid., 727-8.

[3]Ibid., 760-5.

[4]Ibid., 785.

[5]Ibid., 772-3.

Ireland.[1] Such a small allocation, of course, would have about as much effect on population figures as a farthing, a fact which Forster noted. When Forster refused to name the figure the Government envisioned for the subsidy, Healy took note of Gladstone's absence, and Biggar promptly moved adjournment despite the early hour.[2] Obviously distressed, Parnell agreed with Forster that Biggar should "not grudge the Prime Minister the short time he took for rest."[3] Healy, however, felt that Gladstone's absence on this and other crucial occasions was no coincidence. In a half-hour speech of "extraordinary vituperation," Healy accused the Government of deliberately breaking its promises.[4] Finally, John Bright rose to defend the Government, but Healy provoked him into a shouting match which the Chairman had to halt.[5]

The conclusion of the exchange between Healy and Bright gave Parnell an opportunity to deny publicly that he had done anything to delay the bill's passage. In his speech, he admitted to a policy of inactivity and acquiesence which,

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[1] Ibid., 896-8.

[2] Ibid., 899.

[3] Ibid., 900.

[4] Daily Express, 14 July 1881; Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 902-3.

[5] Ibid., 904.

Healy maintained, the Irish leader, in a defeatist attitude, had followed from the beginning.[1] Parnell's comments could not be misinterpreted or disputed:

> He [Parnell] did not think that any Member of the House had moved fewer Amendments, or taken a less part in the discussion of the Bill in Committee than he had, and he defied the right hon. Gentleman to point to any speech he had made since the Bill had been introduced up to the present time, or to any action he had taken which had been of the slightest obstructive nature. When the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) moved to report Progress, as soon as he could, he rose to deprecate the Motion, and he asked his hon. Friend to withdraw it. He said then he regretted the line his hon. Friend had taken, and that he thought the Prime Minister was entitled to a few minutes of rest.[2]

The emigration clause, which he and all Irish members opposed, was one of two aspects of the bill to which Parnell devoted any time (the other was Clause seven). For days at a time, he did not speak in Committee; and, as has been seen, he tried to hold back his more militant followers, particularly Healy, Biggar, and O'Connor. On an emotional issue like emigration, Parnell's attempt to curtail Healy's activities was ill-conceived.

Despite Parnell's speech, Healy rose shortly thereafter verbally to "spit in the eye" of John Bright and his Liberal

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[1]Healy, I, p. 125. A letter of 25 May from Healy to his brother pointed out that Parnell said that "we were only wasting our time trying to amend the bill."

[2]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 904-5.

colleagues on the ministerial bench:

> Too much fuss had been made about what was said by Cabinet Ministers, for he did not think it mattered very much what they said. They knew the self-complacency which characterized certain British Philistines; but of all the inconsistencies of that British Philistinism, there could be none greater than the notion that because an English Cabinet put a certain clause into a Bill, therefore, the Irish Members dare not vote against it. The pledge given by the Government was that 'there could be no objection whatever on the part of the Cabinet to mention a limited sum.' Was it not an extraordinary thing that the Chief Secretary for Ireland should endeavour to shuffle out of that pledge.[1]

The Chairman terminated Healy's speech at this point; and the first-year M.P., apparently satisfied, did not contest the ruling. Gladstone having returned, Biggar withdrew his motion to adjourn; and, a few minutes later, Healy's motion for a fixed annual sum of £25,000 was rejected. The Prime Minister, however, promised to name a sum when the wording of the clause had been settled.[2] Later that evening, the Government fixed the emigration subsidy at £200,000 for a three-year period. It was £125,000 above Healy's figure, but it was such an insignificant amount that the Tories claimed it was a "totally inadequate . . . paltry sum."[3] The program also had a termination date as Healy desired. T.P. O'Connor indicated that the Irish were aware they had won the fight

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[1] Ibid., 917.

[2] Ibid., 921.

[3] Ibid., 961.

when he scorned the subsidy as "a miserable petty piddling sum, that it was not worth spending half-an-hour upon."[1]

The sitting of 14 July which followed was trying for both the Prime Minister and Parnell. It lasted until 4:15 a.m.; Healy, Biggar, and O'Connor were irrepressible. Gladstone, irritated and frustrated, responded by charging them, "in a speech of extraordinary passion," with obstruction.[2] But such rhetoric did not deter Healy. As the Prime Minister began to talk about the "degradation which has been inflicted on this noble assembly," Healy brashly interrupted and said to the Chairman that Gladstone was out of order for not speaking to the motion under consideration.[3] The chaos which then erupted obviously pleased Healy for he told the assembly he was "delighted . . . it seemed so much like old times, and it would really do hon. Members good to sit up all night."[4] With cries of "name" being hurled from the Liberal benches, Healy promised "to fight out this clause to the bitter end."[5] Parnell, however, finally prevailed on the M.P. who had moved adjournment to withdraw it and the

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[1] Ibid., 978.

[2] Annual Register (1881), p. 107.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 942.

[4] Ibid., 951.

[5] Ibid., 953.

session returned to normal again.[1] A while later, Parnell's wishes notwithstanding, Arthur O'Connor tried to end discussion for the evening. This caused the harried Parnell to cry out, "No, no! do not do that."[2] O'Connor obeyed and the Government was able to carry the emigration clause, 126 to 23.

Their honor sufficiently upheld by obstruction on a clause which all Ireland despised, the Irish M.P.'s then allowed the final twenty-four clauses of the Land Bill to be considered in the next three sittings. The final clauses, however, were not insignificant, and Healy won several major concessions from the Government concerning them. Although his language continued to be audacious at times, Healy's obstruction ended with the approval of the emigration clause.[3] In the final days of Committee work, the Attorney-General for Ireland accepted so many of Healy's amendments that the Tories constantly derided the Minister for acquiescing to Irish demands.[4] The record shows clearly that Healy was highly successful in shaping the bill to his liking.

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[1] Ibid., 955.

[2] Ibid., 974.

[3] Ibid., 1025, 1397.

[4] Healy, I, p. 125.

On 15 July, the Attorney-General, although he "considered the addition of the sub-section unnecessary,"[1] agreed to Healy's proposal that solicitors be allowed to plead in the Land Court without counsel. Healy's object was to provide tenants with "the cheapest form of counsel."

On Clause forty-two, Healy proposed to limit the Land Commission's jurisdiction over delinquent rents to those rents established by the Land Court. His motion was defended by the entire Irish Administration against the objections of Edward Gibson, Tory M.P. for Trinity College who apparently was as well versed in the bill and land law as Healy.[2] After obstruction attempts by the Tories, Gladstone offered a compromise which Healy scornfully termed "a little arrangement." The Government, however, included Healy's provision that the Land Commission should not become involved in the rent disputes which then were plaguing Ireland.

Healy's next amendment proposed that the act cover all tenancies created between the passing of the bill and January, 1885. The bill originally defined a "present" tenancy as one existing within six months of the bill's passage. Healy's warning about the consequences if landlords "cleared" their

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 1082.

[2]Ibid., 1088. T.P. O'Connor, Parnell Movement, p. 232, wrote that at times "the debates were often wholly carried on by him [Healy], Mr. Law [the Attorney-General], and Mr. Gibson."

estates induced Gladstone to promise consideration.[1] At the Report stage, the Prime Minister offered Healy a compromise: all tenancies existing before 1 January, 1883, would be considered "present tenancies" and thus come under the act's provisions.[2] Dramatically illustrating Healy's significant role in the Land Bill discussions, Gladstone conferred with the young Wexford M.P. in full view of the House. The conference finalized the compromise.[3]

On the question of "town parks," a term from the 1870 Land Act, being excluded from the bill, Gladstone tried to tell Healy that there was no time to discuss it. Healy refused to be put off and finally forced the Prime Minister to admit that "the present state of the law on this subject is unsatisfactory."[4] The significance of Healy's efforts to

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 1202.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 29 July 1881.

[3]Irishman, 30 July 1881. According to a Liberal M.P., this action by Gladstone made Healy "his ardent admirer." Labouchere to Chamberlain, Chamberlain Papers, JC 5/50/3.

[4]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 1292. Tenant farmers living near villages, towns or cities were designated as residents of town parks under the 1870 Land Act and excluded from some benefits of the act. Healy sought to restrict the designation to tenants living near towns "of above 6,000 inhabitants." He withdrew his amendment after persuading Gladstone to investigate the implications of the Land Bill's failure to set a population minimum for towns.

include thousands more tenant-farmers in the bill's provisions was explained in a leading article in the Freeman's Journal a few days later.[1] As the importance of Healy's work became more evident, the main Nationalist newspaper began to show its admiration;[2] and when the bill passed out of Committee after two months of study, the Freeman's Journal expressed delight that Healy was maintaining his close scrutiny of the measure. Pointing out that a "general languour" was to be expected, the newspaper commented: "But no; there was Mr. Healy as fresh as paint, and as vigilant as a warrior on the war-path."[3]

Such vigilance was rewarded when the Government accepted the most important alteration Healy proposed for the bill. Although he pressed the Government to state their plans if the bill was rejected "in another place," Healy apparently believed it was worthwhile to broaden the bill even further.[4] On the first night of the Report stage, 26 July, Healy had limited success; on the second night he triumphed when his proposal concerning tenant improvements was endorsed completely by the Government. His sweeping amendment exempted farmers from rent increases due to their improvements of the land.

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 26 July 1881.

[2] Ibid. See, for example, the issue of 18 July 1881.

[3] Ibid., 23 July 1881.

[4] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 1522, 1576, 1584.

Scant debate ensued after the Government suddenly agreed to the principle because, fortunately, Healy's constant adversary Edward Gibson was out to tea.

Healy's original amendment had been called "absurd" by the Attorney-General. When Healy persisted, Gladstone said he would consider the principle if Healy could prove it needed to be made specific in the bill. Healy said he could not offer proof, but reminded the Prime Minister that "so far the Courts had always acted on landlord traditions, and had interpreted the law on their side."[1] Then, when Healy proposed a revised amendment, Gladstone, with no explanation, said it should be stronger "and must apply to all occasions on which rent was fixed."[2] This statement prompted Healy to withdraw his motion so that the Attorney-General could submit his own.

In his memoirs, Healy praised Hugh Law, the Attorney-General, for being "as keen for justice to the farmers as we were."[3] It was Law, not Gladstone, who was won over to the Irish viewpoint, Healy wrote. Also, Healy admitted that Gibson's absence from the Tory front bench was all-important: "Had Gibson finished lunch five minutes earlier the 'Healy Clause' would never have become law."[4] The Government-

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[1] Ibid., 1980.

[2] Ibid., 1981.

[3] Healy, I, p. 125.

[4] Ibid.

sponsored motion already had been proposed when Gibson returned and he could argue only weakly against it, commenting that the amendment "came on him by surprise."[1] Mitchell Henry, a Whig Home Ruler, most likely summed up the reason for Healy's resultant fame in a brief statement prior to the vote approving the amendment:

> He firmly believed that there were no words in the Bill which would give such satisfaction and comfort to the tenants as these words. Many parts of the measure they would not be able to understand; but these were words which would be learned by heart, and which would become household words, as governing the tenant's interest in this matter of improvements.[2]

Healy well understood his tremendous coup. After the affirmative vote, he turned to T.P. O'Connor and whispered that the unexpected acceptance of his proposal "would put millions into the pockets of the tenants."[3] O'Connor, remembering the event, would write "and, indeed, so it proved to be."[4] Fifty years later, Stephen Gwynn, a noted Irish

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIII (1881), 1981.

[2]Ibid., 1982.

[3]T.P. O'Connor, Memoirs, I, p. 179.

[4]Ibid.

historian, wrote that Healy's Clause "changed the entire destiny of Irish land."[1]

At the moment, however, the clause posed a dilemma for Healy and Parnell's other followers. They knew that public enthusiasm for a Land Bill which included Healy's Clause would undermine the land agitation which was the strength of the Nationalist movement. But, if the tenants were persuaded not to take advantage of the bill, unnecessary hardships for Ireland's huge tenant class would be prolonged. For the Irish M.P.'s, it was a question of legislative responsibility versus political expediency.

For Healy, personally, the dilemma was more complicated because newspapers unsympathetic to the Home Rulers had begun to overlook his bombast in order to relate his achievements in the late stages of the Land Bill's debate.[2] In describing the "close confab" between Healy and the Prime Minister over the deadline for "present tenancies," the Conservative Daily Express reported that several similar

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[1] Observer, 29 March 1931. The tremendous publicity given Healy's Clause over the years was unwarranted, according to some. On Healy's death, a man who had been a reporter for the Freeman's Journal in 1881 said Healy himself had given credit to the Attorney-General. (Irish Times, 30 March 1931.) At this time, Sir Charles Russell also was given credit for proposing the clause. (Irish News, 3 April 1931.) In his memoirs, Healy gives Russell credit for "behind the scenes" help. See Healy, I, p. 125.

[2] Healy made a strong anti-Land Bill speech on 24 July, but the Irish Times and the Daily Express, at least, did not bother to offer any incriminations.

conferences had taken place the previous week. Sarcastically, the reporter wrote: "Tell it not in Land League circles!"[1] Earlier, the same Dublin newspaper pointed out that Healy "has recently risen high in the esteem of friends and foes alike, owing to the steady, intelligent industry with which he applied himself to the study of the Bill down to the minutest details."[2] The same article commented that this esteem was a remarkable achievement because, when Healy entered Parliament, his "bearing . . . was even more repugnant than his principles." The article continued by noting his "extortions" from the Government were reasonable and worthwhile, and it contrasted Healy favorably with those "loud-mouthed spouters of stale sedition, who so frequently palm themselves off on the Irish people as 'patriots'."[3] The Irish Times, too, was impressed with Healy's positive contributions to the bill.[4]

Publicity in the Freeman's Journal for Healy's Clause meant further trouble for Healy and the Parnellites. The Nationalist newspaper urged tenants to have "no hesitation" in availing themselves of the act.[5] Thus, Healy's strenuous

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[1]Daily Express, 29 July 1881.

[2]Ibid., 25 July 1881.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Irish Times, 25 July 1881.

[5]Freeman's Journal, 28 July 1881.

efforts to improve the Land Bill had served primarily to increase the pressure from all sides in Ireland to forget the harsh coercion measure in view of this great land concession. Like coercion, Healy's image also was being softened. Instead of being referred to in the Freeman's Journal as the "most obnoxious" member of the Irish party, Healy now was called a constructive politician who always was given "patient and careful hearing" in the House of Commons, a M.P. who was "steadily proving his claim to the character of an earnest and useful parliamentarian."[1] It was certainly apparent to Healy and to others that the bill's provisions would appeal greatly to the impoverished tenant-farmers. The split in the movement which Davitt had predicted moved closer to reality with every Healy amendment accepted by the Government. In the wake of Healy's achievements, a worried Patrick Egan wrote from Paris to the Central Branch of the Land League in Dublin that a "whig reactionary movement [within the Irish M.P. ranks] will assuredly be attempted."[2]

As the final vote on the Land Bill neared, Healy did what he could to change his new image and portray himself as an unreformed militant Nationalist. On Sunday, 24 July, in Phoenix Park, Dublin, he attacked the proposed Land Court

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[1] Ibid., 28 and 29 July 1881.

[2] N.L.I., Ms 8583, 31 July 1881.

concept as "absolutely inadequate."[1] In the House, prior to the third reading of the bill, Healy clarified his public position on the measure:

> The men who had brought this measure about--the men whose determination, whose resolution, and whose persistence had produced this measure--were not those who were now sitting on the Treasury Bench, but the men who were in penal servitude in Dartmoor and in the prison cells at Kilmanham. To those men they owed whatever was good in this Bill, and he begged to return them his most sincere thanks. . . . He gave no thanks to the Government. He had none to give to those Gentlemen who sat on the Treasury Bench. . . . They had compelled the Prime Minister of England . . . to pass in the measure what was now before the House practically the same principles which four or five years before he had not language strong enough to condemn. . . . and he would say that while those men lay in prison there would be no peace in Ireland. . . . let them pass what measures they pleased.[2]

On the final vote, Healy and six others turned their backs on the Government and stalked out of the House.[3] Parnell was not in the House for the vote, but twenty-seven other Home Rulers, including James O'Kelly, Justin McCarthy, and T.D. Sullivan, trooped into the division lobby behind the Liberal ministers.[4] The vote was 220 to 14 with the

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[1]Nation, 30 July 1881. In the same issue, Healy was praised for his work on the Land Bill. The speech preceded Government approval of Healy's Clause.

[2]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIV (1881), 178-9.

[3]Daily Express, 30 July 1881.

[4]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIV (1881), 191.

leaders and the bulk of the Conservative Party absenting themselves.

Two nights later, Parnell, seeking to illustrate dramatically that he was not aligned with the Government, deliberately provoked the Chair into suspending him. Parnell's language was unusually violent, especially after two months of near-inactivity; and when he was "named" by the Chair he rose and said to Gladstone: "I will not wait for the farce of a division. I will leave you and your House, and the public will see that there is no longer freedom of discussion left to the Irish Members."[1] Indeed, Parnell hoped the Irish people would notice his action and speech. Probably seeking to minimize the political effect of Parnell's remarks, Gladstone decided to reply. But as he began to speak, he was interrupted by cries of "Order!" from Healy. Gaining the floor, Healy reminded the Prime Minister of the Standing Order which stated that suspension motions could not include speeches or debate. Gladstone offered sarcastic "thanks" to Healy and duly moved the suspension of the Irish leader without further comment.[2]

On 20 August, Parnell again made a gesture in the House to placate the Nationalists' suspicious left wing. Again, Healy was there to assist Parnell and enliven the proceedings. Parnell's device this time was a resolution and a long speech

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[1] Ibid., 390.

[2] Ibid.

calling on the Government to free Davitt from prison and defending Davitt's activities.[1] Home Secretary Harcourt, responding for the Government, was interrupted and called a "murderer" of the "Manchester Martyrs" by Healy. Later, the Wexford M.P. opened a long and skillful critique of the Home Secretary's speech by saying Harcourt had indulged in his "usual slander."[2] In a sparsely occupied House, Parnell's motion was defeated, 61 to 19. In Ireland, Parnell's newly established newspaper United Ireland made the most of the issue, advising its readers to "Remember Davitt" and not support any "supposed Home Ruler" who did not vote on the motion.[3] Despite such theatrics, however, Parnell's policy during the passage of the Land Bill could not be erased or forgotten by militant Nationalists. From prison, John Dillon informed William O'Brien of left wing opinion:

> A new difficulty has arisen within the last two months, of a much more serious character [than the newspaper plan of Parnell and Egan]--certain members of the L.L. Executive and myself on the one hand, and Parnell and the Parliamentary section of the Executive on the other--as to the policy which should be pursued. During the progress of the Land Bill through Committee, this difference has become daily wider.[4]

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[1] Ibid., Vol. CCLXV, 510-8.

[2] Ibid., 531. In his speech, Healy pointed out subtle errors made by Harcourt, indicating the Home Secretary deliberately intended to deceive. He also quoted from a Disraeli novel and from Shakespeare.

[3] United Ireland, 27 August 1880. The slogan and advice were taken from Healy's speech in the House.

[4] William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 304 (letter of 12 July).

Healy was one parliamentarian especially distrusted by Dillon. The imprisoned militant had urged that the Irish M.P.'s reject Gladstone's Land Bill, saying at the 22 April convention that it was "hopeless and silly" to try to amend the bill. Now, in August, the tenants knew that Healy had proved Dillon wrong. Commenting in 1898 on the split over the Land Bill, Healy stated that the attitude of the left wing, which he called the "Kilmainham Party," forced Parnell to be absent from the House and the Parnell's real feelings were revealed when he allowed a close associate like O'Kelly to vote for the bill.[1] Illustrating his attitude toward Dillon, Healy wrote that "not a single member of the Party [in 1881] shared Mr. Dillon's views, trusted his judgement, or approved his conduct."[2] The Nationalist movement, however, needed Dillon and he had to be pacified. His views were becoming too well known. To emphasize his disgust with the parliamentarians, Dillon refused to be identified with United Ireland because it might imply he endorsed Parnell's policies at Westminster.[3] Fully aware of the ill will between the two wings and the threat it posed to the movement, Parnell, following his suspension from the House on 1 August, travelled to Dublin for a Land League meeting. At the meeting, he

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[1]Healy, Why Ireland Is Not Free, p. 8.

[2]Ibid.

[3]William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 304.

announced a national convention on 15 September where he would attempt to obtain support for a policy acceptable to both right and left wings of the Nationalist movement.[1]

While Parnell was in Dublin, the Land Bill was being assailed bitterly in the House of Lords. Because of the overwhelming vote in favor of the measure in the Commons, the Lords had no plan to reject the bill.[2] The alterations made in the Lords, however, "fundamentally changed its character" by ignoring the plight of 150,000 leaseholders and 130,000 tenants in arrears of rent.[3] When the Lords sent the bill back to Commons, Gladstone held the line on major principles while compromising on several minor points. The Lords, however, refused to bow to the Liberals' pressure and sent the bill back a second time. Rather than dissolve Parliament, Gladstone arranged a compromise with Tory leaders in the Lords.

In the House, Healy asserted he was greatly disturbed by the Government's willingness to compromise on the first set of amendments from the Lords.[4] There is no indication, however, that Healy urged Irish M.P.'s to take any kind of

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[1] Nation, 6 August 1881.

[2] Annual Register (1881), p. 111.

[3] Ibid.; Hammond, p. 224.

[4] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXV (1881), 1394, 1454.

drastic action; in fact, he attended a party meeting chaired by Parnell which produced a declaration that the Irish were satisfied with the bill.[1] While he looked on,[2] Healy's special clause had been mutilated in the Lords but it was restored partially in the House of Commons.[3] The Government, therefore, did not incur Healy's wrath until it agreed with the Lords that a landlord could resume his holding from a lessee to occupy it himself. The Irish protested furiously, and Healy "created a sensation"[4] by reminding the House of a well known Irish saying which might prove applicable if the compromise were accepted:

> Mr. John Mitchell had advised those who were evicted by their landlords to shoot him like a dog . . . if they could not catch the landlord, they should shoot the agent, and if they could not catch the agent, they should shoot the baliff, and if they could, they should shoot all three.[5]

When the House loudly protested, Healy reminded them that "resumption" of property by the landlords meant "eviction" to most people in Ireland. In the chaotic final hours of

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 10 August 1881.

[2] T.P. O'Connor, Gladstone's House of Commons, p. 186.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXV (1881), 1486.

[4] Freeman's Journal, 12 August 1881.

[5] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXV (1881), 1559-60.

11 August, Healy was not only jeered and called to order on several occasions, but openly criticized by his moderate kinsman A.M. Sullivan[1] in what the Irish Times called a "remarkable falling-out."[2] Sullivan, expressing his satisfaction with the Government's compromise on the resumption clause, agreed with English criticism of Healy's earlier remarks. Sullivan stated that "he heard with grief and, indeed, with intense pain" Healy's statement concerning the shooting of landlords.[3] An "inpenitent" Healy, however, lashed back as soon as he could obtain the floor, claiming that "it was the right and duty of an Irish Member not to care one pin" for English opinion or the opinion of the House of Commons.[4] "Sneering" at Sullivan, he added that the M.P. for Meath had no right to issue disclaimers on his behalf.[5] Healy further shocked the House by restating his belief in the necessity of violence. Sullivan, according to a newspaper

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[1]Ibid., 1583-4. Daily Express, 12 August 1881, called the sitting "the most personal, excited and violent that has arisen in any stage of the Land Bill since its introduction."

[2]Irish Times, 12 August 1881.

[3]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXV (1881), 1579.

[4]Ibid., 1583. Freeman's Journal, 12 August 1881. The traditional remark is, "I do not care two rows of pins."

[5]Ibid.

report, then "rose in solemn terms of rebuke, apparently not in anger, but in sorrow, to retort to his juvenile accuser, who occupied a seat just beneath him."[1] The amazing dialogue concluded with Sullivan apologizing for Healy, stating his brother's nephew "did not mean what he said . . . he had not told the House that what he meant by that was that he would like to shed his own blood in fighting for his country's rights, but that he was not in favour of cowardly assassination."[2] "The disagreeable tift" between Sullivan and Healy prompted Herbert Gladstone, the Prime Minister's son, later to condemn Healy publicly in a speech at Leeds. In an open letter to the press, Healy replied in great detail, pointing out Gladstone's errors of interpretation and sarcastically pleading, "be tender of us Irish members, for your own sore spots are very raw indeed."[3]

In the House, Healy loudly protested against further changes in the bill which Gladstone had accepted in the face of a "no surrender" policy by the Lords.[4] Healy charged

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 12 August 1881.

[2] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXV (1881), 1584.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 23 August 1881. The original of the letter can be found in the Herbert Gladstone Papers, B.M. Add.MSS 46,049, fol. 7. Dated 22 August, the letter is 12 pages long. Gladstone made a short reply on 24 August.

[4] Annual Register (1881), pp. 118-9.

that the bill had become an "instrument of oppression" and claimed he would be happy to see it defeated.[1] In his final major speech of the Land Bill debate, Healy poured salt into the Liberals' open wounds:

> There had been no compromise. . . . there was no necessity for making a compromise. The Government was one of surrender and not of compromise. They surrender Candahar; they surrender Afghanistan; they surrender the Transvaal; and what objection could they have to the surrender of a clause in the Land Bill? . . . he congratulated the right hon. Gentleman [Gladstone] on it.[2]

The bill was read a third time in the Lords on 16 August; on 27 August, Parliament was prorogued, 5 days after the Royal Assent had been given to the Land Bill.

At the Home Rule Confederation convention at Newcastle a few days later, Healy continued to attack the bill, taking time to characterize Chief Secretary Forster as "not an unkindly man . . . only stupid."[3] In United Ireland, Forster was being attacked viciously by Healy who had begun to write a column similar to the one he previously had written for the Nation.[4] In his first column, he sharply criticized Gladstone

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXV (1881), 1959.

[2]Ibid., 1996-7.

[3]Newcastle Daily Chronicle, 30 August 1881.

[4]United Ireland, 27 August 1881. Healy called Forster, "a poor, vulgar, obstinate, English bourgeois, possessed of some cunning and considerable patience, and as he reposes extended on the Treasury Bench staring at the Irish Party with his legs awkwardly awry and his hands for ever unpleasantly trimming his nose, he frequently becomes an object more of contempt than hatred."

and the Land Bill, calling the "crisis" between Lords and Commons a fraud. The Prime Minister, he wrote, had capitulated to the Lords and caused the Land Bill to become a "pitiful skeleton." Gladstone was a minister, Healy said, "whose strength is confined to strong Coercion Acts."[1]

Following the Newcastle convention, Healy returned to Ireland to assist Parnell in an Ulster election. The Irish leader had decided to test his strength in the hostile northern province by challenging a Gladstone nominee in a by-election with a Land League candidate.

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[1] Ibid., 20 August 1881.

CHAPTER IV

"TESTING THE LAND ACT"

In his initial columns for United Ireland, which had begun publication on 13 August while Parliament debated the Land Bill, Healy revealed the editorial policy of the new Nationalist journal.[1] He praised Parnell, scorned the Land Bill, attacked Home Rule "Whigs" who did not represent their "patriotic Irish constituencies" and urged the election of more Parnellites. He also optimistically expressed the belief that parliamentary action could win Home Rule, if the Parnellite M.P.'s continued to dominate parliamentary business as they did in the last session and force the House of Commons to spend more time on Irish matters.[2] To consider, primarily, two Irish measures, the Commons had sat for 1,400 hours in 154 days, the longest sitting in history except for 1847. Irish members, despite their small

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[1] In his Recollections, p. 357, William O'Brien said Healy's column was entitled "Among the Saxon," but actually it was given that title only on a few occasions in the first months of publication. Elsewhere in his book (pp. 435, 474), O'Brien noted that Healy contributed a regular parliamentary letter to the newspaper.

[2] United Ireland, 27 August and 3 September 1881.

number, had made 6,315 of the 14,836 speeches during the session.[1]

The editor of United Ireland was William O'Brien, a Fenian who had been a reporter for the Freeman's Journal. Describing his relationship with O'Brien on the newspaper, Healy once said: "Here we compose our little salads. O'Brien supplies the oil and I pour in the vinegar."[2] There were ample amounts of vinegar in the new journal and O'Brien, no less militant than Healy, supplied a fair share of it. For example, it was reported that Chief Secretary Forster, having read the first issue of O'Brien's newspaper, exclaimed: "Who on earth is this new madman?"[3]

The establishment of the newspaper stimulated the agitation in the countryside, created dissatisfaction with the Land Act, and vividly demonstrated the splintering of the National movement. Although Dillon was an M.P., he aligned himself with the militant Land Leaguers when he refused to be associated with a newspaper they claimed was the voice of the parliamentarians. Actually, Parnell had used Land League funds to purchase the building and equipment needed to publish United Ireland. There were other protests within the movement. T.D. Sullivan, publisher of the Nation, a

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[1]Morley, Gladstone, III, p. 47.

[2]Liverpool Post, 4 April 1931.

[3]Michael MacDonagh, The Life of William O'Brien (London: Ernest Benn, 1928), p. 53.

Parnellite M.P. and a member of the Land League Executive Council, bitterly protested the establishment of a subsidized competitor. He claimed an "inner circle" of the Land League Executive Council was responsible for approving the United Ireland project.[1] As well as the certain loss of revenue, prestige, and power, the Nation publisher had lost the services of Healy. Healy had chosen to be faithful to Parnell; his uncle had not. Sullivan had voted for the third reading on the Land Bill and urged in the Nation that farmers should "discover what good the Act contains."[2] Such a positive public response to the Government's legislation could do Parnell's position in the party no good. With control of his own newspaper, Parnell could explain his actions, something T.D. Sullivan and E.D. Gray had failed to do on a few occasions. United Ireland also would enable him to manipulate better the activities of the tenant farmers.

In addition to the three shades of opinion within the leadership of the movement, Parnell had to contend with the extreme views of the Fenians and the conservative attitude of the Church hierarchy. One of the reasons he purchased the publications of Richard Pigott as a prelude to the establishment of United Ireland was to prevent Pigott's primarily

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[1] N.L.I., Ms 8237/14, memo of 16 July regarding a conversation with Parnell; N.L.I., Ms 8237/5, copy of letter to Patrick Egan dated 14 July 1881.

[2] Nation, 20 August 1881.

Fenian audience from reading editorial attacks on the parliamentarians who controlled Land League policy.[1]

When Parnell, Healy and the other parliamentarians returned to Ireland in late August, Dillon was airing his hostile views regarding the activities of the Irish M.P.'s who followed Parnell.[2] Dillon had been released on 5 August because the Government feared he would die in prison.[3] By the end of the month, Dillon had announced his retirement from politics because of his dissatisfaction with Parnell's policy regarding the Land Bill.[4] In view of the widely-publicized estrangement, Parnell was forced to take a much more militant stance vis-a-vis the Government. United Ireland, an immediate success throughout Ireland, assisted Parnell by adopting a skeptical position on the Land Act, while the Freeman's Journal and Nation were urging tenants to take advantage of the measure.

In order to improve his image with the Irish tenants, Parnell decided to forego the Newcastle Home Rule Confederation

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[1]William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 301; N.L.I., MSS 13478-13526, Folder 2, 15 July 1881.

[2]F.S.L. Lyons, John Dillon: A Biography (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), pp. 53-5.

[3]According to Healy, it was Parnell's private opinion that Dillon's health was better than his own and that Dillon "would outlive him and other robuster men." Why Ireland Is Not Free, pp. 8-9.

[4]Annual Register (1881), pp. 210-12; William O'Brien, Recollections, pp. 325-7.

convention and campaign in a Tyrone by-election.[1] Healy, T.P. O'Connor and James O'Kelly arrived in Tyrone on 1 September to aid the campaign of Parnell's candidate, Land League organizer Rev. Harold Rylett, an English Unitarian minister. Why Parnell chose to risk his prestige on an election in Ulster at this time is unclear. Two close associates said later that the campaign was a mistake in judgement.[2] It should have been obvious to Parnell, for example, that the tenants of Ulster, barely introduced to the Land League's philosophy so well known in the other three provinces, would be cool toward pleas to desert Gladstone's nominee for Parliament.

Healy's speeches in Tyrone followed the familiar pattern. On one hand, he claimed the landlords of Ulster had obtained their land "by confiscation, robbery and fraud" and that the land belonged to the people "whom God created it for." On the other hand, he attacked the Land Act as "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."[3] But, as usual, there was some substance beneath the bombast. In his careful analysis of the act, Healy had discovered that the Land Commission had negated a most important section by means of an interpretation set forth in a booklet of explanation. The Land Act

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[1] *Freeman's Journal*, 29 August 1881.

[2] Kettle, p. 52; Davitt, p. 332.

[3] *Daily News*, 5 September 1881.

stated that "no rent shall be allowed or made payable in any proceedings under this act on account of any improvements made by the tenant or his predecessors in title" unless the landlord already had compensated the tenant for the improvements. Healy and his colleagues had assumed the wording meant that improvements on a farm would bring about an automatic reduction in rent for the tenant. However, the Land Commission's interpretation stated that "no tenant can have his rent increased" by virtue of future improvements. Thus, already existing improvements would not be considered when the Land Commission established rents.[1]

Healy attempted to exploit his discovery in the Tyrone campaign and he did gain support from the Freeman's Journal which, at the same time, had refused to endorse Parnell's candidate.[2] Healy told the farmers in Tyrone that the Land Commission was showing its "cloven foot" by such an interpretation and warned the commissioners that "they were now upon their trial, and that if they did not give satisfaction to the farmers of Ireland one vigorous kick from the Land League boot might topple down the entire Gladstonian house of cards."[3]

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[1]Ibid., 6 September 1881; United Ireland, 10 September; Freeman's Journal, 7 September.

[2]Ibid., 7 September 1881.

[3]Daily News, 6 September 1881.

In the end, however, the farmers of Tyrone indicated that they were not swayed by one flaw--no matter how important--in an act which offered them such great advantages. Throughout Ulster, Tenant Right Associations endorsed Whig candidate T.A. Dickson. Even the president of one Land League branch in Tyrone broke with Parnell in order to support Dickson.[1] The Freeman's Journal supported no one, but fretted that Parnell's presence certainly would insure a Tory victory.

When the tabulation of the poll showed Dickson defeated his Tory opponent by eighty-four votes and that the Land League candidate had received less than one thousand votes out of seven thousand cast, the English press, which had followed the campaign closely, rejoiced. The Daily News, which had strong Liberal Party ties, said: "Mr. Parnell, Mr. Healy and other lights of the Land League have but little reason to congratulate themselves upon the election."[2] Belfast's Northern Whig savored the triumph by attacking Healy's complaints about the Land Act: "If the Land League wish to give a fair trial to the Land Act, Mr. Healy is taking a curious way of setting about it."[3] That Parnell

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[1] Ibid., 7 September 1881.

[2] Ibid., 9 September 1881.

[3] Northern Whig, 9 September 1881.

was "thoroughly discredited" was a highly exaggerated, yet soon accepted, viewpoint. Gladstone, for one, believed Parnell was weakened, and he summoned the vacationing Forster back from Switzerland to discuss the possibility of relaxing coercion in light of Tyrone's repudiation of Parnell's candidate. The Chief Secretary demurred, pointing out that "Ulster is not Connaught or Munster. . . . We have no proof as yet that Parnell has lost his influence in the south or west; or that the intimidating orders of the league will be disobeyed in Connaught or Munster, or that outrages will diminish."[1] Even the Freeman's Journal was somewhat misled; it urged Forster to declare a general amnesty because there never was "so noble an opportunity of conciliating the Irish people."[2]

The day after the declaration of the poll, Parnell and Healy attempted to explain the loss at a meeting of the Central Branch of the Land League in Dublin. Both men maintained the campaign was a significant first step to bring Ulster under the influence of the Land League. United Ireland dutifully noted that, a few years ago, Parnell "would have appeared in Tyrone . . . at peril of his life."[3] Showing his scorn for the English interpretation of the Tyrone defeat,

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[1]Reid, II, p. 335 (letter of 11 September).

[2]Freeman's Journal, 9 September 1881.

[3]United Ireland, 17 September 1881.

Parnell announced that Andrew J. Kettle, a "suspect" imprisoned in Kilmainham, would be his candidate in an anticipated by-election in Monaghan, another Ulster county. Shortly after this announcement, however, the Liberal incumbent decided not to resign. This decision strongly suggested that the Land League was much better organized in Monaghan than it was in Tyrone (at the next election in Monaghan, the Liberals lost the seat). At least one newspaper in the North sensed that Liberal defeats were on the horizon despite the Rev. Rylett's poor showing in the Tyrone election. Because of the expected extension of the franchise, the Belfast News Letter wrote that Ulster Protestants should "close their ranks" and no longer split votes between Liberals and Conservatives. If Protestants do not consolidate, the newspaper stated, "their day of political power is over and, by and by Ulster, too; will send to Parliament a crowd of obstructionists to vote or speak as Mr. Parnell pleases."[1]

As indicated by his speeches in Tyrone, Healy carefully was scrutinizing the final form of the complex Land Bill. Before the important Land Convention met in Dublin on 15 September, Healy's small book on the Land Act was published.[2] In a rare bylined story in United Ireland, Healy analyzed the act, pointing out its weak points, and charging that the

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[1]Belfast News Letter, 10 September 1881.

[2]The book was entitled, The Tenants' Key to the Land Act of 1881 (Dublin: Gill and Son, 1881).

concept of "future tenancies" was the "great blot" on the act.[1] After 1 January 1883, he pointed out, landlords had the right to evict at will, and thus, life for the tenants would be much the same as it always had been. He called the "free sale" clause of the act "little more than a fraud," and then went through the other main clauses offering varying degrees of criticism. His conclusion was appropriately militant:

> It is only fitting . . . to mention, by way of conclusion, the grand defect of the Land Law (Ireland) Act of 1881, is that it fails to carry out the principles of the Irish National Land League by expropriating the landlords, and making every tiller of the soil the owner of the soil he tills.[2]

The publication of Healy's book, however, infuriated Dillon and Egan because it implied that the farmers should take advantage of the act's provisions. The two men obviously were aware that, already in the North, thousands of tenants were flocking into the Land Courts where they were being granted rent reductions of up to twenty per cent; they did not want the same thing to happen in the rest of the country. The book was one of the reasons both Dillon and Egan opposed Healy's election to the Land League's Executive Council.[3]

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[1] United Ireland, 17 September 1881.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Healy, I, p. 144.

The most important outcome of the three-day Land Convention was approval for Parnell's plan that the Land League Executive Council select "at their discretion" test cases to be brought before the Land Courts.[1] Healy, now thoroughly at ease with the complex land measure and, publicly at least, an arch-critic of it, was selected to develop the test cases. Thus, Gladstone's dismay when he heard the news of Healy's appointment is easy to understand. However, his reaction probably would have been far more negative if Parnell's scheme had been rejected by the convention delegates. More than 1,000 delegates from Land League branches, many of them devotees of Henry George and land nationalism or believers in violent agitation, listened skeptically to Parnell's opening address, cheering only hostile references to the Land Act.[2] Parnell's plan did not please anyone, but it was such a skillful compromise that the great majority in both wings finally agreed to it. The interested Irish-Americans, particularly Patrick Ford, publisher of Irish World, were disgruntled; but Parnell couched the explanation of his scheme in such extreme terms that they were satisfied for the moment. In the weeks to come, Parnell would continue the charade on

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[1]Parnell and his trusted lieutenants in the Land League had decided on the concept of "testing the act" some time earlier. See letter of 31 July from Patrick Egan, N.L.I. Ms 8583.

[2]William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 330. Even Parnell's sister Fanny, head of the Ladies Land League, wanted the "parchment lie" torn up. See her poem in United Ireland, 1 October 1881.

speaking platforms by feigning complete intransigence regarding the act. At the convention itself, Parnell said that "the Land Act settles nothing"; and, thus, managed to win the support of "an enormous majority" for his resolution to test the act.[1]

Healy spoke only briefly to the delegates, praising the work of James Redpath, an American journalist who had figured prominently in Davitt's early land agitation in Mayo. "Ireland, when she was free, should erect a memorial to Mr. Redpath," Healy told the delegates. Earlier in the convention, Redpath had defended passionately Parnell and his right to make policy which conflicted with ideas of "presumptuous individuals" who were claiming to speak for the Irish in America.[2] Healy's statement, clearly, demonstrated to the delegates his allegiance to Parnell.

Forster and Gladstone did not wait to see if the Land League's branch officials had the power or the will to enforce the resolution and prevent all but selected tenants from entering the Land Courts. They decided that Healy certainly would choose cases which would discredit the Government's legislation.[3] At Dublin Castle, the only remedy

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[1] United Ireland, 24 September 1881.

[2] William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 333.

[3] Morley, Life of Gladstone, III, p. 57.

seemed to be a more thorough application of coercion. The Liberal Government still did not comprehend that Parnell and his lieutenants who controlled the Land League were actually a moderating influence on the Irish land agitation. Forster became convinced that the Government must arrest Parnell because he was their rival for power in Ireland. Parnell's violent speeches and the enormous reception accorded him when he returned to Dublin on 25 September enabled the Chief Secretary to make a strong case against the Irish leader.[1] A few days later, Gladstone reluctantly agreed to accept Forster's advice and, at an opportune time, imprison Parnell.

Seeking test cases, Healy, in the meantime, had returned to the familiar surroundings of Cork where he had first gained national recognition as a bitter foe of the Government. Simultaneously, he directed a corps of solicitors who were seeking test cases throughout the country.[2] Healy's political philosophy and his loyalty to Parnell preclude the possibility that his goal was to wreck the act. His personal temperament and his knowledge of the law, however, indicate that he desired to give the Government's land courts difficult, but fair tests. In a secret circular sent to Land League branches in the Cork area, Healy stated that the League's Executive Council had decided to test cases in four different classes;

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[1]Reid, II, p. 339.

[2]William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 337.

but for the moment, he would concentrate on only two of these. Healy asked the local officers to suggest cases of evicted tenants who had the right to "resume" their holdings before 22 August, the date the Land Bill became law.[1] He also asked for the names of tenants whose rents were not more than twenty per cent above valuation.[2] And before long, Healy yielded to the temptation to test the land courts' attitude toward Healy's Clause.

On 6 and 7 October, Healy was in Cork City to discuss cases with local league officials. The immediate target was the Earl of Bantry's estates in the west of Cork County.[3] Traveling with Healy as he selected cases was a correspondent for the London Evening Standard, a Tory newspaper, and a French writer.[4] Healy's arrival in Fermoy, a town of 10,000, caused a major celebration despite the late hour and the fact that "the pretty little town" housed "two or three [British Army] regiments." According to the Evening Standard reporter, Healy avoided the merriment in order to

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[1]An evicted tenant had six months in which to pay his rent in arrears and "resume" the land.

[2]Healy, I, p. 134.

[3]United Ireland, 8 October 1881; Healy I, p. 135.

[4]Evening Standard, 14 October 1881. This article detailed Healy's work and, despite an obvious prejudice on the part of the reporter against the Land League, it appears to be an unbiased description of the events of Healy's tour. All of the information on the tour is taken from this Evening Standard article.

discuss the recommendations of the branch officials regarding test cases. The next morning, Healy, the two journalists, and two local League members began a tour of local farms. Healy did not consider the circumstances at the first farm as an adequate test because the rent was more than twenty per cent above the property's valuation. He pointed out that the farmer obviously was paying "rack-rent" and, thus, was certain to win reduction in the courts. The group then travelled up the Galtee mountains where they visited huts which the reporter called "the most repulsive shelters for humanity that have survived in Europe since it ceased to be barbarous." He stated that the families were able to eat meat once a year, at Christmas. Healy found that in all cases on the mountain the rents were more than twenty per cent above valuation. Next, he visited an old widow tenant who had no proof that she and her deceased husband had made a number of improvements on their farm, and Healy could not locate anyone who could verify her claims. A bystander said that "the people here die early."

Frustrated by a fruitless search and surrounded by perturbed farmers and local League officials fearful of losing respect in their community, Healy finally agreed to prepare two cases of local rack-renting for trial. The reporter pointed out that "every tenant in the district had bought a copy of the circular sent out by the Land Commission explaining the benefits conferred by the Act on the husbandmen of

Ireland." The reporter's conclusion was that negative responses would greet efforts elsewhere to find test cases. He stated: "Time after time I have seen a sharp farmer's face cloud over doubtfully when he has been told that he should abstain from going into Court until test cases . . . have been heard." The League's advice, the reporter correctly predicted, would force the Government to act, probably to suppress the entire organization. On the other hand, he also correctly assumed that the League was powerless to hold back the tenants. Dublin Castle, however, still believed Parnell and the League could impede the act's operation.

While Healy was in the countryside, Parnell, soon after a wild reception in Dublin, was honored by his constituents in Cork City at a frenzied celebration which involved 100,000 persons. The Cork celebration prompted United Ireland to declare in a leading article: "Dublin yesterday; Cork today; Wexford tomorrow--the soldiers may hold their barracks a while longer, but the country is ours."[1] The mention of Wexford, Healy's constituency, referred to a celebration planned for Parnell in that city on 9 October. Before that date, however, Gladstone denounced and threatened Parnell and the Land League. As the historian Conor Cruise O'Brien has pointed out: "The attack of the English prime minister had a tonic effect on the reputation of the Irish statesman."[2]

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[1]United Ireland, 8 October 1881.

[2]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 71.

Gladstone's unexpected denunciation resolved most of Parnell's difficulties because it temporarily united the various factions of the movement against the common enemy across the Irish Sea.

The Prime Minister had consented to Forster's plea that he attack Parnell and the Land League's tactics in a speech scheduled at Leeds on 7 October. In his remarks, Gladstone said that Parnell "desires to arrest the operation of the Land Act, to stand as Moses stood, not to arrest but to extend the plague."[1] The threat in Gladstone's concluding statement was clear and had a distinctly ominous ring:

> If it shall appear that there is still to be fought in Ireland a final conflict between law on one side and sheer lawlessness on the other, if the law purged from defect and from any taint of injustice is still to be repelled and refused and the first conditions of political society to remain unfulfilled, then I say, gentlemen, without hesitation, the resources of civilization are not yet exhausted.[2]

Hoping to split the Irish movement even more than it was, Gladstone praised Dillon as an "opponent whom I am glad to honour" because he would not assist Parnell's scheme to test the act and "plunge his country into permanent disorder and chaos."[3] Next, the Prime Minister, commenting on the Conservative element in Irish politics, pointed out that the

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[1] Daily News, 8 October 1881.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

"nominal Home Rulers" were not under attack for they were political associates of "whom not one of us Liberals ought for a moment to be ashamed."[1] Gladstone did not forget the powerful Catholic Church, maintaining that the bishops were grateful for and enthusiastic about the act.

One immediate result of Gladstone's speech was Dillon's decision to end his political retirement in order to dramatize Irish unity in the face of an English threat. The speech also put a "kiss of death" on the Irish Whigs who followed Shaw's lead. From this time on, the Parnellites would call them "nominal Home Rulers," a term with implications few in Ireland missed. The Freeman's Journal realized at once that the Prime Minister had badly blundered and noted that his speech "will have directly the contrary effect to that which it intended."[2] Failing to intensify the disharmony in the Irish movement, and perhaps topple Parnell from power, Gladstone now had to be satisfied with arresting the Irish leader and his comrades, an act which would strengthen the bonds uniting the various elements in Irish politics.

Parnell's response to the speech would give the Government a perfect opportunity to begin its crackdown in Ireland. On the train to the 9 October rally in Wexford, a scathing reply was drawn up by Healy for Parnell to deliver as part of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 8 October 1881.

his speech at the rally.[1] John Barry, John Redmond, and James O'Kelly also helped draft the speech. When he arrived in Wexford, Parnell was treated to another wild demonstration of affection. The remarks of the Irish leader that afternoon were not intended to diminish the enthusiasm; the speech was directed to Gladstone and it was defiant, perhaps even a "treasonable outburst" which Forster sought as an excuse for jailing the Irish leader.[2] Parnell matched Gladstone's personal insults, calling the Prime Minister "the greatest coercionist, the greatest and unrivaled slanderer of the Irish Nation that ever undertook that task," and "the masquerading knight-errant, this pretending champion of the rights of every other nation except those of the Irish Nation."[3] Healy followed Parnell to the speaker's rostrum, commenting that the speech at Leeds was "the babbling of this old man

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[1]Healy, I, p. 136. Healy stated that only the Cork Daily Herald carried a report of Gladstone's speech the day afterwards (8 October). Healy was in Cork on 8 October preparing to depart for Wexford to meet Parnell and the others who were to participate in the rally. It is Healy's contention that Parnell would not have known about Gladstone's speech had not Healy informed him of it and produced a copy of the Daily Herald. T.P. O'Connor, in his book The Parnell Movement, quoted from the 10 October Freeman's Journal when he referred to Gladstone's speech (p. 236). In the British Newspaper Library at Colindale, however, there is an 8 October Freeman's Journal which devoted nine columns to Gladstone's speeches at Leeds.

[2]Reid, p. 353 (Forster letter to Gladstone 9 October 1881).

[3]Pall Mall Gazette, 10 October 1881.

Gladstone. What mattered it to Irishmen what Englishmen might say; they were not Englishmen; they were Paddies evermore."[1]

The tone of Gladstone's speech certainly had made Parnell aware that the Government could be easily provoked into taking steps against him. Yet, he did not hesitate in his speech at Wexford to assert that "Irishmen have established their right to govern Ireland by laws made by themselves on Irish soil." No doubt it was the enthusiasm of the audience that prompted him to make such a statement for he was no revolutionary. In the midst of the frenzied torchlight reception in Dublin on 25 September, Parnell had told a friend: "Warned by the history of the past, we know that we must fight this battle within the limits of the Constitution. We shall not permit ourselves for an instant to be tempted beyond our strength."[2] Gladstone's challenge, closely following the passage of the Land Bill, certainly helped persuade Parnell to adopt a radical stance at the Wexford rally. Painfully aware of his dilemma, and perhaps contemplating the movement's future, he said to Healy: "We have pushed this movement as far as it can constitutionally go!"[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 339.

[3] Healy, I, p. 136.

In London, Chief Secretary Forster's response was not unanticipated. Two days after Parnell's speech, he crossed to England seeking Cabinet approval for his plan to arrest Land League officials. At the conclusion of a five-hour meeting, Forster was given permission to implement his plan; and, early the next morning, Parnell was arrested at Morrison's Hotel in Dublin. In a letter to Mrs. O'Shea, written and mailed with police permission, Parnell expressed the belief that English coercive tactics were destroying the movement: "Politically it is a fortunate thing for me that I have been arrested, as the movement is breaking fast, and all will be quiet in a few months, when I shall be released."[1] With the Irish leader in Kilmainham Jail, Gladstone and the English people also generally believed that the unrest would end soon. When the Prime Minister dramatically announced news of the arrest in a London speech on the evening of 13 October, it was "received with immense enthusiasm, and with salvos of applause, almost, it was said, 'as if it had been the news of a signal victory gained by England over a hated and formidable enemy.'"[2]

Dillon, Sexton, and O'Kelly were arrested with Parnell that first morning and thus joined Kettle and Brennan in Kilmainham. A few days later, William O'Brien, editor of United Ireland, was jailed.

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[1] O'Shea, I, p. 194.

[2] Eversley, p. 170.

The Government "sweep," however, missed Healy, Biggar, T.P. O'Connor, and Arthur O'Connor. T.P. O'Connor was sailing to the United States for a fund-raising lecture tour. The other three Land League leaders were in England; telegrams from Dublin Land Leaguers told them to stay there, out of the jurisdiction of the Irish Chief Secretary. The failure to arrest Healy and T.P. O'Connor greatly distressed Home Secretary Harcourt who wrote his wife: "I am sorry he [Forster] missed Healy, who is the most dangerous, and T.P. O'Connor, who is the noisiest of them all."[1] A few days later, in a newspaper interview, Healy said he had come to England the day prior to Parnell's arrest on "private business" and that he had intended to remain in London for the opening of the law school in the first week of November.[2] Healy's willingness to abandon his work, at least temporarily, on the test cases in order to study law indicates that the Land League's hierarchy had accepted defeat on the issue. The Government's round-up of the League's leaders, however, made the issue of test cases irrelevant for the moment.

While rioting racked Dublin because of Parnell's arrest, Healy prepared to return to Ireland so that he could join his

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[1]Gardiner, p. 431.

[2]Evening Standard, 18 October 1881.

companions in prison.[1] On Friday morning, 14 October, Healy, still uncertain if there were a warrant for his arrest,[2] and E.D. Gray, publisher of the Freeman's Journal, entrained for Holyhead to catch the Irish Mail to Dublin. On the gangway of the ship, Healy was stopped by a messenger with a letter from Thomas Sexton, still at-large in Ireland, saying that it was the "unanimous wish of the Executive" that Healy stay out of Ireland and "make business hot" for Gladstone in Parliament when it reconvened in February.[3] After consulting with Gray, Healy, "with great reluctance," returned to London. When asked by a newspaper reporter why he desired to go to jail, Healy replied:

> I said to myself, how can we expect shopkeepers and farmers throughout the country to sacrifice their business and families' interests if we are not eager to show our thorough contempt for all the English Government can do to us.[4]

The interview continued with Healy saying the arrests would have "a most excellent effect" on the Land League because it would illustrate dramatically for Gladstone and the English

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 14 October 1881. T.P. O'Connor prepared to do likewise when he heard the news from Ireland; Memoirs, I, pp. 202-3.

[2]Evening Standard, 18 October 1881.

[3]T.P. O'Connor, The Parnell Movement, pp. 239-40; Freeman's Journal, 15 October 1881. The letter is printed in full in Healy's memoirs, I, p. 138.

[4]Freeman's Journal, 18 October 1881.

people that the Irish people and the Land League were "synonymous."[1] He reminded the reporter that he had written a book explaining the Land Act and that the Land League officials were dedicated to giving the act a "fair trial." By its action, he said that "the Government have now simply damned the Land Act."[2] A few days before his arrest, Parnell had warned that "Captain Moonlight"--the term applied to Irish terrorists--would take his place if the Government jailed him.[3] In the newspaper interview, Healy emphasized this point and predicted the Land League would issue a "no rent" manifesto:

> If I were a farmer in some country district of Ireland, I would not care to be the man who would now apply to the court under its provisions with Parnell in jail. . . . I think there will be a general refusal to pay rent, rates, and taxes whilst Parnell is in jail. I think, too, that the entire system of local government in Ireland may be wrecked. If rent, poor rates, and county cess are refused, and have to be collected by the bayonets, with no bidders for goods at forced sales, the Government will have a pretty job on hand.[4]

On the day Healy's interview was published in London and Dublin,[5] the Executive Council of the Land League approved

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 312.

[4] Freeman's Journal, 18 October 1881.

[5] Freeman's Journal and Evening Standard carried the interview on 18 October 1881.

the extremist policy which had long been discussed, but never approved because of Parnell's unwillingness to accept the probable violent consequences. Because of the Government's action, however, "a general strike against rent" was declared with Parnell's approval until the Government terminated its coercive policy in Ireland and returned constitutional rights to the Irish people.[1] Why did Parnell allow the extremist faction, exemplified by Patrick Ford in the United States, finally to have its way? The combined pressure of the Coercion Act, the Land Act and Church opposition makes the strike against rent seem to be a foolhardy venture. Even the Land League hierarchy was split, with Dillon, O'Kelly, and T.D. Sullivan among those who opposed the strike.[2] Davitt, too, opposed it because the timing was bad.[3]

Parnell, according to his biographer, felt the circumstances demanded that the extremists' position be accepted[4] and this view generally has been supported by historians. Conor Cruise O'Brien, for example, has written that Parnell's decision to support the call for a strike again demonstrated

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[1] United Ireland, 22 October 1881.

[2] William O'Brien, Recollections, pp. 353-5.

[3] Davitt, pp. 337-8.

[4] R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 320.

his tactical skill. Parnell realized that he could no longer carry out his plan to test the act, nor could he accept the act openly. Rather than battle the extremists, he allowed them to control policy, knowing full well they would fail. Parnell's position, in the end, would be strengthened greatly by such a failure.[1]

With Parnell and his key lieutenants either in jail or unable to return to Ireland for fear of arrest, the movement floundered almost at once. The Government took advantage of the situation by outlawing the Land League on 20 October because of the "no rent" manifesto. The same day, the land courts opened throughout Ireland and they were immediately thronged with tenants eager to take advantage of the Land Act's provisions. Replacing the Land League's organization in Ireland were the violent and often senseless deeds of "Captain Moonlight" and the often-militant activities of the small, but dedicated Ladies Land League. Because there were many figures who could be trusted to direct the operation of the Home Rule Confederation in England, a much more difficult task fell to Healy. Young, energetic, dedicated and without the obligation of family, Healy said he "got word to go to Paris" a few days after the proclamation of the "no rent" policy.[2] Parnell apparently had decided that Healy and

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[1]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 74. This view is reinforced by F.S.L. Lyons in his biography of John Dillon, pp. 57-60.

[2]Healy, I, p. 138.

Father Sheehy, who had been released by Forster a few days before the "sweep" due to ill health, should join T.P. O'Connor in the United States. Having consulted with Patrick Egan and others in Paris, the two men left for New York, arriving on 9 November aboard the France.[1]

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[1]United Ireland, 12 November 1881.

CHAPTER V

HEALY IN AMERICA

Distressingly little is known of Healy's mission to the United States from November 1881, to March 1881. Irish-American and Irish newspapers followed his speech-making from coast-to-coast as he raised funds for the Land League, but his non-public activities are discussed only briefly in the memoirs of the Irish and Irish-American political leaders. Healy's memoirs shed little light on his activities during this trip. His major role in the Land League and the Home Rule Party would indicate, however, that Healy had intimate contact with the leaders of the various Irish-American political factions.[1] His main tasks were to raise money for the Land League and to preach the brand of Irish Nationalism subscribed to at the moment by Parnell and his parliamentary colleagues.

Three major divisions were apparent in the Irish-American community in the winter of 1881-1882. John Devoy and the Clan na Gael represented the center of Irish-American

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[1] In his column in the Boston Republic on 25 November 1882, Healy noted his many contacts with Patrick Ford during his visit to the United States in the winter of 1881-1882.

political opinion regarding Ireland. The organization's leadership, supporters of Parnell and the "New Departure," believed that the Irish-Americans should bury their differences for the time being and unite behind this program. To promote this view, Devoy began to publish a newspaper, the Irish Nation, in November 1881. Politically to the left of the Clan were the devotees of Patrick Ford and his newspaper Irish World. Strongly supporting the "no rent" manifesto and advocating armed insurrection at the earliest opportunity, Ford was, nevertheless, a major fund-raiser for the Irish Land League. A third faction was represented by General P.A. Collins and John Boyle O'Reilly, editor of the Boston Pilot. Standing to the right of Devoy, this group, largely supported by the Irish clergy in the United States, favored ending land agitation so that Home Rule could become the focus of the movement in Ireland. These men also feared that their support of "no rent" in Ireland would be construed as hostility to the rights of private property in the United States.[1] The three factions, therefore, were divided on the issues not only in Ireland, but also frequently in America. Healy was shocked to learn, for example, that Irishmen living in the South were militantly pro-Confederate in their beliefs.[2]

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[1]Thomas N. Brown, Irish-American Nationalism (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1966), pp. 118-23; T.P. O'Connor, Memoirs, I, pp. 208-9.

[2]Healy, I, p. 145.

Healy, O'Connor and Father Sheehy were thrown into the midst of this squabbling. During their stay in the United States, Healy and O'Connor sympathized with the more conservative elements in the Irish-American community. Healy, however, was aware of Ford's great financial assistance to the land movement and knew he could not express his views openly.[1] Seeking to stay out of the factional fights, Healy chose to write for the Republic, a new Boston newspaper, rather than for one of the newspapers controlled by one of the three factions.[2] The Republic proved to be rabidly Parnellite in its political viewpoint and Healy's column, which explained and defended Parnell's policy, generally was displayed prominently on page one and usually was the basis for editorials. Perhaps in response to this implied rebuff, the Pilot, the Irish Nation and the Irish World did not give prominent coverage to Healy's activities in the United States. In fact, Healy's words and deeds were not the topic of a single editorial in these three newspapers during his more than four months in the United States.

By the time Healy and Father Sheehy arrived in New York, O'Connor was well aware of the divisions, especially between Ford and Collins. Collins, as head of the American Land

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[1]Ford by this time had raised $166,000 for the Land League while the official American Land League treasury had raised $132,000. See Brown, p. 120.

[2]Republic, 17 February 1883.

League, had arranged O'Connor's lectures and this fact apparently did not sit well with Ford. O'Connor, aware of Ford's tremendous contribution to the cause, was caught in the middle when Ford, through his newspaper, called for groups interested in hearing the three Irish delegates to apply for speaking dates to the World.[1] O'Connor found himself "explaining and justifying" in private conversations and speeches that "no rent" was not "simply a war declaration," but a declaration "with special and avowed conditions--namely, that the refusal of rent only applied to the period when the British Government, on the one side, were coercing Ireland; and the landlords, on the other side, were evicting the tenants in spite of their universal approach to bankruptcy owing to the failure of the potato crop."[2] O'Connor shrewdly emphasized the "war declaration" for the militants and a definite time limitation for the conservatives.

Owing to the Government's crackdown in Ireland, the three factions agreed to make a show of unity at a convention of delegates from all Irish-American societies. Scheduled for 30 November and 1 and 2 December in Chicago's McCormick Hall, the "call" for a convention was signed by the three Irish delegates, Ford and Collins. To illustrate the unity of

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[1] O'Connor, Memoirs, I, p. 209; Irish World, 12 November 1881.

[2] Ibid., pp. 211-1.

Irish-American purpose in the face of English oppression in Ireland, the arrival of Father Sheehy and Healy in New York was the object of a great demonstration by Irish Nationalists living in the city "who have not hitherto participated as a body in any public demonstration since the commencement of the Land League agitation."[1] The Irish World enthusiastically noted that Father Sheehy had endorsed strongly the "no rent" policy and a large portrait of the priest graced the front page of the newspaper's 12 November issue. Healy, whose portrait appeared with O'Connor's a week later, was elected to Parliament, the Irish World stated, because of his "anti-landlord record."

Interviewed by one of Ford's reporters just before the France docked, Healy stood by the manifesto saying that Parnell's imprisonment would not harm the movement because "all the people have to do is not do anything."[2] In the same interview, however, he refused to condemn the Land Act, saying that if the Land Courts did reduce the rents by twenty per cent, it would ruin the landlords. He also stated that he believed "in another two years the landlords will be cursing their stars that they did not accept the proposal made by the Land League twelve months ago, that they should be bought out at twenty years' purchase on the valuation."[3]

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[1] Irish World, 12 November 1881.

[2] Ibid., 19 November 1881.

[3] Ibid.

The purpose of his mission, Healy told the reporter, was to tell Americans about the real state of affairs in Ireland, warning that American press reports from Ireland should not be believed because they did not understand Land League activities.

After disembarking to the strains of Irish national tunes, the two Irishmen were led in procession to a reception at a Fifth Avenue hotel. An hour later, they were taken to Patrick Ford's home in Brooklyn where they stayed for several hours, departing that evening to address a large rally at Cooper Institute.[1] In his speech that night, Healy made a special point to tell the assembly "to pay no heed to what appears in the American newspapers" concerning the acceptance of the Land Act by the Irish tenants. Clearly, Healy, more aware than most in Ireland of the League's failure to deter the rush into the Land Courts, was attempting to dupe the Irish-American community on this crucial point to preserve Parnell's reputation. In this first public speech in America, he singled out for criticism the New York Herald, a newspaper which generally carried a significant amount of Irish news. "Take my word for it, the people of Ireland have got their teeth on edge and are going to see the thing through," Healy exclaimed. The distortions grew as Healy's speech progressed and, in conclusion, he remarked:

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[1] Ibid., 26 November 1881.

"There is no flinching in our country. The people are going to jail with light hearts and coming out with lighter."[1]

Leaders of the Clan na Gael prepared for the Chicago convention by ordering its members actively to seek election as delegates from their local Irish-American societies. According to an English undercover agent who had penetrated the Irish-American secret organization, the Clan's plan succeeded; its members controlled the assembly.[2] Clan delegates were called into secret caucuses each night to make policy decisions which were carried out by the convention committees controlled by Clan members. On the issue of "no rent," the Clan joined the conservatives to frustrate Ford's followers. Parnell's policy was endorsed "as a political expedient, without reference to its social and philosophical implications."[3] The conservatives, then, combined their votes with the militants to frustrate the Clan's desire to have all Irish-American groups unified under a seven-man executive committee.[4] However, to show its total commitment

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Thomas Miller Beach [Major Henri LeCaron], Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service (London: William Heinemann, 1893), pp. 204-5.

[3] Brown, p. 121; United Ireland, 19 December 1881. An editorial in the Chicago Tribune 3 December noted the equivocal nature of the resolution.

[4] Brown, p. 121. Devoy's newspaper Irish Nation on 10 December sharply criticized the decision, saying that wars are fought with a unified command.

to the Irish leader and the Land League, the convention pledged $250,000 to be raised before 1 February 1882 and donated $30,000 in cash on the spot.[1]

In his memoirs, Healy noted that the decisions of the convention had been made in all-night committee sessions outside the confines of the assembly hall.[2] These legitimate gatherings of official convention committees were attended by Healy, but he gives no indication in his memoirs of what went on behind the closed doors guarded by "sentries." According to one Irish-American newspaper, all resolutions were "drafted largely" by the three Irish visitors.[3] According to O'Connor, Healy also was aware of the "secret convention" being held by the Clan:

> But Mr. Healy, who was a good deal more observant and sharper than I, said to me one day that he suspected what had happened, and that the gentlemen of the revolutionary organization had just led us quietly into a trap they had carefully prepared.[4]

According to O'Connor, control of the Clan passed "from the hands of what may be described as the constitutional supporters in full sympathy with our constitutional methods to the hands of the revolutionary party" at the convention.[5]

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[1] Chicago Tribune, 3 December 1881. Healy, I, p. 141, said the convention raised one million dollars.

[2] Healy, I, pp. 141-2.

[3] Boston Pilot, 10 December 1881.

[4] O'Connor, Memoirs, I, p. 215.

[5] Ibid.

During the convention, Healy and O'Connor let Father Sheehy delight the delegates with his wild, anti-English harangues, while they said very little. On one occasion, the usually verbose Healy was called on to make come comments after the priest had spoken, but Healy declined, claiming the topic had been covered thoroughly and the hour was late.[1] One Irish-American newspaper seemed surprised, calling the Irish guests of honor at the convention "quiet and unassuming."[2] Not speaking out, of course, was politically expedient; Healy and O'Connor knew that they were bound to make enemies no matter what they said because the audience represented so many viewpoints. Healy's only public statement was at a reception on 30 November where he said that the "no rent" policy would be "a permanent measure."[3]

The most significant controversy at the convention took place on the second day, when the nomination of George C. Betts, an Episcopal clergyman, as permanent chairman created an uproar. The Irish trio backed the nomination obviously because they did not want the convention to deteriorate into a fight which would dominate the newspaper reports. The Rev. Betts was a vice-president of the Clan who was chairing

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[1] Irish Nation, 10 December 1881.

[2] Boston Pilot, 10 December 1881.

[3] Chicago Tribune, 1 December 1881.

the secret sessions in the evening.[1] The two Irish politicians kept quiet while Father Sheehy made a public appeal to the delegates. Healy and O'Connor also avoided the concluding ceremonies of the convention.[2]

An ambitious speaking tour began as soon as the convention closed on 2 December. The three men earlier had decided to separate in order to cover as much territory as possible. Healy's primary responsibility was the Midwest and South.[3] The major task for the two parliamentarians was to make sure that their remarks, both public and private, would not affront openly any of the major Irish-American factions. The unity which had been sought by the convention to offset somewhat the arrest of Parnell had not been achieved, and open hostility between factions was a threat which Healy and O'Connor could not afford to ignore.

For the first week after the convention, Healy appeared with Father Sheehy in the East. They spoke to large and enthusiastic audiences in Providence, Hoboken, New Bedford, Boston, and elsewhere. The Catholic priest assured the audiences that the priests in Ireland "not only tolerate the manifesto, but preach it from their altars," while Healy

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[1]Beach, pp. 206-7.

[2]Chicago Tribune, 2 and 3 December 1881.

[3]Irish World, 26 November 1881.

debunked the concept of "fair rent" by calling it "fair swindle" or "fair robbery."[1] Appealing to those exiled Irishmen in America who years ago had given up farming for other pursuits in the cities, Healy preached that he was not in America "simply in the interest of an Irish farmer, but as an Irish Nationalist, and I believe that the destruction of Irish landlordism involves the creation of an Irish nationality."[2] Healy frequently used this argument because of strong conservative doubts about Parnell's emphasis on land agitation. At a huge reception in Boston, Healy urged the throng, which included the state's Governor, not to believe the American press because it was controlled by England, and then forthrightly endorsed "no rent," saying that the Irish tenant could get no justice from the landlord-dominated land courts.[3]

After his sojourn in the East, Healy travelled to the Midwest where the audiences and the dignitaries in attendance continued to be impressive. His speeches, however, tended to be less specific and more emotional as he moved inland to speak with immigrants further from the centers of Irish-American activities and, thus, less concerned with Irish affairs. Healy's speeches, therefore, were designed

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[1] United Ireland, 17 December 1881.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 24 December 1881.

to evoke sympathy for Ireland's plight, but he did not attempt to represent any particular political point of view. In order to make clear his major point, Healy consistently would use analogies in American history. At Rockford, Illinois, the city council attended Healy's speech en masse and heard him say that the condition of the Irish people was worse than the American blacks in the Civil War era.[1] Also in Abraham Lincoln's home state, Healy answered the charge that the Irish movement was communist by claiming that Parnell sought to follow Lincoln's example of freeing the slaves: "This was confiscation of property in behalf of liberty and the world applauded the act."[2] On another occasion, he appealed to the audience to remember another great American event, the Boston Tea Party: "What was the cry of liberty in Boston one hundred years ago becomes the cry of communism in Ireland today."[3] In the Southern United States, Healy was aware that references to the blacks would not make the audience receptive to appeals for money. So, in Texas, Healy pointed out that eight murders in Ireland during 1880 prompted England to impose a Coercion Act. In the same period, Texas had eighty-eight murder convictions.[4] In New Orleans, the Irish

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[1] Ibid., 31 December 1881.

[2] Ibid., 14 January 1882.

[3] Ibid., 28 January 1882.

[4] Ibid.

"boss" of the city arranged for the mayor, sheriff, and city judges to meet Healy upon his arrival.[1] Later, at an evening rally attended by the Governor, Healy showed how quickly he could adapt to make the most of local sentiment. He asked the audience to imagine that Reconstruction had been even worse than it was, that Lousiana "had been parceled out among the Federal soldiers," that "your Governor was thrown in jail, and every man who took part in popular movements thrust into prison." This fantasy was reality in Ireland, he said.[2] In his way, Healy replaced sensitive political statements with oratory, but the oratory was enthusiastically received and quite successful in generating contributions. Besides utilizing local history and American myths, Healy always would prove his militancy to the delight of the audience by making violent personal attacks on Gladstone, Forster, Cowper, and the Land Commission's members.

In mid-January, Healy rode the week-old Southern Pacific Railroad to join T.P. O'Connor for a great rally in San Francisco. On the train from Merced to Oakland, Healy was interviewed by a reporter from the San Francisco Call. Healy told the reporter that the only course for the Irish parliamentarians to follow was to "obstruct and fight" and, that in the coming session, they would vote with the Tories in hopes of forcing a dissolution of Parliament:

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[1]Healy, I, p. 145.

[2]Irish World, 21 January 1882.

> We want a dissolution of Parliament, and the best way to bring it about is by defeating the Government. Give us a new election, and we can increase our number from forty-three to ninety, and perhaps one hundred, members in the House of Commons. This will give us a great deal of power, and perhaps the balance of power, and will go far towards winning the final victory which . . . is sure to come.[1]

The rally at the San Francisco Opera House proved to be a frenzied affair. Hours before it was scheduled to begin, the streets were crowded with people who had no hope of getting into the packed building. Inside, the program included a young lady named Ellen Coursen singing a song especially written for the occasion, "We are going back to Ireland when the Landlords go." However, it was "The Star Spangled Banner" that the new world Irish demanded be sung a second time.[2] The whole occasion was so emotional that Healy departed from his usual aggressive tone when commenting on the oppressed Irish:

> They will be encouraged by your continued efforts; loving hands will lift up our motherland; these loving hands will cast from her brow the crown of thorns, and will replace it with the eternal garland of final liberty.[3]

Healy left San Francisco for New York, making a few stops along the route for speech-making. By this time, he was anxious to return home. As early as mid-December, he had

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[1] Irish Nation, 28 January 1882.

[2] Irish World, 4 February 1882.

[3] Ibid.

written his brother about his home-sickness; but he did not leave the United States until after Parliament opened in early February.[1] Before departing, Healy felt obligated to make a statement on a private controversy which had developed into a public quarrel in the Irish-American community. In December, 1881, John Boyle O'Reilly had written in the American Catholic Quarterly Review that the land agitation in Ireland ought to be dropped in favor of a concerted effort to win Home Rule. Criticized for his remarks by Ford and the Clan, O'Reilly defended the plan in the Boston Pilot. In an interview with the New York Herald, Healy defended the land agitation, saying it was being pursued to gain legislative independence. He stated that he always had thought Irish-Americans understood the land policy in those terms, but admitted to the reporter that O'Reilly's article "had rather rudely aroused me from that delusion."[2] Healy then strongly defended Parnell's policy:

> Every Land League branch in Ireland is in favor of legislative independence, but everyone feels that the best way to attain this desired end is by keeping for the present on the line we are taking. There is no necessity for introducing a new plank in the platform. The plank has always been in it and people who say they are not aware of the fact are simply confessing their own ignorance of the matter.[3]

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[1] Healy, I, pp. 143-4.

[2] New York Herald, 12 February 1882.

[3] Ibid.

Healy concluded the interview by saying that "on the whole, the present situation, from our point of view, is eminently satisfactory." Such optimism hardly was warranted, however; and, within a few months, Healy drastically altered his views to keep in step with Parnell's new policy of non-agrarian agitation. In February, 1882, Healy knew that "no rent" had failed and that there was no indication that the Liberal Government was softening its resolve. Healy even feared that on his return trip he might be taken off the ship at Queenstown and imprisoned. In hopes of confusing the English and avoiding the Irish warrant for his arrest, his sailing date was kept a secret.[1] He boasted to the Herald reporter that, at the next general election, 100 Parnellites would be returned to Parliament and "many English M.P.'s would be forced to support them or be defeated by the Irish electorate in England."[2] In fact, however, it would be three years before Parnell's party had sufficient strength to influence the policy in Parliament.

A large and enthusiastic audience participated in a farewell demonstration for Healy at Cooper Institute on 6 February. It was originally planned for both Healy and O'Connor, but it had been decided that O'Connor would continue his speaking tour on behalf of the Land League for several more

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[1]Healy, I, p. 144.

[2]New York Herald, 12 February 1882.

months.[1] In his speech, Healy again defended Parnell, emphasizing that the Land League represented a Nationalist movement dedicated to obtaining Home Rule for Ireland.

It was a week after the farewell rally before Healy actually departed from the United States. His ship the Arizona stopped in Queenstown before arrival in England; but Healy, who was visited by relatives and friends, was not arrested as he had feared.[2] The fact that Healy was allowed to return to England was due, at least in part, to a changed political climate in England. Forster's policy in Ireland was under attack from all sides because the secret terrorism of "Captain Moonlight," as Parnell had predicted, was uncontrollable despite the Chief Secretary's great coercive powers. The Radicals in the Liberal Party claimed coercion had failed and should be abandoned; landlords in the Tory Party said Forster was much too gentle in dealing with the agitators. Newspapers in both London and Dublin, which represented the two viewpoints, attacked Forster on a regular basis throughout January and February. Then, to add to his mounting problems, Forster once again had to face Healy, his greatest tormentor, in the House of Commons. The Chief Secretary

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[1]The two parliamentarians, aided by Father Sheehy, raised $250,000 for the Land League. William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 409.

[2]Healy, I, pp. 151-2.

might have been distressed about Healy's return, but Healy's constituents were delighted; in Wexford Borough a great celebration took place when it was learned that the self-exiled M.P. had arrived safely in England.[1]

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[1]United Ireland, 4 March 1882.

CHAPTER VI

FORSTER UNDER ATTACK

As early as mid-December, 1881, Parnell was giving some thought to an "arrangement" with the Liberal Government.[1] Mrs. O'Shea was seven months pregnant at the time, and Parnell wrote his "Darling Queenie" of his concern for her well-being:

> Rather than that my beautiful Wifie should run any risk I will resign my seat, leave politics, and go away somewhere with my own Queenie, as soon as she wishes; will she come? Let me know, darling, in your next about this, whether it is safe for you that I should be kept here any longer.[2]

The goals and aspirations of the Land League, quite clearly, were of secondary importance to Parnell at the moment. Apparently, Mrs. O'Shea calmed her lover in subsequent letters, and he optimistically noted that he certainly would be released when Parliament opened 7 February.[3] In America, at

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[1] O'Shea, I, p. 213 (letter of 16 December).

[2] Ibid., p. 212 (letter of 14 December).

[3] Ibid., p. 216. On 11 January 1882, Parnell was still certain about a release date coinciding with the opening of Parliament.

the same time, Healy delayed his departure, until he learned the Government had no intention of freeing Parnell.[1] By this time, Parnell was assuring his mistress that he would be released by the middle of March, "as it will be known then which way the tenants intend to go, and we shall be able to decide whether it is worth our while remaining here any longer."[2] Parnell knew, of course, what the tenants were doing, and he suggested to his Kilmainham colleagues that it was time for the League to change policy because "most of them [the tenants] will pay up."[3] In this same period, he wrote Mrs. O'Shea that he could not "describe to you the disgust I always felt with those meetings [Land League], knowing as I did how hollow and wanting in solidarity everything connected with the movement was."[4] He informed her a few days later that "no rent" had failed badly: "As the majority have decided to pay already it is most likely the minority will then follow suit."[5] Parnell was given further incentive to seek his release on 16 February when Mrs. O'Shea gave birth to their daughter. Worried about the anarchy in the

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[1]Healy, I, p. 114 (letter of 22 December 1881).

[2]O'Shea, I, pp. 220-1 (letter of 10 February 1882).

[3]William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 409.

[4]O'Shea, I, pp. 221-2 (letter of 14 February 1882).

[5]Ibid., p. 222 (letter of 17 February 1882).

countryside, the health of his "Wifie" and daughter, and even about his increasing weight, Parnell anxiously awaited some indication that the Government would release him. But no word came from the Government grappling with other major problems.

Chief Secretary Forster had become so desperate by March about the violence that he travelled into the most disturbed areas of West Ireland in an attempt to reason with the farmers. But, as the Annual Register observed, this courageous action came much too late to be of any value.[1] Throughout Ireland, the people were conferring the "freedom" of their respective cities on the imprisoned leaders of the Land League. In Meath, where A.M. Sullivan was forced to resign from Parliament owing to ill health, the imprisoned Michael Davitt was elected to Parliament without opposition.[2] When he was denied his seat by Parliament because he was a felon, another Land League candidate was offered and, too, was unopposed.[3] With approximately 900 of the country's Land League officials in prison, the outrages continued to increase despite Forster's appointment of "special magistrates" with broad police powers to control the six critical areas. Even a manifesto, inspired by Pope Leo, from the Irish

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[1]Annual Register (1882), p. 185.

[2]United Ireland, 4 March 1882.

[3]Annual Register (1882), p. 186.

bishops calling for "obedience" to Ireland's "lawful rulers" could not stem the violent force unleashed when Parnell was arrested. The Ladies Land League continued to challenge the Government's decrees, and Forster could think of no way to deal with these militant females other than to send them to prison. As the outrages and the number of arrests increased, more and more dissent against Forster's policies was heard in London. John Morley's attacks on the Chief Secretary's policies grew harsher in the columns of the Pall Mall Gazette, and now, other journalists joined Morley. In Parliament, the Lords demanded an investigation into the workings of the four-month-old Land Act,[1] and a Tory M.P. moved that coercion, obviously a failure, not be renewed. Under pressure in the House from a Tory-Irish alliance which opposed his bill to change House procedures, Gladstone indicated to Forster that coercion might not be renewed in October when the various acts expired. Gladstone also broached the subject of Home Rule for Ireland in two speeches in the House. Because of the Chief Secretary's inability to restore order in Ireland, Gladstone was being forced to rethink his position; but Forster continued to insist that Ireland could not be governed without coercion.[2] The Prime Minister, nevertheless, in

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[1]Hammond, p. 257.

[2]Reid, pp. 407-8 (letter of 25 March 1882).

early April drew up a scheme of local government for Ireland which he called "Provincial Councils."[1] He obviously now believed different types of drastic measures were needed to calm Ireland.

Healy, in the meantime, was back in the House of Commons striving to make life as miserable as possible for the Liberal Government in general and for the Chief Secretary in particular. The effectiveness of the parliamentarians who followed Parnell, of course, was limited because of their leader's absence. Nineteen Irish M.P.'s nevertheless unanimously re-elected Parnell as sessional chairman at the opening of Parliament.[2] In the House the Irish went on the attack. The day after his first appearance in the House, Healy quickly resumed his well-known practices by leading an attack on Forster during the debate on a motion to give the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) a supplemental appropriation of £116,000. In typical fashion, Healy found a minor item in the bill which he said "demanded" a full accounting from the Chief Secretary. The matter concerned £3,500 which the RIC paid to persons who had returned their arms under the Peace Preservation Act. Healy expressed amazement that so little money was spent when the Government had justified the act by claiming Ireland was "flooded" with guns.[3] When

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[1]Hammond, p. 258.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 7 February 1882.

[3]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXVI (1882), 1517.

Forster admitted that the act "had certainly not led to the delivery of any large numbers of arms,"[1] Healy asked if the Government planned to repeal it "as it had not been effectual in its operation."[2]

A while later, Healy began to harass the Government on another subject. He complained that a dozen Irishmen had been detained twelve hours without being charged and asked: "Were the resources of civilization so exhausted that the police dare not wake up a Resident Magistrate?"[3] Sharply criticizing police tactics in Ireland, Healy continued to play on Gladstone's words in the famous speech which immediately preceeded Parnell's arrest:

> After having sweeped down upon a house and broken in the door, the sub-inspector went into a room in which decent women were sleeping, and required them to get up and dress in his presence. He certainly thought the 'resources of civilization' might be contracted so that respectable women, aroused from their sleep might, at least, be enabled to dress in private. He did not think, as an ordinary rule, that arms were concealed in a bed, and it was scarcely credible that these women, while they were dressing, would be able to smuggle away a gun or a bayonet beneath their clothes.[4]

In a rather extraordinary manner, he put the matter directly to Forster:

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[1] Ibid., 1550.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 1586.

[4] Ibid., 1589.

> He would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to consider what his own feelings would be if a similar case were brought home to himself. How would he like to have his family disturbed in the middle of the night, and his wife pulled out of bed and ordered to dress in the presence of a police-constable, in order that she might not leave the room with proscribed weapons concealed upon her person?[1]

Healy's next attack concerned £200 "paid in compensation to a man who had been injured in a riot." He wanted to know if the man had been bayoneted at the Cork Park races. The Attorney-General for Ireland professed ignorance, but Lord Frederick Cavendish, financial secretary of the Treasury, admitted that the man had been.[2] This admission sparked another tirade from Healy because in the previous session the Chief Secretary steadfastly had denied the incident had ever taken place. Indignantly, Healy said: "That was the way in which government was carried on in Ireland."[3] Why, he asked, had the man received compensation when people killed in frays with the police received nothing? Healy answered the question himself by saying: "Probably he was a Party man and a Conservative--for it was they who received all the support of a Liberal Government." He then added: "This was the working of the British Constitution. These were the 'resources of civilization' fully developed. He

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[1] Ibid., 1590.

[2] Ibid., 1593.

[3] Ibid., 1594.

congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on the development of those resources."[1] Quoting Tennyson, who had called the policeman "the little God almighty," Healy then charged the Government with failure to investigate police misdeeds even when "there were good grounds for inquiry."[2] Healy asked: "How could he or anybody have respect for law and order in Ireland when the people were being dragooned by these janissaries of the Government and these 'buckshot' warriors?"[3] Inevitably, of course, the small Irish band was overwhelmed at the division, 183 to 18; but the Government had been given notice that the session would be a difficult one so long as its policy in Ireland remained the same.

On 27 February, Gladstone, stung by the Lords' determination to investigate the operation of the Land Act, introduced a resolution saying the inquiry would tend to "defeat the operation of that Act, and must be injurious to the interests of good government in Ireland."[4] Healy, in a long speech opposing Gladstone's resolution, took time to remind Gladstone that the Irish had twice saved his Land Bill, and that his (Healy's) selection of test cases had been justified

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[1] Ibid., 1595.

[2] Ibid., 1599.

[3] Ibid., 1729.

[4] Ibid., 2007.

by favorable decisions handed down in the Land Courts.[1] He then pointed out the obvious flaw in the Liberals' Irish policy:

> He . . . was delighted at the suppression of the Land League. He thought it was the best thing that ever happened in Ireland, because he knew that the right hon. Gentleman might as well try to suppress the Atlantic Ocean as to suppress the Land League; and, therefore the nominal suppression of the Land League would only intensify the feelings of the Irish people, and if the right hon. Gentleman continued the present coercive measures, as he would no doubt do, next year, he should himself consider whether it would not be advisable to vote for another Coercion Bill, such was its excellent effect in nationalizing the people.[2]

Healy also spent considerable time warning the Government that Ireland would remain dissatisfied until the problem of arrears, which hung like a "millstone around the necks of the unfortunate tenants," was settled satisfactorily.[3] After four nights of debate, the House agreed to Gladstone's resolution, 300 to 235. Healy, Justin McCarthy, Thomas Sexton, T.D. Sullivan, and thirty-five other Home Rulers voted against the Government.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] At this same time in Kilmainham Prison, Healy's brother Maurice was helping Parnell draft a measure to settle the arrears question. Parnell likely turned to Maurice because of his role in drafting amendments for the Land Bill (see, for example, O'Connor's Memoirs, I, p. 238). Settlement of the arrears would be the quid pro quo which Parnell demanded of the Government in return for his aid in halting the rural violence.

During the early weeks of the new session, Healy clearly was re-establishing his position as the most militant Irish parliamentarian. When a member condemned the "no rent" manifesto and suggested that the Irish people be told how many Irish M.P.'s supported it, Healy interrupted: "If you allude to me, I do."[1] He also attacked the Government's refusal to allow Davitt to sit for Meath,[2] and challenged the legality of the Government's confiscation of an issue of the Irish World.[3] Healy then bitterly assailed Forster for the arrest of Patrick Egan's former business partner in Dublin,[4] saying that the man's commercial standing in Dublin "was superior to that of the right hon. Gentleman at Bradford." The Chief Secretary sat for Bradford, and the House was taken aback by Healy audacity.[5] Mitchell Henry replied to Healy: "What could be more coarse, more insulting, more absolutely without a shadow of foundation, than his insinuations against the commercial credits of his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland."[6]

To control such exchanges, Gladstone on 20 February had introduced a resolution calling for a drastic change in the

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXVII (1882), 496.

[2]Ibid., CCLXVI, 1804-1812; 1854-6.

[3]Ibid., CCLXVII, 593-4; 746-7.

[4]Ibid., 595-615.

[5]Ibid., 595.

[6]Ibid., 604.

Rules of Procedures in the House. The measure commonly was referred to by its opponents as the "Gagging Resolution" because it would allow debate to be closed by a bare majority of House members. However, matters of Supply had to be taken up, and the discussion of Gladstone's resolution did not begin until 20 March. With cloture imminent, Healy made the most of his still unfettered freedom in the House. During debate on the Supply proposal for the Irish Land Commission, Healy attempted to settle a grudge with John Barrett, a land agent in County Cork for Lord Kenmare, who had caused problems for Healy when he was organizing that area prior to his arrest in 1880. Calling Barrett the "chief evictor" for Lord Kenmare,[1] Healy prevented the House from voting on the measure until he was informed about Barrett's position with the Land Commission. Healy's obstinacy finally elicited a groan from the Prime Minister, and this expression gave Healy an opportunity to inform Gladstone bluntly that there would be more of the same in the coming days:

> They were quite able to understand what these groans meant; but although the cloture was under discussion, the Government had not yet succeeded in passing it. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that as long as the Irish Members considered any questions worth debating they would debate it in spite of the groaning of the Prime Minister and of the whole Treasury Bench in chorus.[2]

A few days later when the Irish introduced a motion assailing the Government for the hardships of the imprisoned

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[1] Ibid., 688.

[2] Ibid., 719-20.

"suspects" in Ireland, Healy was given another opportunity to attack Forster and the Government for their mismanagement of Irish affairs. Saying he had in his hand a letter from one of the political prisoners, Healy challenged the "Bible-loving" Chief Secretary and the Prime Minister, "if he had the heart of a man," to do something to improve prison conditions.[1] Healy's remarks produced cries of "name," and prompted Gladstone to reply. Calling Healy "intemperate and unjust," the Prime Minister, nevertheless, obviously still felt that moderate language was the best way to deal with Healy when the young Irishman was agitated; and, therefore, he requested a copy of the letter so that the situation could be investigated.[2] Healy, of course, by creating a row, had used up valuable time. There is no record of the letter's contents.

Another excellent method of frustrating the Government was for Healy to indulge in a discussion about the mechanics of the Land Act which he knew so well. When Healy demanded on one occasion an amendment to insure the proper implementation of a section of the act, Gladstone again replied humbly: "I hope I may have the indulgence of the House and of the hon. Member if the answer to it [Healy's question] be not so

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[1] Ibid., 807-9.

[2] Ibid., 811.

perfect as it would be if it had proceeded from my right hon. and learned Friend."[1] The Prime Minister obviously was growing weary of the Irish obstruction; and he told Healy that, although he was sympathetic, "I must again respectfully remind the hon. Gentleman of the difficulty of transacting Public Business at present."[2]

Healy, however, had no intention of heeding the Prime Minister's advice. The next day, on the question of Supply for the Civil Service, Healy was particularly irritating, especially when he called for the establishment of a Select Committee to discover why "it required four or five times as long to teach a child to read under the system in force in England than it did under the systems in operation in France and Germany."[3] When Lord Hartington, for the Government, objected to Healy's comments and charged the Irish M.P. with obstruction, he merely gave Healy another opportunity to continue the discussion. Saying the Irish would not allow the reading issue to come to a vote "at the fag end of a Friday Sitting," Healy claimed he "had in his portfolio, outside, valuable documents relating to all these Irish subjects, which they would take seriatim."[4]

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[1] Ibid., 1663.

[2] Ibid., 1663-6.

[3] Ibid., 1929.

[4] Ibid., 1937-8.

A while later, he told the new Attorney-General for Ireland W.M. Johnson that he had better become involved in the debate on the treatment of prisoners "with a full heart" or face the possibility of having a question raised for every one of the 600 suspects in Irish jails.[1] Healy's determination finally forced Hartington to promise a full discussion of Irish matters pertaining to Civil Service Supply on the following Tuesday.[2] Healy, in fact, had become so troublesome to the Ministry that Gladstone automatically assumed a few nights later that it was the young Wexford M.P. who had rudely interrupted his speech. Healy refuted the accusation, and the Conservative M.P. who had actually cried out then identified himself. When the Prime Minister apologized, he noted that the error was due to the "local association" between Irish and Tories against the Government on the cloture proposal which "has become so great that it is impossible in every case to know from whom an exclamation comes."[3]

The determined Tory opposition, the alliance of Tories and Irish and the defection of some Radicals boded ill for Gladstone's cloture measure. Indicating that the Liberals feared the measure's defeat, John Bright, on the fifth and final night of debate on the first clause, appealed to the

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[1] Ibid., 1946.

[2] Ibid., 1955.

[3] Ibid., CCLXVIII, 409.

patriotism of Tories by pointing out that the Irish, the obvious targets of the measure, were, in effect, "at war with the Government and the Imperial Parliament."[1] He then singled out Healy and T.P. O'Connor for their role at the Irish-American Convention in Chicago "which declared war against the Crown and the Government of the United Kingdom."[2] Although Healy interrupted Bright on two occasions, he did not reply formally to the speech, leaving that task to Sexton who, during his speech, called the Liberal minister an "extinct volcano." The clause, which gave the Speaker the power to call for a vote of cloture, was passed 318 to 279 on 30 March basically because the Liberals were able to prevent major defections from their ranks. Healy and thirty-eight other Irish members voted with the Tories.[3] The day after the vote, twenty-four Parnellite M.P.'s met and passed a resolution condemning the 14 Irish members who had voted with the Government.[4] Healy was on the committee which framed the resolution calling for the Irish people to take special notice of those who had agreed "to silence" the true representatives of the nation.

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[1] Ibid., 325.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 422-7.

[4] United Ireland, 8 April 1882.

Before Parliament recessed for the Easter Holiday on 4 April, Gladstone came under heavy fire from a number of Tory members who pointed out that outrages in Ireland continued to increase despite the existence of the Coercion Act. The Tory speeches were followed by a motion to end Irish coercive measures. In a long defense of Government policy, Gladstone admitted the "social revolution" was out of control; and he named Healy as one of the "Gentlemen who regard themselves as more than any other the Representatives of the Irish people" but yet "do nothing at all" to repress outrage.[1] The Irish members, of course, were delighted to agree with the Tory taunts, but Healy decided to defend himself. In particular, he was forced to explain to Parliament a recent letter to his constituents which had appeared in the press and been quoted by the angry Prime Minister. In the letter, Healy stated:

> For myself, I look upon the English in Ireland simply as a gang of brigands, whose rule had degraded, and whose exactions have impoverished our country. The captain of the gang, the Right Hon. W.E. Forster, invites me, as your Representative, to convey certain English moral lessons to the town of Wexford, a town in whose market place his predecessors slew scores and hundreds of women and babes, and upon whose fields an English soldier plucked out your priests heart to grease his boots.[2]

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[1] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXVIII (1832), 696.

[2] Ibid., 724-5.

Healy justified his letter by saying he based it on a speech by a Government Minister, President of the Board of Trade Joseph Chamberlain, the previous October. Healy quoted Chamberlain as saying: "Is it not humiliating to Englishmen that now, after 700 years' rule, it takes 50,000 soldiers and police to keep Ireland?"[1] Without any further comment on this issue from the Government, the House adjourned until 17 April.

The same day, 4 April, the Pall Mall Gazette called for Forster's resignation. It was not known at that time that Gladstone was moving closer to the position taken by Chamberlain in the speech which Healy had quoted. On 7 April, the Prime Minister drafted a scheme of local Government for Ireland called "Provincial Councils" which, if passed, he hoped would end the dissatisfaction across the Irish Sea.[2] Gladstone, however, was not ready to cast Forster aside, and he wrote the Chief Secretary on 5 April: "We must continue to face our difficulties with an unbroken front, and with a stout heart."[3] In reply, Forster rightfully stated that the Land League's policy had been defeated; but he was perplexed by the increase in violence, which, he claimed, would diminish if more coercive powers were given to him to insure the

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[1] Ibid., 725.

[2] Hammond, p. 258.

[3] Reid, II, p. 413.

convictions of "men notoriously guilty."[1] He said the Coercion Act must be renewed, for "I dare not face the autumn and coming winter without it."[2]

Events, however, were occurring which would cause Gladstone to consider his coercion-obsessed Chief Secretary expendable. Forster himself made possible the new developments when he released Parnell on parole to attend the Paris funeral of his nephew.[3] The night of his release Parnell met with Justin McCarthy, vice-chairman of the Home Rule Party, to determine the probable reaction of Irish M.P.'s to a "negotiated peace" with the Government. McCarthy's report was encouraging,[4] and Parnell decided to go forward with his plan to negotiate with the Government. Healy, it appears, knew nothing of the negotiations which Parnell conducted through Mrs. O'Shea's husband, the M.P. for Clare. Parnell did not even inform his colleagues in Kilmainham about his plan.[5] Having informed Captain O'Shea of his offer to stop

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[1] Ibid., p. 417.

[2] Ibid., p. 418.

[3] Ibid., p. 421.

[4] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 76.

[5] Ibid.; Davitt, p. 353.

the land agitation if the arrears issue were settled,[1] Parnell visited Mrs. O'Shea and his daughter, who obviously was dying. He then traveled to Paris for his nephew's funeral,[2] and returned to Eltham secretly on 21 April to discuss O'Shea's contacts with the Government and to see his child for the last time.[3]

On Monday, 24 April, Parnell honored the terms of his parole and returned to the Dublin prison "as cheerfully as to a throne," United Ireland noted.[4] Parnell had some reason to be cheerful; he hoped soon to be free for good. By this time, he had seen encouraging letters from Joseph Chamberlain whom O'Shea was utilizing as a Government contact.[5] On 23 April, O'Shea was able to tell Chamberlain that "Mr. Parnell is prepared in case of such an arrangement of the question of arrears to use his best exertions to stop

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[1]B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44269, fol. 18. Parnell's thoughts on the issue are embodied in a long letter from O'Shea to Gladstone dated 13 April, i.e. three days after Parnell was released.

[2]In his 1898 book, Why Ireland Is Not Free, Healy claimed that Parnell did not go to Paris (p. 12). Letters printed by Mrs. O'Shea indicate otherwise (I, pp. 231-3).

[3]O'Shea, pp. 232-3. Captain O'Shea apparently believed the child was his. In his Memoirs, T.P. O'Connor repeated a story (I, p. 229) that Captain O'Shea continued to expect that he and his wife have marital relations although he knew she had a lover.

[4]Ibid., 29 April 1882.

[5]Garvin, I, pp. 350-2.

outrages, the circulation or support of no-rent manifestoes, and intimidation generally."[1]

By this time, others in the Irish party were being brought into the negotiations. On 24 April, McCarthy, Healy, and O'Shea met with Chamberlain prior to the introduction of an Irish proposal to amend the Land Act on the matter of arrears.[2] Significantly, Healy's name appeared at the top of a list of Irish members, which Chamberlain submitted to the Cabinet when he asked permission to begin discussions.[3] In his memoirs, Healy does not mention McCarthy's presence at the meeting; he wrote that he never would have consented to see Chamberlain if O'Shea had not "begged" him and said Parnell wanted the meeting.[4] Later, Healy believed that O'Shea also had lied to Chamberlain by claiming that he [Healy] wanted to see him on Parnell's behalf.[5] Actually, Chamberlain seriously desired to meet with Healy at this time.[6]

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[1]N.L.I., Ms. 5752/66.

[2]Joseph Chamberlain, A Political Memoir, ed. C.H.D. Howard (London: The Batchworth Press, 1953), p. 44.

[3]Garvin, I, p. 352.

[4]Healy, I, pp. 153-4. At the time, there was no communication between Irish members and the Government. T.P. O'Connor called it an "absolute boycott." Memoirs, I, p. 226.

[5]Healy, I, p. 154.

[6]In his memoirs, Healy also mistakenly asserted (I, p. 153) that, on the morning of the interview, the "birth of a daughter to O'Shea" had been announced in the press. The notice, in all likelihood, concerned burial of the child the next day. See O'Shea letter of 25 April, N.L.I. Ms. 5752/90.

The probable basis of Healy's contention that O'Shea deliberately misled both him and Chamberlain is an 1894 correspondence with Chamberlain. Chamberlain had stated in the House that he "could name the day," when Healy "was an applicant for favors." Healy promptly fired off a note challenging him to do so publicly.[1] Chamberlain maintained that his comment was prompted by the fact that the 1882 interview arranged by O'Shea was done at Healy's request. Healy replied: "I never asked for an interview with you through Captain O'Shea or anyone else. Captain O'Shea came to me one night and pressed me to see you."[2] Healy added that he would consent to drop the matter and keep the 1882 interview "as confidential" if Chamberlain would clarify in the House his meaning of "favors."[3] The exchange ended here.

The 1882 meeting actually was sought by Chamberlain, a fact he made clear in a memorandum prepared for a Cabinet meeting 21 April. Chamberlain felt that the actions of Healy and Sexton in the House suggested they favored a more moderate policy. The memorandum also showed that the Land Act amending bill introduced under Redmond's name was actually Healy's:

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[1]Birmingham University Library MSS, JC8/6/3J/1, 27 July 1894.

[2]Ibid., JC 8/6/3J/3, 27 July.

[3]Ibid.

> I have a strong conviction that it would be expedient to go further and to approach some of the leaders of the extreme party, especially Mr. Healy and Mr. Sexton, who have I think recently shown a desire to come back to a more moderate policy and to abandon the resistance to all government and authority which is the keynote of the "No Rent" manifesto.
>
> In this connection the Bill introduced by Mr. Healy for amending the Land Act is deserving of the most serious consideration. Its avowed object is to improve the Act and not to destroy it; to amend it and to assist its working. Speaking generally its proposals are not unreasonable and afford a basis for agreement, and if they were in principle adopted Mr. Healy and all who follow him would be of necessity committed to the Land Act in the successful operation of which they would have joint interest in future with the Government.[1]

Chamberlain's version of the interview was transmitted the next day to the Cabinet and apparently cleared the way for a calm, business-like discussion of the amending bill on 26 April. Healy came away from the interview with a favorable opinion of Chamberlain as "an honest man thrust into a thorny situation" and a feeling that the conciliatory spirit shown by the Liberal Minister and Gladstone indicated that Parnell "was about to give in."[2] As Healy pointed out in his memoirs, Chamberlain's objective was to find out what the Irish would do if the arrears were remitted. In the House, the amending bill was introduced by John Redmond, who, according to Healy, "by luck in the ballot, won first place

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[1]Chamberlain, p. 52. In his memoirs, Healy (I, p. 156) gave credit to his brother for drafting this bill.

[2]Healy, I, p. 155.

for a Bill to amend the Land Act."[1] Healy, Parnell, Sexton, and McCarthy were listed as co-sponsors.

Chamberlain's plea before the Cabinet on 25 April did not produce a general agreement to cooperate with the Irish members, but he did win a promise that Irish actions in the House and Parnell's communications would be considered.[2] Forster, having been told of the negotiations, stated he was in favor of settling the arrears problems and willing to release Parnell and others on "an assurance" that they would not attempt "to intimidate men into obedience to their unwritten law."[3] In the House of Commons, Gladstone was favorably impressed by the attitude of the Irish who had introduced a bill obviously favored by Parnell that intended to amend the Land Act, not destroy it. After Redmond's long discourse on the nature of the amending bill, Gladstone made a special effort to be conciliatory, commenting that Redmond "has fairly and impartially said everything that he could in his speech towards opening a favourable prospect for the working of the system of the Land Law in Ireland."[4] The Prime Minister, nevertheless, said the Government would oppose the second reading, although it soon planned to deal

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[1] Ibid., I, p. 152.

[2] Morley, Life of Gladstone, III, p. 64.

[3] Reid, II, pp. 427-8.

[4] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXVIII (1882), 1488.

with the arrears question. Healy spoke after the Prime Minister, and, instead of damning the Government's refusal to accept the Irish proposal, as was probably expected by most members, Healy merely expressed regret over Gladstone's decision, adding that he "was very glad, indeed, that the Government had seen the great importance of it [arrears]."[1] But Healy did not intend to decrease the pressure he had exerted previously to alter the Government's Land Act. He stayed on his feet to argue for Government action which would overturn a court decision which diminished the effectiveness of Healy's Clause and to urge the Government to resolve the question of "town parks."[2] He also pressed the Government to do something about the huge backlog of 60,000 cases in the Land Courts. Suggesting that it would take three years to dispose of these cases under the current system, Healy asserted that during such a period of time, rack-renting tenants could be evicted for non-payment of rent.[3] In the end, Healy reminded the Prime Minister that the Land Act passed by the Government "was the smallest measure the Irish Party would be satisfied with."[4] Despite such comments, a Chamberlain memorandum for the week commented that Gladstone's

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[1] Ibid., 1495-6.

[2] Ibid., 1498-9.

[3] Ibid., 1504-7.

[4] Ibid., 1507.

statement in the House on 26 April was followed by "a reply in conciliatory terms" by Healy and "one still more favourable" by Sexton.[1]

The next night, Justin McCarthy met with Chamberlain to inform him of a letter from Parnell written the day before Redmond introduced the amending bill. Parnell's plan to settle the difficulties between the Government and the Irish M.P.'s and Land League was stated clearly:

> If the Government were to announce their intention of proposing a satisfactory settlement of the arrears difficulty as indicated above, we on our part would make it known that the No-Rent Manifesto was withdrawn, and we should advise the tenants to settle with their landlords. We should also then be in a much better position than we were ever before to make our exertions effective to put a stop to the outrages which are unhappily so prevelant.[2]

Chamberlain forwarded the letter to Gladstone. The next day, 28 April, Parnell gave O'Shea the final terms of what would soon be known as the "Kilmainham Treaty." Written in purple pencil on both sides of thin paper, the statement contained a proposal for Irish cooperation with the Liberals in the House of Commons. Gladstone would call this proposal an unexpected "hors d'oeuvre":

> The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched out to you would in my judgement be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the Land Question and would enable us to cooperate cordially for the future with the

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[1]Chamberlain, p. 44.

[2]Ibid., p. 46.

Liberal Party in forwarding Liberal principles and measures of general reform.[1]

O'Shea personally showed the letter to Chief Secretary Forster, but Forster was not impressed by Parnell's promises which would not be stated publicly.[2] On Monday, 1 May, the Cabinet agreed with Gladstone that the imprisoned Irish M.P.'s should be released. Forster resigned in protest; he maintained that Parnell's pledge to stop the land agitation was too weak.[3] A week earlier Gladstone had decided to replace the Viceroy, Lord Cowper, with Lord Spencer and to give Spencer a seat in the Cabinet; this decision might also have influenced Forster's decision to quit.[4] At the same time, the Liberal Government decided not to renew the suspension of Habeas Corpus, although the prohibition of the possession of arms in proclaimed areas would be continued. Apparently, a new era in Anglo-Irish relations was about to begin.

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[1]B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44160, fol. 168.

[2]Reid, II, p. 439.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Chamberlain, p. 59.

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CHAPTER VII

"THE KILMAINHAM TREATY"

Widespread public speculation about a change in the Government's Irish policy ended on 2 May, when Gladstone announced that the Viceroy and Chief Secretary of Ireland had resigned, that the three Irish Members of Parliament had been released from Kilmainham, that he would introduce an Arrears Bill to solve the Irish land question, and that coercion would not be fully renewed. In his memoirs, Healy wrote: "The day was one of bright sunshine, but gloom at Parnell's surrender filled our hearts."[1] Yet, at the time a colleague heard Healy say that the agreement was, "one of the most sagacious arrangements that ever enabled a hard pressed general to secure terms for his forces."[2] As usual, there was a great difference between Healy's private feelings about Parnell and his public statements.

When Gladstone stated in the House that the release of the prisoners had been "taken by the Government on its own responsibility," laughter erupted from the Tory benches.[3]

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[1]Healy, I, p. 155.

[2]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 350.

[3]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXVIII (1882), 1967.

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When he reiterated his point, the laughter was renewed, causing the Prime Minister to state emphatically: "And, finally, it is, as I have already said, an act done without any negotiation, promise, or engagement whatever."[1] Obviously skeptical, Sir Stafford Northcote, head of the Opposition, then asked Gladstone if there was any special reason for releasing the suspects. In his reply, Gladstone said: "We have given the reason which, we think, is the only and the sufficient reason--namely, that, in our belief, it is conducive to the interests of law, order, and security in Ireland. When that proposition is challenged, I shall be prepared to defend it."[2] Justin McCarthy, speaking for the Irish, only submitted three questions, one of which asked if Davitt would be released. Gladstone said that Davitt's case had not been considered specifically, but that he was due to be released in a few days.[3]

In his memoirs, Healy stated that on 3 May Chamberlain approached him in the House of Commons and intimated that he [Chamberlain] would be the next Chief Secretary for Ireland. On this occasion, Chamberlain, the President of the Board of Trade, greatly impressed Healy who called in Sexton and Arthur O'Connor to join the conversation. Chamberlain,

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[1] Ibid., 1968.

[2] Ibid., 1977.

[3] Ibid., 1978.

according to Healy, appeared to be "a straight forward and truthful man of business"; and, when the discussion concluded, the three Irishmen agreed that they would like to see Chamberlain become the new Chief Secretary.[1] Chamberlain, in his memoirs, however, denied he sought the position of Chief Secretary on Forster's resignation; and, in a letter to John Morley in 1888, he specifically recalled a conversation with Healy on the subject.[2] Chamberlain stated that Healy "told me frankly that he hoped it was not likely for my sake." According to Chamberlain, Healy had explained that the position of Chief Secretary was "impossible" and, that before long, Chamberlain would be attacked by the Irish as much as anyone else. Chamberlain told Morley: "I thought he meant the warning kindly and believed he was right--I was therefore very glad that the task was not imposed on me." Chamberlain would have accepted the post if offered, however, "as a matter of duty."[3]

It was announced on 4 May that Lord Frederick Cavendish, brother of Lord Hartington, Secretary of State for India, was Gladstone's choice for Chief Secretary. Cavendish was married to a niece of Mrs. Gladstone and was a devoted friend

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[1]Healy, I, p. 155.

[2]Chamberlain, p. 60.

[3]Garvin, I, p. 362.

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of the Prime Minister.[1] Healy claimed that "Chamberlain's face paled, and his frame grew rigid" as he heard a vacancy declared in Cavendish's constituency. The new Chief Secretary did not receive a seat in Cabinet because the new Viceroy already had been assured of one. The appointment generally surprised everyone who expected either Hartington or Chamberlain to succeed Forster.[2]

Like Healy, Davitt was disturbed greatly by the compromise which Parnell had worked out with the Government on his own counsel.[3] It seemed to indicate that Parnell definitely was committed to suppressing the League, an organization Davitt considered highly successful.[4] Dillon, too, was unhappy, and the fact that he and others did not really understand the reasons for their release from prison was shown in Parliament on 4 May. When asked in the House if "any assurances" had been received from those released from prison that the "no rent" manifesto would be withdrawn, Gladstone said he had received "information" which "justified and mainly prompted their [the Government's] conduct in the matter of the recent releases."[5] Dillon, O'Kelly, and Sexton

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[1]Morley, Life of Gladstone, III, p. 66.

[2]Annual Register (1882), p. 52.

[3]William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 411; Davitt, pp. 355-6.

[4]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 364.

[5]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 102.

then rose to deny they knew anything about such information. The Tories forced Gladstone to respond to this point, and his answer made it clear that Parnell was the major source of his information:

> The statements which I have received have been statements from Members of this House; and it will be for those Members of this House, one of whom I believe is not in his place now--perhaps the most important of them--to consider when they, or whether they, shall make declaration in relation to the subject-matter to which I have referred.[1]

When asked if he was referring to the absent Parnell, the Prime Minister said: "After what I have stated, and after the reference which I have made to the absence of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, I shall give no further answer."[2]

As Forster rose a few minutes later to explain his resignation, Parnell dramatically entered the House, totally disrupting the proceedings. According to Hansard, "the cheers with which he was greeted by the Home Rule Members, drowned the voice of the right hon. Gentleman (Forster) and prevented the conclusion of the sentence from being heard."[3] Forster had just begun to justify his arrest of Parnell the previous year when the Irish leader entered the House. Yet, despite this outward enthusiasm shown by his colleagues,

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[1] Ibid., 103.

[2] Ibid., 104.

[3] Ibid.

Parnell's position in the party had been seriously undermined by the debate which had preceded his entry.

Healy never entered the long debate prompted by Forster's remarks, but in United Ireland his defense of the Irish leader's action was straightforward as he sought to quash rumors that Parnell had become a collaborator with the British Government. Writing from London on the evening of 2 May, Healy stated:

> Antecedent to any compact [with the Liberal Government], of course, would have to come the release of every man in jail, including Michael Davitt, the entire abandonment of the coercion policy (a further installment of which is announced), the stoppage of evictions, and the acceptance by the Government of the Land Bill introduced by Mr. Redmond. . . . it seems somewhat ridiculous that any credence should be lent to rumours of a compromise on the basis of the acceptance of a particular clause.[1]

Attempting to terminate the controversy, Parnell, on 4 May, told the House that no arrangement had been made with the Government concerning his, Dillon's, or O'Kelly's release. To this statement, Gladstone added a relieved "hear, hear."[2] Parnell at the same time also denied that the question of arrears had been discussed with Government representatives, but he did say that he believed a settlement of the problem "would have an enormous effect on the restoration of law and

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[1]United Ireland, 6 May 1882.

[2]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 128.

order in Ireland--would take away the last excuse for the outrages which have been, unhappily, committed in such large and increasing number during the last six months."[1] He added that the settlement also would prompt him to "take such steps as would have a material effect in diminishing those exceptional, those lamentable outrages."[2]

On the monring of 6 May, Parnell and Dillon travelled to Portland Prison to greet Davitt as he was released. According to Healy, Parnell was forced to go because he did not want Dillon to influence Davitt with his version of recent events.[3] And, it was Parnell, according to Davitt, who did most of the talking on the train ride back to London.[4] Davitt wrote that Parnell said, "we are on the eve of something like Home Rule."[5]

Despite Parnell's claim of victory over the Liberal Government, it is clear that many of his key associates were dissatisfied with what they knew of the negotiations. Writing in 1898, Healy maintained that Parnell might not have survived as leader of the Irish party if a violent and

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[1] Ibid., 129.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Healy, Why Ireland Is Not Free, pp. 12-13.

[4] Davitt, p. 356.

[5] Ibid.

unexpected event had not taken place in Dublin on 6 May.[1] This evaluation made years later is likely exaggerated, but the brutal murders of the new Chief Secretary and the permanent Irish Undersecretary automatically were linked in the eyes of the British to the recently released Irish leaders. This anti-Parnell reaction in England over the murders once again caused Irish opinion to rally around the embattled Irish leader, and forced his unhappy lieutenants to express publicly their total devotion.

Lord Frederick Cavendish and Lord Spencer, the new Viceroy, had arrived in Dublin on Saturday morning, 6 May, to the excited cheers of people who believed the attitude of the Liberal Government toward Ireland had changed dramatically. The Irish people and Lord Frederick, however, never had a chance to work together. A group of men who called themselves the "Invincibles" and who had secretly organized outside the Land League and the Irish Republican Brotherhood carried out the murders.[2] Forster had been their original target; but, on several occasions, he unknowingly managed to avoid his would-be assassins. When Forster resigned, the new target became Undersecretary Thomas Henry Burke, an Irishman and the man responsible for the day-to-day operations of

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[1]Healy, Why Ireland Is Not Free, p. 13.

[2]For a thorough examination of the murders and their effect on events set in motion by the murders, see Thomas H. Corfe, The Phoenix Park Murders: Conflict, Compromise and Tragedy in Ireland, 1879-1882 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968).

Dublin Castle. By chance, on the evening of 6 May, Cavendish and Burke were walking together from the gate of the Phoenix Park to the Chief Secretary's residence which was located within the park. Cavendish had dismissed his driver so he could enjoy a stroll in the park, and Burke, on learning that Cavendish was ahead of him on the path, dismissed two armed guards who always accompanied him and joined the new Chief Secretary. The Invincibles, twelve men in all, did not have the slightest idea who was with Burke when four of them attacked the Undersecretary with surgical knives. When Cavendish attempted to aid Burke, he too was stabbed to death.

A day which had seemed to herald a new era in Anglo-Irish relations now would be marked as the day when the Government decided to adopt even more repressive coercive measures for Ireland. Learning of the murders on Sunday, 7 May, Healy and John Barry went to Davitt's hotel room where Davitt, Parnell, and Dillon were composing a manifesto condemning the murders. Parnell was in despair, according to Healy,[1] while Davitt recorded that a despondent Parnell told him that he planned to retire from public life.[2] A letter from Captain O'Shea to Gladstone on 7 May informed the Prime Minister that Parnell would resign his seat if "Mr. Gladstone considers it necessary for the maintenance of his

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[1]Healy, I, p. 159.

[2]Davitt, p. 358; O'Shea, I, p. 248.

position and for carrying out his views."[1] Gladstone, however, felt Parnell was still the best possible hope of restraining Irish militants, and he replied that he could "not entertain Mr. Parnell's proposal."[2] Badly shaken and apparently fearful for his own safety, Parnell took the manifesto to Chamberlain and he also called upon Dilke that same afternoon.[3] Parnell made it clear to Government officials that he was "sincerely anxious for the pacification of Ireland."[4] The Government, however, had no choice but to introduce new and severe coercive legislation. A dejected Healy wrote in United Ireland: "Poor Ireland, why is it that her own sons prove so often her bitterest enemies?"[5]

Parliament assembled on Monday, 8 May, with its members still aghast over the grisly Phoenix Park murders. The House was full, and the members all wore black, with many wearing black crepe around their hats.[6] Gladstone, immediately moving adjournment, called the murders "unparalleled in our history."[7] That the murders deeply stirred all the

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[1]B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44269, fol. 42.

[2]Morley, Life of Gladstone, III, p. 70.

[3]Chamberlain, pp. 62-3; Garvin, I, pp. 364-5.

[4]Morley, Life of Gladstone, III, p. 70.

[5]United Ireland, 13 May 1882

[6]Healy, I, p. 160.

[7]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 320.

people of the British Isles can be ascertained by Healy's statement that "it was a common saying that no one forgot where he stood when he heard the news."[1] When Parnell spoke on the adjournment motion to denounce the crime, Healy reported that "something like a groan arose from a small section."[2] It reflected a general view throughout the United Kingdom that Parnell somehow was responsible for the murders. The sitting lasted but a quarter-hour, and it was not until Thursday, 11 May, that the House reconvened to consider the Government's recommendations for Ireland.

The Chief Secretary's position now was offered to Sir Charles Dilke instead of Chamberlain. Without a seat in the Cabinet, Dilke would not take the post. Sir George Trevelyan agreed to Gladstone's offer; thus, the two most important Radicals, Dilke and Chamberlain, were saved from almost certain political destruction in a position without true power.[3]

Sir William Harcourt, the Home Secretary, was given the responsibility of shepherding the harsh new Crimes Bill through the Parliament. According to Chamberlain, the Whig member of the Liberal Government made "a flaming speech" in behalf of the new Irish coercive measure,[4] a speech which

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[1]Healy, I, p. 159.

[2]Ibid., p. 160.

[3]Garvin, I, pp. 364-5; Chamberlain, pp. 62-3.

[4]Chamberlain, p. 64; for a summary of the bill see Annual Register (1882), p. 65.

Healy interrupted on five different occasions. When Harcourt said that "this measure is, of course, an extraordinary measure," Hansard records: "Ironical 'Hear, hear!' from Mr. Healy, and counter cheer."[1] When Harcourt said the measure would be in effect for three years, Healy shouted, "Forever"; and, when Harcourt said the "remedy which we propose is severe," Healy ironically interjected, "No, no!".[2] But such parliamentary sacrilege from Healy only steeled the determination of Members outraged by the murders, and Healy, realizing this fact, soon terminated his outbursts.

In his column which appeared 13 May, Healy suggested that the Irish M.P.'s should not weaken their resolve but meet the new coercion measure "with the proper spirit," although "no matter what measures the Executive may resort to, they have the appearance of ample justification."[3] And as Healy wrote, Forster's policy "in the eyes of the English public, has been justified and vindicated."[4] A leading article in the Times on 8 May illustrated Forster's new prestige by stating: "Mr. Forster was thrown overboard and the Land League party was to be propitiated by new

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 471.

[2]Ibid.

[3]United Ireland, 13 May 1882.

[4]Ibid.

concessions. The worth of these vain imaginations may be measured by the ghastly reality of the scene in Phoenix Park." The article concluded with a statement that Forster's recommendations "ought to be brought forward" because "on this condition only can the Ministry hope to purchase forgiveness for their disastrous blundering and the horrors which have emphasized its exposure."

Healy made clear in Parliament his belief that Parnell was at least partially to blame for events which suddenly had catapulted Forster back into public favor:

> Personally, he was not sorry that this Bill has been introduced, and that it was as stringent and as drastic as it was. His reason was that it would destroy for ever the last vestige of that absurd idea that there could ever be peace between Ireland and England. It would destroy the rubbish people talked about compacts and compromises behind the backs of his Party, or as if that Party would tolerate them.[1]

No doubt it was this speech that prompted O'Shea to rush a letter to Gladstone the next day indicating that Healy was acting on his own:

> There is no use in my expressing regret for the occurrence of last night, and I merely keep on steadily as before.
>
> The outrageous speech in which Mr. Healy tried to damage Mr. Parnell as much as the government, I have already turned to some purpose. My object now is to induce Mr. Parnell to retire from interference [with passage of the Crimes Bill] for the present, urging those whom he can influence, to do the same, so as to defeat attempts to obstruct.[2]

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 501.

[2]B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add, MSS 44269, fol. 46.

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Healy, with talk of the Government approving "hanging judges," definitely had been outrageous in his conduct in the House, and the time he spent infuriating Members and objecting to the bill section-by-section certainly could be considered obstructive. O'Shea's letter indicated that Parnell did not have the influence at the moment to curb Healy and others in the Home Rule Party who opposed the Kilmainham Treaty. Yet, the next day, 13 May, O'Shea wrote Gladstone that the Crimes Bill was safe from obstruction.[1] Either Parnell had not sanctioned the letter or he failed to hold his followers in line because on 23 June, O'Shea protested to Parnell about continuing Irish obstruction of the Crimes Bill:

> A very considerable period of debate has now elapsed since at your request I informed the Prime Minister that there would be no obstruction to the Bill.
>
> I have therefore a special right to beg of you to carry out the engagement in its spirit as well as letter.[2]

In his memoirs, Healy stated that Parnell personally complained about the "vehemence" of his attack on the bill during the first reading.[3] It was Healy's belief that E.D. Gray, the owner of the Freeman's Journal, was responsible for Parnell's reprimand.

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[1] Ibid., fol. 48.

[2] N.L.I. MSS 5752, fol. 144.

[3] Healy, I, p. 161.

Healy's record in the House of Commons seemed to illustrate his deviation from any policy of cooperation with the Government on the question of coercion. When Harcourt said on 11 May, that "in the present state of Ireland, the Government will reject the aid of no man," Healy responded: "You will not get it."[1] The Home Secretary replied at once: "I know we shall not have the aid of the hon. Member for Wexford. We know that he prefers, to the House of Commons, an assembly of Zulus, and, therefore, we have no right to count upon his aid."[2] Healy earlier had asserted that "an assembly of Zulus" would give greater consideration to Irish opinions than the Liberal Government.[3]

Less than a week later, however, Healy was negotiating with the Government through Henry Labouchere, a Radical M.P. who would remain Healy's go-between for the next several years. The first purpose of Healy's contact with the Government was to soften the Crimes Bill.[4] A letter from Healy to his brother the day after the first reading of the Crimes Bill illustrated that Healy, too, saw the futility of

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 521.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., 511.

[4]Birmingham University Library MSS, JC 5/50/3, 17 May 1882.

following the old procedures in the House. And like Parnell, Healy expressed thoughts of retiring from politics after the devastating and frustrating blow which apparently had made dust of all their earlier efforts: "This murder has ruined us practically as politicians and I have, like many others, been thinking of giving up Parliament. However, we will struggle on awhile longer, I suppose."[1]

As an integral part of the struggle, Healy continued his secret discussions with the Government, a procedure which Parnell obviously endorsed.[2] Joseph Chamberlain, the official who had so impressed Healy, was the Government contact. Nevertheless, in order to satisfy public opinion, Healy's public activities in the weeks and months ahead were especially militant. Healy's essentially pragmatic attitude toward Parnell probably was formulated at this time. A saying "universally attributed" to Healy illustrated this attitude in full bloom: "Parnell is just a spike--a damned spike--which we have got to hammer into the British Government."[3]

Writing years later when Parnell was a dead hero and the Irish political movement was splintered badly, Healy expressed his unhappiness over squandered opportunities to topple

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[1]Healy, I, p. 161 (letter of 12 May).

[2]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 83.

[3]F. Hugh O'Donnell, II, pp. 288-9.

Parnell from the party's leadership and discredit him. "Never had any leader in a pinch such a body of loyal men at his back, and, with few exceptions, theirs was a loyalty wholly impersonal, cherished solely for the sake of fatherland," he wrote, lamenting the fact that in May, 1882, the opportunity given by the Kilmainham Treaty to destroy Parnell had been frustrated by the fateful events in the Phoenix Park.[1] Healy realized, in view of public opinion in Ireland and the United Kingdom, that Parnell had to remain as leader. He recognized, as well, that Parnell was a "spike" and the Irish Nationalists had no choice but to use him.

In the House on 15 May, Healy and the other Irish members learned the true nature of the Kilmainham Treaty. Because the release of the Irish M.P.'s and the murders had coincided, the Tories wished to know more about the circumstances of Parnell's release. A Tory member asked Gladstone for "documentary evidence" of the Irish leader's communication with the Government, but Gladstone refused, saying that "their production would not come under any usual Rule that I am aware of."[2] Parnell, however, volunteered to read his letter to Captain O'Shea from Kilmainham on 28 April. In

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[1]Healy, Why Ireland Is Not Free, p. 13.

[2]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 672.

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doing so, Parnell omitted the last paragraph on cooperation with the Liberals, the hors d'oeurve as Gladstone had termed it. Forster immediately asked: "Did he read the whole of the letter?"[1] In response, Parnell claimed that he had not kept a copy of the letter, stating that the letter he had just read had been supplied by O'Shea. Shouts of "Read, read," greeted O'Shea as he rose to explain, but he claimed he could not respond because he did not have the letter with him.[2] Forster, the former Chief Secretary for Ireland, then handed O'Shea his copy of the letter and called on him to read the final paragraph. O'Shea reluctantly did so. Gladstone, nevertheless, continued to deny any "treaty," saying: "The hon. Member for the City of Cork asked nothing from us, and he got nothing from us. On our side, we asked nothing, and got nothing from him."[3] Two days earlier, however, Gladstone had written Chamberlain that "we may in reason expect" the Irish to renounce obstruction on the Crimes Bill.[4]

According to Healy, the interruption by Forster, claiming Parnell's letter was fraudulent, was the most dramatic moment he had known in his (Healy's) thirty-eight years in

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[1] Ibid., 673.

[2] Ibid., 674.

[3] Ibid., 675.

[4] Chamberlain, pp. 64-5.

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Parliament. Parnell's performance, Healy stated, "filled us with disgust."[1] Indicating, but not identifying, others who felt the same way, Healy wrote in his memoirs: "We felt that the Chief had lowered the flag, and had tried to deceive alike his countrymen and the British."[2] Hearing the contents of Parnell's letter to O'Shea for the first time, Healy also was disturbed greatly by its opening sentence which read: "I was very sorry that you had left Albert Mansions before I reached London from Eltham." Healy maintained the sentence clearly indicated that Parnell had arranged the terms of the treaty while on parole and had done so at Mrs. O'Shea's suburban residence while Captain O'Shea was residing at his London address. The openness of the reference to Eltham also suggested that Captain O'Shea was well aware of Parnell's relationship with Mrs. O'Shea.[3]

One of Healy's colleagues remembered a statement by Healy which showed that Parnell's chief lieutenant no longer considered the Irish leader to be the same man who had entered Kilmainham. T.P. O'Connor recalled that after Parnell had done something in Parliament "which showed the

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[1]Healy, I, p. 162.

[2]Ibid.; Conor Cruise O'Brien (p. 77) believed "we" meant Healy, Sexton, and the O'Connors, none of whom defended the land movement as it then existed.

[3]Ibid.

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extraordinary difference there was between him and what he once was, I heard Mr. Healy, with an inexpressible sadness and bitterness, say, as we walked up and down the terrace of the House of Commons, 'they have broken another great Irishman.' 'They' were the English rulers."[1]

Parnell and O'Shea, according to Healy, had gambled and lost on the hope that Forster had not kept a copy of the letter Parnell wrote outlining his terms for an end to the strife in Ireland.[2] But despite the public disclosures and the severity of the Crimes Bill, Parnell quickly informed Healy that he would honor his obligations under the treaty.[3] Although Healy did not like the idea, he agreed to it. In particular, the choice of O'Shea as Parnell's personal emissary dismayed Healy. Healy's relationship with O'Shea bordered on open hostility, although this fact was not widely known until 1886. Despite his feelings, Healy immediately returned to his task of defending Parnell and his policy in speeches and in the columns of United Ireland.

Although embarrassed when Parnell's letter was made public on 15 May, Gladstone, later that same afternoon, "redeemed" his pledge and introduced "a Bill to make provision

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[1]T.P. O'Connor, Charles Stewart Parnell: A Memory, p. 127.

[2]Healy, I, p. 163.

[3]Ibid., p. 161; Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 83.

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[1]Great Britain,
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[2]Healy, I, p. 1

[3]Great Britain,
CCLXIX (1882), 786.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., 787.

[6]Ibid., 791-3.

respecting certain Arrears of Rent in Ireland."[1] The Prime Minister's motion, however, caused further discussion of the terms of the Kilmainham Treaty, when O'Shea sought to offer "an explanation" of his role in the treaty matter. It was almost 1 a.m. when O'Shea rose to speak, and Parnell, according to Healy, said: "This damned fellow will make a mess of it as usual!"[2] And when O'Shea said that Parnell told him the "no rent" manifesto had been "withdrawn," Parnell interrupted to say: "The words were 'ceased to circulate it.'"[3] O'Shea retorted that he "knew that they [Parnell's choice of words] were tantamount to its [the manifesto's] withdrawal."[4] He went on to explain that the celebrated final paragraph of the letter had not been included in the copy he gave Parnell, thus endorsing Parnell's earlier statement.[5] Forster then gave his version of how he came to hold a different copy of the letter, and Parnell added his views. Parnell claimed that O'Shea had no permission to show the letter to Forster, and he pointed out that O'Shea had misinterpreted their conversation in Kilmainham.[6] Adding to

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 767-77.

[2]Healy, I, p. 162.

[3]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 786.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., 787.

[6]Ibid., 791-3.

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[1] Ibid., 848.

[2] United Irelan

[3] Ibid.

Parnell's discomfort, the Tories continued to press the Government on the issue the next evening.

Healy, though in attendance, again took no part in the discussion which embarrassed the Irish M.P.'s.[1] And in his United Ireland column, written the same night, 16 May, he stressed the importance of Gladstone's Arrears Bill and attacked Forster's behavior, while ignoring the former Chief Secretary's dispute with Parnell.[2] Healy's report, printed on page one, pointed out that the Arrears Bill "corresponds almost word for word with that brought forward by Mr. Redmond a fortnight ago." It was an excellent technique for distracting the public and, at the same time, illustrating Parnell's wisdom in reaching an agreement with the Government. Healy then explained the tremendous benefits for tenants and announced a great victory for the parliamentarians:

> It will be the means of practically relieving the Irish tenantry to the extent of two millions of money, which will be an absolute gift; and it will compel the landlords, on the payment of one year's rent up to Nov., 1881, to release them from all previous arrears. . . . and the Irish members may well be content that their efforts have driven the Government, who, last year, closed their ears to all statements on the subject of arrears, to legislate so liberally on the matter.[3]

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[1] Ibid., 848.

[2] United Ireland, 20 May 1882.

[3] Ibid.

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[1]Birmingham Un
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[2]Ibid., JC 5/5

[3]Ibid.

Chamberlain on 16 May offered a spirited defense of the Government's decision to release the "suspects," and, later the same day, Labouchere approached Healy on behalf of Chamberlain. In a memorandum to Chamberlain discussing the conversation of 16 May, and again on 17 May, Labouchere included amendments that Healy desired added to the Crimes Bill.[1] Labouchere, it appears, was authorized to offer some concession to Healy, because the Radical M.P. stated that Healy, at a private meeting on 18 May, "will say to them [Parnell, T.P. O'Connor, and Sexton] that he thinks the Government will agree to the County Court Judges and to the period of the [Crimes] Bill being shortened."[2] Illustrating his concern over Parnell's recent fiasco in the House, Healy told Labouchere that Government alterations in its measure should not be explained by "saying that there is a bargain."[3] Although Healy arranged a meeting on 18 May with Labouchere to "go further into details as regards the position with Parnell," there is no report of it in the Chamberlain Papers.

The fact that the Government was working primarily with Healy was shown in a 16 May letter from Labouchere to Chamberlain. Labouchere pointed out that he approached Healy first and then discussed Healy's major ideas with Parnell

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[1]Birmingham University Library MSS, JC 5/50/3, JC 5/50/8.

[2]Ibid., JC 5/50/3.

[3]Ibid.

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[1] Ibid., JC 5/5

[2] Gardiner, I,

[3] Chamberlain,

[4] Annual Regis

[5] Garvin, I, p

and stated that Parnell "agrees with them in the main, but would like to have the opinion of a lawyer."[1] In a 22 May letter, Lord Spencer, the new Viceroy, expressed some concern to Home Secretary Harcourt about Healy's role: "I hope the moderate Irish will be consulted as well as Healy, and I gather that J.C. [Chamberlain] has seen the letter again."[2] The "moderate Irish" referred to those like Shaw who were not affiliated with the Parnellite wing of the Home Rule Party.

The views of Healy, endorsed by Parnell and supported by Labouchere, apparently made an impression on Chamberlain, because on 20 May, he circulated a memorandum to the Cabinet urging concessions in the Crimes Bill. He based his plea on the fact that "Parnell and his friends behaved very well over the second reading, in reliance on our statements that their amendments will be fairly considered in Committee."[3] Many newspapers in England agreed that there were sections of the harsh Crimes Bill which needed changing, but Chamberlain's plea for concession went unheeded.[4] Isolated, Chamberlain wrote to Spencer about resigning his position.[5]

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[1] Ibid., JC 5/50/8.

[2] Gardiner, I, p. 443.

[3] Chamberlain, p. 64.

[4] Annual Register (1882), p. 68.

[5] Garvin, I, pp. 370-1 (letter of 24 May).

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[1]Great Britain
CCLXIX (1882), 1102

[2]Ibid., 1128-3

[3]United Irela

[4]Ibid.

In the two nights of debate prior to the division on the second reading of the Crimes Bill, Healy was quite reserved, disrupting the proceedings only once by interrupting Sexton with an "oh, no" when his colleague mentioned that some Irishmen had trusted Forster.[1] Healy spoke but once on 19 May, and, though he tried to rouse the Irish members to at least frustrate Gladstone's plan to have a division that evening, it did little good. Shortly thereafter, the second reading passed, 383 to 45.[2]

Because the Irish Home Rulers were too dispirited to act belligerently in the House, Healy did his best to rationalize their lack of action in his next column for United Ireland. He wrote that the Irish members had grown more knowledgeable about House procedures and, thus, the Committee stage now would be the "battleground."[3] He also pointed out that the Irish M.P.'s did not want to waste time on obstruction when the Government had promised an Arrears Bill, which the Tories were certain to obstruct. He also assured his readers that "there never was a greater mistake in the whole course of Parliamentary warfare" to think that opposition would be "of a mild or milk-and-water character."[4]

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 1102.

[2]Ibid., 1128-31.

[3]United Ireland, 27 May 1882.

[4]Ibid.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Thorold, p.
JC 5/50/9.

Finally, he dispelled rumors of dissension in Parnell's party as "entirely baseless and absurd" and warned that forming judgments "in matters of tactics" outside "the immediate precincts of the House of Commons" was extremely difficult.[1]

Largely through his own efforts, Healy's prediction concerning the Committee stage was fulfilled. On 22 May, the Crimes Bill was taken under consideration by Committee, and, because of Irish obstruction, it did not emerge until 4 July. On 12 July, it became law. On 3 June, and again on 9 June, Parnell explained to Labouchere that he had to fight the bill because without Government concessions, he would find it difficult "to hold his own."[2]

Healy, during this time, was far more active in Parliament than any other Irish member. During this same period, he was frequently in communication with the Government through Labouchere. His language in the House was less violent than usual during this period; but, as usual, his preparation and knowledge of the law under consideration were exceptional. It is clear that he was making a sincere effort to soften the harsh coercion measure even though he had to bargain with the Government to do so. The sympathetic attitude of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Thorold, p. 181; Birmingham University Library MSS, JC 5/50/9.

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At the same time, Dillon's statements that attempts to amend the bill were a waste of time forced Parnell to take issue with his colleague's remarks in the House.[1] However, according to Healy, Parnell believed the "mischief" was done and then "abandoned the hope of moderating the Coercion Bill."[2]

In the first six nights in Committee, Healy offered fifteen amendments, several of which Home Secretary Harcourt agreed to for the Government.[3] In the same period, he made twenty-four speeches of significant length. Yet, when Gladstone complained to Chamberlain on 8 June about the Irish attitude in Committee the previous six nights, he criticized "Biggar & Co.," not specifically Healy and Parnell whom he knew were in contact with Chamberlain.[4] The Prime Minister referred to the previous day's sitting as positive proof that "a certain number of Irish members . . . intend not merely

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[1]Annual Register (1882), p. 80.

[2]Healy, Why Ireland Is Not Free, p. 14.

[3]See, for example, Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXIX (1882), 1841 and CCLXX, 296. Conor Cruise O'Brien (p. 83) asserted that Biggar and Sexton led the Irish during the long debate in Committee, but this is not the case. Healy was twice as active in Committee as Parnell who, in turn, was more active than either Biggar or Sexton.

[4]Chamberlain, p. 69.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Great Britain
CCLXX (1882), 396.

[3] Ibid., 399.

[4] Ibid., 401.

to protest and argue, which would be quite fair and right, but in the event of not obtaining their way to punish the House of Commons for differing from them by the consumption of its greatest treasure, its time."[1] In the debate of 7 June, Healy's speeches had been particularly time-consuming. Healy took special pains to point out that Gladstone deliberately had misled the Irish when he said he "intended to act in the spirit of the Trades' Union Act."[2] This 1871 act punished those who engaged in "exclusive dealing" with three months in jail, with the option of a fine. Healy pointed out that the Irish "boycotter" would get six months in jail with no option of a fine under the proposed Government measure. In a long speech, Healy defended boycotting because it was a "necessary practice" which was "aimed at injustice."[3] He also challenged the Government to find cases of "boycotting" in Ireland which equalled the types of crimes in England which the 1871 act sought to eliminate. He proceeded, then, to read incidents described in a Government Blue Book.[4] Clause four was finally carried on 12 June, when

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXX (1882), 396.

[3] Ibid., 399.

[4] Ibid., 401.

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[3]Ibid.

[4]Great Britai
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Harcourt agreed all rights given to Englishmen under a later Trades' Union Act would be included in the bill.[1]

Chamberlain obviously made Labouchere aware of Gladstone's view that Irish obstruction was harming the chances of the Arrears Bill for, on 10 June, Labouchere wrote Chamberlain that Healy had assured him there would be no more obstruction although "they may make one or two speeches."[2] He then added that "Parnell and Healy request me to say that they are very grateful to Mr. Gladstone for meeting them half way."[3] This letter followed a sitting in which Healy, especially active, had called the bill at one point "ridiculous, useless and absurd."[4] Despite Labouchere's assurances, the Irish, particularly Healy and Parnell, continued to obstruct the progress of the coercion measure. Undoubtedly, their activities were prompted by the fact that Chamberlain and Gladstone could not get Cabinet approval for concessions. A militant front, therefore, had to be maintained for the benefit of public morale in Ireland. Parnell was quite candid about his

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[1] Annual Register (1882), p. 97.

[2] Birmingham University Library MSS, JC 5/50/10.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXX (1882), 716.

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[1] Thorold, pp.

[2] N.L.I. Ms 57

[3] Garvin, I, p

[4] Ibid.

[5] Birmingham U

problems with the militants in the Land League during conversations with Labouchere on 22 May and 3 June.[1]

O'Shea, at the request of Chamberlain, wrote Parnell on 23 June and 28 June to protest the continuing obstruction.[2] In his memoirs, Chamberlain stated the reason for his concern:

> I wrote strongly to O'Shea who wrote to Parnell urging him to keep faith and pointing out that his conduct destroyed all confidence in his readiness to keep his engagements and would make further communications impossible.[3]

Labouchere, as well, saw Parnell at Chamberlain's request and informed the minister that Parnell complained that he had not received the necessary concessions.[4] Labouchere asserted that Parnell also told him: "I am not prepared to go back to Ireland and engage in bringing the agitation within constitutional limits, on the mere chance of Lord Spencer not arresting me." Parnell also made clear the nature of the divisions within the Nationalist movement:

> The Fenians want one thing; the Ladies Land League another; the people in Paris (Egan) another; and I another. Therefore I shall limit my action to Parliament and leave the Government and the Fenians to fight it out in Ireland.[5]

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[1]Thorold, pp. 179-81.

[2]N.L.I. Ms 5752/144.

[3]Garvin, I, p. 373.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Birmingham University Library MSS, JC 5/50/11.

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As well, Parnell also told Labouchere that the Irish M.P.'s could not be quieted without some definite concessions from the Government. In his newspaper, Truth, on 6 July, Labouchere agreed with Parnell that the "understanding" between Parnellites and Liberals had not been carried out. He pointed the finger of blame at Harcourt and the Cabinet Whigs who had, he said, frustrated conciliation with the Irish on the Crimes Bill.

As Chamberlain pointed out, the Irish obstruction in the House had caused communication with him to be impractical; but, through Mrs. O'Shea, Parnell stayed in contact with Gladstone until late November.[1] With the Committee debate dragging on, Gladstone indicated that Parliament would be forced to return for an autumn session because Irish matters once again had taken up the bulk of the House's time.[2] In particular, the Prime Minister wanted to turn to the proposed reform of House procedures, which had been interrupted by the repercussions of the Kilmainham Treaty and the Phoenix Park murders. Irish obstruction, however, continued unabated. On 26 June, the Government was forced to suspend discussion on the Crimes Bill in order to deal with pressing Supply legislation.[3] One of the reasons for this action was the

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[1] B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44259, passim.

[2] Annual Register (1882), p. 98.

[3] On this issue, Biggar and Sexton were particularly obstructive. See the Annual Register (1882), p. 100.

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[2]Ibid

obstruction of Irish members on Thursday and Friday, 22 and 23 June. On the night of the 23rd, John Bright played into Healy's hands by again bringing up the presence of Healy and O'Connor at the Chicago Convention, which Bright termed "a convention of traitors."[1] Healy, while saying he was "very proud" of having signed the convention call, maintained that he merely was a spectator and denied responsibility for decisions made by the convention. The young M.P., as could have been expected, spent considerable time refuting Bright's charge, in the course of which he stated: "His first allegiance was due to his country, and his last allegiance was due to his countrymen; and any allegiance that stood in the way of the betterance, improvement, and advancement of his country he should despise."[2] Healy's remarks set the tone for the rest of the evening, and it was not until 3:15 a.m. that Parliament adjourned. The previous night it had adjourned at 1:45 a.m.

On 30 June, five weeks after the bill entered Committee, only fifteen of the thirty proposed clauses had been agreed on by Committee vote. The sixteenth clause provided that compensation in cases of murder and maiming would be payable from a special tax levied in the area of the crime. Calling it a "blood tax," the Irish placed dozens of amendments for

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXI (1882), 279.

[2]Ibid., 295.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

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the measure in the notice book for 30 June, despite Government warnings that consideration of the bill had to be speeded. On 30 June, Healy, ready with the first Irish amendment,[1] started the first shouting match,[2] and before his amendment was voted on, two hours had passed.[3] As soon as the House overwhelmingly rejected it, Healy was ready with another one. This time, ninety-five minutes were used up before a division could be taken. The routine continued throughout the afternoon and evening with Members filling the House for the divisions and then leaving quickly thereafter.[4] After introducing another amendment at 10 p.m., Healy commented on the empty House: "Of course it was not the business of the Committee to consider the arguments of the right hon. and learned Gentleman; the Committee was now downstairs in the Smoking Room."[5] The Chairman promptly called Healy to order for the remark. After offering another amendment at 1 a.m., Healy was interrupted by a recently-created Baronet, who objected to Healy's choice of words when referring to him. Though the Chairman refused to rule Healy

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[1] Ibid., 938.

[2] Ibid., 948.

[3] Ibid., 965.

[4] Annual Register (1882), p. 102.

[5] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXI (1882), 1002.

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out of order for his remarks, he did say that the statement was "very questionable." Unabashed, Healy replied that he was "very glad they now had it on the authority of the Chairman that it was not a crime to be called a Baronet."[1] In forty minutes, that amendment was disposed of, and Healy immediately proposed another. Healy was still strong enough to make a long speech on his amendment; and, when that was rejected at 2:35 a.m., he immediately offered another.[2] This time the amendment proposed to exclude persons from the provisions of the Crimes Act who were to come under the Arrears Act which "may be passed in the present Parliament."[3] This was too preposterous for Gladstone, who, in anguish, expressed shock that Healy could introduce such an amendment "so destitute was it of even the colour of justification."[4] The Prime Minister's rebuke did not disturb Healy, who replied with a much longer speech of his own, saying Gladstone's argument "was lacking in its customary logic."[5] At 3:30 a.m. this amendment was rejected. Another Healy amendment was scheduled next, but the Chairman ruled it was

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[1] Ibid., 1037.

[2] Ibid., 1051.

[3] Ibid., 1053.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 1057.

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"irrelevant and could not be put."[1] The Government obviously was tiring, but Healy was not. After Sexton and Parnell offered amendments, Healy proposed still another.[2] When a tired Sir Frederick Milbank interrupted Healy by saying, "I rise to Order," Healy commented: "Perhaps the hon. Baronet will favour the Committee on his legs."

When the hour reached 4:30 a.m., Harcourt promised Healy that an amendment very similar to his would be honored by the Government. Healy's retort was that he "was glad that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had hailed the smiling morn with some appearance of concessions."[3] After Healy withdrew his motion, the Chairman ruled the next one, also in Healy's name, could not be put. A few minutes later, however, Healy offered another amendment, which was quickly defeated. At this time, the division list showed only fourteen Irish members still in their places; the Government was able to muster 109 votes.[4] Irritability was increasing on both sides in the early morning hours and interruptions were frequent. When Healy proposed still another amendment as soon as his previous one was defeated, Harcourt, who had been in attendance almost continuously, exploded:

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[1] Ibid., 1063.

[2] Ibid., 1074.

[3] Ibid., 1076.

[4] Ibid., 1090.

> I am bound to say that, in my Parliamentary experience, a more intolerable and unjustifiable waste of public time has never been known than that exhibited on this clause, which has now occupied the Committee 14 hours--a clause not of first-rate importance--by Amendments many of them wholly unreasonable, and none more so than that now under discussion.[1]

Harcourt's attack merely prompted Healy and other Irish M.P.'s to accuse the Home Secretary of wasting time with, in Healy's words, "his monstrous tirade."[2] The next time he spoke, Healy complained that "there was some hon. Member who appeared to be solacing himself with a penny whistle."[3] Such irreverence caused the Deputy Chairman to call for order and to force Healy to withdraw his remark. Healy did, but not before observing that the "extraordinary noise" now sounded like a castanet.[4]

At 8:45 a.m. the Committee Chairman returned to the House and ordered that the clause as amended be made part of the bill. Harcourt then delivered another tirade against Irish tactics, and the discussion degenerated into "a succession of personal attacks."[5] When a member asked that "this

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[1] Ibid., 1098.

[2] Ibid., 1106.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Annual Register (1882), p. 103.

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miserable farce" be stopped, the Chairman agreed, saying that it was "deliberate and planned Obstruction."[1] He added that he might soon have to "name" members who were engaging in obstruction. The House, now with more than 300 members in attendance, took this as a cue to begin crying "name" as John Redmond sought to answer the Chairman. The Chair responded by naming sixteen Irish members, including Healy, who was at breakfast; Parnell, who was in bed; and Frank O'Donnell, who had just entered the House. Infuriated, O'Donnell called the action an "infamy" and cried out: "You sin, Sir, against all the traditions of your Office."[2] A Conservative member also objected to O'Donnell's suspension and, illustrating the chaos, did not bother to rise when speaking and kept his hat on.[3] Healy, upon returning to the chamber, added: "The Rules of the House are done for."[4] When Biggar sought recognition from the Speaker, Healy cried out: "Go it, Biggar."[5] Upon Healy's suggestion, the Irish members rose in a body and left the House.[6] Later, nine more

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXI (1882), 1126.

[2]Ibid., 1127.

[3]Ibid., 1129.

[4]Ibid., 1128.

[5]Ibid., 1129.

[6]Ibid., 1130.

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Irish M.P.'s were suspended, and the House stayed in session until eight p.m. (Saturday, 1 July) in order to finish consideration of the Crimes Bill without interruption. During the thirty-hour sitting, the Irish had been responsible for most of the thirty-one divisions although their support never reached forty votes. Healy, as has been seen, was responsible for most of the Irish amendments and the time-consuming speeches.

On Monday, 3 July, the House, after a long discussion, voted to suspend O'Donnell for fourteen days because he had "insulted" the Committee Chairman the previous Saturday. Then, the House proceeded to the new clauses of the Crimes Bill. The Question Period, ominously, was quite unruly, with Healy shouting out on one occasion that it was with "personal malice" that a Government official had added Justin McCarthy's name to the list of those "named" without the Chairman's approval. Gladstone then failed in an effort to declare public business "urgent" because there were not 300 members in the House. Healy followed by moving to adjourn the Committee because the suspended Irish members had had no opportunity to give notice of amendments for the new clauses.[1] Following considerable discussion, the Prime Minister gave way at 1:30 a.m. The next day, however, the Government had the members necessary in attendance to declare "urgency," and the motion passed, 401 to 19. Healy, Dillon, McCarthy,

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[1] Ibid., 1333.

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[1] Ib

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Biggar, the two O'Connors, and Sexton were among the minority which listened to the Speaker set down the rules applying cloture on his recommendation if a three-to-one majority voted in favor of his ruling.[1] The Parnellites, of course, had expected the measure, and Justin McCarthy was ready with a resolution which stated that the Irish would no longer take part in the discussion of the Crimes Bill, leaving "sole responsibility" on the Government.[2] The same night, the bill was reported out of Committee and was ordered for Report on 7 July. George O. Trevelyan, the new Chief Secretary, at this time kept his pledge to the Irish that he would modify Clause Fourteen relating to the right of search by Irish police. The Tories fought this compromise and unexpectedly forced it to a division, defeating the Government, 207 to 194.[3] All Parnellites were sitting in the Gallery watching the proceedings, but they refused to respond to direct pleas from the Government through Hugh Shield that they vote on the measure, designed to soften the effects of the bill.[4] In United Ireland the next week, the headline over a story on the event declared, "The Irish Revenge:

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[1] Ibid., 1396.

[2] Ibid., 1400.

[3] Ibid., 1830.

[4] Annual Register (1882), p. 109. Healy spells the contact's name, Shields, while the Annual Register refers to him as Shiel. The division list shows H. Shield voting with the Government.

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Defeat of the Government by Their Tory Allies."[1] Healy, describing the scene for the newspaper, stated: "Some of the very members who had been foremost in howling down the Irish handful now came crawling to them, begging their assistance in averting a Government defeat." In his memoirs, Healy recalled that it was he and Sexton who were approached personally in the Gallery on behalf of Gladstone.[2] Eleven years later, according to Healy, Gladstone questioned him about the Irish abstention from voting on a measure which, if approved, would have eliminated unlimited police search in Ireland. Healy said he explained that Gladstone's promise to "reconsider his personal position" if the amendment was defeated,[3] suggested that a Tory triumph might have prompted the Prime Minister's resignation. If that had happened, the passage of the Crimes Bill would have been halted, at least for the moment.[4] Gladstone, however, had no serious intention of withdrawing from office; and he told the House following the division that, due to the "remarkable circumstances" in Ireland, he would not postpone "further proceeding with this Bill."[5] Indeed, the Prime Minister continued with the

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[1]United Ireland, 15 July 1882.

[2]Healy, I, p. 164.

[3]See United Ireland, 15 July 1882, regarding Gladstone's speech.

[4]Healy, I, p. 165.

[5]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXI (1882), 1833.

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consideration of the bill that night and it passed its third reading without the formality of a division.[1] Healy, who was in the House when the Speaker declared that the "Ayes had it," blamed Parnell for not forcing a division and for allowing the measure to pass unopposed.[2] Because the bill was a coercive measure for Ireland, the Lords, quite in character, had few complaints and it passed in perfunctory fashion, receiving the Royal Assent on 12 July.

The consideration of the Arrears Bill, however, was quite a different story. On 5 July, the measure was advanced into Committee by Gladstone who promised that Government assistance would be available for rents in arrears if the Irish Church surplus was not adequate. Basically, the bill provided for an erasure of all arrears on payment of one year's rent if a tribunal was convinced the tenant could not pay all arrears. In addition, the landlord would be given a second year's rent by the Government. The Tories protested, calling the measure "unsound" and a concession to agitation, while the Government claimed it was necessary in order to pacify the neighboring island. The Irish, of course, had no plans to obstruct this piece of legislation.

Healy, who had submitted his own plan to the Government for the settlement of arrears,[3] was not, according to his

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[1] Ibid., 1865.

[2] Healy, I, p. 165.

[3] Birmingham University Library MSS, JC 8/5/1/10.

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standards, particularly active as this bill passed through Committee. Nevertheless, his thorough knowledge of the previous year's Land Act, which the Arrears Bill would amend, necessitated his constant attention to the measure.[1] He offered several amendments on each of the four most important clauses and the Government agreed to a number of them. It was not in Healy's personality to be gentle, however, when he felt the Ministry was in the wrong. When the Solicitor-General of Ireland indicated that the Government would not support a Healy amendment regarding the date from which a tenant's payment of rent would be judged, Healy said that "they might as well keep their Bill."[2] As in the previous year, Edward Gibson, Tory M.P. from Trinity College, led the opposition to this land measure. Healy and Gibson, thus, frequently were debating fine points which most members did not understand. This Tory opposition promptly was termed "obstruction" by the Irish and led Healy to call on the Chairman to halt delaying tactics by a "small knot" of members. At the same time, he urged the Chair to "name" Gibson.[3] His fury at the attempts of the Tories to dilute a bill seeking to uplift the poverty-stricken tenants of Ireland

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[1] As usual, his brother was consulted by mail.

[2] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXII (1882), 398.

[3] Ibid., 465.

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led him at one point to call the landlords a "set of thieves."[1] When objections were raised, he changed his charge to "the landlords had been robbing their tenants." A motion was then made that Healy's "words be taken down," but the motion was negated.[2] In the final nights in Committee, Healy managed to avoid such encounters which tended to waste time; he contented himself with proposing amendments.[3] On 21 July, the Arrears Bill was read a third time, passing by a vote of 283 to 177. Healy and all Home Rule M.P.'s supported the measure.[4]

As with the land measure of the previous year, Lord Salisbury managed quite easily to have amendments passed in the Lords which crippled the bill.[5] United Ireland maintained that the Lords "sent back a corpse, with a taunt and defiance, to its author."[6] Speeches by Conservative Lords outside the House, however, indicated that a constitutional crisis was not desired on this issue. On 8 August, Gladstone made some minor adjustments in the bill; and, while Healy offered an amendment to a Lords' amendment which the Prime Minister accepted, the Irish did not otherwise act very disturbed about

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[1] Ibid., 477.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 491 to 1288, passim.

[4] Ibid., 1319. Parnell did not take part in the division.

[5] Annual Register (1882), pp. 118-9.

[6] United Ireland, 5 August 1882.

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the alterations.[1] Without any appreciable support in the Lords, Lord Salisbury was forced to call off the fight, and the bill, as Gladstone wanted it, was approved on 12 August. On 18 August, it received the Royal Assent. Parliament adjourned the same day until 24 October when it would return to consider Gladstone's revised rules of procedure.

The soothing effect of the newly-amended Land Act, the existence of coercion, the shock of the Phoenix Park murders, and the outlawing of the Land League had all contributed to Parnell's reluctance to develop a new national organization. His primary concern from May until September was the suppression of the land agitation in Ireland and the liquidation of his sister's militant Ladies Land League. In the latter venture Healy, as usual, assisted, this time through his column for the Boston Republic. It was in America, after all, that the money to support agitation was collected. On four different occasions in May, June, and July, he commented upon the large amount of money being spent by the Ladies Land League, but avoided openly critical remarks. On 20 May, he stated that "Mr. Egan reports that he has sent £14,000 to the Ladies Land League within a few months, this large sum being necessary to enable the ladies to care for the great number of people who have been evicted by the landlords." Again on 17 June, he uncritically wrote about the ladies' expenses

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXII (1882), 1185.

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while explaining Parnell's reasons for agreeing to the Kilmainham Treaty. In July, however, he mentioned that Land League expenses were $10,000 a week while weekly contributions to the cause amounted to only $2,500; but he did not point a direct finger at the ladies, although their organization was the only one spending the Land League's funds. On 15 July, he again wrote about the "enormous strain" placed on the Land League's treasury, but offered no specific criticism of the ladies' work. Healy stated in his memoirs that Parnell asked him to criticize the ladies in his American newspaper column.[1] Miss Parnell, according to Healy, was furious about one of his articles and personally reproached him, apparently in August, for discrediting the Ladies Land League in America, where support for its continuing militancy was strongest.

Healy, always the faithful lieutenant, also aided Parnell in attempting to explain his Kilmainham agreement with the Government. In his column for the Republic, Healy responded to the dissatisfaction in America which had become manifest as the "treaty" details became known. The column made its first formal appearance on 17 June, and, as the Republic's leading article noted, it appeared just in time to explain that Parnell was unjustly accused of surrendering to the Government. Healy explained Parnell's action as the "highest patriotism" because of the horrible conditions in

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[1]Healy, I, p. 157.

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Ireland. He claimed that O'Shea had approached Parnell for the Government, which sought to end the strife, and Parnell, "working with the only means that was at his hand," insured the introduction of an Arrears Bill and Forster's resignation.

Healy also maintained that Parnell had been depressed by the murders committed during his imprisonment because his efforts were liable to be negated by "the acts of a few, hare-brained fanatics." On the matter of the "treaty" letter read by Parnell in Parliament, Healy blamed O'Shea for the fiasco, stating he had no right to give a copy of a private letter to Forster. Parnell, Healy said, had not kept a copy.

In subsequent weeks in his Republic column, Healy dismissed the idea that Parnell was having a difficult time keeping his followers in line, and he defended Parnell's moderation on the coercion measure as "purely strategic," saying the Irish leader wanted the Arrears Bill to be approved quickly. According to Healy, Parnell willingly had exposed himself to criticism, because he had the best interests of Ireland in mind.[1] The charge in John Devoy's newspaper that there was a "revolt" among Parnell's parliamentary followers was refuted by Healy, whom Devoy had called a leader of the disenchanted. The charge indicates that Healy's obstructive actions in Parliament had been followed with interest

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[1]Republic, 24 June 1882.

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in America.[1] Following the suspension of the Irish members in July, Healy had an opportunity to reiterate his earlier observations: "The gallant action of Mr. Parnell during the entire of these debates, and the united way in which the party have acted with him, must now furnish complete answer to the absurd rumors of division current some weeks ago."[2]

Later, following a national convention in Dublin on 17 October, Healy again was forced to defend Parnell from criticism by the militant Irish-Americans, who were quite unhappy with the stated objectives of the newly-created Irish National League. On one occasion, Healy asserted that Parnell had ordered the "no rent" manifesto halted long before beginning negotiations with the Government and, thus, the "treaty" had no connection with the withdrawal of the manifesto.[3] He said the public had not adhered to the manifesto and Parnell had no other choice if the resolute few were not to suffer inordinately. It was the people, then, not the Irish leader and his lieutenants, who had failed in this venture. In Healy's words, "the Irish leaders were ahead of the people and . . . the Irish cottiers are not a phalanx of heroes."[4] At the

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[1] Ibid., 1 July 1882.

[2] Ibid., 29 July 1882.

[3] Ibid., 25 November 1882.

[4] Ibid.

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same time, Healy strongly defended the Arrears Bill and the parliamentarians, both under attack at this time by the militant elements in Ireland and the United States.

The Republic, representing conservative Irish-American opinion, was delighted to publish Healy's column and displayed it prominently on page one. Typical of its views, the newspaper expressed great concern over Davitt's apparent conversion by Henry George, whom they referred to as the "California communist."[1] At the end of 1882, the newspaper made its feelings about Healy quite clear:

> Mr. Healy's letters have been copied by every Irish-American paper and the press generally throughout the land, and have done much to counteract the dangerous tendencies in certain quarters, in the direction of socialism, communism and other pernicious doctrines.[2]

Ironically, Parnell's position as leader of the Irish people had been strengthened by the Phoenix Park murders. But, his actual power as a political leader within the British parliamentary system was, of course, diminished because the basis of his power, the semi-revolutionary Land League, was destroyed. Davitt and others were appalled that he would disband an organization which had made such significant land legislation possible; but, there was no deterring Parnell, who, after the 6 May murders, could dictate with a strengthened hand. Parnell, however, could not resist the pressure to

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[1] Ibid., 24 June 1882.

[2] Ibid., 23 December 1882.

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establish another national organization, although he could and did mold the organization so it was dedicated to objectives he endorsed and led by his hand-picked men.

Davitt, encouraged by the support he received while on a visit to America, strongly suggested to Parnell, probably in July, that a new national organization be formed to confront the Government on the new coercion measure and the landlords who continued to evict.[1] As early as 26 June, Healy, in an article written for the Republic, had stated that a new national organization was definitely necessary.[2] A few weeks later in the Boston newspaper, a column from Ireland signed "Americanus" contained an obituary for the Ladies Land League and then stated that an organization to replace the Land League was under consideration.[3] This article said this new group was likely to be a limited, non-militant one approved by Parnell which sought to secure the benefits for all tenants entitled to coverage under the Arrears Act. Parnell turned to Healy, his land law authority, to head the group.[4] It was the first step toward forming a more comprehensive

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[1]Davitt, p. 368; Healy, I, p. 169, claimed it was August.

[2]Republic, 15 July 1882; the column was dated 26 June.

[3]United Ireland, 12 August 1882, makes a similar statement.

[4]Davitt, p. 370; Healy, I, p. 169.

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organization, although Parnell at the time had not planned on going any further. Pressure was building, however, and, according to Davitt, Parnell was finally told that a new national body would be organized "whether he liked it or not."[1] Davitt and Dillon, who did not participate in the group headed by Healy, and Parnell agreed to the new organization, while Healy a recent bridegroom, honeymooned with the daughter of T.D. Sullivan, publisher of the Nation. When Healy returned to Dublin, Parnell asked him to draw up the constitution of the Irish National League.[2] In mid-September, a call was issued for a convention of "representative men" to be held in Dublin on 17 October. In a gesture of unity, Parnell, Davitt, and Dillon, as well as Healy, Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Brennan, and Thomas Sexton, signed the proclamation calling for the convention. Dillon, however, a few days later announced again his retirement from politics and did not take part in the convention. Davitt did, but he was clearly at odds with the parliamentarians, although he agreed beforehand not to force the delegates to choose between Parnell's plan and his belief that "land nationalization" should come before Home Rule.

Healy's great popularity at this period--second only to Parnell's--was illustrated by a request from the Ulster

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[1] Ibid., p. 371.

[2] Healy, I, p. 169; Davitt, pp. 374-5, said Harrington assisted Healy.

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constituency of Down that he seek election there at an expected early vacancy.[1] Because of his key position in the national movement and the fame of Healy's Clause, he was a logical choice to carry Parnell's banner into the North. The Freeman's Journal, which also published a daily newspaper in Belfast, called Healy "a link between North and South" because of his work on the 1881 Land Bill.[2] It stated: "In the bitterest Orange Lodge in Ulster there is one 'Papish' (sic) for whom the members cherish the kindliest feeling, and that is the author of 'Healy's Clause'."[3] A contest in the hostile North, however, was still a risk because of the Protestant majority. Healy, too, lacked one important attribute of the Irish Nationalist hero; he had not yet been imprisoned by the British Government. That deficiency, however, would soon be remedied with the cooperation of the incompetent Irish administration.

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[1] United Ireland, 1 July 1882.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 25 January 1883.

[3] Ibid.

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CHAPTER VIII

JAIL, A PAPAL CIRCULAR AND TRIUMPH IN MONAGHAN

On 16 August 1882 Parnell and Dillon received the "freedom of the city" from the Dublin Corporation, and at the ceremony Parnell took the opportunity to urge the audience to concentrate their collective energies in the quest for Home Rule. He referred to that "great object of reform which has always possessed the hearts of the Irish people at home and abroad, I mean the restoration of the legislative independence of Ireland."[1] Parnell's words summed up the new direction of the Nationalist movement. Organized land agitation soon would come to an end and, hopefully, in the near future, an Irish Parliament would deal with the land problem. The speech indicated that such a body would enact laws returning the land to the people. Thus, Home Rule clearly was the prime objective because without it, actual land reform never would be possible.

Davitt described the convention of 17 October, which would approve Parnell's new direction as the "counter-

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, I, p. 366.

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revolution," claiming that "Parnellism" had replaced Nationalism in Ireland.[1]

In mid-August Parnell had told William O'Brien, United Ireland's editor, that he saw no alternative but to "duck" for the next three years while the Crimes Act was in effect. In the ensuing month, however, Parnell changed his mind, but maintained he had no intention of going to jail again, although he had not "the least objection that anybody else should go."[2] His stance of August had been modified after an Avondale gathering when Davitt had agreed not to offer an alternative to Parnell's policy of seeking land reform only through parliamentary action.[3] No doubt also influencing Parnell's change of mind was the establishment of a landlord-financed Land Corporation which sought to plant "loyal tenants" on farms where native Irish had been evicted, the continuing, often spectacular, violence, and the desire to illustrate that the parliamentarians would not accept coercion passively.[4]

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[1]Davitt, p. 377-8. Davitt said either Healy or T.P. O'Connor invented the term "Parnellism". Healy used the term in a November 1882 article in Fortnightly Review.

[2]William O'Brien, Recollections, p. 458.

[3]Davitt, p. 372.

[4]Agrarian crime in 1882 had equalled the crimes of the previous two years. See R. Barry O'Brien, p. 373.

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Before the convention took place Dillon, expressing his disgust at the new policy, retired; and at the convention itself, Patrick Egan resigned as treasurer. Thomas Brennan, League Secretary, soon followed Egan's example by taking up permanent residence in the United States. Although Davitt did not protest against Parnell's new land policy at the convention, he did question a special allocation of seats on the National League's Executive Council to parliamentarians.[1] Not wanting to shatter the new organization on its first day, Davitt soon withdrew his alternate proposal for the Executive Council.[2] On the forty-eight member council, there would be sixteen parliamentarians and thirty-two others named in conventions held in each of Ireland's thirty-two counties.[3]

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[1]William O'Brien, p. 468. Commenting on Dillon's retirement, O'Brien wrote: "The tone of his mind is not hopeful, and he frequently suffers from despondency, as indeed many weak of body similarly do."

[2]In the Republic on 11 November 1882 Healy said Davitt's proposal to exclude the parliamentarians from special consideration on the Executive Council of the National League had his support. Healy asserted that the original scheme was his handiwork and explained that if the parliamentarians were allowed to run for membership at county conventions they would easily defeat lesser-known men from the county and, thus, totally dominate the council. Before he could offer to scrap his own plan, Healy said, Davitt had withdrawn his protest.

[3]William O'Brien, p. 470. O'Brien noted that Parnell gave Davitt a place on the Organizing Committee, but Davitt rarely attended committee meetings.

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Although reform of land laws to establish a peasant proprietary based on the advancement of full purchase price by the Government was a secondary consideration, Parnell contacted Gladstone on this issue through Mrs. O'Shea even before the convention. He had offered to support cloture in the upcoming session if the Land Act were amended.[1] The Prime Minister refused the "deal," but Parnell nevertheless wrote after the convention that he had "foiled the other side [the militants]" and he promised that his actions and words would not go beyond the bounds of "prudence and legality."[2] Healy apparently knew of Parnell's communication with the Government because on 13 November, he wrote his brother: "We have been making great exertions about an amendment to the Arrears Act."[3] He asked his brother to draw up amendments to the Land Act that the Irish might offer in the next session. Earlier, on 2 November, Mrs. O'Shea had sent to Gladstone a Parnell memo regarding the Arrears Act. On 23 November, another Parnell note sent to Gladstone by Mrs. O'Shea offered four specific criticisms of the act.[4]

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[1] B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add, MSS 44269, fol. 124 (6 October 1882).

[2] Ibid., fol. 137 (30 October 1882).

[3] Healy, I, p. 165.

[4] Ibid., Add. MSS 44269, fol. 149 and 153.

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In his column for the Republic, Healy explained the reasons for forming a "counter-organization," saying it was needed to keep the landlords from winning back "the hard fought ground wrested from them after so much toil and travail during the last three years."[1] At the same time he assured the newspaper's generally conservative Irish-American readers that the demands of the new organization "it is hoped are obtainable from an English Parliament."[2] The Republic's primary leading article heartily endorsed the concept Healy outlined. In the following weeks, Healy commented on Davitt's personal land policy, saying "nationalization does not seem a question within the range of practical politics." The rationale of the new organization also was stated clearly:

> There is no doubt whatever that the mind of the majority of the Irish people just now tends in the direction of obtaining an amendment to the land act, and it is upon these lines that the work of land law reform can best proceed, both because it accords with the prevailing temper of the people and because the government will find it impossible to strike unfairly at a movement directed to secure the development of principles which they themselves have legislatively affirmed.[3]

In the aftermath of the October convention, Healy contributed an article to a major English journal which strongly

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[1] Republic, 7 October 1882.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 4 November 1882 (written 12 October).

endorsed the new direction of the Irish Nationalist movement.[1] He made it abundantly clear that Irish parliamentary agitation would continue, directed now at obtaining Home Rule, and that cloture could not possibly be effective if seventy or eighty Parnellites became members of the House. He also warned the Liberals that if Home Rule was not granted, as the constitutional National League desired, the more militant elements would gain the support of the Irish people, and the movement would concentrate on separation, not Home Rule. Healy wrote that "if we get Home Rule, I for one can honestly declare that in it I see no danger, but only a strength for the English people." He then stated that the Parnellites would be loyal and true subjects, if Home Rule were obtained:

> Our offer to England, in return for the management of our own affairs, is peace and quiet, security and good will, and on no other terms, so far as we are concerned, can she obtain them. . . . If England thinks lightly of the offer, she will reject it, and Ireland will await the march of events. If Irish loyalty, friendship and cooperation are valued by England, she can have them at a price, but that price must be paid; and dear as it may now seem, it would prove more valuable for her empire in an hour of peril, than the pride of dominion, or the spoils of conquest, in a century of peace.[2]

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[1] T.M. Healy, "The Irish Parliamentary Party," Fortnightly Review, XXXIII (November 1882), pp. 29-32.

[2] Ibid. This statement was somewhat prophetic because Gladstone, a few years later, sought to pay the price which Healy suggested, but he could not persuade the Parliament to support him. Healy lived to see the bloody march of events in the next century which began at an hour of great peril for England.

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In United Ireland, O'Brien and Healy now were forced to be more vigorous than usual in "mixing their little salads." The National League and the philosophy of Parnellism had to be given an aura of militancy which was somewhat artificial due to the continual absence of Parnell from League activities and the loss to the movement of Davitt, Dillon, Egan, Brennan, Fanny Parnell, and many others. The success of Healy and O'Brien in their efforts is best illustrated by the number of libel suits filed against the newspaper; it appears that the two men were a very real thorn in the side of the Irish administration.[1] During the parliamentary recess, Healy glorified the parliamentarians and Parnell's leadership both in United Ireland and on the speaker's platform.[2] In one speech Healy maintained that Parnell "had led the Irish people out of the house of bondage and shown them the portals of the promised land."[3]

Healy and Davitt appeared together on 8 October before Healy's constituents at Wexford, and the M.P. made it quite clear that he and Davitt represented different points of

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[1]Davitt, p. 462.

[2]See, for example, United Ireland, 26 August 1882. Glorifying Parnell and his followers obviously was a well-defined policy, which Healy faithfully followed for the next three and one-half years. In 1886 Healy was victimized by the success of his faithfulness when he rebelled against Parnell.

[3]Ibid., 30 September 1882, at Miltown-Malbay, County Clare.

view. Speaking after Davitt, he said that "there was a way to look at the movement besides the pessimistic way," and he encouraged those in the audience "instead of looking at the losses, [to] count their gains." He continued by saying that, "it was no disgrace to them that in the course of two or three years of the agitation they had been unable to uproot a system that it cost centuries of English rule to plant amongst them."[1] Healy, however, did not dwell too long on such unappealing material, but kept the crowd cheering and laughing most of the time with his usual taunts and ridicule of the British rulers. Regarding the new Viceroy, Healy said "they had got a Lord Lieutenant in this country, and he was told that his only qualification for ruling Ireland was that he rode well to hounds."[2] Healy's hearty endorsement of the Land Act in the face of Davitt's hostility was remarkable because at this time it was becoming well known that Healy's Clause, "the brightest jewel in the Act," was being interpreted by the land courts in favor of the landlords.[3]

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[1] Ibid., 14 October 1882.

[2] Ibid. Healy went on to recommend that the tenants not allow hunting on their lands. Later, this statement prompted a deputation of "country gentlemen" to seek out Healy in the House of Commons in order to ask him to withdraw his advice. See the Freeman's Journal, 30 October 1882.

[3] Ibid., 9 October 1882.

The week following the convention in Dublin the Irish M.P.'s returned to London for the reconvening of Parliament. In the special autumn session, which lasted six weeks Healy was strangely inactive. He took no part in the discussion of Gladstone's proposed rules for the House except to make one brief speech on 30 November, the thirty-third night of debate. It was Healy's first appearance in the House since 16 November. Except for one brief conflict with the Prime Minister, Healy was unusually reserved in his oratory.[1] His only other contribution to the session was to sit on the bi-partisan Select Committee which investigated the "contempt of Court" charge against Edmund Dwyer Gray, publisher of the Freeman's Journal.[2] Healy continued writing his columns for the Republic and United Ireland, and perhaps either his law study or the demands of married life caused his disappearance from the House. Even if he had no interest in the new rules--which is highly unlikely--he certainly would have been present, if possible, on 23 November when Parnell declared "urgency" in order to discuss the failure of the Arrears Act and to urge an extension of the time in which tenants might qualify under the act. However, Healy knew that the alteration of parliamentary rules created little public interest

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXIV (1882), 275.

[2]Ibid., 284.

in Ireland. Thus, Healy might have considered this a good time to devote to his law studies which had been abruptly terminated in October 1881, when he avoided arrest by going to the United States. A professor of law at King's Inn noted that Healy was a student there in 1882, and because of Healy's constant attendance in Parliament earlier in the year, it is likely that his studies were concentrated in the last quarter of the year.[1] A few weeks later his law studies again would be curtailed, this time by a jail sentence.[2]

On 26 November, however, Healy showed his old fire in a speech at St. Mullins, County Carlow. He called on the farmers not to pay any rents they could not afford, even if the rents recently had been lowered and fixed by the land courts:

> There was no more sacredness in a judicial rent than in a rent fixed by the landlord in a back office. His advice, therefore, would be to them to get what they could out of the judicial rents, and if it gave them a great deal of trouble to pay them, let them give themselves least trouble. Let them continue their organization in the future as they had in the past.[3]

Healy continued by berating the Irish administration. "The

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[1]J.G. Swift Mac Neill, What I Have Seen and Heard (London: Arrowsmith, 1924), p. 197-9. The author said that he was amazed at Healy's "cleverness and originality" in answering questions and that he could "correct me from his practical experiences in matters of constitutional law."

[2]Nation, 13 January 1883.

[3]Freeman's Journal, 27 November 1882.

Government of this country, being, as it was, an organization against the will of the people, was simply an organization of so many pirates and so many brigands."[1]

At Question Time in the House of Commons on 30 November, the Chief Secretary was asked about speeches given by Davitt and William Redmond[2] on the same day as Healy's. A portion of Davitt's remarks at Navan were remarkably similar to those uttered by Healy. Davitt was quoted as saying "if the tenant farmers of the West would pay the rent that should go to feed their children, then let them die, and Ireland and humanity would be well rid of such a coward race."[3] Healy told his audience: "If any farmer in the future, owing to his own payment of a rack-rent, should perish of starvation, he was there to say that it was the man's own fault; and if any inquest was held the verdict of a coroner's jury should be 'served him very well right'."[4] In their respective speeches, both men indicated their fear of a bad harvest, and Davitt suggested that no rent be paid until the following May unless Gladstone broadened the Arrears Act. Healy, not so bluntly,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] William was the brother of John Redmond and not yet a member of Parliament.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXV (1882), 371.

[4] Freeman's Journal, 27 November 1882.

said the same thing in his speech which was vastly different in tone from the one he had given in Wexford six weeks earlier.

Thus, Healy's militancy on public platforms was designed to keep the disgruntled Davitt from gaining more influence in the rural areas of Ireland. At this time, Davitt was moving about the Irish countryside preaching his doctrine of land nationalization while Parnell was quietly going about his business in the House of Commons. By not allowing Davitt to have a clear field in Ireland, Healy was illustrating dramatically that the parliamentarians were just as concerned about the plight of the farmers as was the popular founder of the Land League. Healy certainly realized that the establishment of the Irish National League with its emphasis on constitutional agitation for Home Rule had caused a split in the national movement visible to all. By once again lifting the banner of agrarian agitation, Healy was attempting to maintain Parnell's position as the undisputed leader of the Irish people. With coercion actively enforced, the threat of arrest for making militant speeches was great;[1] but Healy certainly knew that going to jail would illustrate to all that the parliamentarians and the Irish National League remained vitally interested in the land problem as well as Home Rule. Healy's activities also demonstrated

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[1]Davitt, p. 444.

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that the League's secondary objective, a reform of the Land Act, was more than a vague promise.

In the House of Commons, Chief Secretary Trevelyan was asked to explain the Government's policy in light of "the efforts now being made to stir up outrage in Ireland during the coming winter?"[1] The Chief Secretary responded by saying the Government "have directed their earnest attention" to the speeches of Davitt, William Redmond, and Healy, although Healy had not been mentioned in the question. Commenting that "there is no hope for peace and order in Ireland," Trevelyan said he was recommending to the Viceroy "to exercise his power, under the Prevention of Crimes (Ireland) Act to prohibit these meetings [in the future]."[2] Regarding the speeches of Healy, Davitt, and Redmond the previous Sunday, he said that the trio could not be indicted under the Crimes Act, but he suggested that the Government would consider using other laws.

Healy replied to Trevelyan only by saying that he was surprised by the Chief Secretary's comments. He then said he was returning to Dublin that evening.[3] He remained for the next day's sitting, however, as Sexton had given notice of questioning the Chief Secretary further regarding Healy's

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXV (1882), 371.

[2]Ibid., 373.

[3]Ibid., 374.

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speech. Sexton asked Trevelyan if a Government shorthand writer had been present at St. Mullins when Healy spoke. Trevelyan answered that there had not, but that a constable had taken notes.[1] The Chief Secretary then stated that the Government definitely would begin proceedings against Healy. Parnell immediately rose and inquired what statute the Government would use to prosecute Healy and Davitt. The Attorney-General refused to comment and when Parnell said he would ask again the next day, the Attorney-General said proceedings would be instituted by that time.[3]

The day the issue came up in Parliament, Healy wrote in his column for the Republic that "my present intention [if arrested] is to refuse bail and go to prison." He said Davitt should do the same thing. He also indicated he was unconcerned about the absence of a Government shorthand writer at his speech, commenting that he was content to abide by the press reports which the Government planned to use in its warrant.[4] A few days later he told a London newspaper the same thing.[5]

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[1]Trevelyan had said such writers were at Navan for Davitt's speech and at Cork for Redmond's speech.

[2]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXV (1882), 482.

[3]Ibid., 483.

[4]Republic, 23 December 1882.

[5]Standard, 4 December 1882.

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On 5 December, the three men mentioned by the Chief Secretary were arraigned before the Queen's Bench Division in Dublin along with P.J. Quinn, ex-secretary of the Land League. William Redmond, however, had left the country and Parnell urged him to stay away because of his poor health.[1] The day before the three men were arraigned, the Freeman's Journal, noted the accused would be asked to give security for their good behavior in the future. It then urged them to do so and not to be tempted to accept a prison sentence:

> This would be easy enough, and would gain them plenty of applause. We ask them to show a rarer courage, and what, in our opinion, at least, would, in the present condition of the country, be a truer and a more self-sacrificing patriotism.[2]

A few days earlier, the newspaper had endorsed the Government's policy which, it said finally had recognized the connection between "platform incendiarism and crime."[3] Healy's reply to the Freeman's Journal article was dramatic. Writing in the Nation, he said that "if the alternative to refusing bail was the gallows, I would not pay the British Government the homage of atoning to it in this matter."[4] Interestingly, the publisher of the Freeman's Journal, E.D. Gray, who had

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, I, pp. 372-3. He later joined his brother, John, on a fund raising campaign in Australia.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 4 December 1882.

[3]Ibid., 1 December 1882.

[4]Nation, 13 January 1883.

strongly supported the work of the land courts, was on the platform when Healy spoke that Sunday in St. Mullins.

Due to a technicality regarding the serving of notice on Davitt, the proceedings against the three agitators were postponed until after the first of the year. The arraignment, however, caused comment in the press. The London press, both Conservative and Liberal, noted that the Irish Attorney-General shook hands with Healy as he arrived in the courtroom and then conversed with the defendant. According to the Conservative Standard: "In fact, they seemed to be on friendly relations, and at the conclusion of the proceedings they again had a short conversation."[1] The landlord press in Ireland expressed astonishment at the tête-à-tête which tended "to throw discredit upon the sincerity of the action of the Government as announced by the Chief Secretary in Parliament."[2]

With Parliament now out of session, the Parnellite M.P.'s returned to Ireland and proceeded to follow Healy's example on the speaking platforms of Ireland. Parnell, Sexton, and T.P. O'Connor were in Cork on 10 December for a huge rally which featured strong speeches, but the Government

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[1]Standard, 6 December 1882. The Liberal Daily News also noted the event on the same date.

[2]Evening Mail, 6 December 1882.

ignored these and selected one given by Joseph Biggar as an example of a seditious speech.[1] In his column for the Republic, Healy wrote that the Government believed the land movement had reached a phase where "heading and hanging" was necessary.[2]

The first major concern of the parliamentarians in the new year was the vacancy in Mallow created by the resignation of the Irish Attorney-General.[3] The Government nominated the Solicitor-General for Ireland to take the Attorney-General's place. The Mallow electorate numbered approximately 200 and in 1880 Parnell's nominee there had been routed badly by the former Attorney-General. To contest the election, Parnell chose William O'Brien, editor of United Ireland who was under indictment for certain articles which had appeared in the newspaper. O'Brien, sensing the futility of a contest with such a limited electorate, was reluctant, but finally agreed to campaign even though Parnell said he could not assist him due to ill-feeling in Mallow over remarks he made in the 1880 election. Thus, on 1 January, O'Brien, who had not spoken in public before, went to Mallow to open his campaign with Healy and Sexton, two accomplished

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[1]United Ireland, 30 December 1882.

[2]Republic, 6 January 1883.

[3]Healy maintained in his memoirs (I, p. 172) that the press observations at his arraignment forced the Attorney-General to resign.

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and well-known orators. Healy, speaking of himself and O'Brien, wrote in United Ireland that "the prosecution of the Government . . . proved . . . the best mark for the Government to set upon the forehead of any Irishman . . . the more . . . persecuted an Irishman would be by Dublin Castle, in the hearts of the Irish people the more would he be treasured and loved."[1] Healy campaigned elsewhere as well, not in favor of any candidate, but against the administration of the Arrears Act and Government policy in Ireland generally.[2] He even took this campaign into Ulster.[3]

The Government, in the face of the renewed agitation and a police strike, decided to wait no longer to move against the agitators. On 15 January, O'Brien was brought to trial for "criminal libel" and the next day the trials of Healy, Davitt, and Quinn opened.[4] The Attorney-General charged that Healy's speech "delivered to an excitable crowd, was a direct incitement to acts of violence and lawlessness, to disobedience of the law and resistance to its officials."[5] Healy and Davitt, however, were not present. Healy was

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[1]United Ireland, 6 January 1883.

[2]Ibid., 13 January 1883.

[3]Freeman's Journal, 16 January 1883.

[4]Maurice Healy served as O'Brien's solicitor.

[5]United Ireland, 20 January 1883.

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still in Ulster, attacking Whig representatives from that area and pointing out that it was the Parnellites who had managed to win a Land Act for the impoverished farmers of Ireland.[1] This theme would be repeated often in the coming years as the Parnellites tried to make inroads into Ulster.

At a 16 January hearing, the Crown's lawyers explained for the first time that the three men were being prosecuted under a statute dating from the time of Charles I.[2] The knowledge that the Government's harsh coercion measure was not considered restrictive enough to deal with the agitators "gave an unreal air to the entire business," according to the Annual Register.[3] On 18 January, the three men appeared before the three justices of the Queen's Bench division. The courtroom was crowded, many of those in attendance were members of the defunct Ladies Land League, who came to support Davitt, their greatest supporter.[4]

Healy's first concern at the trial was to destroy any misconceptions the public might have about his handshake and conversation with the former Attorney-General on 5 December.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Actually, however, Charles I had updated the statute which originated in the reign of Edward III, in the year 1361.

[3] Annual Register (1883), p. 197.

[4] Freeman's Journal, 19 January 1883.

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He, therefore, made a scathing attack on him, before proceeding to challenge the court's right to bring him to trial without the evidence of an official Government reporter. The Government was basing its case against Healy on an article which had filled a column and a half in the Freeman's Journal, but Healy had in his possession a local newspaper which had used three columns to report his speech. Next, he mocked the Government for allowing him to roam freely through the country for two months making speeches far worse than the one for which he was indicted.[1]

These comments were preliminary to Healy's pièce de résistance which was his evidence that he "did not go beyond the line of fair discussion" in his speech at St. Mullins. He introduced quotations from speeches made years before by Gladstone to demonstrate that his condemnation of the Government in no way compared to what had been said about a British Government by the leader of the Opposition party. Healy also asserted that Herbert Gladstone, the Prime Minister's son, recently had used much stronger language than he to denounce the current Irish administration. In particular, Healy used to good advantage Gladstone's remarks concerning the governments of Bulgaria and Italy and then commented:

> The King of Naples was no doubt a very respectable gentleman, and though he may not have had the antiquity of Charles I, or Edward III, his

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[1] Ibid.

> was a settled Government, and as much entitled to respect from persons who were members of governments as the Government of this country. . . . here is a gentleman who holds the threads of Government in these countries attacking the settled Government of another country.[1]

Gladstone's speeches, Healy maintained, had led to "shootings; to assassinations; to the picking off of Austrian sentries by Mazzinian scouts." And yet, Healy said, "the man who is reason for all that insurrection in Italy demands from me sureties for good behaviour because I endeavoured to procure justice for a humble class against the Government of Ireland." Obviously speaking to his Irish countrymen, not the court, Healy emphasized his point by quoting Gladstone's remarks, while out of power, concerning the Tory Government's administration of Ireland. He also quoted Chamberlain's speech at Liverpool a year earlier which condemned the necessity of military rule in Ireland. In conclusion, Healy promised to continue his agitation, legal or not, in order to improve conditions for the people of Ireland:

> I agree with only one passage in the constable's affadavit: 'I verily believe that the said Timothy Healy, unless compelled to desist therefrom, is likely to persevere in the same course (laughter).'[2]

Healy's arguments delighted even the moderate Freeman's Journal which commented on them in a leading article.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 20 January 1883.

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Equally pleased was the St. James Gazette, a London Conservative publication, which stressed Gladstone's culpability in the Irish agitation.[1] The Liberal Daily News was also impressed with Healy's performance, commenting: "Mr. Healy, with that fine humour of which he is a master, has treated her Majesty's Judges to an elaborate parallel between the English and Turkish Governments, very much to the advantage of the latter."[2] The judges, however, expressed shock at Healy's promise to continue his agitating and disregarded Healy's incrimination of high Government officials. One judge even said that he did not believe Healy's quotations were truthful.[3] Healy, Davitt, and Quinn were each ordered to offer security "to keep the peace" during the coming year. If the defendants did not offer two £1,000 good behavior bonds, they would be sent to jail for six months, the judges ordered. The accused were given one week to comply with the ruling.

The sentencing appeared to cause genuine surprise, and a leading article in the Freeman's Journal despaired that a new "reign of terror" might be upon Ireland.[4] When the

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[1]Quoted in Freeman's Journal, 20 January 1883.

[2]Daily News, 25 January 1883.

[3]United Ireland, 27 January 1883.

[4]Freeman's Journal, 25 January 1883.

arrests actually were made on 7 February, the Nationalist daily newspaper called them "worse than a crime; it is a political blunder of the first magnitude. It will do more in the end to injure the Liberal Party than any recent act of Earl Spencer's Government, and that is saying a good deal."[1] The Government might well have heeded other comments this moderate newspaper made on the subject:

> Their language may have been rash; but the Irish public do not believe, nor do we believe, that it was intended to incite to crime, or that its tendency was to incite to crime. . . . So long as the English Government in Ireland persists in seeking to identify the honest, open exercise of the rights of free speech with really criminal acts, so long they must expect from the Irish people nothing more than a sullen, apathetic acquiescene in a regime repugnant to their sense of justice and of right.[2]

The decision of the court in Dublin also prompted comment in London, most of it opposed to the Government's decision to bring the Irish trio to trial. The Liberal Daily News said: "We gravely doubt the wisdom of the policy which imprisons popular leaders under a law from the time of the Stuarts."[3] It also accurately prophesized that "if these three gentlemen . . . go to gaol, they will come out more popular than ever, and a great many people who dissent from

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[1] Ibid., 8 February 1883.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Daily News, 25 January 1883.

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their opinions, and are shocked at the violence of their speeches, will begin to have a sneaking sympathy with them . . . the prosecutions irritate and inflame, and indefinitely defer the day of appeasement."[1] The Conservative Standard took much the same view of the convictions, pointing out the country was looking "to the more daring and extreme men among their leaders" because Parnell had "retreated into the background."[2] Even a provincial newspaper like the Manchester Examiner commented on the Government's grave error in sending the three men to jail.[3] Obviously, the wisest course would have been to let the cases drop as the Government had done with Biggar. Certainly the Irish administration knew that Davitt and Healy had been at odds on a public platform only a few weeks earlier. Now, however, this "split" between two of the most popular Irish leaders was forgotten as a result of the Government's action.

The significance of the defendants refusal to repent was heightened by the triumph of William O'Brien in Mallow. The editor of United Ireland, under indictment for criminal libel, not only won in a limited and "very rotten" electorate of approximately 200, he defeated the newly appointed Solicitor-General of Ireland, a major officer in the Government's Irish

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Standard, 25 January 1883.

[3] Quoted in the Freeman's Journal, 1 February 1883.

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administration. The stunning victory was gained without the assistance of Parnell who had remained in London. Instead, Healy, Sexton, T.P. O'Connor, and Harrington aided O'Brien.[1]

The evening of his sentencing and O'Brien's triumph, Healy left for London to confer with Parnell "with respect to a number of bills to be introduced next session."[2] In light of Healy's great activity in the coming week, it seems certain that he had several specific items to discuss with Parnell.[3] Healy's sudden trip to London apparently caught Parnell off-guard and again raised questions about Parnell's failure to aid O'Brien in Mallow. In the crucial days before the polling in Mallow, Parnell had used the letters column in the Freeman's Journal to say he probably would not be able to assist O'Brien because he had planned to visit some peat factories in Holland.[4] When Healy arrived in London, however, Parnell had not yet departed for the continent. In the Freeman's words, "some absurd insinuations" now were being made about Parnell's behavior. Seeking to justify Parnell's actions, the London correspondent of the Freeman's Journal

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[1]William O'Brien, Recollections, pp. 500-9.

[2]United Ireland, 27 January 1883.

[3]If Healy had gone quietly to jail, the impact of his sentencing would have been insignificant because of the sensational revelations caused by the capture of the Phoenix Park assassins.

[4]Freeman's Journal, 20 January 1883.

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said Healy's arrival caused Parnell to delay his trip to Amsterdam.[1] It was a ridiculous explanation because by the time Healy arrived in London the Mallow election was over; Parnell obviously had no intention of going to Mallow.

Healy was back in Dublin on 30 January for a banquet at Mansion House and the next evening attended the meeting which established the Central Branch of the Irish National League. He then prepared a plan to startle his constituents and the country. On Monday, 5 February, Healy, accompanied by the silver-tongued Sexton, traveled to the borough of Wexford to confront the Home Rule Club there with some startling news: he planned to resign his seat upon entering prison. According to the local Nationalist newspaper, the visit was unexpected and Healy's announcement stunned those at the hastily called club meeting.[2] Healy's explanation for his decision was that the Parnellites needed every vote they could muster in the coming parliamentary session and that it would be in the national interest to elect someone else. Healy, of course, recommended a nominee for his position. Healy's logic, however, was countered by a resolution that the borough maintain Healy as their M.P. in order to show defiance of the Government. The resolution was certain to receive a favorable vote, but Sexton intervened and convinced club members to delay their decision for one week.

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[1] Ibid., 26 January 1883.

[2] Wexford People, 7 February 1883.

The news of Healy's attempt to resign, as could be expected, was publicized widely and the Freeman's Journal wrote of the "irremediable" loss if Healy did not have a seat in Parliament.[1] If we look ahead to the time of Healy's release and his bid for election in the Ulster constituency of Monaghan, his resignation announcement appears well calculated to extricate him from Wexford at a most favorable opportunity. When Wexford refused to let him go, he had lost nothing and gained a great deal of publicity. If his constituents had agreed to his request, even the Tory Standard was forced to agree with an Irish boast that Healy would be offered "not one, but a dozen Constituencies" when he was released from prison.[2]

Healy's plan to ask his release from Wexford was most likely discussed with Parnell the week before in London. Another item which certainly came out of that meeting and which also would create a great deal of interest was a local government proposal made by Healy at a 7 February meeting of the Central Branch of the Irish National League. That Healy had returned from London with Parnell's approval to make public the scheme of "provincial councils" is indicated by a 1 February letter to his brother. In it he asked his brother to meet him in Clonakilty in order "to have a chat with you about our County Government Bill."[3] Healy chaired

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 6 February 1883.

[2] Standard, 8 February 1883.

[3] Healy, I, p. 175.

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the meeting when he made his proposal, and he made it apparent that similar legislation would be introduced in the upcoming session of Parliament. He said an "inspired" article in the Daily News, the Liberal Party's mouthpiece and a public statement by Joseph Chamberlain which urged the Irish to make known their ideas, had prompted the formulation of his plan.[1]

Briefly, Healy's scheme called for an end to grand jury rule of the counties. Fiscal power would be given to elected county boards and these county boards would send representatives to a provincial council which would have the power then possessed by a Select Committee of the House of Commons. These powers included the building of roads, and bridges, reclamation of waste lands and purchase of property. The provincial councils, Healy said, would be controlled by an elected Privy Council headed by the Irish Viceroy. Healy did not say, however, that this plan was the answer to the Home Rule question. Rather, he said, Home Rule was a completely "separate question" and would have to be dealt with "sooner or later."[2]

All major newspapers--Nationalist, Conservative and Liberal--published Healy's speech and many offered leading articles on the plan. The Liberal Pall Mall Gazette stated

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 8 February 1883.

[2]Ibid.

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Healy's plan to make county government in Ireland "representative" emphasized the Government's failure to honor a promise more than two years old.[1] The Conservative Standard called Healy's scheme "fantastic" and said if the Government agreed to it Parnellites entrenched in the local government's power structure would soon demand complete separation.[2] The Standard had nothing to fear, however, because the Liberal Government was not planning to allow such a controversial Irish measure to tie up Parliament in the 1883 session. And the Irish, with their ranks depleted and Parnell unconcerned, were unable to press the issue. Healy's kinsman and benefactor John Barry introduced a County Government Bill in April, but it was quickly disposed of by a 231 to 58 vote. It was not until 1898 that a similar measure passes Parliament.

The morning after Healy's speech to the National League, he was arrested while eating breakfast with his bride of four months. Healy, Davitt, and Quinn were taken to Kilmainham Jail, but were quickly transferred to Richmond Prison because of tight security measures in Kilmainham for the recently arrested Phoenix Park murder suspects. Because the three men were listed as "first-class misdemeanants" conditions in prison were bearable. Mrs. Healy took lodgings

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[1]Quoted in the Freeman's Journal, 9 February 1883.

[2]Standard, 9 February 1883.

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across the street from the prison and brought food daily. In his wife's umbrella, Healy smuggled out messages and amendments for his colleagues in Dublin and London.[1]

On 12 February, Wexford Borough refused Healy's plea that he be replaced as its representative; instead, Healy was promised "a suitable testimonial" upon his release from prison. An early release, however, was not likely because Parnell's motion a few days later for an inquiry into Healy's jailing was defeated in the House. Quickly, Healy became bored. By March he was complaining to his brother "I can hardly do anything except read the papers."[2] He continued to frame amendments and draft bills, however, assisted by his brother. Also, aided by Davitt and Quinn, both of Mayo, Healy practiced reading Gaelic and all three men closely watched the newspaper reports from Westminster.[3]

During Healy's early days in Richmond, the major news from London concerning Ireland was the re-opening of debate on the Kilmainham Treaty. During the debate on the Queen's Address, some members maintained they saw a connection between Parnell, the Land League, and those accused of the

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[1]Sullivan, p. 32.

[2]Healy, I, p. 177.

[3]Less than a year later, Healy wrote a long article on "The Representation of Gaelic Sounds" and urged changes in the language so that it could be used commonly. See United Ireland, 8 March 1884.

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Phoenix Park murders. The Government's subsequent defense of its release of Parnell in May, 1882, led to a devastating attack on the Irish leader by the former Chief Secretary, W.E. Forster. Parnell, according to Forster, was responsible for murder and terror in Ireland, "and no wonder that from such an agitation as this [the Land League's] has followed the first political assassination that has disgraced our annals for hundreds of years."[1] As the historian Conor Cruise O'Brien has pointed out, Parnell's "strange streak of luck" was continuing.[2] With his leadership being questioned at the time by militant Irish-Americans and by the followers of Davitt and Dillon, Parnell indeed was fortunate to be denounced by the hated ex-Chief Secretary. Parnell's reply was anticipated eagerly the following evening and the House of Commons had its largest audience in history--including the Prince of Wales. In a "cold, unsympathetic tone," Parnell made a vicious personal attack on Forster because, he explained, a reply to the charges would have no effect on the House or on the English people.[3] Although Parnell's tactic generally was deplored in England, he clearly had made his point with the Irish people.

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[1] Annual Register (1883), p. 41.

[2] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 85.

[3] Annual Register (1883), pp. 44-6.

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After the debate on the Queen's Address concluded, Parnell introduced a bill to alter extensively the 1881 Land Act. Although it gained the support of a few Ulster Liberals who were disturbed by the Land Court's interpretations of some sections, the motion, opposed outright by Gladstone, was easily defeated at its second reading. Shortly thereafter the first of several dynamite explosions shook London, a reflection of the extremist attitudes of many Irish and Irish-Americans who paid no allegiance to Parnell.[1]

The attack on Parnell and the disgust generated elsewhere in the British Isles by his scornful reply swelled national pride in Ireland. In the Nation, publisher T.D. Sullivan suggested that the nation's gratitude to Parnell could be shown by a national tribute which would allow the Irish leader to pay the £13,000 mortgage on his estate. Healy was so enthused with Parnell's surprising behavior in Parliament ("he has acted magnificently") that he urged his brother to send a subscription to the Parnell testimonial.[2] Sullivan's suggestion for a testimonial was endorsed by Archbishop Croke of Cashel and supported vigorously by the Freeman's Journal.[3]

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[1]United Ireland, 24 March 1883.

[2]Healy, I, p. 182.

[3]United Ireland, 24 March 1883.

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In Parliament, however, the only notable interest shown by the Government in regard to Ireland was the introduction of a Criminal Code Bill which United Ireland said would make permanent the worst features of the 1882 Crimes Act.[1] Healy's long and detailed Elective Councils (Ireland) Bill, as it was officially termed, was introduced into the House in April. It was printed earlier in its entirety in United Ireland, filling more than three and one-half columns.[2] John Barry urged that Healy's bill be passed to fulfill the Government's promise in the 1881 Queen's Address, but Chief Secretary Trevelyan, who had supported county government reform eight years earlier, maintained there was no time to consider it in the session.[3] Several independent Radicals supported the measure, but few others did and the bill went down to defeat, 231 to 58.

Healy was disgusted with the cursory treatment afforded his bill. He wrote his brother: "Experience shows that, unless men are paid for an appointed task, things will go higgledy-piggledy."[4] He also added his misgivings about the fact that Irish affairs were "managed by one man [Parnell]."[5]

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[1] Ibid., 31 March 1883.

[2] Ibid., 17 March 1883.

[3] Annual Register (1883), p. 97.

[4] Healy, I, p. 183.

[5] Ibid., p. 184.

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Healy likewise expressed dismay about the poor showing made by the Parnellites during the debate on the Criminal Code Bill. About the only thing to cheer Healy during his stay in prison was the announcement that the coroners of Ireland planned to reward him with a valuable set of lawbooks for his invaluable efforts in Parliament on their behalf. The coroners lauded the bill which Healy had forced through the House because it relieved "the many grievances under which they laboured."[1]

In early May the Irish movement was rocked by the announcement that the Irish bishops had received from Rome a rescript condemning the Parnell tribute and forbidding the Irish clergy to participate in an action designed to "inflame popular passions and excite the Irish people to rebellion against the laws."[2] Approved by the Pope, the circular was signed by Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. The fact that the publication of the circular was influenced by the intrigue of Irish Catholic M.P. George Errington acting as unofficial envoy to Rome from the Liberal Government, was publicized quickly by United Ireland. The newspaper said that Rome hoped for official recognition by the British Government as a quid pro quo for denouncing Parnell and his associates.

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[1]United Ireland, 28 April 1883.

[2]William O'Brien, Evening Memories, p. 48.

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The Papal plan, however, backfired. The Irish people took it as a matter of honor to oversubscribe the Parnell tribute which, at the time, was badly lagging. United Ireland pointed out that Irish priests and people could distinguish nicely the difference between Papal decrees on matters of faith and those on politics. The Italian cardinals who offered political advice on Ireland, the newspaper added, did not have "accurate information."[1] The people responded to such sophistry by doubling in a month the amount subscribed at the time to more than £15,000. Before Parnell received his cheque in December, the fund had grown to almost £40,000.

Healy was absolutely furious about the circular. On 16 May he composed a letter for publication from Richmond Prison which protested against the "Italian intrusion in Irish politics."[2]

> Ireland will not recognize the attempted induction of Mr. George Errington into the Chair of Peter. She will neither take her religion from Longford [Errington's constituency] nor her gratitude from Rome, and with God's blessing the cause of which Parnell is the embodiment will stand triumphant when the contriving of his enemies have been discredited and put to shame.[3]

The letter from Healy and others from Davitt and Quinn constituted a breach of prison regulations, and the three were

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[1] United Ireland, 19 May 1883.

[2] Ibid., 26 May 1883.

[3] Ibid.

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denied usual privileges for a week. There was nothing the Government could do, however, to lessen the negative impact of the letters when they were published. Neither did the Government attempt to delay the trio's release from prison on 3 June, two months early because of "good behaviour." The news of Healy's release caused an impromptu celebration in Wexford and stimulated contributions to his testimonial, now totaling more than £400.[1]

Upon his release, Healy quickly proved that his wrath over the Papal intervention in Irish politics had not cooled during his final two weeks in prison. Before going on record again on the matter, however, he proceeded to pick up loose ends despite press reports that he seemed a "little careworn and delicate" and did not rival the good health of his two prison companions.[2] He travelled almost immediately to London to consult with the parliamentary leaders and to infuse new spirit into the Irish ranks in the House.[3] He then returned for a rally in his constituency on Sunday, 10 June.

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[1] Wexford People, 6 June 1883.

[2] United Ireland, 9 June 1883. The Standard and Morning News of 5 June, both also commented on Healy's poor appearance.

[3] United Ireland, 16 June 1883. The newspaper's parliamentary correspondent said Healy's return caused a "sudden recrudescence of Irish energy all along the line."

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Two nights later at a political meeting of the North City Ward in Dublin, Healy, in an unprecedented action, bitterly attacked the Papal Circular. The reverberations of his verbal blast were soon heard in Rome. In the midst of an attack on the Liberal Government and its emissary to Rome, George Errington, Healy called on "prelates and clergy" to reject "that idiotic circular" from Rome.[1] The statement met with an approving "hear, hear," at the meeting, but it shocked the Catholic establishment in Ireland to have one of the country's most popular politicians refer to an official Papal document in such terms. In his speech, Healy went on to charge the authors of the circular with cowardice: "Why did not the framers of the circular, if they had anything to say against Mr. Parnell, come out in the light of day and say it?" He then suggested that Rome had meddled in Irish affairs not to aid Ireland but to benefit its relations with Great Britain; and he called the Vatican "summer friends" of Ireland. All of his comments on this matter were punctuated with approving cheers from the audience. He then contrasted Parnell's role in such affairs with the Pope's:

> In 1879 he [Parnell] worked for Ireland in America when Ireland was in distress and threatened with famine, when no Circulars came from the Vatican and no help from the College of Propaganda. At that time Mr. Parnell for weeks and months laboured for Ireland in getting relief for the starving Irish, the miserable cottiers of Donegal and Mayo. No word of praise then from the Vatican.

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[1] Ibid.

> Ireland was left in the lurch by her summer friends. Cardinal Simeoni would have done well if before attempting to take the mote out of the eye of Ireland he had taken the beam from his own. He trusted that steps would be taken to rectify that gross and shameful blunder, and that the people of Ireland would show their gratitute to their tried and trusted leader by making the Parnell Tribute worthy of the man, of themselves, and of the great work he had accomplished.[1]

During the same week as Healy's "idiotic circular" speech, the announcement was made that the Liberal M.P. for Monaghan had vacated his seat in order to accept a Government appointment as Crown Solicitor for Meath and Kildare counties. Rumors of his resignation had been discussed openly as far back as December, well before Healy's attempt to quit his position in Wexford.[2] With a vacancy assured in this Ulster constituency Parnell wanted Healy to contest it. Thus, Healy was forced to tell his loyal Wexford constituents that this time he definitely planned to resign.[3] The electorate was given no option in this circumstance. Parnell immediately telegraphed the leaders of the party in Wexford asking that Healy be allowed to resign. The Home Rule Club promptly passed a resolution of obedience, saying: "We unreservedly place the question of his [Healy's] retirement from the representation of Wexford in the hands of the leaders of the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Healy, I, p. 190.

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Irish people, and that in the vent of Mr. Healy succeeding in Monaghan, we pledge ourselves to support only as his successor here the candidate having the recommendation of Messrs. Parnell and Healy."[1]

The importance of the Monaghan election was underscored by Parnell's announcement that he would travel to Monaghan to assist Healy's campaign.[2] Nominations were scheduled for 25 June and the polling was to take place on 30 June. United Ireland on 16 June, indicated the reason why Parnell decided to gamble on Monaghan at this time when it pointed out that the county was one of two in Ulster where Catholics were in a majority on the voter registration list. The conservative News-Letter on 19 June asserted that exactly one half of the 5,000 voters in the county of 120,000 were Catholic. United Ireland, also on 16 June, suggested the tone of Healy's campaign when it stated that great benefits would result if Healy were elected to speak for Monaghan farmers because "what do aspiring placemen [like Healy's opponent] care about farmers?" Thus, during his campaign, Healy's significant role in the passage of the 1881 Land Act would be driven home determinedly by his local and national supporters, while Home Rule and the Irish National League would not be discussed.

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[1]United Ireland, 16 June 1883.

[2]Healy, I, p. 190.

Before Healy went North to campaign, he travelled South to Glengariff, County Cork, for a brief holiday with his wife. During his stay there he attended a meeting of the Cork Evicted Tenants' Fund. Called on to speak, Healy outlined a scheme which later was embodied in the Plan of Campaign, a program instituted by the National League in 1886.[1] Whether Healy's speech indicated that the Plan was his idea is impossible to determine, but he certainly was the first to speak in public about the concept of a rent strike fund. Saying he thought deeply about the plight of evicted tenants during his imprisonment, Healy told committee members that "the great cause of this drag upon the Evicted Tenants' Fund at present was owing to the issue of the no rent manifesto." The funds, he said, were inadequate to meet demands and the Executive Committee was forced to be selective. This dilemma, according to Healy, would never happen again:

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[1]Details of the Plan of Campaign were given in a leading article in United Ireland 21 February 1885. Because of Healy's position on the newspaper, he may have been the author of the article. On speaking platforms in the months following the publication of the article Healy urged acceptance of the plan. See United Ireland, 6 June 1885; 5 September 1885; 12 October 1885; 24 October 1885. Historians generally believed that Healy took little interest in the Plan of Campaign. See Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 202, who credits Timothy Harrington with being the author of the plan because of what Davitt and William O'Brien have written. The plan was not actually instituted until late in 1886. F.S.L. Lyons, in his biography of John Dillon (p. 74) asserts it was Healy who first publicly mentioned the Plan of Campaign concept. He sets the date as October 1885, a year before it became the policy of the national organization.

> If the National League leaders ever again recommended the tenants of a particular estate to strike against the payment of rent so as to bring the landlord to his sense, or in order to bring evicted tenants back to their holdings or to insure the acceptance of fair rents, they would not be so crude in their devices as simply to propose to the farmers to abstain en masse from the payment of rent. . . . He would never again be a party to recommending an estate to strike for a reduction in rents until every man on that estate had put down a year's rent and banked it in the name of his parish priest or some local leader of the National party.[1]

Healy, of course, had experienced great frustration in testing the Land Act in 1881, and his observations most likely were influenced by that experience as well as the fiasco of the leaderless "no rent" campaign of the previous year.

Healy's speech was printed in the major Nationalist newspapers, but not one commented on the idea.[2] Comments on the

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[1] Cork Examiner, 15 June 1883.

[2] Little more than three years after Healy's speech, in the wake of an agricultural depression, the Irish leaders decided that an organized land struggle was again necessary. See United Ireland, 20 November 1886 (supplement). This Plan of Campaign followed Healy's concept of organizing the tenants by estates and banking a half-year's rent if the landlords did not accept the figure which the tenants had decided to pay. In light of Healy's public dispute with Parnell in February, 1886 it is not difficult to understand why Parnell would want to avoid Healy's active support of a policy which he was ignoring. (Conor Cruise O'Brien, pp. 202-3, pointed out that Parnell stayed clear of the campaign.) More public comment on divisions within the Irish leadership could serve no useful purpose. Healy, as well, was the barrister in charge of an important election case when the plan was announced officially. His involvement in a land campaign would have jeopardized the case and possibly meant the loss of a Parnellite seat in the House of Commons. Therefore, Healy did not play a prominent role in the 1886 campaign. In

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land issue, however, were valuable for the image Healy sought to project in Monaghan. In the 23 June issue of United Ireland, five letters printed on page one and calling for Healy's election in Monaghan, stressed his past services for the tenant farmers of Ireland, both North and South. For more than a half-year the Nationalist press had been writing about Ulster's discontent over the failure of the Land Court to honor Healy's clause.[1] Healy's name and efforts in Parliament, therefore, were well known to the farmer who had envisioned, but never experienced, a sharp reduction in rent for improvements on the land he worked. Healy's most important task, moreover, was to win the allegiance of the Catholic farmer in Monaghan who had been voting Liberal over the years. And, because of his rash statements regarding the Papal Circular, this allegiance was not at all assured.

Healy travelled to Monaghan on Saturday, 16 June, and planned to address a meeting there on the following day. At the same time, Sexton and Dillon scheduled a meeting on Monday, 18 June, with James Donnelly, Bishop of Clogher, a diocese

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his memoirs, Healy claimed little credit for the Plan of Campaign idea. He noted that an 1882 statement by Parnell, embittered by the failure of the "no rent" manifesto, suggested the idea and Healy passed it along to Timothy Harrington who gave it final form in 1886. Healy also asserted that he did not support the 1886 campaign because Parnell had said he did not want to see Healy endorse it. See Healy, I, p. 266.

[1]See, for example, United Ireland, 7 October 1882; Freeman's Journal, 9 October 1882.

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which included County Monaghan.[1] Bishop Donnelly possibly could make or break Healy's candidacy, and the Irish politicians knew it. Donnelly, after all, was not an Italian prelate who could be scorned or ignored in the Irish political arena. The visit obviously convinced Donnelly that he would be foolish to oppose a popular candidate like Healy; however, no official statement was made after the meeting. On the next day, 19 June, Healy's letter to the electors of Monaghan--which avoided any mention of Home Rule--was sent to the Belfast Morning News, the major Nationalist newspaper in the North, owned by E.D. Gray, publisher of the Freeman's Journal. Healy had travelled to Monaghan with the full public endorsement of Parnell, the Freeman's Journal, and all other Nationalist newspapers.[2] His reception by the Catholics in Monaghan had been enthusiastic as well, and it appears that Donnelly had no intention of becoming embroiled in a controversy with the Irish politicians; the Papal Circular affair was a too recent memory.

Healy's opponents naturally used Healy's denunciation of the Papal document as a campaign issue in hopes of persuading Catholics not to vote for him. The Conservative Belfast News-Letter made this tactic clear when upon Healy's arrival in Monaghan it said that "Mr. Healy has certainly

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[1]Morning News (Belfast), 16 June 1883.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 14 June 1883.

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no claims on sincere Roman Catholics."[1] It reminded its Catholic readers of Healy's letter and speech on the Papal Circular. For non-Catholic readers who might favor Healy because of his reputation as a champion of Ireland's tenant farmers, the newspaper maintained that Healy had nothing to do with the passage of Healy's Clause. As well, the newspaper stated, the Parnellite M.P. stood for a policy which meant "crime, poverty, the gallows, and penal servitude."[2] When Healy was released earlier in the month the Liberal Northern Whig had assured its readers that the Wexford M.P. had been nearly forgotten by his colleagues while in prison.[3] Now that Healy was invading the North, however, the newspaper used the same tactics as its Conservative counterpart in an attempt to discredit him with Catholics and farmers generally: "He has not hesitated to use language which no good Catholic can now pretend to sanction, but which all who support him must be regarded as accepting."[4] In the same issue, the parliamentary correspondent assured readers that Sir Charles Russell, Liberal M.P. from Ireland, was the real author of Healy's Clause. Day after day, these newspapers

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[1] News-Letter, 19 June 1883.

[2] Ibid., 18 June 1883.

[3] Northern Whig, 5 June 1883.

[4] Ibid., 19 June 1883.

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hammered home the same points; at the same time, they admitted Healy "was the strongest man to be put forward in the cause of Irish Nationalism"[1] and that Healy was the "cleverest member of the Parnellite faction."[2]

In the countryside during the canvassing, the charges made against Healy in the opposition press were being expressed in even blunter terms. The impact of these issues, however, was reduced greatly when both the Liberals and the Conservatives entered candidates to oppose Healy. Henry Pringle was nominated by the Liberal Party which had been assured by the retiring member that the seat was safe. But the Liberal strength in Monaghan was so shaky at this time, according to the Conservative press, that Pringle should withdraw and support Charles Monroe so that Healy might not triumph in a three-sided race: "The plain duty of all lovers of law and order--Conservative and Liberal--in County Monaghan is to keep Mr. Healy out of the representation; and for this purpose union has become absolutely necessary."[3] The local Liberal Party, however, would not consider unifying behind a Conservative candidate and withdrawing from an election battle in a district where it was the incumbent party.

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[1] Ibid., 20 June 1883.

[2] News-Letter, 26 June 1883.

[3] Ibid., 19 June 1883.

Healy's campaign in the North did not get off to an auspicious start. Ignoring Presbyterian sensitivity about Sunday activities, the Nationalist scheduled a meeting for Sunday, 17 June, a blunder which the Liberal newspaper claimed was a "suicidal course."[1] Thus, that first meeting at Castleblayney was a brief one although there was time for Healy to be publicly rebuked for his statements on the Papal Circular by Canon Hoey, a priest who was both active and powerful in Monaghan politics. Father Hoey said he opposed any rally for Healy until a county convention of Nationalists was held on the following Tuesday:

> No man had greater claims on the tenant-farmers than Mr. Healy, who was never tried (sic) working night or day for their clause, but latterly the Catholic public had reason to throw reflections on him for the uncatholic way he spoke of the Papal Circular.[2]

The convention was scheduled and because he was a good politician, Healy mended his political fences before the gathering of delegates on 19 June. When the 150 delegates from 21 parishes gathered in convention at the Castleblayney chapel, there was no question that Healy was their candidate. Five delegates supported Pringle and the rest endorsed Healy. Father Hoey, convention chairman, urged the delegates to support Healy "vigorously" in his campaign. An indication that

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[1] Northern Whig, 19 June 1883.

[2] Morning News, 18 June 1883. In United Ireland on 23 June the final clause of Father Hoey's statement did not appear.

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Healy's candidacy had gained clerical favor was the fact that "a number of priests" welcomed him at the Castleblayney station when he returned from private talks throughout the county on 17 and 18 June.[1] It was five more days, however, before Healy added a public apology for his attack on the Papal Circular to the private pledges he obviously had made to the clergy in the days between that first meeting and the county convention.

Healy's apology was not a dramatic event. It came in the midst of a speech memorable mainly because of his insinuation that the Liberal Party candidate sold bad butter. The speech took place 24 June at Ballintrain in front of a great crowd which had turned out on the promise that Parnell would participate in the rally. According to Healy, Parnell "neither appeared nor sent an apology."[2] Sexton, however, attended and made his usual exceptional oratorical effort. Healy, then, made his peace with the local priests. The press noted in its story of the event that eleven priests were seated on the speaker's platform:

> Then Mr. Pringle attacked him because he said he (Mr. Healy) was not a loyal Roman Catholic, because he had disrespectful to the head of his Church. He (Mr. Healy) said that was a lie. It was quite true that upon a recent occasion in Dublin, after he got out of gaol, and after he had seen promulgated through Signor Gallenga and the 'Times' a circular from Cardinal Simeoni, he

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[1] Ibid., 20 June 1883.

[2] Healy, I, p. 190.

> used without deliberation an expression in reference to that circular, which he thought was ill-judged and regrettable. But let him tell Mr. Pringle, a Presbyterian, that there was in the Church the Sacrament of Confession, and adjunct to the Sacrament was the Sacrament of Absolution, and he considered by the backing up which he had got in his county from his honoured friends, clerical and lay, he considered that all the slanders of Mr. Pringle and all the insinuations and suggestions of the carrier pigeon from Reform club (Mr. Dickson of Tyrone), would not succeed in depriving him of their votes or their confidence for a hasty expression.[1]

Healy's public statement enabled Bishop Donnelly to write Rome and justify his failure to oppose Healy's candidacy. He told the rector of the Irish College in Rome that the speech which contained the apology was the best he could do with Healy because Catholics were virtually unanimous in their support of the popular and famous Irish politician.[2] He noted, too, that the largest Nationalist newspaper printed the speech. However, the newspaper abstained from commenting on Healy's apology because such leading articles only would have emphasized Healy's original "heresy".

Healy's campaign concentrated on the Monaghan farmers' discontent with the 1881 Land Act. Obviously, they felt that the promises made by the Liberal Government concerning the implementation of the act had not been fulfilled. Healy

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[1]Morning News, 25 June 1883.

[2]Donnelly to Bishop Tobias Kirby, 1 July 1883, private source. In 1885, Healy was on excellent terms with Bishop Donnelly. The bishop would supply Healy with stories which Healy used in his speeches attacking Lord Rossmore, the major local landlord. See Healy, I, p. 229.

urged the voters to elect him to show Gladstone that Ulster wanted the act amended.[1]

Healy, a master at political campaigning, was particularly effective in characterizing the Liberal candidate as the hated "middle-man" merchant who takes advantage of the farmer and the Conservative candidate as the representative of the infamous landlord class which sought to continue the oppression of the Monaghan farmers. As usual, Healy's language was colorful; on one occasion, he called Charles Monroe, the Conservative candidate, an "ourang-outang."[2] The campaign was not a high-minded one; the candidates and the three major newspapers actively engaged in "mud-slinging" regarding an opponent's religion, occupation, or family background. All three newspapers distorted the speeches and their receptions by audiences. The Morning News and the News-Letter attempted to persuade Liberal voters to desert Pringle by carrying rumors that he was about to retire from the contest. The Northern Whig kept insisting that Pringle could win. Healy stressed the need for religious tolerance and his parliamentary efforts for the farmers of Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant, while carefully avoiding mention of Home Rule or legislative independence, the primary objectives of the Irish

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[1] United Ireland, 30 June 1883. At one rally, when the platform collapsed, Healy picked himself up, brushed off his coat, and assured the crowd "they will soon stand on the ruins of landlordism, as they were now on those of the platforms."

[2] Daily News, 27 June 1883.

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National League which he had helped organize. Once, however, he let slip a statement concerning legislative independence, and the Liberal newspaper exploited it fully.[1]

When all three candidates filed nominating papers on 25 June, it was predicted in at least one London newspaper that Healy would win.[2] In London, the campaign was covered prominently from nomination day to polling day. The Tory Standard, which always showed exceptional understanding of Irish politics, asserted that other recent by-elections "have little interest or significance" compared to the contest in Monaghan.[3] Noting Healy's "energy and his acuteness" the newspaper said he was using most expeditiously "that crown of martyrdom which alone was wanting to his character as a patriot" before he entered prison.[4] The Standard was emphatic that Liberal and Tory voters should unite to halt Healy's challenge. By 27 June, the Liberal Daily News obviously envisioned defeat for its candidate and the likely return of Healy. It emphasized the strength of Healy's candidacy, and said his return would not mean that Ulster favored Home Rule, but would indicate "dissatisfaction with the pace at which reform had advanced, and perhaps also gratitude for the

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[1] Northern Whig, 26 June 1883.

[2] Pall Mall Gazette, quoted in the Morning News, 26 June 1883.

[3] Standard, 25 June 1883.

[4] Ibid.

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pressure supposed to have been exercised upon Her Majesty's Government by the Irish Parliamentary Party."[1]

Parnell's arrival in Monaghan on 25 June increased Healy's excellent chance of heading the poll on election day which was five days later. Parnell's first act was to have an interview with Bishop Donnelly. Accompanied by Sexton who had visited Donnelly with Dillon a week earlier,[2] Parnell talked with the bishop for more than an hour and, according to the Freeman's Journal, the interview "was of a most satisfactory character."[3] Although there is no official record of the matters discussed, it is certain that Healy's Papal Circular speech and his subsequent apology were major topics.

The Irish leader's public speeches merely followed the campaign plan. He lauded Healy's great contributions to the Land Act while maintaining the act itself had proved to be inadequate. Return Healy, Parnell told the crowds, and show Gladstone that you are not satisfied with what has been done for the Irish tenant. Great crowds met Parnell everywhere, and Healy admitted in his memoirs that "his [Parnell's]

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[1]Daily News, 27 June 1883.

[2]Dillon left Ireland for the United States during Healy's campaign, not returning to play an active role in Irish politics for more than two years. See United Ireland, 30 June 1883.

[3]Freeman's Journal, 26 June 1883.

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speeches were electrical."[1] Behind the scenes, however, another party crisis involving Parnell's private life took place. J.F. Small, an Ulster man who had been the Parnellite nominee recently elected M.P. for Wexford County, mistakenly had opened a telegram for Parnell which had arrived on the day Parnell had failed to appear in Monaghan. Small, who was assisting Healy's campaign, had assumed the telegram was from the missing Parnell, not to him. According to Healy, the telegram was signed "Kate" and urged Parnell to "please come" because "the Captain is away."[2] Parnell, apparently, was never shown the telegram which Small preserved.[3]

With Parnell in Monaghan, Healy's two opponents were having difficulty finding audiences to address, and, when they did speak, there were constant interruptions from hecklers. Healy continued his bid to win Liberal Party supporters from Pringle by dwelling on his opponent's occupation. On one occasion, he said Pringle "was more remarkable for buying butter than anything else." On another, he remarked: "Was not it enough for him [Pringle] to win an honest penny from the farmers of Clones across the counter without trying to get himself into Parliament?" In several

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[1]Healy, I, p. 190.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 191. Healy said Small passed along the telegram to an enemy of Parnell's and was soon forced out of his Parliamentary seat because of that action.

speeches, Healy called Pringle "that buttermilk politician." For local farmers, the implications of Healy's words were clear enough. Even Parnell became infected, once referring to Pringle as "that butter merchant."[1] Healy likewise stressed his own religious ecumenism and always pointed out the unity of all farmers in Ireland:

> He never knew a Protestant landlord to spare from eviction a Protestant tenant simply because he was a Protestant. What they looked at was the one-pound note. (Hear, hear) There was no such thing as a Catholic or Protestant one-pound note (laughter). Whether Catholic or Protestant, the landlords would exact their rent.[2]

The opposition press fought against such tactics, making claims that Parnell overcharged his tenants, and that Healy only recently had been a clerk earning twenty-five shillings a week.[3] But the Conservative and Liberal candidates could not bury their differences despite their joint concern over Healy's candidacy. The News-Letter, the day before polling, even went so far as to say that it was "certain Pringle will be sent back to his lawful calling as a butter-buyer."[4] The Liberal newspaper endorsed Pringle throughout the campaign but on polling day printed an

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[1]Morning News, 26, 28, 29 June 1883.

[2]Ibid., 30 June 1883.

[3]Northern Whig, 29 June 1883.

[4]News-Letter, 29 June 1883.

article by its London correspondent which said London Liberals believed that Pringle would finish last in the poll. On another page, the newspaper predicted a Conservative victory by 140 votes, and that Pringle would receive less than 200 of 4,700 votes cast.[1]

It was a good idea for the newspaper to prepare hard core Ulster Liberals for the shock of the election results. Pringle did finish an ignominous last with 270 votes out of 4,700 cast. Healy triumphed, but more decisively than anyone had anticipated; he polled more votes than the other two candidates combined.[2] The Annual Register commented, "seemingly the impossible had come to pass."[3] According to one Nationalist report, Gladstone and the Treasury Bench "were visibly disconcerted" when the Monaghan results were read in the House of Commons.[4] A pro-landlord Dublin newspaper stated Healy's victory was the only topic of conversation that evening in the lobbies of Parliament.[5]

Although all non-Nationalist newspapers noted that Healy had left many questions unanswered in the campaign by

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[1]Northern Whig, 2 July 1883.

[2]Final results: Healy, 2376; Monroe, 2011; Pringle 274.

[3]Annual Register (1883), p. 204.

[4]Morning News, 3 July 1883.

[5]Evening Mail, 3 July 1883.

only talking about the land question, still they were impressed greatly with his victory. Despite the Papal Circular affair, he had, after all, the Standard noted, polled more votes than any other successful candidate from Monaghan. It doubted, moreover, if "the judicious reserve" of Healy's campaign would last: "It is far more likely that Mr. Healy will carry his new constituents with him into extreme courses than that they will crush the impetuosity of their representative."[1] As usual, the Standard showed perception in its comments. The Tory newspaper called the "triumph the sign of approaching doom" for those Irish Home Rule M.P.'s who did not desire to follow Parnell "through evil and good repute." Under these circumstances, the Standard said that Parnell "will try to exact what he wants" from a badly-divided Parliament, a dilemma which will call for "Englishmen . . . to unite and boldly face the difficulty."[2]

The Liberal Daily News called Healy's return "of the utmost importance," and said it was "the duty of politicians and statesmen not to shut their eyes to facts, but to recognize them, and to be awake to their meaning." It lamented the desertion of Liberal voters to Nationalist ranks, criticized the resignation of the Liberal M.P. which had given Healy his opportunity and then concluded that it was obvious

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[1] Standard, 3 July 1883.

[2] Ibid.

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there was great discontent concerning the Land Act.[1] In Ulster, the News-Letter blamed the Whigs for Healy's victory and urged the Protestants of the North to unite. Showing their feelings on the religious issue for the first time, the Tory newspaper commented that Healy apparently had won the complete allegiance of the Catholic voters, and then, it attacked the hypocrisy of Catholic bishops and priests who endorsed someone like Healy as a candidate.[2] The Northern Whig also closed the campaign commentary by pointing out the strong religious implications of Healy's triumph despite his attack on the Papal Circular. The newspaper charged that the Nationalists had prompted many Catholic Liberals to desert Pringle by stating in the press and prominently displaying placecards that Pringle was planning to resign.[3] The greatest dismay at Healy's triumph was expressed by a Conservative Dublin newspaper which said: "The loyalty of Ulster can no longer be called untainted."[4]

The Nationalist press expressed jubilation at Healy's victory and urged the immediate reopening of the land question. United Ireland could not restrain its enthusiasm when speaking

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[1]Daily News, 3 July 1883.

[2]News-Letter, 3 July 1883.

[3]Northern Whig, 3 July 1883.

[4]Daily Express, 3 July 1883.

about the prospects of the Parnellite party in a general election which, it had been promised, would see a franchise extention.[1] The return of a "Southerner and a Catholic" and the defeat of the candidate who represented the party which imprisoned the victor was heady material for any Nationalist newspaper, even a moderate one like the Freeman's Journal. It stated: "The omen has to be hailed by everybody as the most significant that within the last half century has attended the course of Irish politics."[2] And it scoffed at the charge in the non-Nationalist press that Healy and Parnell had disguised their true policies during the Monaghan campaign:

> Did any Monaghan elector voting for Mr. Healy fancy for one moment that Mr. Healy was placing in abeyance Home Rule, or that Mr. Parnell was abating one jot of his demands in order that Mr. Healy might give an election contest to Monaghan instead of sitting with dignity of ease for Wexford?[3]

The down-trodden Irish Catholics, saddled with coercion, had been given great cause to celebrate and they took full advantage of the opportunity. From Belfast to Wexford to Limerick to Liverpool to Newcastle-on-Tyne, the tarbarrels were lighted, processions held, Nationalist songs sung, and resolutions of praise passed by hastily-called meetings of

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[1] United Ireland, 7 July 1883.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 3 July 1883.

[3] Ibid., 4 July 1883.

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the Irish National League branches throughout Ireland and the United Kingdom.[1] Healy's defeated Tory opponent knew the Irish were not celebrating just because the land issue had been successfully reopened. He agreed with the Freeman's Journal when he said the results showed "it was avowedly a battle between those who are looking forward to the dismemberment of the empire and those who uphold the Constitution." In his comments upon the announcement of the poll, he did not concern himself with the land issue because he viewed the struggle in Monaghan to be one between Healy's Catholic supporters and Ulster Protestants over Home Rule.[2]

Healy had triumphed where Sir John Gray and Isaac Butt had failed. He was the first Catholic to represent Ulster since the Plantation, and he and Parnell savored the moment by traveling throughout the county that evening to meet supporters in every town and cross-road. According to one press report: "The mountains separating Monaghan from Tyrone were ablaze with bonfires, and every hill from Truagh to Farney had its beacon fire. The enthusiasm was intense."[3] The glow from that day with Parnell in 1883 still warmed

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[1]United Ireland, 7 July 1883.

[2]The son of Healy's Tory opponent in Monaghan became the Prime Minister of Newfoundland and Healy entertained him in 1926 while serving as Irish Governor-General.

[3]United Ireland, 7 July 1883.

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Healy a half-century later and in his memoirs he wrote: "For me to part with such a leader seven years later was a cruel wrench. Without 'side' or snobbery, Parnell was a grand seigneur."[1]

Healy's great moment came exactly one month after his release from prison. Before returning to Parliament, he retired to Glengariff for a few days rest knowing full well that his victory at the polls opened a unique opportunity to press Irish demands--an opportunity he did not intend to waste.

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[1]Healy, I, p. 192.

CHAPTER IX

CORRUPTION IN DUBLIN CASTLE; TORY-IRISH ALLIANCE SUGGESTED

Healy's victory in Monaghan had enhanced greatly his reputation as the most popular and powerful Irish public figure after Parnell, a reputation he maintained for about three years. Nevertheless, during all this time, he was chafing at the absolute dominion of a haughty and unconcerned Parnell over his Irish "subjects." For almost two years after his Monaghan triumph, Healy kept his discontent under control and played the role of the reliable, loyal subordinate. In and out of Parliament, he and one or two others led the Irish Parliamentary Party while Parnell was content with the leisurely joys of his private life in a London suburb.[1] Healy was irritated at Parnell's immoral private life, his disregard for his political duties, and, especially disconcerting for Healy, Parnell's disdain for those few lieutenants who aided him and the many in Ireland who adored him. During the next two years, then, Healy labored long and hard for the "cause," without reward for his labors--either in compassion and recognition from the Irish leader,

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[1]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 80.

or in the possession of authentic political power. The latter fact, recognized in late 1885, severely jolted Healy and was one of the reasons he openly revolted against Parnell's leadership a few months later.

Healy was sworn in as the member for County Monaghan on 19 July. He recalled: "Never did I see a man so happy as Parnell."[1] The Irish leader's joy was understandable for not only had his most "irreconcilable" lieutenant been elected for an Ulster seat but also William Redmond, an inexperienced young man who had been in exile for fear of imprisonment, was returned for Healy's seat in Wexford Borough. Four other victories in by-elections were won by Parnellites in 1883, an indication of a trend which all English politicians could easily understand.[2]

Before going to London to take his new seat in Parliament, Healy had returned to his old constituency along with three prominent Nationalists to aid William Redmond's campaign against the O'Conor Don, a well-known Catholic Whig landowner who had the open support of both Liberals and Conservatives in Wexford. Election day in Wexford did not pass as smoothly as it did in Monaghan for Healy. Stones and eggs were thrown at police assigned to protect the Whig

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[1]Healy, I, p. 192.

[2]A striking example of Parnell's hold over the Irish electorate was the victory of Timothy Harrington, a National League officer, who was returned for Westmeath while he was serving a jail sentence in that district.

candidate, and the police replied with a baton charge which provoked a fierce, ten-minute battle. As the respective forces drew back, Healy, in order to get the police to withdraw from the town, urged the crowd to assure that the O'Conor Don would not be hurt. The fact that Healy had been battered in the melee and saved only when a police officer recognized him might have helped sway the crowd. In any event, the assurance was given and the police withdrew.[1] Later at Westminster, Healy called on the Chief Secretary to investigate the police charge in Wexford; but Trevelyan refused, saying that the extensive policy injury list proved that the people were the aggressors, not the police.[2] On this particular issue, Healy utilized his new political prestige for the first time. He replied to Trevelyan's statement in a letter which threatened an appeal to Gladstone if prosecutions against those who rioted in Wexford were not terminated. Trevelyan was so disturbed by what he called "an intemperate, and indeed, almost brutal letter" that he wrote immediately to Gladstone to plead his own case before Healy had a chance.[3] The weary and despondent Chief Secretary did not realize that his ordeal with

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[1] United Ireland, 21 and 28 July 1883.

[2] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXXII (1883), 298-9.

[3] B.M. Gladstone Papers, Add, MSS 44335, fol. 120.

Healy was just beginning. Having badly irritated the Chief Secretary and proven his point for the people in Wexford, Healy dropped the issue.[1]

In defense of the police, Trevelyan pointed out that the Wexford riot was the first disorder during his fourteen months in office. Unrest in Ulster, however, would soon make the Chief Secretary ignore riot statistics when commenting on Irish affairs. Healy's triumph in Monoghan was a primary reason for the riots in the North, along with the fact that the proposed extension of the franchise soon would give Catholics in the area added political power. When Parliament adjourned in August, Healy and other Parnellites began to organize Nationalists in the North. Then, the trouble really began.

In Parliament during July and August, Healy was particularly active even though major Irish legislation was not pending. The violence of his speeches was sometimes extraordinary, but his successes were notable, leading one Tory newspaper to comment that perhaps the Parnellite members of Parliament should be renamed "Healyites."[2] Three minor, but nevertheless important, Irish measures which passed Parliament in 1883, provided Government assistance for fisheries,

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[1]There is no record of anyone being prosecuted for the Wexford riot.

[2]Daily Express, 20 August 1883.

tramways, and construction of laborer's cottages. The discussion on the Tramways Bill, which had a migration aid scheme attached to it, provided Healy an opportunity to assail the Government's rule of Ireland and the Crown's representatives there, primarily the Chief Secretary.[1] In fact, Healy devoted most of his efforts during that final month of the 1883 session to personal attacks on Trevelyan and his subordinates who ruled Ireland from Dublin Castle. Events soon would prove that these attacks were not unwarranted.

On 30 July, a seemingly unimportant bill introduced by Trevelyan to reorganize the Royal Irish Constabulary was met by fierce opposition from Healy who threatened renewed obstruction if the Government did not show more initiative regarding Irish legislation.[2] His language was an indication of the distressing days ahead for the Chief Secretary: "The Government had nothing to do but to hang people; and yet, in these piping times of peace, the right hon. Gentleman did not venture, while hanging people on the one hand, to do anything for the poor people on the other."[3] On

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXXII (1883), 1933; CCLXXXIII (1883), 971. These are but two examples of Healy's attacks on Trevelyan.

[2]Ibid., CCLXXXII, 1964.

[3]Ibid., 1969.

13 August, the Government tried to push through an additional appropriation of £38,000 for criminal prosecutions in Ireland without notifying the Irish M.P.'s.[1] Just before the Speaker called for the vote, Healy managed to be recognized and then, "at a moment's notice proceeded to traverse the whole field of judicial iniquities in Ireland."[2] Healy's remarks touched off a six-hour debate in which the Irish members indicted Ireland's judicial system. Healy's remarks were particularly notable. In front of a disbelieving House, Healy ordered the Attorney-General for Ireland to stand up and "say at that Table that Mr. George Bolton [a Crown Prosecutor] was not the most blackguard and profligate ruffian in the service of the Crown."[3] Despite outcries, Healy refused to withdraw, but continued by charging Bolton with adultery and "having had a series of illegitimate children by two different women." He asserted that an "English judge" had originally made the same charge. Healy also described Bolton as one of those Crown officials who terrorized or bribed witnesses in order to gain verdicts against the people.[4]

Healy's condemnation of Government officials on 13 August was merely a prelude to another remarkable outburst five days

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[1] United Ireland, 18 August 1883.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXXIII (1883), 348.

[4] Ibid.

later when the House was still considering civil service estimates for household expenses of the Viceroy of Ireland. Healy first charged that Trevelyan "was a supporter in that House of the doctrine that all Irishmen were natural born liars, with the exception of those 'babes of grace' the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary."[1] He then charged that, if Trevelyan had been in office during Cromwell's time "and had been asked for an investigation into the charge of spitting Irish babies up on English bayonets, he would have got up in that House and would have defended the act with as much aplomb as he had exhibited in the present case."[2] The case in question involved a woman informer who was not arrested even though she admitted committing violent acts; however, the district she lived in was saddled with a police tax for the deeds she and other known criminals committed. Healy portrayed the woman as a prostitute, living in luxury, sipping champagne, waiting for the opportunity to appear as a Crown witness against some unfortunate person the police wanted to arrest.[3] Claiming that the rule of Dublin Castle was "let justice perish," Healy went on to vilify Crown officials and their methods in Ireland. His conclusion would rouse Gladstone from the Government bench:

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[1] Ibid., 1131-2.

[2] Ibid., 1137.

[3] Ibid., 1133.

> It was as much a war now between the two countries as ever it was. The Irish Members were the exponents of the state of feeling which existed in Ireland, and which inspired the great mass of the people of Ireland with hatred and contempt of Her Majesty's Government.[1]

Gladstone asked if such language was necessary; Biggar answered in the affirmative. Undeterred, Gladstone proceeded to question Healy, asking if he really thought the Chief Secretary "is pursuing exactly the same policy, and holding the same language, as a man who would justify the spitting of Irish babes upon bayonets."[2] When Healy answered "yes," a distressed Gladstone, nevertheless, continued by asking if Healy believed that only prostitutes or infamous women "will ever appear to promote the administration of justice?"[3] Refusing to bend, Healy answered: "You can get nobody else." Having had somewhat similar encounters with Healy before, Gladstone then made an impassioned plea to his young adversary:

> But were this the last time I should speak in the House of Commons . . . I would beseech and entreat the hon. Gentleman to question and examine himself . . . to ask himself, to the very botton of him heart, whether it is really necessary to use these inflammatory tones, and whether we have not reached a point at which some indications have been given by Parliament that they are disposed to do well, and to substitute a state of peace and friendship for the painful inheritance and recollections of the

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[1] Ibid., 1135.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 1137.

> past; and to ask himself, if so, whether he will not himself become a participator in the work of peace, and instead of provoking and stirring up animosities on this side of the water to come into conflict with animosities upon the other, whether it would not be better to put some curb on expressions . . . whether he would not act more wisely, and more justly, and certainly more in the interests of his own country with a powerful neighbour on this side of the water--whether he would not act more in the interests of Ireland if he would endeavour to introduce into these deliberations something of that spirit of gentleness and moderation, something of that restraint of language which is agreeable both to the traditions of this House, to the social state in which we live, to the very name of civilization, and I venture to say, to the religion which we profess.[1]

Healy regained the floor a few minutes later to reply to the Prime Minister's speech. Claiming "there was no one in the House who had greater respect than he had" for the Prime Minister, Healy nevertheless dismissed Gladstone's remarks as irrelevant and designed to make the Irish members look bad when the night's sitting was reported to the press. He told Gladstone to make the same plea to English newspapers and to his Home Secretary. He then vented his hostility toward the rulers of Ireland by listing examples of official injustices in Ireland and throwing Gladstone's arguments back into the Prime Minister's face:

> And the Irish Members, who represented them [the Irish people], and knew the injustice, were supposed to keep cool. Were they to have no feeling for the men whom they loved and knew, and who, that night, would be away from their families? No investigation, no inquiry; only eloquent speeches from the Prime Minister, and appeals to

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[1] Ibid., 1139.

> them to be moderate, and gentle, and patient. . . . Neither all the eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman, nor all the eloquence of all the eloquent men from Demosthenes down to the right hon. Gentleman himself, could pluck from the people of Ireland the rooted sorrow they felt. They could only do it by giving the people justice, and that justice the Government persistently refused.[1]

After this speech, Healy and Gladstone withdrew from the fray, their energy and arguments drained by the emotional conflict. Trevelyan, however, remained and became the target of incessant Irish questioning. Two days later, in a letter to Gladstone, Trevelyan commented on "this terrible office . . . that any man's political reputation can stand in the long run such an ordeal I believe to be impossible."[2] The Chief Secretary would stay on the job, however, for almost another year, enduring the wrath of Healy and other Parnellite M.P.'s.

The extraordinary exchange between Healy and Gladstone was major news in the Monday newspapers, both in England and Ireland, most of them using the event as a topic for leading articles. One Irish Conservative newspaper best described Healy's speech when it stated the manner in which he "assailed the Irish Government and the administration of justice in this country was little short of ferocious." It claimed "the simple directness" of his language "was only equalled by its

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[1] Ibid., 1157.

[2] B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44335, fol. 122.

coarseness."[1] Elsewhere, the press dwelled on "one of the most disgraceful [speeches] in living memory."[2] Only in United Ireland, distressed that the Irish Registration of Voters Bill had been killed by the Lords, was Healy defended in a leading article Healy apparently wrote himself.[3] The Parnellite weekly newspaper labeled Gladstone's plea to Healy "blarney" and stated that only strong language could force Gladstone and the House, "the stolid Saxon skull," to consider Ireland's pressing problems. "Thank your stars that Mr. Healy's tongue is terrible," United Ireland's report from London stated.[4] While maintaining that Gladstone's reply to Healy "was an appeal to a rival power," United Ireland's London reporter described accurately the Prime Minister's words as those "of a father addressing a brilliant but misguided child and conjuring him to make a less pitiless use of his gifts."[5] The correspondent's conclusion was that

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[1] Irish Times, 20 August 1883.

[2] Daily Express, 20 August 1883.

[3] William O'Brien, Evening Memories, p. 17.

[4] United Ireland, 25 August 1883. The Irish Registration of Voters Bill, warmly supported by Irish M.P.'s, would have placed the burden of proof on a person who challenged an elector's eligibility, not on the person challenged as was the case in Ireland at the time. Gladstone did not contest the Lord's decision, but promised to reintroduce the bill in 1884 if a general franchise reform bill was not brought in.

[5] Ibid. Healy obviously did not write the report from London. The correspondent likely was William O'Brien.

when Gladstone "takes to defending Earl Spencer with heart-broken pathos, rest assured he is already beginning to be penetrated with the conviction that Earl Spencer is not the being of sweetness and light he took him for."[1] The rather lengthy defense of Healy in United Ireland was prompted by a leading article in the Freeman's Journal which, without specifically identifying Healy, assailed the language of "one or two" Irish M.P.'s and said: "We can have no sympathy with some recent events in the House."[2] In the same issue, the London correspondent described in detail Healy's speech which had caused the Prime Minister to reply "in a low voice vibrating with emotion."[3] Illustrating the fact that even the most rabidly anti-Irish newspaper did not treat Healy lightly, the Standard called on the Government to insure that there would be "no plausible ground of complaint" about the Irish administration because "it is eminently desirable that the public mind should be thoroughly convinced on the subject."[4] It was Healy, however, who soon proved his point regarding the administration in Ireland.

Since 26 July, Healy had been badgering the Government relentlessly to fire John Byrne, its Collector-General of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 20 August 1883.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Standard, 20 August 1883.

Rates in Dublin.[1] On 6 September, the dismissal of Byrne for fraud was announced in most English and Irish newspapers. Healy's triumph was especially gratifying because he had personally unearthed Byrne's illegal activities. On Healy's brief holiday in Glengariff after his release from prison, he "casually" had gone to observe his brother Maurice, a solicitor, in court. While there Healy heard an appeal of a decision which involved eligibility under the Arrears Act. The landlord who was appealing had altered records so that his tenants would gain the benefits of the act, and a curious Healy wondered about the identity of the person who had acted "in so accomodating a manner." When he learned that landlord John Byrne was the Collector-General, Healy determined to make him pay the full measure for violating the law.[2] Clearly, the law was on Healy's side, and Byrne had made a foolish blunder in trying to defraud the Government under the Arrears Act in order to help his tenants. That the Collector-General was attempting to ease the financial burdens of his tenants was stressed by the non-Nationalist press, but this issue was really irrelevant.

The Irish Times, the most rational anti-Nationalist newspaper in Ireland, dwelled at some length on Healy's role in

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCLXXXIII (1883), 533.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 7 September 1883.

the dismissal, claiming the Government had "yielded to the power of Mr. Timothy Healy. With the advisers of his Excellency at all events the Member for Monaghan is now in the ascendent."[1] From London, the Irish Times carried a report the same day which speculated that Healy might be bidding "for the leadership of the Irish Irreconcilables."[2] The reporter said the matter "is a good deal discussed here, but is passed for the present without further comment." Parnell's absence from the parliamentary battles, obviously, was inviting such speculation.

One landlord journal, probably assuming the Government's six-week delay in deciding Byrne's fate was a favorable sign, was greatly disturbed by the verdict. The dismissal, it lamented, "chronicles another triumph for Mr. Healy":

> The Member for Monaghan is too strong for Lord Spencer [the Viceroy]. Like the Lord of Kildare, all Ireland cannot control Mr. Healy, so Mr. Healy must be allowed to control all Ireland. For some mysterious reason Mr. Byrne became obnoxious to the Healy family, consequently his dismisal by the Irish Executive.[3]

The leading article continued by saying: "He who is wise in this generation will keep clear of the real dispenser of Irish patronage--the Member for Monaghan."[4]

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[1] Irish Times, 8 September 1883.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Daily Express, 6 September 1883.

[4] Ibid.

On Byrne's ouster, the Evening Mail had stated it would "be surprised if he [Healy] did not quickly fly at higher game."[1] In fact, even before the announcement of his triumph, Healy had begun to investigate others in the Irish administration, this time hoping to find more spectacular cases of wrong-doing. At the conclusion of a reply (unsigned) he made to the attack in the Freeman's Journal about his language in the House, Healy initiated his campaign with an article in United Ireland:

> If the House of Commons wants to make rules to stop such questions as Mr. Healy's, it is open to it to devote its valuable time to the attempt, but it will not do so until the life and adventures, and what is called the 'private character' of various Crown Employees in Ireland from Corry Connelan to Detective Director and County Inspector James Ellis French are full laid bare to the universe.[2]

William O'Brien, editor of United Ireland and also an M.P., did not edit Healy's article, and in his memoirs he said that he had heard nothing of French's activities before the article was published in his newspaper. French, however, already was under investigation by the Government, and Healy had discovered to his satisfaction the certainty of French's guilt from an informant in Dublin Castle.[3] A few weeks later French was suspended from his duties; but, at almost

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[1]Evening Mail, 6 September 1883.

[2]Quoted in William O'Brien, Evening Memories, p. 17.

[3]Ibid., p. 18.

the same time, he began a libel suit of £5,000 against United Ireland.[1] On 1 September, in United Ireland, Healy attacked George Bolton, Crown Solicitor for Tipperary. In an article, Healy was quoted directly as saying Bolton "concocted a fradulent deed and lived in adultery, and that another of 'the babes of grace,' a mighty one in the Constabulary, married a woman he had seduced, contrary to a rule which is enforced rigidly against rakes with only the pay of a Sub-constable."[2] Another major official to be attacked for corruption and fraud in the columns of United Ireland was G.C. Cornwall, Secretary of the General Post Office, Dublin.

Like French and Bolton, Cornwall sued United Ireland for libel, raising the total charges to £70,000. Healy and the newspaper, however, would triumph in every case. On 7 July, 1884, the verdict in the Cornwall libel case went to United Ireland which, according to the Annual Register, "practically gave confirmation to the offences with which the defendant had charged the plaintiff."[3] On 19 July 1884, United Ireland noted the arrest of Cornwall, French, and one

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[1]For not publicly condemning false statements made at this time by French, Lord Spencer, the Viceroy, was charged with "connivance" in the wrong-doing by Healy in his memoirs. See Healy, I, p. 216.

[2]United Ireland, 1 September 1883.

[3]Annual Register (1884), p. 22.

other Crown official. On 21 July in Parliament, Trevelyan, who had insisted for months that the evidence against his subordinates was "trumped-up," was forced to justify his reign in the face of a withering onslaught from all quarters of the House.[1] A few weeks later, the victory for Healy was made complete with the suspension of George Bolton from his post. In December, 1884, French was sentenced to two years at hard labor.[2]

The revelations had shaken Gladstone and Trevelyan badly and, according to the editor of United Ireland, Lord Spencer had been so disturbed that he took a fresh look at the nature of British rule in Ireland and began to see the advantages of Home Rule.[3] Within a few years, the Viceroy actively supported Home Rule. Public opinion in Ireland was stirred as well. Whenever Lord Spencer or his wife were out in public, they were sure to be reminded of a recently carried-out death sentence which had caused a great controversy in the country. Furious with the malpractices of law officers as revealed in United Ireland, passersby would consistently hail the Viceroy with the question, "Who killed Myles Joyce?"[4]

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[1]William O'Brien, Evening Memories, p. 26.

[2]United Ireland, 27 December 1884.

[3]William O'Brien, Evening Memories, p. 32.

[4]Stephen Gwynn and Gertrude M. Tuckwell, The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke (London: John Murray, 1918), II, p. 139.

The question of the guilt or innocence of Joyce and others regularly was brought up in Parliament; Healy and Sexton even introduced evidence which conflicted with the Government's account of the murder for which Joyce was executed. William O'Brien recalled in his memoirs that "these evidences were now poured like red-hot shot on the Treasury Bench" by the two Irish M.P.'s.[1]

Healy's vendetta with Dublin Castle, however, was just one aspect of his activities after his release from prison in 1883. Parliament adjourned for the year at the end of August; and Healy, expecting the franchise soon to increase threefold, returned to the important work of solidifying and extending the Irish National League organization. Healy's particular concern was Ulster where he tried to prepare the ground for future elections by using the same successful formula he had developed earlier in Monaghan. Healy's victory in Monaghan, however, had shocked the Protestants throughout Ulster, and the Parnellite invasion of the North was no longer treated lightly by those who supported the Union.[2] The Unionists, of course, feared the impact of an extended franchise, especially if the Catholics, i.e., Nationalists, became well organized. In order to prevent the organization of the Catholic North, the Unionists sought to coerce

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[1]William O'Brien, Evening Memories, pp. 34-5.

[2]Annual Register (1883), p. 205; R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 21.

those with Nationalist inclinations with impressive displays of force. When a Nationalist meeting was scheduled, Orange leaders would promote one at the same time and place in order to intimidate local residents.[1] Public advocacy of the use of firearms was frequent and Dublin Castle became hard pressed to keep the peace in the Northern counties. In September, the combined presence of military and police units was needed to keep peace at a number of sites in the North. The visit of Conservative parliamentary leader Sir Stafford Northcote in Ulster added fuel to the fire. Northcote's purpose was to promote Toryism among Liberal Protestants now that the Liberal Party was obviously losing its Catholic support; for this reason, he attacked the Gladstone Government. Although the Tory leader was hardly "inflammatory," the Orange lodges were roused to action by his appearances. As well, other, less temperate speakers followed in his wake.

The results of Tory efforts were easy to find. Healy, a special target of Orange orators because of his recent election, was lucky to escape bodily harm when he appeared in the North. At Dungannon, County Tyrone, Healy was set upon by an armed mob after being identified by the Rev. R.R. Kane of Belfast. A troop of lancers surrounded Healy, drew revolvers and then saw to it that the Nationalist meeting took place in peace.[2] Despite the attack, Healy stayed on

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[1] Ibid., p. 206.

[2] United Ireland, 29 September 1883; Freeman's Journal, 28 September 1883; Healy, I, p. 197.

this occasion in County Tyrone and stirred up Nationalists with his claim that valuation for Catholic property was recorded consistently at the figure just below that required to vote. He promised an exposé of the Valuation Department at the next session of Parliament.[1] Between meetings in the North, Healy helped organize the effort to get more Nationalists on the voter rolls in County Dublin prior to the approaching registration deadline.[2] He even found time to go into the constituency of George Errington, the Government's unofficial Papal envoy, and denounce him as "the embodiment of all that was loathsome to honest men" and to charge that he "had the unfortunate distinction of being both a traitor and an informer."[3]

The steady publicity given Healy's movements and activities singled him out for retaliatory action whenever he scheduled an appearance in the North. The Nationalist farmers of the North now began to protect him with an organized guard of fifty or sixty men. One military man called this band "Healy's Light Horse."[4] It became apparent to everyone that Healy was in real danger when a reporter in Clones, on his

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[1] United Ireland, 6 October 1883. The promise was fulfilled. See United Ireland, 16 February 1884.

[2] Ibid., 6 October and 13 October 1883.

[3] Ibid., 20 October 1883.

[4] Ibid.

way to a meeting in Rosslea, was mistaken for Healy and badly injured when struck in the head with a rock.[1] On this day, Healy, indeed, was travelling to the Rosslea rally. An Orange force there led by Lord Rossmore attempted to prevent the rally from taking place, however, and only the presence of a large military force kept the two groups apart. Shortly afterwards, the Viceroy removed Lord Rossmore from his position as Justice of the Peace based on evidence that he had paid the armed Orangemen to appear at Rosslea.[2] The violence continued, however; and, in Derry, one Catholic was fatally wounded in a riot which took place when Orangemen took over the lecture hall reserved for a Nationalist meeting. Healy's involvement in the disorders of the North no doubt enhanced the glamor of a Wexford banquet in his honor where he was presented with 600 sovereigns by his grateful former constituents.[3] Throughout the fall Healy continued to address meetings, especially in the North, and, at least on one occasion, earned a public rebuke in London for such activities from Government officials.[4]

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[1] Irish Times, 1 April 1931. The reporter identified himself as W. Copeland Trimble of the Freeman's Journal. See also William O'Brien, Evening Memories, p. 44.

[2] Annual Register (1883), p. 206.

[3] United Ireland, 27 October 1833.

[4] Ibid., 17 November 1883.

One of Healy's most important concerns in the last months of 1883 was the preparation of a major article for a prominent English journal. The article, which appeared on 1 November, dangled enticements for an Irish alliance in front of the eyes of Tory leaders. A few weeks earlier, Healy, in a major speech delivered in England, had dwelled on the fact that Gladstone and Chamberlain were outvoted in the Liberal Party's hierarchy and that the Irish "were now at war with the Liberal Party, and he ventured to say that they should continue at war with that party until the Liberal Cabinet got infused into it a few more men of the type of Mr. Chamberlain."[1] In his article, Healy's offer to the Tories was strictly pragmatic. Pointedly reminding the Tories of what they certainly already knew, he emphasized the fact that Parnellite candidates would win at least seventy seats in the upcoming general election even without franchise reform, and asked: "Is it wiser for English Conservatism to allow itself to be used to defend the interests of a decaying faction in Ireland, or to win the help of the vigorous and determined party which has behind it the vast mass of the Irish people?"[2] He then pointed out it was a "mere matter of arithmetic" which alliance would be more profitable "for Tory

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[1] Ibid., 22 September 1883.

[2] T.M. Healy, "Ireland and The Tory Party," Fortnightly Review, XXXIV (November, 1883), p. 730.

party purposes." Healy also assured Conservatives that a satisfied Ireland would be loyal, far more loyal than the supposed loyal class now residing mainly in Northern Ireland.[1] Healy's conclusion was that the Irish cared little about party labels: "To the Irish Nationalists, concerned for his own country, it is a toss-up which side he supports." The only way to "permanently secure Irish support" was to grant real concessions which Healy claimed the Tories could do much easier than the Liberals, because the House of Lords and the landlord class in Ireland were mainly loyal to the Tories. Interestingly enough, Joseph Chamberlain, a favorite of Healy, on 4 December, publicly argued that Ireland should share fully in the Liberals' proposed Franchise Bill. If this were to happen, of course, the Parnellite party would be an even more potent force in parliamentary politics.

In Ireland, Parnell's hold over the Irish people again was vividly demonstrated. Inspired to disociate themselves with the Papal decree concerning Parnell and Irish politics, the Irish people had contributed £37,000 to Parnell's fund and allowed the annual Peter's Pence to suffer in proportion. The public tribute held in the Dublin Rotunda on 11 December was not a personally satisfying occasion for Healy, however;

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[1]Healy would re-emphasize this point in a small book published in February, 1884. Entitled Loyalty Plus Murder, the book outlined the disloyalty of non-Catholic, non-Nationalist Ireland for the previous half-century.

once again, Parnell's behavior seriously disturbed him. Prior to the Rotunda ceremony, Parnell was presented the cheque at a private gathering of leading citizens. Refusing to tolerate the usual ceremonies which characterize such affairs, Parnell interrupted a speech by Dublin's Lord Mayor and demanded the cheque.[1] At the public affair, Parnell said only a few words, actually refusing to utter a word of thanks for the generosity of the impoverished people of Ireland. Asserting that he did not know how to express his feelings, Parnell called the occasion "this magnificent demonstration" but would go no further, saying: "I prefer to leave to the historian the description of tonight and the expression of an opinion as regards the results which to-night must produce."[2] In his memoirs, Healy recalled that Parnell's rather poorly expressed gratitude caused Sexton to comment: "A labourer would acknowledge the loan of a penknife more gratefully."[3] According to Healy, the audience did not fail to notice the snub, and they departed in a mood of amazement. In his memoirs, William O'Brien excused Parnell, claiming the Irish leader had more important things on his mind at the time.[4]

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 28.

[2]United Ireland, 15 December 1883.

[3]Healy, I, p. 194.

[4]William O'Brien, Evening Memories, p. 80.

Healy, of course, was at the Rotunda, and his introduction to the audience caused an outburst which, United Ireland said, "left no doubt as to the status of the young Member for Monaghan in the popular mind."[1] In making his toast, Healy shifted the emphasis of praise from Parnell to the followers of Parnell in Parliament:

> But when the party was formed what were the materials in Mr. Parnell's hands, out of which he created it? . . . From their farms, from their shops, from their desks in the newspaper offices, [they came] to do battle with the oppressor in the foreign Parliament, subject to all the inconveniences, liable to all the temptations of a new life, under new conditions in a foreign land. I, therefore, cannot but feel proud and cannot but feel rejoiced at the compliment that has been paid to Mr. Parnell tonight, because I feel that in some humble way some ray of reflected lustre is shed on the party whom he honours by leading as its chief in Parliament.[2]

It was of little consequence that Healy was outraged by Parnell's behavior. The Irish leader was in full control of the party and the National League at this time. The Phoenix Park murders, the Papal Circular, and Healy's Monaghan victory had erased the damaging Kilmainham Treaty revelations. Those Irishmen who advocated physical force were discredited in the public mind by the universal outrage caused by the murders of Cavendish and Burke. In addition, the Liberals

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[1]United Ireland, 15 December 1883.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 12 December 1883.

were promising to extend the vote to 500,000 Irishmen.[1] The mere expectation of the measure enhanced the stature of the parliamentarians and the reputation of their leader. Parnell's unquestioned authority was never so manifest as when he snubbed dignitaries and the public alike at the tribute. The significance of these actions was not missed by the rulers of Ireland; Lord Spencer commented that he was greatly impressed "because it showed the immense power of the man."[2]

From mid-December to the opening of the 1884 session of Parliament on 5 February, Healy continued to address public meetings; but his main concern was preparing legislation for the upcoming session. Officially, delegates at the annual meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party on 4 February assigned the drafting of bills to Healy and T.P. O'Connor, but certainly their work almost had been completed by this date. Twelve bills would be introduced by the Irish, including Land Act amendments, Healy's elective councils proposal, and the Registration of Voters Bill.[3] The Irish, however, were fortunate that the Liberals had committed themselves to a voting reform measure for the entire United Kingdom because the Government's dilemma in Egypt made unlikely any serious

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[1]There were approximately 200,000 Irish voters at this time. In England, the number of voters would increase from three million to five million if the bill was approved.

[2]R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 29.

[3]United Ireland, 9 February 1884.

consideration of controversial Irish legislation.[1] Healy, quite in character, was not bothered by the Government's great concern over foreign affairs, and he pushed the Irish measures with his usual vigor, achieving moderate success. Overshadowing all else during the session, of course, was the Franchise Bill and a companion Redistribution Bill, the latter demanded by the Tories as the price for allowing the franchise reform measure to pass the House of Lords.

The Franchise Bill, extending the household franchise to the English counties and to Irish boroughs and counties, was introduced early in the session and was debated throughout March, April, and June. It passed the House of Commons on 26 June. During this period, Irish M.P.'s also were concerned with the scandals unearthed in Dublin Castle, the Orange-inspired disorders in the North, and the amendment of the 1881 Land Act. They did nothing, however, to impede the passage of the Franchise Bill which, if passed, would strengthen greatly their position in Parliament. Buoyed, no doubt, by the Government's admission of corruption in Dublin Castle, Healy, early in the new session, went directly to the Prime Minister with his grievances. On 14 February, he wrote Gladstone to protest the fact that the Irish administration refused to use the Crimes Act "against any persons

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[1]The Mahdi's stunning military triumphs in the Sudan earned regular cheers in United Ireland articles. For an examination of British policy in Africa during this period, see Ronald Robinson & John Gallagher (with Alice Denny), Africa and The Victorians: The Climax of Imperialism in the Dark Continent (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961).

but those on the popular side."[1] He asserted that "Orangemen are practically notified that they may shoot down Catholics without having to pay for it." The police tax, Healy said, was decreed for an area "out of all proportion to the outrage and the financial capacity of the district . . . whenever anyone of the landlord side can show the smallest pretext for making a claim."[2] Healy concluded his lengthy letter by pointing out to Gladstone the financial burden of maintaining the military necessitated by the people's lack of confidence in the Irish Government. Healy had talked to Herbert Gladstone, publicly sympathetic with Irish complaints, about the Nationalists' feud with Lord Spencer before sending the letter to the Prime Minister.[3] Perhaps this is what prompted Gladstone to demand an answer to Healy's charges from his Irish officials. Instead of Spencer, it was Trevelyan, not mentioned in Healy's letter, who replied immediately, calling the observations "outrageous."[4] Healy's charges brought no official change in policy, but they certainly had an impact on Dublin Castle officials already under heavy fire.

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[1] B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44479, fol. 225.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 44485, fol. 206.

[4] Ibid., 44335, fol. 145.

The Irish members also forced the Government to give attention to their demands to amend the 1881 Land Act to facilitate land purchase.[1] The Government rejected the Irish proposal but instead introduced one of its own. Because the Irish did not show any enthusiasm for the measure, Trevelyan dropped it when Parliament adjourned early on 14 August.[2] Although the Irish parliamentarians wanted to demand more than the Government was prepared to offer on the Land Act, they worried that their position in Ireland could be undermined by Michael Davitt's appealing land scheme.

English public opinion toward Ireland at this time was particularly hostile because of the bombing in London carried out by American Fenians. Parnell, therefore, travelled to Ireland in mid-April during the Easter recess to denounce Davitt's land proposal. This action helped illustrate the relative moderation of the Irish M.P.'s. Just prior to the visit, the Irish leader had established a land purchase company which sought to help Irish peasants resettle on less-crowded, more fertile land in Ireland. Under the Tramways Act of the previous year, the Land Commission was authorized to lend money to such companies for the purpose of buying

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[1]Parnell was in contact with Gladstone at this time through Mrs. O'Shea. See B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44269, fol. 221.

[2]Annual Register (1883), pp. 190-1.

bankrupt estates.[1] A day prior to a speech by Parnell at Drogheda, Healy held out the promise to Kildare farmers that the parliamentarians would gain for them the right to buy their own land as soon as the price "touched" bottom.[2] Parnell, in his speech, also stressed the falling price of land, but pointed out that the Irish dream must be realized legally, by saying: "Constitutional agitation and organization can do a great deal to whittle down the price that the landlord asks for his land, but it must be paid unless you adopt the other alternative [violence] which I say nothing about."[3] Davitt was not attacked personally, but Parnell's criticism of Davitt's land scheme was not veiled. He warned the Irish that they must not be divided on the land issue "for the gratification of Mr. [Henry] George and his little bodyguard of Scotch and English cranks and experimentalists."[4] In recalling Parnell's statements, Davitt said that the Irish leader was persuaded by "stalwarts" to make the speech. Davitt also maintained that the speech was written "by one of his ablest lieutenants, and was unnecessarily emphatic on the obvious proposition that the land of Ireland must be fought

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[1] United Ireland, 29 March 1884.

[2] Ibid., 19 April 1884.

[3] R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 36.

[4] United Ireland, 19 April 1884.

for or paid for."[1] If this claim is valid, Healy, the Irish party's foremost land expert who was in Ireland at the time making the same arguments as Parnell, probably was responsible.

Healy a month later was delegated by the National League leader to meet the highly popular agitator face-to-face on the speaker's platform at a County Tipperary demonstration. Davitt's journey to Drangan "was little short of a triumphal march," and his speech was a bitter denunciation of the Irish Land Purchase Bill under consideration in Parliament. He called the proposed bill "The Landlord Stolen Property (Ireland) Selling Bill."[2] Despite Davitt's reception, his forceful speech and a resolution adopted by the assembly which was inspired by Davitt, Healy was not intimidated. He opened his speech by stating that he objected to the resolution which indicated that the Davitt-founded Land League had pursued a more "tolerant policy" than the one adopted by the Irish National League. Obviously referring to the parliamentarians who had made certain that they controlled the National League Executive Council, the resolution, in part, stated that "any arbitrary policy of exclusiveness which violates the broad and tolerant policy pursued by the League

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[1]Davitt, p. 470.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 12 May 1884; United Ireland, 17 May 1884.

is contrary to the spirit of democracy, and can only promote disunion in and work ruin to the national movement."[1] Speaking last on the program long after the resolution had been read, Healy told the gathering that the resolution was based on a false principle: "He felt bound to remember that the Land League was not very tolerant of the "three F's" or of those who, upon any platform, ventured to approve of them during the Land League agitation."[2] Healy then assured the crowd that he had ascertained that the farmers of the resolution "did not intend anything in the sense that some critics might interpret it." This statement produced some cheers, but Healy still had the unpleasant task of refuting Davitt's arguments. In answering Davitt's criticism of the Land Purchase Bill, and the implied criticism of the parliamentarians' approval of it, Healy said: "I would be willing to see the landlords getting a year or two more [in the form of the land purchase price which was based on annual rent] . . . so long as the land question of the country is unsettled so long will the National question be unsettled."[3] Using strong language to denounce landlords, Healy, nevertheless, concluded by saying: "Any man who is willing that some little sum above the just amount be paid, that . . . man is justified

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] United Ireland, 17 May 1884.

before his country."[1] The position of Healy and the parliamentarians on this matter was strengthened when a group of landowners met in Dublin to urge the Government to provide an equitable land purchase scheme.[2] Still, Davitt's land nationalization scheme retained its great emotional appeal for the tenant farmers.

Back in London after the Easter recess ended, the Irish showed the Liberals that they had no strong allegiance to the "coercionists" in power by voting for a Tory measure to censure the Government for failing to relieve General Gordon at Khartoum. The Government barely survived, 303 to 275. That test passed, the Government then easily defeated an amendment which sought to exclude Ireland from the Franchise Bill, 332 to 137. Despite this Irish victory, United Ireland continued to urge forward organization and registration based on the existing franchise in preparation for a general election. The Lords, the newspaper pointed out, certainly would kill the bill and force Gladstone to appeal to the electorate. Late in the Committee stage, Healy, along with Harrington, was credited by the Nationalist press for forcing the Government to strike a clause which disenfranchised anyone with a prison record.[3] This incident marked the first time the Irish had interjected themselves into the Franchise Bill discussions.[4] Despite

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Davitt, p. 470.

[3] United Ireland, 28 June 1884.

[4] Ibid.

their moderation, the Irish had to endure the subtle killing of the bill by the Lords. The Peers passed an amendment negating the operation of the bill unless a companion redistribution scheme also was passed.[1] Once more a measure which vitally concerned Ireland had forced a constitutional crisis. Gladstone, however, was not planning to dissolve Parliament and take the issue to the people. He had, prior to the Lords' action, suggested to Lord Salisbury a compromise which included a redistribution plan. When the compromise was rejected, the Government, early in August, adjourned Parliament and scheduled a special autumn session for 23 October to reconsider the franchise measure and a Redistribution Bill.

The Irish M.P.'s used the recess to solidify their organization in Ireland. In August, the party pledge officially was used for the first time by Healy at a county convention where a candidate was being selected to fill a vacancy. Although Healy suggested in his memoirs that he drew up the pledge on the spot, this statement is inaccurate.[2] In a March interview with United Ireland, Parnell had stated almost the exact final wording of the pledge used by Healy. Parnell said that all candidates would pledge "to sit, act and vote with the Irish Party, and to resign one's seat if it should

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[1] Annual Register (1884), p. 144.

[2] Healy, I, p. 205.

become impossible to carry out such an undertaking."[1] The final draft of the pledge bound the member to resign if a majority of his colleagues decided that he had not fulfilled the pledge.[2] In light of Parnell's usual inaccessibility, however, and Healy's position on United Ireland, the "interview" may have been staged by Healy to prepare local Nationalist leaders for the pledge.

Healy's public utterances at this time hardly were calculated to cheer the embattled Liberal Government. Reiterating his arguments of almost a year before, Healy suggested that the forty Parnellites might desert the Government "if Lord Spencer did not mend his hand." Spencer, he said, "had shielded criminals, rewarded scoundrels, and hung innocent men."[3] Healy then called on Salisbury, the Tory leader, not to declare his policy toward Ireland, but "to hold on a little while, and wait to see what the Irish Party were going to do."[4] A week later, before the National League's convention in England, Healy dwelled on the voting power of the Irish in that country.[5] Obviously, he was threatening the Liberals and tempting the Tories.

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[1]United Ireland, 29 March 1884.

[2]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 143.

[3]Freeman's Journal, 25 August 1884.

[4]Ibid.

[5]United Ireland, 30 August. Also see articles on 13 September and 27 September 1884.

In November, the Fortnightly Review carried an article by Healy, which emphasized the reasons the Irish desired to oust the Liberals from power.[1] A year before, in his first article for this journal, Healy had emphasized the advantages to be realized by the Irish if they allied with the Tories. The second article replied to widespread British disgust with the Irish parliamentarians who, it was thought, had gained a great many benefits for Ireland from the Liberal Government. Because Liberals had fought to include Ireland in the Franchise Bill, then under consideration, feeling on the subject was particularly strong when the article appeared. As Healy stated in his introduction, "no reasonable Liberal can therefore admit any doubt in his mind that the general attitude of the Irish towards their rulers is due simply to pure perversity." Nevertheless, Healy maintained that the Irish did not need the Franchise Bill to increase spectacularly their numbers at Westminster, while the Liberals clearly needed new voters on the rolls in order to stay in power. The Irish, Healy said, also feared "some fancy gerrymandering" in the Redistribution Bill planned as a companion to the Franchise Bill. Thus, the Irish would prefer a dissolution and a constitutional crisis at the moment which, hopefully, would bring the Tories to power, Healy explained. He wrote: "Accordingly, the interest of the Irish party directly lies in supporting any cause or course which in their judgement

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[1] T.M. Healy, "The Irish and the Government," Fortnightly Review, XXXVI (November, 1884), pp. 649-56.

may counsel the English people to set about the abolition or reformation of the Upper House." He neglected to mention that pacifying the Lords by the Liberals would be just as acceptable to the Irish M.P.'s. After making a point of condemning Liberal officials who sought to whitewash the corruptions in Dublin Castle, Healy concluded with arguments he had been making for the past year:

> Admittedly the Tories could not pass a Crimes Act more savage than the present, or administer it more ferociously, while the obstructive existence of the House of Lords forbids the hope that such Irish reforms as Liberalism would consent to pass through the Commons, can ever become law in the absence of semi-revolutionary agitation.

During this same period, Healy began to show a new militancy regarding the Liberals' Land Act. On one occasion in late August, he told a County Waterford audience: "If the Government would insist upon the country being brought to the verge of revolution before they would make any change or amendment in the law, those who had the responsibility of advising the people would give them advice that would be successful, and would take the consequence."[1] In Galway a month later, in the wake of the Dublin Castle revelations, he told the crowd that "the Land Act was very good for breakfast, but we are now getting hungry for our dinner."[2] In the same vein, Healy urged residents to boycott Government taxes

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[1] United Ireland, 30 August 1884.

[2] Ibid., 20 September 1884.

such as the special police assessment and the county cess.[1] If such speeches were calculated to persuade the Government into re-introducing the Land Purchase Bill in the autumn session, Healy failed. Nevertheless, the speeches did nothing to diminish Healy's popularity in Ireland as an agitator. The Tories, of course, had to notice what Healy was saying. In his memoirs, Healy stated that Parnell became upset with the tenor of his remarks at this time. Healy was warned by Parnell's private secretary to alter his material and pay proper tribute in his speeches to the Irish political leader.[2] Healy complied, but another strain had been placed on the relationship between the two men.

When Parliament gathered for special session at the end of October, the Irish were pleased by the announcement that George Otto Trevelyan, the Irish Chief Secretary, had resigned. However, his replacement Henry Campbell-Bannerman was, according to United Ireland, "a thorough nincompoop." The attitude of Irish politicians moved one of the new Chief Secretary's friends to write about his appointment:

> I must write you a few words of sincere condolence on the office which you have accepted. . . . I shall look forward with interest to your encounters with Healy and O'Brien and, in them and all your other difficulties, I most heartily wish you all the success which you so richly deserve.[3]

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[1]Ibid., 13 August and 18 October. On 1 November, United Ireland reported that the Limerick city government had refused to pay its police assessment.

[2]Healy, I, p. 234.

[3]B.M., Campbell-Bannerman Papers, Add. MSS 41232, fol. 50.

In recalling his first evening in the House as Chief Secretary, Campbell-Bannerman wrote to the Viceroy: "The Irish treated me with good nature. The only event was when I answered about Bolton and Healy said he would take every opportunity of calling attention to this ruffianly appointment--or some such phrase--to which the Speaker took exception without however calling on him to withdraw."[1]

After Trevelyan's departure, The Times asserted the Irish had blackmailed Gladstone by threatening to vote against the Franchise Bill if Trevelyan were not ousted.[2] As a matter of fact, a depressed Trevelyan had written Gladstone late in July that he wanted to be relieved because "the life I lead is, indeed, not a human life at all."[3] He was particularly disturbed because "the whole force and skill of the Irish Party is being exerted to identify me with these hideous Dublin scandals." He then added that "I feel as if at any time I might break down." Healy revealed in his memoirs that, "to discredit Trevelyan's general Irish policy was our object, and we cared nothing for the loftiness of his motives."[4] This policy had been successful, but Healy was not finished with

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[1] Ibid., 41228, fol. 46.

[2] Quoted in United Ireland, 25 October 1884.

[3] B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44335, fol. 168.

[4] Healy, I, p. 201.

Trevelyan. As the French and Cornwall trials opened in Dublin, Healy attacked the former Chief Secretary in Parliament, charging him with full knowledge of the malpractices of his subordinates.[1] United Ireland, a while later, for the same reasons, called for the impeachment of Lord Spencer.[2]

During Parliament's special session, Healy was called to the Irish Bar. On the day of the ceremony, he received his first brief--the defense of a 23-year-old clerk in the Freeman's Journal office who was charged with plotting to overthrow the Government. The Government based its case on Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) material found in the young man's possession.[3] If the clerk was an IRB member, the choice of Healy as counsel indicates Healy's continuing, active, if non-revolutionary, role in IRB affairs. Healy's conduct in court was very similar to his standard performance on the speaker's platform in Ireland and on the floor of Parliament. He publicly noted that the magistrate appeared a half-hour late, asked the assistant Under Secretary for Ireland why his office was in London, not Dublin, and tried to pressure the police witness into admitting he was a paid spy.[4] Other legal tasks for Healy at this time were not so

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[1] United Ireland, 8 November 1884.

[2] Ibid., 24 November 1884.

[3] Ibid., 15 November 1884.

[4] Ibid.

interesting or glamorous. After the special session ended, he appeared as counsel at the public inquiries on the redistribution of parliamentary seats in Ireland.[1] He also worked in the Land Commission Court appealing decisions made by the sub-commission courts.[2]

At Westminster, meanwhile, the Franchise Bill proceeded through its various stages during the month of November. On 7 November, the Irish voted for the second reading of the bill, which passed, 372 to 232. Despite the decisive majority, the Conservative Peers indicated they still were in no mood to pass a Liberal-sponsored Franchise Bill without an accompanying Redistribution Bill. The Tories, in fact, appeared to cherish the idea of a dissolution, believing the voters would increase greatly their numbers in the House of Commons.[3] Gladstone, however, reopened discussions with Salisbury and an arrangement was worked out which satisfied both parties. In mid-November, when the Franchise Bill was under consideration in the House of Lords, the Prime Minister announced that he would introduce a Redistribution Bill as soon as he received adequate assurance the Lords would pass the Franchise Bill in the current session.[4] Salisbury

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[1]Healy, I, p. 206.

[2]United Ireland, 20 December 1884.

[3]Annual Register (1884), p. 245.

[4]Ibid., p. 248.

allowed the Franchise Bill to be read a second time in the Lords without opposition and then postponed the Committee stage for two weeks in order to discuss redistribution with Gladstone. On 22 November, United Ireland called the Gladstone compromise a "ignominious and complete surrender," but a week later completely reversed its stand, saying the Prime Minister had "checkmated" the Tories who wanted an election to be held based on the existing franchise. Parnell most likely had something to do with the abrupt change. On 29 November, the newspaper declared that it believed Gladstone would not tolerate the reduction of Irish parliamentary representatives, a rumor which had been much discussed in the English press.[1] Gladstone did not fail the Irish. A Redistribution Bill maintaining Ireland's 103 seats was introduced and moved for second reading on 4 December. On the same day in the Lords, the Franchise Bill was allowed to enter the Committee stage. The next day it was read a third time without debate and two days later it became law. More than two million Englishmen and 500,000 Irishmen thus gained the right to vote.[2]

Household suffrage became a reality in Ireland as the inevitable general election loomed on the horizon. With the

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[1]Ireland, because of the great reduction in its population between the 1801 Act of Union and 1884, was considered greatly overrepresented in Parliament on the basis of population and even more so if wealth were taken into consideration. See Eversely, p. 254.

[2]Annual Register (1884), p. 257.

passage of the bill, Parnell was roused to political activity once again. At the beginning of the new year, he made it clear that his party, certain to have at least eighty pledged M.P.'s after the general election, would renew its quest for Home Rule. At Cork, in the midst of a speaking tour of Ireland, Parnell declared his objective:

> We cannot ask for less than the restitution of Grattan's Parliament, with its important privileges and wide, far-reaching constitution. We cannot, under the British constitution, ask for more than the restitution of Grattan's Parliament. But no man has a right to fix the boundary of the march of a nation. No man has a right to say, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further'; and we have never attempted to fix the ne plus ultra to the progress of Ireland's nationhood, and we never shall.[1]

A few days later the Fenians attempted to blow up the Tower of London and the House of Commons; but Parnell, in subsequent speeches, failed to condemn these deeds, a fact which certainly angered the British. Instead, the Irish leader dwelled on matters designed to solidify further his standing among the recently enfranchised farmers:

> They [the Irish Parliamentary Party] were determined to obtain for the Irish farmer the fruits of his toil, and the pretended fair rent of the Land Courts would have to give way to really fair rent before half the fifteen years expired [an allusion to the "judicial rents" of the 1881 Land Act which were established by the land courts for fifteen years.]. Bankruptcy would swallow up the tenant farmers long before fifteen years if they were compelled to pay the rent at present fixed.[2]

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[1]Quoted in R. Barry O'Brien, II, pp. 38-9.

[2]Annual Register (1885), p. 19.

Parliament reconvened in February with the Liberals more divided than ever between Whigs and Radicals who wanted a decisive new social program.[1] Cabinet battles sapped the strength of its leadership and, in June, a Tory-Irish alliance defeated the Government on an insignificant measure. The once unlikely Tory-Irish coalition hardly was unexpected and, even before the fall of the Government, the Radicals were attempting to woo the Irish away from the Conservatives and save the Government. The general election was imminent and Irish votes were crucial for both English parties. The time was right for political intrigue and Healy decided to try his luck. His true position in clandestine negotiations with a Radical M.P. will never be known completely, but one fact appears crystal clear: he let it be known in British political circles that the Irish party's hierarchy was divided badly in its attitude toward Parnell. And, before another year passed, Healy publicly challenged Parnell's previously unquestioned right to dictate Ireland's political destiny. It was the beginning of the end for the Parnellite political organization and this particular phase of the quest for Home Rule.

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[1]Eversley, p. 258.

SECTION THREE

CHAPTER I

HEALY, CHAMBERLAIN AND THE TORIES, 1885

The story of Healy's activities in 1885, more than anything else, is the story of his relationship with Radical leader Joseph Chamberlain. Before the year ended, Chamberlain renounced his previously benevolent attitude about Ireland, partially, at least, because of Healy's hostile writings toward him in United Ireland. At the same time, Healy's relationship with Parnell deteriorated so badly that he secretly negotiated with Henry Labouchere, a Radical ally of Chamberlain who was friendly to the Irish cause. Chamberlain's anti-Irish attitude, however, had solidified and he would have no part of a plan which sought cooperation with the Irish party. In fact, Chamberlain would be directly responsible for the defeat of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill in 1886 and the resulting deep division in Liberal ranks. Healy, too, broke ranks in 1886, an action foreshadowing the 1890 split which destroyed the Parnellite political organization.

In many ways, 1885 was a glorious year for the Parnellite party, despite its many inner conflicts. The party aligned with the Conservatives to oust the Liberal Government, then joined the Liberals a short time later to topple the Conservatives. At the polls in the November-December

general election, the party increased its number from thirty-nine to eighty-six, and thus assured Ireland the balance of power in the evenly-divided House of Commons. By the end of the year, Nationalists looked forward to the future with justifiable optimism. Home Rule, it seemed, virtually was assured within a short time.

At the beginning of the year, it seemed most unlikely that Chamberlain would be the English politician who would destroy the Irish dream of Home Rule. His persistent opposition to the coercive measures favored by the Whigs had earned public praise from Irish politicians, particularly from Healy. Chamberlain and the Radicals, as well as the Tories, were quite interested in gaining Irish support in the coming general election. Both parties initiated discussions with Irish political leaders about cooperation in the election and afterwards in the House. Due to the extended franchise, both English parties were serious in these discussions because Irish voters living in England's industrial centers could influence election results in England. Thus, the Crimes Act of 1882 due to expire at the end of the 1885 parliamentary session became a bargaining point. As early as September, 1884, the Liberals expressed concern over the possible effect of a House of Commons battle with Irish M.P.'s over a new coercive measure.[1] They didn't want to antagonize the Irish any more than necessary.

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[1]C.H.D. Howard, "Joseph Chamberlain, Parnell and the Irish Central Board Scheme," Irish Historical Studies, VIII (September, 1953), p. 327.

Because of his prominent position in the Parnellite party, Healy became involved in these political discussions; but the extent of his involvement is unknown. Publicly, he strongly supported an Irish alliance with the Tories. Privately, he negotiated with the Radicals and Gladstone's son through Henry Labouchere. During the negotiations, he denied any contact with Tory leaders.[1]

Healy first entered the political maze related to the upcoming general election when he was shown a letter in December, 1884, concerned with a "central board" scheme of government for Ireland. The letter, authored by Joseph Chamberlain, was circulated among select Irish political leaders by W.H. Duignan, an acquaintance of Chamberlain. Duignan, who had corresponded with Chamberlain since 1873, was sympathetic with the "advanced Liberals." On the verge of a trip to Ireland in 1881, Duignan, a solicitor and former Mayor of Walsall, wrote to Chamberlain to protest against the Liberal Government's coercive policy in Ireland.[2] In the letter, he asked for an introduction to English authorities in Dublin, a request Chamberlain honored; thus Duignan was allowed to visit Parnell in Kilmainham Prison. In his reply, Chamberlain justified the Government's Irish policy, but nevertheless invited Duignan to give him his impressions when

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[1]Thorold, p. 313.

[2]Birmingham University Library, Joseph Chamberlain MSS, JC 8/3/1/11.

he returned.[1] Duignan did so, staying a night at Chamberlain's house, but Chamberlain did not consider the information politically useful.[2] Then, in 1883 and 1884, the sixty-year-old Duignan took two tricycle trips around Ireland, visiting sections of the country no tourist ever had seen in those days. As Professor C.H.D. Howard has written, Duignan "deserves to be remembered . . . because he was one of the very few men in England in the early eighteen-eighties who took the trouble to travel in Ireland and study conditions there at first hand."[3]

In October, 1884, Duignan sent his observations to Chamberlain in a twelve-page letter.[4] He told Chamberlain that in the south of Ireland "if you took a vote of the people, nine men out of ten would be nationalist, and in north I think I might venture to say that three out of four would be nationalist." He added that "confidence in Parnell is unbounded, and the nationalists appear to surrender their judgement to him as blindly as the Liberal Party in England surrenders theirs to Mr. Gladstone." His observations

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[1] Ibid., JC 8/3/1.

[2] C.H.D. Howard, "'The Man on a Tricycle': W.H. Duignan and Ireland, 1881-5," Irish Historical Studies, XIV (March, 1965), p. 249.

[3] Ibid., p. 247.

[4] Birmingham University Library, Joseph Chamberlain MSS, JC 8/3/1/19.

included the claim that Chamberlain was "the best thought of of any member of the cabinet, both by the people and their leaders; and I heard your courtesy to Irish members extolled by several of them." He added a postscript telling Chamberlain not to bother to reply. However, on 19 November, after returning to Walsall, Duignan added comments on the distressed agricultural situation in Ireland. He also stated: "I shall congratulate any government that gives home rule to Ireland; they will wash their hands of a great deal of trouble and responsibility."[1]

A few days after receiving this letter from Duignan, Chamberlain was contacted by Captain O'Shea who said he again was acting as "the spokesman for Mr. Parnell."[2] Because of the pending election and the obvious split within the Liberal Cabinet over the question of renewing coercion in Ireland, O'Shea considered the occasion a good opportunity to seek another "arrangement" between Liberals and Irish which might enhance his uncertain political future. This letter from O'Shea had been preceded by a number of personal conversations between O'Shea and Chamberlain in London and Birmingham where discussion centered on "the possibility of some modus vivendi being found which might enable the Irish Nationalist M.P.'s to work with the Government and would offer a chance

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[1]Howard, Irish Historical Studies, XIV, p. 260.

[2]Garvin, I, p. 577; Chamberlain, p. 136.

of a settlement of the Irish difficulty."[1] O'Shea's letter of 27 November claimed to set forth Parnell's view on the significant issues--renewal of the Crimes Act and a local government scheme for Ireland. O'Shea said that Parnell "was getting sick of the agitation and would gladly bring it to a close if reasonable concessions were made."[2] Parnell, according to O'Shea, would not oppose actively a renewal of coercion if certain points were deleted and if the new act would be valid for one year only.[3] Although unwilling even to consider the concept of "Home Rule," Chamberlain said he believed it was necessary "to superadd to local government, as it is understood in Great Britain, a Central Board for Ireland consisting either of delegates from the county boards, or of separately elected representatives, to whom might be entrusted the full control of such questions as are now dealt with in Ireland by the Local Government Board, the Board of Works, the Board of Education and other similar bodies."[4] Chamberlain indicated that he had discussed his idea with Spencer, Trevelyan, and other colleagues and found they were willing to consider the matter further.

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[1]Chamberlain, p. 136.

[2]Ibid.

[3]C.H.D. Howard, "Documents Relating to the Irish 'Central Board' Scheme, 1884-5," Irish Historical Studies, VIII (March, 1953), p. 240.

[4]Chamberlain, p. 137.

By mid-December, Chamberlain had formulated a specific plan which he included in a reply to Duignan's letter of 24 October.[1] Stating that he did not consider "wishes and rights" to be identical, Chamberlain made it clear that he steadfastly opposed Home Rule if it meant separation. If Home Rule, however, meant "a Local Government more complete, more popular, more thoroughly representative, and more far-reaching than anything that has hitherto been proposed," Chamberlain was prepared to work for its adoption. He also declared he was "willing to go even further," and transfer many functions from Parliament to an Irish Board altogether independent of the Government. He mentioned education, land, communications, and Irish taxation as suitable concerns for this board.[2] Chamberlain also said that he was willing to make some speeches in Ireland to introduce his plan. He concluded the letter by noting the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament which "would continue to regulate for the common good the national policy of the three Kingdoms."[3]

There was a great similarity in the Irish government plan proposed by Chamberlain and the one which O'Shea on 27 November said Parnell had suggested. There were, however, important differences, and Chamberlain himself referred to

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[1]Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, p. 241.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

his plan as a "compromise."[1] Professor C.H.D. Howard has noted that the two schemes differed in two important ways. First, the Radical leader's proposal provided for the creation of an essentially legislative body, not an administrative one as Parnell envisioned; and, second, Chamberlain had no intention of introducing his scheme as part of a watered-down coercion measure. The reformation of Irish local government would take place, according to Chamberlain, in a "reformed Parliament," i.e., controlled by the Radicals.[2] Parnell, of course, did not want to wait.

Enthused by the views expressed by his political hero, Duignan begged permission to publish the letter. Chamberlain refused, but later allowed Duignan to show it to personal friends.[3] These friends turned out to be Duignan's contacts in the Irish party, including Healy. Healy received a letter from Duignan on 30 December and said he gave "careful consideration to Mr. Chamberlain's views" before replying on 11 January. Healy made it clear at the outset that the Radical leader's views were not esteemed highly in Irish political circles, saying that "we" regard communications from Chamberlain "with great suspicion."[4] Explaining his statement, Healy

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[1]Chamberlain, p. 137.

[2]Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, pp. 331-2.

[3]Chamberlain, p. 138.

[4]Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, p. 244.

implicated Chamberlain in the revelations which followed the release of Parnell from Kilmainham in 1882 because he (Chamberlain) was a member of the Cabinet at that time:

> I therefore believe that if at any time relations were opened up between us and any member of the cabinet, our confidence would be unhesitatingly and unscrupulously betrayed the moment betrayal became necessary for English purposes.[1]

Healy also said he was convinced Chamberlain's party would not "give us anything which they can withhold, and that they will withhold, as long as possible, anything they are compelled to give us."[2] He continued in that tone, moderating his view of the Cabinet ministers by saying they are "of course restricted in their policy by the enlightenment of the hogs who mostly compose the house of commons." Healy was particularly hostile, however, when referring to that part of Chamberlain's letter which stated: "I should like to know exactly . . . what the [Irish] people really want":

> I regard it as even a humiliation that we should have to explain ourselves to them, or render them any account whatever of our thoughts, words, actions, feelings or desires. The supremacy [sic] of most of them that I have been acquainted with is worse than a tyranny--it is an impertinence.[3]

Referring to suggestions from "the other side," Healy asked "should we then snap greedily at the first bait that is thrown

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

to us?" And, in conclusion, he again sneered at Chamberlain's concept:

> The community of interest with England, which Mr. Chamberlain refers to, is one of those pieces of humour daily dished up in the articles of the London papers, which I do not think any serious person, not compelled to fill up so many columns of matter, would have referred to. And as for, in the alternative, 'governing us by force to the end of the chapter,' I say 'all right', we are prepared to wait the end of the chapter and to hasten the publication of the volumes.[1]

Healy certainly was aware that Chamberlain would see his reply to Duignan's letter. This letter would indicate to Chamberlain either Healy's complete commitment to Irish cooperation with the Tories, or a personal dislike for the Birmingham M.P. Evidence regarding the latter is lacking, while Healy publicly had urged an Irish alliance with the Tories. Healy's strong language and his unwillingness to comment in specifics because "my house can be rifled at any moment for the information of the government," caused Duignan to delay sending the letter to Chamberlain. He did so, however, on 4 February 1885, commenting: "I have hesitated about sending you Tim Healy's letter, but I suppose by this time you do not mind what anyone says; and besides it is well you should know all that can be said."[2] By the beginning of

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[1] Ibid., p. 245. Chamberlain had written: "I would govern Ireland by force to the end of the chapter" if Irish Nationalism meant separation.

[2] Birmingham University Library, Joseph Chamberlain MSS, JC 8/3/1/26.

February, Chamberlain's views had caused considerable speculation in Ireland, both favorable and unfavorable, and Duignan had been ordered by Chamberlain not to circulate the letter any longer.[1]

Two weeks after Healy's reply to Duignan, a leading article in United Ireland reflected Parnell's viewpoint on Home Rule which, in essence, was a rejection of Chamberlain's plan.[2] Healy and O'Brien, endorsed the Irish leader by writing that Chamberlain's plan was dangerous because it sought to undermine support for total Home Rule. In Cork two days before the article was published, Parnell called for a "restitution" of Grattan's Parliament, thus rejecting the wholly legislative functions of Chamberlain's "central board." Parnell believed such a stance was necessary if the Irish were to obtain an independent parliament of their own, but he was not one to burn his bridges. He had approved continued negotiations with Chamberlain through O'Shea before speaking out at Cork, although he emphatically stated that the "central board" would be no substitute "for the restitution of our Irish parliament."[3] Parnell even more specifically had rejected the Chamberlain concept when he saw

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[1]Chamberlain, p. 138; Garvin, I, p. 580.

[2]United Ireland, 24 January 1885.

[3]Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, p. 242.

Chamberlain's letter to Duignan on arriving in Ireland in mid-January.[1] He set forth his views in a 15 January letter to O'Shea, but it appears that O'Shea did not inform Chamberlain of these views.[2] Without this information, Chamberlain most likely considered Parnell's speeches in Ireland as mere rhetoric essential for political negotiations. And O'Shea, while keeping Parnell's letters secret, apparently never anticipated that Parnell was about to agitate seriously for Home Rule.

On 15 January, O'Shea submitted to Chamberlain a local government scheme--apparently sanctioned by Parnell--for Ireland. Chamberlain, in a letter to John Morley a few days later, declared he was "astonished" that the proposal "embodies most of my propositions." At the same time he expressed his displeasure with the public behavior of Parnell and others in the Irish party.[3] Although he did not believe O'Shea was the most reliable intermediary,[4] Chamberlain communicated details of the scheme to Gladstone and Spencer. In his reply to O'Shea, Chamberlain said that Parnell and his followers--especially his lieutenants--would have to calm

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[1] Ibid., p. 245.

[2] Chamberlain, p. 139; Ibid., pp. 333-5.

[3] Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, p. 250.

[4] Ibid., p. 249.

their public outcry if they expected Liberals to pass reform legislation for Ireland.[1]

On 4 February, Chamberlain received from Duignan the opinions expressed by Irish politicians of his central board scheme. Although Healy's letter was the most hostile, the overall attitude was unfavorable, and Chamberlain called a halt to Duignan's activities on his behalf in Ireland. Chamberlain said Healy's letter made it evident that "the simplest action may be misconstrued."[2] By this time, as well, Parnell had made his Cork speech and others in the same uncompromising vein. These utterances and the dynamite explosions in London attributed to Fenians, Chamberlain said, "tend to make any practical efforts at reconciliation difficult if not impossible."[3]

Chamberlain saw O'Brien and Healy as the most formidable enemies of his plan and believed that they had exerted their influence on Parnell.[4] Events would prove that Healy, at least, was indeed doing all in his power to blunt the thrust of the Radical leader's attempt to interest the Irish people in a substitute for Home Rule. Charles Dilke, attempting to sell Chamberlain's "grand scheme" for Ireland, met with

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[1] Ibid., p. 250.

[2] Ibid., p. 338.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Chamberlain, p. 319; Garvin, I, p. 580.

Healy shortly after Chamberlain had been shown Healy's letter. Healy did not hold out any hope that the Irish would accept the central board concept.[1]

Chamberlain's biographer stated that several "moderates" in Parnell's party came to the Radical leader in order to argue that Parnell was "a moderate in his heart, though yielding for the moment to the extremism of O'Brien and Healy."[2] Perhaps this view impressed Chamberlain, for he continued his efforts to convince his colleagues that the adoption of the central board plan was the only solution to the Irish Question. In particular, he concentrated on Lord Spencer, the Viceroy for Ireland, who had considerable influence in the Cabinet. At the end of March, Spencer made his views known on the renewal of the Crimes Act and local government reform. He urged that the Crimes Act be toned down but renewed, with the Viceroy's special powers intact.[3] On the one hand, in order to speed the bill renewing coercion through Parliament, he suggested legislation to establish representative local government in the Irish counties, a Land Purchase Bill, and the establishment of a Secretary of State's office to replace the Viceroy.

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[1]Gwynn and Tuckwell, II, p. 124.

[2]Garvin, I, p. 590.

[3]Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, pp. 339-40.

In spite of Spencer's proposal, Chamberlain still refused to give up his plan for Ireland. In mid-April, he urged the Cabinet to approve his central board scheme, now suggesting it would have administrative as well as legislative functions.[1] His efforts were aided by Henry Edward Cardinal Manning, archbishop of Westminster, who became involved at this time. Manning told Chamberlain on 24 April that the Irish bishops knew of the plan set forth in the Duignan letter and believed it satisfied "all just and reasonable demands."[2] In response, Chamberlain gave a detailed description of the central board which Manning showed to Parnell. Chamberlain then was led to believe that Parnell, like the bishops, approved of the plan; he did not find out until a year later that he had been misled by the Cardinal.[3]

Any optimism at this point by Chamberlain, however, most likely was tempered by the attitude of Lord Spencer who responded in a long letter to Chamberlain's mid-April memorandum to the Cabinet. The Viceroy rejected any compromise proposals on the Crimes Act and refused to consider the proposal for an Irish central board. For one thing, he objected

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[1] Ibid., p. 341.

[2] Ibid., p. 344.

[3] Ibid., p. 346.

to the probability of "the Healys, and O'Briens and T.P. O'Connors managing and leading this assembly."[1]

The Cabinet met on 1 May; and, by this time, the controversy over renewal of the Crimes Act and Chamberlain's proposed central board was being reported fully in major London and Dublin newspapers.[2] On 9 May, despite Gladstone's support, Chamberlain's plan for Ireland was rejected primarily because of the united opposition of the peers in the Cabinet. Next, the Cabinet announced that a new Irish coercion measure would be introduced, and that there would not be time to introduce remedial legislation for Ireland in the current session. Lord Randolph Churchill, revealing strong Tory sentiment concerning Ireland, announced on 20 May that he would oppose the renewal of coercion. The same day, Chamberlain and Dilke, disgusted by the Cabinet decision, submitted their resignations; a day later, Shaw Lefevre did the same. None of the three was accepted by Gladstone until the Government fell on 9 June.

In Dublin, during the month-long Cabinet crisis, Healy scorned Chamberlain, Dilke, and other Radicals for not publicly opposing renewed coercion. Speaking to members of the National League's Central Branch, Healy disregarded the idea of an Irish-Radical alliance:

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[1] Ibid., p. 358.

[2] Ibid., p. 349.

> They should come out of their shells, and let the people see that they were really in earnest in their opposition to coercion, and until they did that that imaginary alliance which some people saw in the next Parliament between the Radicals and the Irish party, would simply be a thing existing in Radical dreamland.[1]

30 May, either O'Brien or Healy, in a leading article in ited Ireland, purported to be unimpressed with reports that amberlain and Dilke doggedly were resisting Spencer's pro- sal for renewed coercion. And Healy, in a speech at Bel- st the next week, claimed that Whigs were "secret enemies" d Tories were "honest ones [enemies]."[2]

Healy's private and public views dovetailed. In a tter to Henry Labouchere, Healy once again explained the gic of his anti-Liberal stance:

> Apart from coercion, it was the policy of the Irish party to equalise all Liberals and Tories as much as possible pour nous faire valoir, so that the matter will have to be looked at by us apart from the renewal of coercion, though of course, I imagine, if we thought we could trust the Liberals to avoid obnoxious legislation and to stick to reform, we should support them strongly. But how can we have any guarantee of the kind?[3]

Healy's view, then, Chamberlain's proposals regarding sh local government and coercion were completely irrele- it; the major concern was to gain the balance of power in

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[1] United Ireland, 23 May 1885.

[2] Ibid., 6 June 1885.

[3] Thorold, p. 252. Letter of 25 May 1885.

new Parliament. If Healy's view prevailed, what the sting Government proposed, or passed, therefore, would change the election tactics of the Irish. In the same ter, after telling Labouchere that "I think a little e in the cool of Opposition would do your party a world good," Healy continued with his argument against an h-Liberal coalition:

> If we supported your party next time, the Lords would throw out or render worthless any Bill the Commons passed, and time has proved that the Whigs won't face the Lords. If that institution were abolished we should be great fools not to be friendlier with the Liberals, but they are almost powerless to help us, even if they were sincere, so long as the Lords are all powerful.[1]

This opinion makes more comprehensible Healy's fury a h later when Chamberlain and Dilke proposed to visit and in hopes of finding support for the central board me. If the two Radicals proved to be persuasive in r arguments, they might undo all the work of Healy and rs. Healy had told Belfast Nationalists in early June they must vote against whatever party held the upper after the English segment of the general election con- ed (in Ireland, the election would follow the one in and by a few days). "The Irish cause would be won out ne exigencies of the English parties--by the Irish party ing the balance of power," he said.[2] Chamberlain's

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[1] Ibid.

[2] United Ireland, 6 June 1885.

ıned visit, then, certainly would threaten the Irish
ty's plan for the imminent election.

Before Chamberlain's scheduled departure for Ireland,
Liberal Government was toppled by an Irish-Tory coali-
ı. Seventy-six Liberals, mostly followers of Chamberlain,
e absent for the crucial vote.[1] On 8 June, during debate
the second reading of the Budget Bill, the Government was
eated on a Tory amendment by twelve votes, 264 to 252.
ıberlain and Dilke, who had submitted their resignations,
ously were pleased that the Government had fallen.[2]
y wrote in his memoirs that Dilke told him immediately
r Gladstone announced new coercion legislation on 15 May
the Government planned to allow itself to be defeated.
object of such a strategy, it appeared to Healy, was to
the Tories handle the problem of Irish coercion. The
ting coercion measure would lapse in July, 1885.[3]

The Irish-Tory coalition of 8 June was not an accident.
nly had Churchill publicly been angling for Irish sup-
but he most likely assured Parnell privately that the
s would not renew coercion.[4] Taken a step further, it
ossible that Parnell and Churchill agreed to make a

Conor Cruise O'Brien, pp. 97-8.

Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, p. 354.

Healy, I, p. 208.

onor Cruise O'Brien, p. 97.

ecial effort to topple the Liberals on 8 June, although urchill denied such a compact.[1] Following the Govern-nt's defeat, United Ireland's parliamentary correspondent ote that Parnell had "by his own hand" sent twenty tele-ams to his followers in Ireland requesting their return London for the evening of 8 June.[2] The correspondent mmented that "few besides him realized to the very last ment what was coming."[3] Healy was one of those Irish M.P.'s prepared. In his memoirs Healy recalled the telegraphic mmons of 7 June and his arrival in a nearly empty House rly the next evening.[4] He said the Conservatives were aware of the Government's impending fall, but he also ated that Parnell expressed anger at the absence of two ish M.P.'s who had decided to remain in Dublin.[5] Shortly fore 2 a.m. on the morning of 9 June, the division was npleted. When the vote was announced, bedlam prevailed the House. Healy led the joyful Irish M.P.'s in crying, ckshot," "coercion," and "Myles Joyce" at the ousted eral ministers.[6]

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[1]Winston S. Churchill, Lord Randolph Churchill (London: illan and Co., 1906), I, p. 394.

[2]United Ireland, 13 June 1885.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Healy, I, p. 209.

[5]Ibid.

[6]United Ireland, 13 June 1885.

By law, Parliament had to be dissolved again in five onths and, thus, the Tories' reign would be brief. Par- ell promised the new Government that it would be given a fair trial" by the Irish members. At the same time, he ublicly reminded both parties that he still was pondering hat instructions to give Irish voters in England. He aintained that Irish votes could decide elections in fifty nglish constituencies.[1] Chamberlain, thinking ahead to the eneral election and the possibility of a "reformed" Parlia- ent, by no means had given up his hope of reaching an greement with Parnell. Chamberlain and Dilke, therefore, ent a message to Parnell pledging that they would not enter Cabinet which did not agree to Parnell's plan for Irish cal government.[2] There was no response from Parnell; but public speeches, Chamberlain nevertheless strongly de- unced the existing method of ruling Ireland.[3] Then, a amberlain-inspired article entitled "Local Government and eland" appeared in the July issue of the Fortnightly view. Author of the article George Fottrell, secretary the Irish Land Commission, called for the establishment "national councils" in all sections of the United Kingdom. nberlain's term, "central board," was not used and the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, p. 354.

[3] Ibid.

oposed councils would have both administrative and legis-
tive functions.

The speeches and the widely publicized article were
rt of the preparations Chamberlain and Dilke made for a
sit to Ireland. On 11 June, Chamberlain had written of
s planned visit to the editor of the Birmingham Post,
claring that "local government and the pacification of
eland" would be the first point in the forthcoming "radi-
l programme."[1] On 22 June, in a speech to his constituents,
lke publicly announced the Irish trip.[2] Despite Parnell's
ilure to respond to Chamberlain's inquiries, the two English
liticians had not been deterred from their plans to visit
eland; however, reading Parnell's newspaper on 27 June and
July abruptly changed their thinking.

Healy, not William O'Brien, Parnell's hand-picked editor,
s responsible for the ferocious language in United Ireland
ich alienated Chamberlain from the Irish cause. O'Shea
the first to blame Healy, assuring Chamberlain that
rnell held "favourable views and wishes with regard to your
it with Dilke to Ireland."[3] O'Brien, O'Shea claimed, had
n abroad during the weeks in question and Healy had been

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[1] Ibid., p. 356.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Chamberlain, p. 154 (letter of 13 July 1885).

in charge of United Ireland. An item in the newspaper on 20 June noted O'Brien had travelled to the continent "on medical advice."

The attitude of the newspaper concerning John Dillon's return to Ireland also suggested Healy's stewardship for the issues of 27 June and 4 July. In its news columns of 4 July, United Ireland noted that Dillon was departing the United States for Ireland. In the same issue, a leading article entitled "Crimes' Act Refugees" made clear the connection between Dillon's return and the expiration of the Crimes Act--although no names were mentioned:

> Now that the Crimes Act is about to expire we shall watch with curiosity to see how many rats will come out of their holes. In time of trial honest silent men generally bear the brunt of the conflict, but when danger is over and gone, the camp-followers strut about with braggart tongues daring the retreating enemy to come, once more. We, therefore, do not hesitate to warn the country against those mushrooms of the platforms, which now that the 'frost' of coercion has abated may again be expected to sprout forth after their prolonged winterage in safe retreats. . . . We have no doubt they will be appreciated at their proper value.[1]

Healy had no fondness for Dillon whom he considered a deserter at the hour of greatest peril for the Irish national movement. In 1898, Healy wrote: "For three lean years Mr. Dillon had surveyed the struggle from afar, and now that the years of fatness seemed at hand he resolved to 'return to public life.'"[2]

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[1]United Ireland, 4 July 1885.

[2]Healy, Why Ireland Is Not Free, p. 17. Basic differences in the two men are noted in Lyons, John Dillon, pp. 7-8.

Indicating O'Brien had returned to his job at the newspaper, a 11 July leading article praised Dillon enthusiastically. In his memoirs, O'Brien made no mention of his specific role in this Chamberlain episode other than to set forth the opinion that "the far vaster genius of Gladstone" was preferred to Chamberlain.[1] Healy, probably in reference to his 4 July article, stated in his memoirs that this was the first time O'Brien changed something he wrote because Parnell had insisted.[2] The tone of Healy's article on 4 July, however, was strikingly similar to the one which had appeared a week earlier.

On the day Healy first attacked Chamberlain, the Nation had followed the lead of the Freeman's Journal and endorsed the visit, albeit unenthusiastically. Nevertheless, United Ireland at this time had far wider influence in Ireland than the other two major Nationalist newspapers, and its opinion was all-important. Under the headline, "Baiting the Trap," Healy opened the leading article with a forthright statement of Chamberlain's motives:

> The recent speeches of Mr. Chamberlain surpass in their cynical hypocrisy anything we have seen from even British statesmen. This gentleman, who has been a party to every act of despotism which Messrs. Forster, Trevelyan, and Spencer perpetrated in Ireland for the last five years, no sooner got his heels clear of Downing-street than he has the effrontery to attempt to pose

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[1] O'Brien, Evening Memories, p. 4. See also pp. 87-8.

[2] Healy, I, pp. 249-50.

> as the champion and vindicator of Irish freedom and the advocate of Irish rights. Home Rule, forsooth, is now but a mere flea-bite to himself or Sir Charles Dilke, and, as for Dublin Castle, the speeches of the Irish representatives whom they prosecuted and imprisoned for denouncing its injustices, are mild and smooth-spoken compared to those of their late jailers. Base as we believe the conduct of Radical Ministers to have been in abetting the horrors which the Gladstone Government have carried out in this country, we never could have supposed they would have stooped to the arts which they are now attempting to practice in order to curry favour once more with the Irish people.[1]

Mocking Chamberlain for pro-Irish sentiment never publicly heard while he was a Minister, Healy continued in the strongest language to inform Chamberlain that he was not welcome in Ireland:

> We tell Mr. Chamberlain that our people fully understand that he would be unwilling to grant us one single concession which he felt himself able to withhold, and that if he imagines he can dupe the National Party with his bastard out-of-date sympathy, he has a much higher opinion of his powers than is entertained on this side of the Channel. The Irish people, thank God, are at length fully able to take care of themselves, and to measure the powers and resources of their adversaries. If things were otherwise they would hear very little of the eleventh-hour protestations of the ex-President of the Board of Trade.[2]

Healy, in the article, continued by unfavorably contrasting Chamberlain's political activities with those of Dilke. Then, after the ultimate insult of claiming the motives which prompted the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to

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[1] United Ireland, 27 June 1885.

[2] Ibid.

Ireland deserved "a thousand times" warmer reception than the two Radicals, Healy bluntly told them to keep out of Ireland:

> Nevertheless, we plainly tell Messrs. Chamberlain and Dilke that if they are wise they will keep out of our country altogether. We do not want them here. Let them stop at home, and look after their own affairs, for we are beginning to be very able to look after ours without the aid of a Cook's-tourist statesmanship. They can learn all they want to know (and a great deal more) about Irish affairs from Irish representatives in the House of Commons, and they ought to be able to realise for themselves the offensiveness of that all-wise John-Bullism, which proposed to prepare a course of dogmatic lectures on Ireland on the strength of a £5 return ticket.[1]

"Party expediency" was Chamberlain's motive, Healy stated. Then he asked: "Is it [the visit] to benefit Ireland or to benefit England?" An analysis followed:

> We regard it as a mere electoral manoeuvre intended to divert weaklings into the Whig camp at the General Election, and to lead astray once more those soft-hearted fools who would allow themselves to be melted out of the uncompromising attitude which belongs to Irish Nationalists the moment Englishmen speak fair.[2]

Healy concluded the article by pointing out that the visit of the two Radicals implied they believed the Liberals would return to power and be in a position to pass reform legislation for Ireland. Such reasoning was wrong, Healy claimed, because an Irish-Tory alliance likely would dominate the next Parliament. He likewise reiterated his old argument that "so long as the House of Lords exists, none but a Tory

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

Government can pass an effective Home Rule scheme." It was certain, Healy said, that "the Peers will carve any Liberal Bill dealing with Home Rule into ribbons."[1]

Although the 27 June article touched on every possible point which could be made against the proposed visit, Healy was not deterred from making another attack the following week. The appearance of the Fortnightly Review article on Irish local government obviously prompted Healy's second blast. Between issues of United Ireland, therefore, neither O'Brien or Parnell exerted any pressure on Healy to change or tone down his commentary. If Parnell really was concerned about the uncompromising language in the newspaper on 27 June he certainly would have had Healy muzzled before any further damage was done.[2] A friend of Parnell recalled that the Irish leader told him "how deeply he regretted . . . the violent language."[3] Parnell did not indicate that he regretted Chamberlain's change of plans after the newspaper attacks, however. There was, of course, no reason for Parnell to take responsibility for the newspaper articles; and, in hopes of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Healy, I, p. 237. A letter from Parnell to Healy on 17 December 1885 illustrated that Parnell was interested vitally in United Ireland's editorial policy. In this letter, Parnell advocated an article stressing the need for moderation and condemning rural violence. Such "suggestions" were not ignored by O'Brien or Healy.

[3] Sir Alfred Robbins, Parnell: The Last Five Years (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1926), p. 29.

maintaining his political flexibility, he might very well have told O'Shea to inform Chamberlain that the visit to Ireland was welcomed.[1]

On 29 June, two days after Healy's initial attack on Chamberlain, the Freeman's Journal printed the complete Fortnightly Review article and discussed it and the imminent visit of the two Radicals in a leading article. E.D. Gray, the newspaper publisher, in early May had told Chamberlain he would support the central board concept if he had "positive assurance that Parnell was committed to it."[2] But, in the 29 June leading article the advantages of a Tory alliance were stressed:

> While admiring his [Chamberlain's] pluck and his practicality, we take the liberty of suggesting to him that the Tories whom he seems to condemn may deal with this subject of Home Rule themselves on a wider and more comprehensive basis. . . . But no matter how it eventuates, for Ireland there is nothing but good in store.[3]

A few days later, however, the Freeman's Journal said it saw no reason to fear the visit of the two Radicals or to ignore the plan published in Fortnightly Review. The newspaper likened Chamberlain's plan for reform of Irish local government to Healy's plan announced two years earlier, asserting that "no one at that time took any objections on the

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[1]Chamberlain, p. 154 (O'Shea letter of 13 July).

[2]Ibid., p. 149.

[3]Freeman's Journal, 29 June 1885.

popular side to the proposal of Mr. Healy."[1] When asked in private about Chamberlain's proposal for Irish government, Healy later would claim: "It is mine."[2]

The day after Healy's 27 June leading article appeared in United Ireland, Michael Davitt wrote to Chamberlain that the Parnellite newspaper did not represent Irish Nationalist sentiment.[3] He enclosed a copy of a leading article from the Nation which unenthusiastically endorsed the visit of the two Radicals. "Most of Mr. Parnell's party in the House strongly condemn the article in the last issue of United Ireland," Davitt wrote. Chamberlain eagerly accepted Davitt's view and concluded that neither Parnell "nor anyone else will succeed in boycotting us."[4]

Chamberlain, however, did not reckon with Healy's intransigence on the issue. Refusing to drop the subject, he focused his second attack on the Chamberlain-inspired Fortnightly Review article. To some political observers at the time this abuse of Chamberlain made it clear that the Irish

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[1] Ibid., 2 July 1885.

[2] C.H.D. Howard, "A Falsified Text--Two Versions of Timothy Healy's Views on the Irish Question," The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXIV (1951), p. 72.

[3] Birmingham University Library, Joseph Chamberlain MSS, JC 8/6/3B/1.

[4] Ibid., JC 5/24/412.

leaders were on the verge of an alliance with the Tories. An earlier sign was Thomas Sexton's appeal on 1 July, in the name of the Irish National League, that the Irish voters in Wakefield vote for the Tory candidate against the Liberal incumbent. The marginal district was carried by the Tory.[1]

Healy's 27 June article had raised criticism in the London press, but this merely spurred him to make an even more vicious attack on Chamberlain the second time around. He opened by saying Chamberlain "has not had the courage" to put his name to the article in Fortnightly Review. Concerning the plan advocated in the article, Healy said that "this is certainly legislative independence with a vengence." Healy titled his leading article "A Queen's Bench Parliament" to illustrate his belief that the final authority in Chamberlain's system--the courts--would uphold the inequities of the existing arrangement. He quoted from the article which stated that "if the council exceeded its functions in any way, it would be liable to be brought to book, on application to the High Court." Healy's opinion on this point was explicit:

> And this sovereign body is to replace in our affections the Parliament of Grattan! The British Government, of course, is to keep its grip of the Irish bench, and the 'High Court' would, no doubt, prove as obliging to the West-British faction as the Queen's Bench is to the Castle, or as Vice-Chancellor Chatterton will be to the Sackvillestreet traders. Bound hand and foot, the 'National Council' would simply be the sport of the judges,

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[1]Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VII, p. 356.

> and its institution would have about as much effect in soothing National pride as the creation of an extra brace of Petty Sessions justices by a Whig Lord Chancellor.[1]

Healy's language suggests that he was seeking desperately to hold in line the followers of Parnell who might be tempted to accept a compromise along the lines offered by Chamberlain. "The demand of Ireland is for a sovereign assembly, and for nothing less," he wrote. As for Chamberlain, Healy stated: "He does not care a straw whether the scheme benefits us or not, so long as it serves the purposes of the master-island." Chamberlain's approach to the problem, according to Healy, was based on the belief that "here is a sturdy beggar at our gate. Let us fling him a bone for our peacesake." Chamberlain was told that he would "have to advance a good deal on his present offer" if Ireland were to listen:

> Handed down to us from our fathers' bleeding hands, we have received the great heritage of seven centuries of struggle, and if we cannot effect an honourable settlement, such as those who went before us would not have blushed to accept, we can at least pass on to our children untarnished and unbartered the noble ideal of Irish nationhood.[2]

Seven days after Healy's second article appeared, Chamberlain asked O'Shea if Parnell would correct the impression that the Irish leadership was hostile to the proposed visit

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[1] United Ireland, 4 July 1885.

[2] Ibid.

and his scheme of Irish local government.[1] Two days later, O'Shea replied that, Parnell was favorable about the proposed visit, but that the Irish leader had been impressed by a 7 July speech of Carnarvon, the Irish Viceroy, and did not think "it would be worthwhile to encumber the Irish question at present with a larger extension of local government to Ireland than to England." This 13 July letter from O'Shea placed the blame for the United Ireland articles squarely on Healy's shoulders, because O'Brien had been abroad and Parnell did not interfer with the contents of the newspaper.[2] On 27 July, Chamberlain told O'Shea that the "matter [negotiating with the Irish] was at an end;" two days later Parnell was notified by O'Shea of the decision.[3] On 31 July, Parnell met secretly with Carnarvon to discuss the Home Rule question.[4] Thus, little more than two years after Healy had outlined a definite local government reform plan,[5] he was the major reason for the Radicals dropping a similar reform plan from

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[1]Chamberlain, p. 153.

[2]Ibid., p. 154.

[3]Ibid., p. 157.

[4]Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VII, p. 357.

[5]A few months later, Healy wrote a magazine article in which he stated that his 1883 "Elective Councils" scheme was a "much more modest" plan than the one offered by Chamberlain. T.M. Healy, "The Advance Toward Home Rule," Contemporary Review, XLVIII (September, 1885), p. 435.

their "unauthorized programme."[1]

Healy's bludgeoning of Chamberlain's scheme in the columns of United Ireland was merely an extension of the views he had stated publicly on numerous occasions. Like Parnell, he felt that Ireland could get more help from the Tories than from Chamberlain because the Tories could stay in power only with the consent and support of the Irish M.P.'s. The pragmatism of Healy's politics was described well by Labouchere who had had a three-hour conversation with Healy on 21 July, a few days before Chamberlain finally terminated negotiations with Parnell. After asserting that Chamberlain's local government scheme was, in reality, a new version of his 1883 proposal, Healy said he objected to only a few items in the plan. He said, however, that "Chamberlain could not carry it. Even if he got it through the House of Commons, the Lords would throw it out."[2] Labouchere, still hoping to win Healy's allegiance to the Radical cause, said in a report of the conversation he sent Chamberlain that Healy somehow changed his views during the conversation. He told Chamberlain that Healy would attempt to influence his colleagues in favor of a Liberal alliance and against a

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[1]Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, p. 361. In the Chamberlain Papers at Birmingham University is a 8 February 1883 clipping from the Times of Healy's speech which advocated a scheme of provincial councils for Ireland (see JC 8/7/3/11).

[2]Howard, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXIV, p. 72.

"vote Tory" manifesto to the Irish voters in England.[1]

Labouchere's optimistic report on Healy's attitude, however, does not ring true. Healy had done nothing prior to this interview to indicate he harbored such views, and would be inclined to favor a new Liberal-Irish alliance. Labouchere, then, might have been misleading Chamberlain deliberately, but, more likely, Healy might have been misleading Labouchere deliberately. For instance, Labouchere told Chamberlain that Healy said: "Those who wished you [Chamberlain] should be ill received in Ireland would not have their way, and that you may count upon a perfectly friendly reception."[2] It was, of course, Healy who had been personally responsible for the vicious attacks on Chamberlain in the columns of United Ireland. Definitely evident in Labouchere's report is the Radical fear of a "vote Tory" manifesto and an Irish-Tory alliance in Parliament. Labouchere obviously was cheered that Healy, whom he called "by far the most honest and ablest of the Irishmen," would try to prevent the Irish political leaders from making commitments with the Tories.

Only a short time passed before Healy sought to set matters straight with Labouchere. Two weeks after the interview, he wrote the Radical M.P., commenting: "Of course,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

however, I should be bound by the majority, and would steadfastly carry out Parnell's policy, whatever it is declared by the Party to be."[1] If, indeed, Labouchere had seduced Healy into thinking of a new direction for Irish politics, the effect wore off quickly. It is unlikely that Healy had forgotten the advice he had given on 11 July in United Ireland that "Irish voters should hold themselves absolutely disengaged from entanglements with soft-spoken Radicals." Also, by the end of July, Dr. Walsh, the new Archbishop of Dublin, had informed Chamberlain that he no longer favored the proposed visit due to the "promise" of the Tory administration.[2] Healy, who ardently had advocated that Dr. Walsh be appointed Archbishop,[3] probably was acquainted personally with the Archbishop's views.[4] There appears, therefore, to be no reason why Healy would attempt to rebuild what he and others had destroyed systematically.

The Tories, as well as the Radicals, were busy during the summer seeking Irish support. Healy admitted in his memoirs that Randolph Churchill had flattered him after he

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[1]Thorold, p. 256 (letter of 2 August 1885).

[2]Garvin, II, p. 27.

[3]A leading article in United Ireland, 27 June 1885, praised Dr. Walsh. Healy was in charge of the newspaper during this time.

[4]Healy noted in his memoirs (I, p. 228) that the Archbishop honored him with a visit to his home as soon as the Archbishop arrived from Rome.

had given a rousing speech on 17 July in the House of Commons.[1] Conor Cruise O'Brien has argued that Churchill managed to hit a responsive chord with the Irish politicians by taking up the cause of the Irish peasant.[2] O'Brien also maintained that Healy and other Irish politicians had assumed the aristocratic contempt of people "in trade," and he singled out Healy as being particularly "snobbish."[3] Thus, O'Brien reasoned, because of clerical distaste for certain Radical policies, and for reasons of social "snobbery," Chamberlain's faction was not favored by many Irish politicians.

Healy's speech in Parliament on 17 July was, according to press reports, one of his best efforts. He hammered away at the great cleavage in the Liberal Party over a program for Ireland and then praised the Tories. Following a strong defense of Lord Spencer's term as Viceroy in Ireland by Lord Hartington and Sir William Harcourt, Healy told the Tories "that they need never say a word in answer to attacks upon them by the Liberals, because some Liberal was sure to get up and denounce the Liberal who has gone before."[4] He spitefully noted in his remarks that Chamberlain and Dilke

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[1]Healy, I, p. 213.

[2]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 117.

[3]Ibid., p. 115.

[4]United Ireland, 25 July 1885.

had not bothered to attend the debate. He also speculated that, with the Tories in power, there was "some chance of effecting real and substantial improvement." A United Ireland article the next week likewise stressed the possibilities of a Tory alliance, commenting that "an Irish Parliament is, beyond all manner of doubt, within the range of practical politics."[1] According to United Ireland's parliamentary correspondent, Healy's performance in the House on 17 July was "brilliant and smashing" and highly pleasing to the Tory ministers who had come under heavy attack from Liberals for agreeing to reopen the Maamtrasna murders case, which ended in the death sentence for Myles Joyce. In particular, Healy made a mockery of the "Grand Old Man's" testimonial to Spencer by quoting Herbert Gladstone's forthright denunciations of the Liberal administration of Ireland.[2] The Freeman's Journal also was impressed with Healy's performance calling it a "magnificent speech," and "one of the most powerful speeches even the member for Monaghan has ever delivered."[3]

While asserting in his memoirs that Churchill "made no pledge on Home Rule to me, nor did I ask for any," Healy privately promised that night to assist the Tory administration.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 18 July 1885.

Because Churchill said the Government feared Davitt's agitation in the West of Ireland, Healy agreed to go to County Kerry and attempt to calm the tenants.[1] He then persuaded William O'Brien to join the crusade against Davitt, and the two of them went to Kerry a month later.[2] As it turned out, it was fortunate that O'Brien accompanied Healy. Despite his own mission and Parnell's advice to downplay the land issue,[3] once on the speaker's platform, Healy could not resist giving advice that he had advocated for two years. He told the audience "to bank the rents in the names of two or three trustees at a reduced figure."[4] He also issued a warning for landlords to "keep a civil tongue in their heads" because "if they stirred a fire there would be a blaze, and he cautioned Lord Carnarvon . . . not to act in heartless or ruthless, or vindictive or cruel manner." The farmers of Kerry then were reminded that the Land Act had been passed because the Government was forced to pass it by a "steadfast combination [the Land League]." At the last moment, Healy apparently remembered the reason for his speech. He concluded, the press reported, "with an advice [for the farmers] to bear themselves with calmness and moderation, and to avoid

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[1]Healy, I, p. 213.

[2]United Ireland, 29 August and 5 September 1835.

[3]Ibid., 1 August 1885.

[4]Ibid., 5 September 1835.

outrages of all kinds." More than four decades later, Healy wrote that O'Brien, who "possessed the larger concepts of statesmanship," was responsible for calming Kerry.[1] O'Brien's speech, Healy states, had "a powerful effect. It kept Kerry quiet, save for one horrid crime."

Although he promoted further tenant unity and additional rent demands, not the Tory alliance and its possible benefits, in his Kerry speech, Healy had not altered his political outlook. In a September magazine article, Healy once again bluntly attacked Chamberlain's local government scheme for Ireland.[2] Suggesting that his 1883 proposal of elective provincial councils had guided Chamberlain in formulating the national council scheme, Healy, nevertheless, claimed the Radical leader's plan was more comprehensive than his plan. Yet, Healy wrote, Chamberlain's proposals failed to satisfy "the Irish people." The Irish, Healy said, did not intend to "abandon their dream of a native Parliament;" Chamberlain's dream that a national council would satisfy Ireland was a "splendid British phlegm":

> Be this as it may, the thing for Englishmen to realize is, that the Irish demand a Legislature which shall control everything in the island from a prison to a palace, and every official from the judge to the hangman.[3]

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[1]Healy, I, p. 227.

[2]Healy, Contemporary Review, XLVIII (September, 1885), pp. 433-8.

[3]Ibid., p. 438.

In conclusion, Healy said he looked to the Tories "to undo the hapless work of Castlereagh." At the same time, Healy sensed Gladstone's imminent change of direction on the question of Irish Home Rule, for he wrote: "Were his [Gladstone's] strength as certain as his statesmanship, he could settle the question."[1] Quite obviously, Healy still doubted that Gladstone could carry his party, badly split between Whigs and Radicals, if he did embrace the concept of Home Rule for Ireland.

During this period, Healy was made privy to the thoughts of those in the Tory hierarchy.[2] Leaders of the Tory party, of course, had contacted Parnell, who had a secret interview with Lord Carnarvon, the Irish Viceroy on 1 August.[3] The two parties involved (there were no witnesses) disagreed on what was said in the seventy-five minute session in a deserted house, but it soon became publicly obvious that Parnell, like Healy, was committed to the idea of forming an alliance with the Tories. For example, United Ireland on 12 September directed another scathing attack at Chamberlain, "an enemy of Irish freedom." At this date, it is impossible to believe that Healy and O'Brien were acting independently of Parnell's wishes. As well, Parnell chose to ignore Gladstone's 17

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Churchill, II, p. 4.

[3] Sir Arthur Hardinge, Life of the Earl of Carnarvon, 1831-1890 (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 178.

September manifesto addressed to the Midlothian electors which vaguely implied that Liberals would give the Irish greater control of their own affairs. According to the manifesto, the Irish would be given "enlarged powers for the management of their own affairs."[1] Healy, however, was quick to respond negatively on behalf of the leadership of the Irish Nationalists. Taking time out from another agrarian campaign in Lord Bantry's domain,[2] Healy scornfully rejected the implications of Gladstone's address in a speech he gave to the National League's Central Branch in Dublin:

> There was a science known as paleontology, which he believed consisted of searching for fossils and deposits upon the earth's surface. Some of these gentlemen when they found a bone about an inch long were able, according to circumstances, to build upon it some great creature such as an Irish elk. . . . Taking Mr. Gladstone's address, it seems to him to have been constructed upon some such abstruse science as that.[3]

Healy also reiterated the argument that the House of Lords would never accept a Home Rule Bill passed by the Liberal Party. In conclusion, he said: "The two parties he regarded as being to a great extent rogues, and he believed that the Tory rogues had a better chance of passing measures of reform than the Liberal rogues."[4] A leading article in the 26

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[1]Hammond, p. 401.

[2]United Ireland, 19 September and 26 September 1885.

[3]Ibid., 26 September 1885.

[4]Ibid.

September United Ireland also rejected Gladstone's address.

During this time, Irish preparations for the general election went ahead steadily with the Healy brothers playing a major role in the North of Ireland. T.M., up for re-election for a Northern constituency, stressed in his public speeches that rent, not religion, was the major issue for the Protestant farmers. In a magazine article published in November, Healy attempted to prove that Protestants in Ulster were suffering greatly at the hands of the landlords.[1] "The landlords, in fact, when their Protestant tenants seek abatements [in rents under the Land Act], put them off with a whiff of an orange-lily or a harange in an Orange Lodge, and the device serves," Healy wrote. Maurice, who was toiling in the voter revision court at Belfast, took time out on one occasion to preach his brother's doctrine of a "war-chest" filled with tenants' rent money. By placing what they considered a fair rent into a common fund, the farmers would be hastening the day when each of them was "firmly planted upon his own sod."[2] United Ireland, as well, was urging farmers to bank their rents "at the abated rates in trustees' names."[3]

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[1] T.M. Healy, "Ulster and Ireland," Contemporary Review, XLVIII (November, 1885), pp. 723-31.

[2] United Ireland, 10 October 1885. Lyons, John Dillon, p. 74, considered the Healy suggestion significant because it was the first time anyone had advocated a nation-wide withholding of rents and a concomitant banking of funds by the farmers. In fact, however, Healy advocated such a plan more than two years earlier.

[3] United Ireland, 24 October 1885.

That Healy would attempt to move the Parnellite banner into more hostile surroundings in the North was suggested in the 24 October issue of United Ireland. The newspaper printed a parliamentary return requested by Healy of the religious divisions in the two Monaghan constituencies and in South Derry. Catholics had clear-cut majorities in both North and South Monaghan, the report showed, but, in South Derry, there were less than 34,000 Catholics in a population of more than 69,000. The same week, Healy was nominated for his Monaghan seat by the National League's convention in Monaghan; but it was clear that Healy seriously was considering another contest. Healy chaired the Monaghan convention and apparently ordered a resolution giving a committee of nine power to choose another candidate if it was found necessary "in the general interest of the Irish cause" that Healy contest "a more difficult seat."[1] In South Derry a week later, not surprisingly, the convention failed to choose any of the local candidates.[2] Healy had predicted in a November magazine article that one of Derry's two county seats would be won by a Parnellite after being "perhaps bloodily contested."[3] With Catholics in the minority, it was obvious

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[1] Ibid., 31 October 1885.

[2] Ibid., 7 November 1885.

[3] Healy, Contemporary Review, XLVIII, p. 724. Healy predicted in this article that the "minimum strength" of Parnell's party following the general election would be eighty-five M.P.'s.

that a well-known and skilled candidate would have to be nominated by the Parnellites if they were to capture the seat.

While helping the National League's hierarchy keep a tight rein on the county conventions[1] and campaigning in the North, Healy continued to communicate with Labouchere. In mid-October, Healy reiterated his basic belief that the Liberals could not get a Home Rule measure through the House of Lords; and, even if they decided to dissolve Parliament because of a negative vote in the Lords, the Liberals were not united enough to make a strong showing at the polls.[2] Nevertheless, three days later, the Radical M.P. wrote optimistically to Chamberlain, stating Healy favored a Liberal "arrangement." He even implied that Healy had rejected the Irish notion that "union was strength," and would be willing to go against Parnell's leadership at the right opportunity.[3] Once again, either Healy was misleading Labouchere about a Liberal alliance, or Labouchere was misleading Chamberlain. The latter seems to be the case. The tone of Healy's public speeches showed Healy was solidly in favor of an arrangement with the Tories and the party pledge which obligated all candidates to forego independent stances on political

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[1]Conor Cruise O'Brien, pp. 126-32. Healy, I, p. 230.

[2]Thorold, p. 259; B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 44.

[3]Ibid., p. 261.

issues.[1] Labouchere, who was in contact at this time with Chamberlain, Herbert Gladstone, and Randolph Churchill, still continued to supply Healy with copies of the various correspondence,[2] clearly indicating that Labouchere sincerely believed there was still a chance to influence Irish political policy through Healy, whom he believed to be the most important of Parnell's three top lieutenants.[3] The former Prime Minister's son was being sent copies of Healy's letters by Labouchere.

In a letter to Labouchere in early October, Healy indicated a preference for the Liberals and Gladstone ("If he were Dictator of England we might safely trust him."), but asked for a "guarantee about muzzling the Lords."[4] Labouchere replied by advising Healy that if he did not act against Parnell "upon the present opportunity, they [Healy and other 'practical' Home Rulers] will regret it."[5] In his comments to Herbert Gladstone, the Radical M.P. noted that "men like Healy, strange to say, are also pro-Tory" on the issue of denominational education.[6]

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[1] *United Ireland*, 31 October 1885.

[2] *Thorold, p. 264.*

[3] *B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 33. The other two lieutenants, according to Labouchere, were T.P. O'Connor, who was "on the make", and Sexton, who was "a fool."*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid., fol. 37.*

[6] *Ibid.*

A copy of another Healy letter was sent by Labouchere to Herbert Gladstone on 16 October. Healy and others had had a "long chat" with Parnell on the previous Saturday, and Healy passed along his views of the Irish leader's statements on Home Rule. Despite Labouchere's optimistic interpretation of Healy's thoughts in a subsequent letter to Herbert Gladstone, it was clear that Healy still preferred an arrangement with the Tories.[1] Healy's view apparently reflected Parnell's, and Dublin Castle on 26 October confidently predicted to the Government that Parnell would endorse the Tories in the election.[2] Undaunted by Healy's statements, Labouchere told Healy that the Irish should not be "impractical asses, something could be arranged."[3] Chamberlain also was kept informed by Labouchere, and the Birmingham Radical obviously still was upset by the Irish snub of a few months earlier. He told Labouchere in late October that the Irish could "stew in their own juice."[4]

The split in the Liberal Party was never so obvious as this time. While Chamberlain prepared to ignore the Irish,

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[1] B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 43.

[2] L.P. Curtis, Jr., Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland, -1892 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 2.

[3] B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 43.

[4] Thorold, p. 265.

Herbert Gladstone wrote in mid-November that his father was "prepared to stand or fall" on a settlement of the self-government issue for Ireland.[1] Healy replied in a letter to Labouchere, stating that if the Liberals were in a majority in the next Parliament and were in earnest about settling Ireland's grievances, "I do not think they will find us unreasonable."[2]

Parnell, on 10 November, publicly had invited Gladstone to be more specific about his plans for Ireland and the Healy-Herbert Gladstone communications through Labouchere seem to be in response to Parnell's statement. Replying publicly on 17 November, the former Liberal Prime Minister suggested that the Irish make more clear their wishes regarding Home Rule.[3] Healy anticipated Gladstone's statement by five days, probably due to something written by Herbert Gladstone and forwarded from Labouchere. He rejected the Liberal leader's request in the bluntest terms:

> It seems to me curious that we are now to be asked to define our demands, on a question on which English Statesmen do not need much instruction, seeing that in 1881, when the agrarian question was certainly complicated, nobody dreamed of asking our opinion, but on the

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[1] B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 51. Herbert Gladstone's letters were being sent by Labouchere to both Chamberlain and Healy; Birmingham University Library, Joseph Chamberlain MSS, JC 5/50/23, 23 October 1885.

[2] Thorold, p. 267.

[3] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 104.

> contrary the beauty of the measure was that it was supposed to be disapproved by the Nationalists. I cannot, therefore, help feeling that this demand for a plan from us is simply a desire for our discomfort, and the profit of the English.[1]

Little more than a week after Healy stated his view, Parnell, through the Executive Council of the National League of Great Britain, urged the Irish electorate in England "to vote against the men who coerced Ireland." The manifesto was not signed by Parnell, but by seven parliamentary leaders, including Healy. Unconsulted about this decision and his name added without his consent, Healy criticized the manifesto in his memoirs for its "flaming verbiage."[2] It is clear, nevertheless, that the decision at the time, if not the language, was favored by Healy.

Also clear is the fact that relations between Parnell and Healy at this time were strained. On 21 November, Healy wrote his brother that Parnell was "snarling" at him. In the same letter, he expressed disappointment that Maurice would be on the election ticket with Parnell in Cork City.[3] Parnell's failure to consult Healy about the manifesto was only one reason for Healy's pique. During this same period, Parnell was trying to find a parliamentary seat for the

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[1]Thorold, p. 226; the letter was dated 12 November.

[2]Healy, I, p. 231.

[3]Ibid.

husband of his mistress, a fact which certainly was known to Parnell's lieutenants. On 2 November, Captain O'Shea wrote Parnell rejecting a suggestion that he seek election as a Liberal in Mid-Armagh. In the letter, O'Shea said he considered Parnell under the "clearest obligation" to insist publicly "on my being returned to Parliament."[1] Parnell, a short time later, bowed to the demand and publicly supported O'Shea's Liberal candidacy for a Liverpool division. This action by the Irish leader set the stage for Healy's dramatic break with Parnell.[2]

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[1]N.L.I., Ms 5752, fol. 246.

[2]Thorold, pp. 275-7. In a letter to Chamberlain, Labouchere claimed Healy called Parnell "half-mad" in the course of a six-hour interview on 18 December 1885.

CHAPTER II

THE LIVERPOOL ELECTION
NOVEMBER, 1885

Mrs. O'Shea earnestly desired her husband to remain in Parliament because "politics were a great interest to him and gave him little time to come down to Eltham."[1] To obtain her objective, she wrote directly on 23 October to Gladstone on Parnell's behalf. She suggested that the Liberal Party nominate her husband in Mid-Armagh; in return, she said that, in four Ulster divisions and one English division, Parnell would deliver the Catholic vote to Liberal candidates.[2] Mrs. O'Shea blamed "Davitt, Healy, O'Brien and others" for making it impossible for her husband to seek reelection in County Clare.[3]

In one of his frequent letters to Chamberlain, Captain O'Shea confirmed that he knew of his wife's proposal by stating that Parnell had volunteered to "arrange matters" with Lord Richard Grosnevor, Gladstone's chief whip in

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[1] O'Shea, II, p. 78.

[2] B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44269, fol. 226.

[3] Ibid.

Parliament.[1] "Parnell's friends," however, were not involved in any arrangement for Mid-Armagh, one of the Ulster constituencies coveted by Liberal leaders, and eventually O'Shea's candidacy for Mid-Armagh was buried quietly.[2] Labouchere sympathized with O'Shea, assuring him that Parnell had done his best, but that "the boys were too much for him."[3] Parnell, in a letter to "My Own Little Wifie," admitted the "ring" was causing him some concern at this time.[4]

Gladstone, however, clearly was interested in keeping O'Shea in Parliament; and he told Mrs. O'Shea he would be "very sorry if Capt. O'Shea would fail to obtain a seat in the new Parliament."[5] Because the Liberal leadership had known for years about Parnell's relationship with Mrs. O'Shea, a seat in Parliament for Captain O'Shea made good political sense to most of the Prime Minister's advisers.[6] Accordingly,

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[1]Birmingham University Library, Joseph Chamberlain MSS, JC8/8/1/61. O'Shea discussed Parnell and the Mid-Armagh electorate in a letter to E.D. Gray. Letter printed in Irish Historical Studies, IX, pp. 329-31.

[2]Ibid., JC 8/8/1/63.

[3]N.L.I., Ms 5752, fol. 256.

[4]O'Shea, II, p. 80.

[5]B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44269, fol. 230.

[6]Gwynn and Tuckwell, I, p. 445. A systematic examination of all aspects of "The O'Shea Affair" can be found in F.S.L. Lyons' The Fall of Parnell (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), pp. 35-71.

O'Shea, who officially had resigned from Clare on 5 November, was offered Liberal endorsement in the Exchange Division of Liverpool. In a telegram to O'Shea, Grosnevor, whom Mrs. O'Shea had personally visited several times, said: "Mr. Gladstone authorizes me to say that he wishes you to obtain a seat."[1]

Parnell's dilemma was obvious. The Irish in England already had been advised to "vote Tory" except in the cases of four incumbent Radicals. As well, any action by Parnell on behalf of O'Shea would not be supported by Parnell's chief political associates. The men who published Parnell's newspaper were termed "two of my bitterest enemies" by O'Shea when he submitted his Clare resignation.[2] The Irish leader, however, acted boldly to try to rid himself of the problem which threatened his private life. In Liverpool, he decided to ignore criticism from his associates, and he openly and feverishly supported O'Shea's election bid.

Healy stated in his memoirs that from mid-1885 on, he was not on the best of terms with Parnell. The continuing agrarian agitation of Healy, O'Brien and others led James O'Kelly to warn Parnell about the "disloyalty" of some of

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[1]N.L.I., Ms 5752, fol. 262.

[2]T.W. Moody, "Parnell and the Galway Election of 1886," Irish Historical Studies, IX (March, 1955), p. 331.

his lieutenants.[1] Just prior to the Liverpool election, Healy wrote his brother that Parnell was "snarling" at him, and that "these strained relations will increase, instead of diminish, as I am not a man to make any overtures of explanations."[2]

Like Parnell, Healy faced a dilemma. Although O'Shea's candidacy was personally obnoxious, Healy, as one of the party's chief orators, had been preaching fervently the doctrine of Irish unity under Parnell's leadership. Only with a united movement, Healy often had said, could Ireland gain its objective of Home Rule. Three months prior to O'Shea's entry as a candidate in Liverpool, Healy was the party spokesman who had been called upon to uphold unity in the face of a budding revolt by the city's Irish political leaders. On 18 July, United Ireland, in its primary leading article entitled "Upstart Candidates," referred to a "Liverpool Scandal." The article asserted that local candidates, not approved by the Irish party leadership, "are of the rule-or-ruin species, and either the National party must crush them or they will crush the National party." The Freeman's Journal noted that

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[1]Healy, I, p. 234. Parnell publicly had urged caution regarding land agitation. See United Ireland, 1 August 1885. Freeman's Journal on 23 September 1885 took issue with Healy's agrarian views.

[2]Ibid., p. 235. O'Shea, II, p. 79-80. A 23 October letter from Parnell to Mrs. O'Shea noted O'Kelly's influence at this time, and mentions a physical clash between "H" and O'Kelly.

the Liverpool Irish resented the National League's choosing some of the Leagues well-known leaders to stand at the elections.[1] Obviously, there was considerable concern among the League's hierarchy, because Healy, in Liverpool a few days later, used extravagant rhetoric in attempting to sway the Irish electorate. The whole Irish movement, Healy stated, was based on the leadership of Parnell, "the honest dictator" Ireland had been seeking for 200 years:

> There was no dissension and no disunion amongst them for from the humblest to the highest they were determined to follow the lead of the genius whom God had sent them like another Moses. . . . Woe to the man who in this great crisis of Ireland's fortune lifted up his puny cackle against the united advice of an experienced party and a determined nation. It had been the misfortune of the Irish race in past time to have too many great men, and too many people who could do things better than anybody else. What they had wanted for two hundred years was an honest dictator, and they had at last got one in the person of Mr. Parnell. Their cause would win if they were united, but it might be lost by cranks who set themselves out as rulers and judges of men, and with their tinpot intelligence attempted to chime a discordant note against the great national tocsin which Mr. Parnell was clanging to the national ear.[2]

There were no more reports of disloyalty coming from Liverpool after Healy's speech.

At the end of August, the party pledge was adopted officially at a meeting of the M.P.'s. On this occasion,

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 11 July 1885. On his journey back to Ireland from the United States, John Dillon was asked by the Liverpool Irish to stand for the Scotland Division. See Lyons, John Dillon, p. 71.

[2]United Ireland, 8 August 1885.

Healy took the opportunity to call Parnell "the loved and acknowledged head" of the movement, but noted also that no man "has ever been more fortunate in being surrounded by such loyal and devoted colleagues."[1] A leading article in United Ireland on 29 August also emphasized Irish unity, but made it clear that the Irish people, not Parnell, were the supreme power in Ireland. This curious twist in the leading article, it appears, was the work of the disgruntled Healy. The people, the article stated, have the power for "making and unmaking leaders." It also was made clear that the people someday might be forced to discard Parnell as their leader:

> Mr. Parnell is not only the chosen chief of the people; but the chosen chief of a united body of representatives, no less high-spirited than the people, and no less powerful to overthrow, in the first hour when loyalty to Mr. Parnell became disloyalty to Ireland.[2]

Despite the article and his private misgivings about Parnell's capabilities as a leader, Healy continued his unequivocal demand for Irish unity in his public speeches. Less than a month before the Liverpool election, he asserted that it was "treason" for any member of the party to put forward an "individual view of his own against the opinion of the majority of the party." He added that "the soldier who goes into the field of battle must be prepared to surrender his

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[1] Ibid., 29 August 1885.

[2] Ibid.

own independence."[1] And, for the moment, Healy was a good soldier. Parnell was in Liverpool on 10 November for meetings with National League leaders and the Catholic bishop[2] to prepare them for the "vote Tory" manifesto which had not been made public yet. Healy, meanwhile, was continuing his election efforts in Ulster, hoping to help fulfill Parnell's prediction that fourteen to sixteen Nationalists would be elected in the North. On 16 November, Healy received the nomination for South Derry.[3]

In one of the first elections in Ireland, T.P. O'Connor was an easy winner in Galway City even though he was expected to triumph as well in the Irish-dominated Scotland Division of Liverpool.[4] The ramifications of O'Connor's double victory would influence greatly the course of Irish political history, but, for the moment, his triumph in Galway by a twelve-to-one margin was another indication of the Irish party's complete hold over the Irish electorate in three of the four provinces of Ireland.

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[1] Ibid., 31 October 1885.

[2] Ibid., 14 November and 21 November 1885.

[3] Ibid., 21 November 1885.

[4] Ibid., 28 November 1885. The Scotland Division was the only constituency in England where Irish voters had a clear voting majority, and, thus, O'Connor would be the only Irishman to sit for any English constituency. He was chosen for the honor because he was president of the National League in Great Britain.

The "vote Tory" manifesto was issued in Liverpool on 21 November, and Parnell, in a speech there the next day "to an enormous gathering of Irish Nationalists in the Concert Hall,"[1] said that an Irishman "who votes for a Liberal or a Radical candidate will be voting as much as it is in his power to do, to hand us back into chains, imprisonment, and death."[2] The Irish political leader then told the Irish to "disregard every personal and local consideration except the one that it is our duty to weaken the Liberal party at the present election." Parnell continued by saying that Home Rule was imminent, but that Gladstone "will try and cheat us out of a good deal of it" if the Liberal leader received a large majority at the polls. The manifesto itself, however, gave the National League executive the right to make exceptions regarding the support of Liberal candidates. It stated the exceptions would be "in some few cases in which courageous fealty to the Irish cause in the last Parliament has given a guarantee that the candidate will not belong to the servile, and cowardly, and unprincipled herd."[3] When the Irish M.P.'s agreed to include this section of the manifesto, they certainly did not know Parnell would use it to justify support of O'Shea.

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[1] Liverpool Daily Post, 23 November 1885.

[2] United Ireland, 28 November 1835.

[3] Ibid.

Parnell had arrived in Liverpool as a declared candidate for the Exchange Division, where Liberals and Irishmen combined outnumbered the Conservatives by approximately 2,000 votes.[1] Parnell, obviously, was hoping that all Irish voters would identify with him, thus making it easy for him to transfer their allegiance to Captain O'Shea after a certain amount of enthusiasm regarding the elections had been created. Parnell planned from the beginning to commit his entire energies to the Liverpool election. On the day he arrived, he wrote his election agent in Cork that he would not campaign there for reelection.[2]

The situation in Liverpool was not favorable for O'Shea. The original Liberal candidate, T.E. Stephens, refused to withdraw despite the Liberal leadership's late endorsement of O'Shea. When nominations took place Monday morning, 23 November, at Town Hall, there were four candidates in the Exchange Division. Then, at one p.m., Parnell and Stephens announced their withdrawals from the contest, leaving O'Shea to cultivate the majority Liberal-Irish vote. The Freeman's Journal report from Liverpool said Parnell's decision "caused astonishment and excitement, it being known all over the city in a very brief space."[3] At a meeting later that day,

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[1]Liverpool Daily Post, 25 November 1885.

[2]N.L.I., Horgan MSS 5657, p. 4645. M.J. Horgan had been Parnell's agent in 1880 as well, and Parnell had been the best man at his wedding. See Healy, I, p. 221.

[3]Freeman's Journal, 23 November 1885.

Parnell told Nationalists that he withdrew because the Conservative candidate L.R. Baily, insisted on remaining in the field despite the benefits Tories would gain throughout England due to the Irish manifesto. Parnell said that he could not win with Baily in the running. The Irish leader added: "I did not, therefore, think it prudent to come forward and be the first member of the Irish Party to be defeated in the great struggle that is now before us."[1] Such logic might have satisfied the audience; but, when Parnell began to speak in favor of Captain O'Shea, the candidate's name was greeted with groans and hisses. Undeterred, Parnell praised O'Shea's anti-coercion voting record in Parliament, his Irish nationality, and his Catholic religion.[2] The three major Nationalist newspapers in Ireland did not comment editorially on Parnell's actions in Liverpool. The Freeman's Journal, which had praised O'Shea's services for Ireland when he retired from his County Clare seat,[3] did report in its news columns that Parnell's Liverpool speech was "very noble" and that it had "completely satisfied" the audience which had at first expressed doubt about O'Shea's candidacy.[4]

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[1] United Ireland, 28 November 1885.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 9 November 1885.

[4] Ibid., 25 November 1885.

On polling day, 25 November, Parnell totally supported O'Shea. Although John Redmond and T.P. O'Connor, two key lieutenants, were candidates in other divisions within the city, Parnell spent his time in the Exchange Division.[1] Mrs. O'Shea asserted in her memoirs that Parnell "worked harder than ever he had before to get Willie returned."[2] Parnell even obtained clerical support for O'Shea.[3] In his campaigning throughout the Irish districts of the city, Parnell rated all three Irish candidates as equals and urged election of "three true and loyal Irishmen of their own faith."[4] Handbills urging the election of O'Shea listed his notable activities over the years:

> In 1882 he obtained the release of Mr. Parnell and hundreds of other Irishmen; because it was owing to his exertions that the Arrears Act was passed, by which half a million of the poorest and most helpless of their race were saved from eviction and extermination; because he was largely instrumental in gaining the full extention of the franchise for Ireland; and because he circumvented the Errington intrigue and rendered impossible any further interference between the Irish clergy and Rome.[5]

Despite all of Parnell's efforts, however, O'Shea was defeated by fifty-five votes. In a post-election rally,

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[1] Liverpool Daily Post and Liverpool Mercury, 26 November 1885.

[2] O'Shea, II, p. 96.

[3] Liverpool Mercury, 25 November 1885.

[4] Ibid., 25 and 26 November 1885.

[5] Ibid., 26 November 1885.

Parnell blamed the loss on local Liberals who failed to organize on behalf of O'Shea. A report in a Liverpool newspaper quoted a Tory election agent who had alleged "a good many Liberals voted Tory because of Captain O'Shea's connection with Mr. Parnell."[1] In his personal analysis, Parnell agreed with the Tory's opinion. Obviously attempting to inform O'Shea that he had carried out the bargain, Parnell publicly stated that the Irish electorate had supported him solidly. As soon as the results were in and the speeches made, Parnell hurried to the side of his mistress who was suffering mental strain and "bitter disappointment."[2] Both Parnell and Mrs. O'Shea knew that the captain was dissatisfied with Parnell's effort in the Liverpool election. They waited for "the demand [of a sure seat] we expected from Willie."[3] Grovesnor, speaking for the Liberal leadership, informed Mrs. O'Shea that it was impossible to find Captain O'Shea a seat at the moment.[4]

It is not known exactly when T.P. O'Connor decided he would sit for Liverpool rather than Galway; but only two weeks after the Liverpool election, Chamberlain wrote O'Shea a personal note expressing hope that "the Galway proposal

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[1] Liverpool Daily Post, 26 November 1885.

[2] O'Shea, II, p. 97.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[O'Shea's candidacy there] may bear fruit."[1] Because he knew of Parnell's liaison with his wife, O'Shea could exert pressure on the Irish leader at any time. In desperate straits, O'Shea made his demand known quickly. Parnell, of course, was helpless, and despite the party's pledge, it was only a matter of time before he was forced to accept O'Shea's candidacy on O'Shea's terms. Parnell's primary political concern was to determine the likely effect of O'Shea's candidacy for a Nationalist seat on those in the party who knew of his affair with Mrs. O'Shea, and those who were dedicated completely to the pledge.[2] According to Mrs. O'Shea, Parnell doubted his ability to overcome the certain fierce party opposition to any suggestion on his part that O'Shea be nominated for the Nationalist stronghold of Galway.[3] Therefore, he told no one until Parliament took action on 5 February 1886 to set a by-election date for Galway.

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[1]N.L.I., Ms 5752, fol. 274.

[2]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 168.

[3]O'Shea, II, p. 97.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL TURMOIL
DECEMBER, 1885 - JANUARY, 1886

While Parnell was trying desperately to win a Liberal seat in Liverpool for the husband of his mistress, one Nationalist incumbent M.P. was in "open revolt" in County Louth, Ireland. Philip Callan, greatly despised by Parnell because he gossiped about the Irish leader and Mrs. O'Shea,[1] was fighting the National League's decision to oust him from his seat for North Louth.[2] So determined was Parnell to purge Callan from the Nationalist ranks that he went to North Louth soon after the Liverpool election to aid Colonel Joseph Nolan's campaign against Callan. Nolan was the official choice of the League's hierarchy and had been approved by the Louth National League convention. The election campaign in Louth was chaotic; brawling was a main feature of the rallies. Publicly, Parnell charged that the secrets of the Home Rule Party were not safe as long as Callan was an

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[1] O'Shea, II, pp. 99, 203. Healy, I, pp. 230-1.

[2] United Ireland, 28 November 1885. In the Freeman's Journal on 5 November, Parnell publicly informed the Louth National League that Callan was not an acceptable candidate.

M.P.[1] On polling day, the merchants in Dundalk kept their windows shuttered as the fighting between supporters of Callan and supporters of Nolan continued. Nolan triumphed, 2,580 to 1,451; but Callan had the final word. In a speech following the poll announcement, reported fully only in the Irish Times, Callan alluded to a liason between Parnell and Mrs. O'Shea in the midst of a vicious personal attack on the Irish leader:

> They might take his [Callan's] Parliamentary career and look at it, and if he had been honest he asked, unless there were private reasons, unless there was personal malignity against him, unless there were private reasons dishonourable in themselves, why had Captain O'Shea been supported in Liverpool by Mr. Parnell and Philip Callan opposed by him in Louth?[2]

All three Nationalist newspapers, United Ireland, the Nation, and the Freeman's Journal, chose not to print the next section of Callan's speech:

> That was a question [why Parnell had supported O'Shea] which the English public could give a better answer than they, the men of Louth, could. He asked Mr. Parnell, face to face, what was there in the character of private history--in the public character or private history superior to that of Phil Callan and his wife, that Mr. Parnell should malign and traduce him, and support with his best exertions Captain O'Shea?[3]

The reason Callan mentioned his wife, of course, was obvious to Irish politicians close to Parnell. The infuriated Callan,

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[1] Ibid., 5 December 1885.

[2] Irish Times, 4 December 1885.

[3] Ibid.

without doubt, was capable of further trouble, especially if he continued to pursue such a course in attacking Parnell. The danger signs obviously were up; the Irish M.P.'s, including Healy, must have realized that Parnell's private life was on the verge of exposure. Healy stated in his memoirs that Callan's speech "was the beginning of Parnell's end."[1] Certainly, more and more people were beginning to guess correctly about Parnell and the O'Sheas. Six months after the North Louth election, an influential London newspaper informed its readers of "Mr. Parnell's suburban retreat" in Eltham.[2] Parnell's confrontation with Callan had been opposed by Healy, a member of the National League's inner circle which was choosing the various candidates for the general election. Healy said he feared an "ugly outcome."[3]

While the North Louth election campaign was being fought, Healy, "exhibiting his accumstomed vigour and industry," was conducting a dual campaign. He was the National League's candidate in both North Monaghan and South Derry.[4]

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[1]Healy, I, p. 231.

[2]Pall Mall Gazette, 24 May 1886. The article was widely read. Mrs. O'Shea claimed Healy was to blame for its publication. See Lyons, The Fall of Parnell, pp. 50-1.

[3]Healy, I, pp. 230-1. Five years earlier, as a writer for the Nation, Healy had questioned Callan's competence as an M.P.. See issue of 11 September 1880.

[4]Freeman's Journal 27 November 1885.

In winning reelection in Monaghan, Healy overwhelmed his Tory opponent, 4,044 to 2,685, prompting the usual bonfires, parades, and dancing "with wild delight." Healy's prestige at the time was indicated by the demoralized opposition's willingness to claim his vote total as a "moral victory."[1] In Derry, Healy used the same formula which had produced his startling 1883 success in Monaghan. His speeches completely ignored Irish independence or separation, always a feature of his speeches in "Catholic Ireland." Emphasized was the fact that Healy had labored long and hard in Parliament to release the farmers of Ireland, North and South, Protestant and Catholic, from their bondage to landlords. The "absolute abolition" of rent was his party's policy, Healy said. His language remained as colorful as ever, and personal attacks on his opponents highlighted each speech. On one occasion, he asked the non-Catholic farmers, "whether they would put into Parliament a man whose heart throbbed with them, and who felt indignant at the tyrannies practiced upon them, or whether they would return back again, like the dog to his vomit, and send into Parliament in his toothless old age, a man who would simply spew dirt upon their cause."[2]

The formula worked brilliantly again; Healy's vote total was greater than the combined total of his Tory and Liberal

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[1] Belfast News-Letter, 1 December 1885.

[2] United Ireland, 27 November 1885.

(Whig) opponents. The Freeman's Journal called Healy's triumph "the most remarkable success yet achieved by the standard-bearer of Nationality in the North."[1] The triumph was spectacular because, as the Nationalist daily newspaper stated, Healy was "the best known, most prominent, and most thorough-going of Parnellites." United Ireland, with its usual exuberance, claimed Healy's triumph was "worth living a century of misery to enjoy the day."[2] Healy became the first Nationalist ever to sit in Parliament for a Derry constituency, and he had won the seat without Parnell's personal help. His startling upset in Monaghan in 1883 had been credited to Parnell's assistance, but now it was clear that Healy had the reputation and ability to win on his own. There can be no doubt that the conquest of South Derry gave Healy the necessary courage to challenge Parnell's imminent decision to support O'Shea for a Nationalist seat.

As soon as the poll was announced, Healy made a diplomatic speech, appealing for support from all political factions in the county. However, he could not resist telling the gathered Nationalist that "we are on a journey to College-green"; non-Catholics were urged to join the struggle against

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 5 December 1885. The final results: Healy, 4,723; McCalmont (Tory), 2,342; Findlater (Liberal), 1,816. According to the Freeman's Journal, 9 December, Catholics were a minority of 1,500 in South Derry. United Ireland, 12 December, said the figure was 300.

[2]United Ireland, 12 December 1885.

the landlords, and to "part company with us" after they were destroyed.[1]

Despite the joy in Dublin and the dismay in London, Parnell did not show much enthusiasm over Healy's triumph. In a 17 December letter to Healy, he said: "But great as it [the victory] was, I believe that if you had gone to North Tyrone you would have carried that constituency also, and that a less strong man would have won the three-cornered fight in South Derry."[2] Such a comment incensed Healy, and made it easier for him to oppose Parnell's candidate in Galway a few weeks later.

While the general elections continued on both islands, Healy kept busy by serving as legal counsel for a group of County Clare tenants seeking a fifty per cent rent reduction from the Land Courts.[3] On 19 December, the general election concluded; the final results showed the Liberals with 333 members, Conservatives with 249. The Parnellites numbered 86, including eighteen of the thirty-five seats in Ulster. Not a single Liberal was elected in Ulster, and fourteen lost their seats. In order to govern, the Liberals needed Irish support because an Irish-Tory alliance would neutralize

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Healy, I, p. 237. John Dillon, who recently had returned from the United States, was defeated in North Tyrone by twenty-three votes.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 16 December 1885; United Ireland, 26 December 1885.

the Liberal majority. If the Irish allied with Liberals, Gladstone's party would have an overwhelming majority of 172. Clearly, Parnell was master of the political situation, and it probably was not too surprising when a report began circulating that the Bank of Ireland, occupants of the former Irish Parliament at College Green, was searching for new quarters.[1]

Parnell, however, soon realized that his optimism about an alliance with the Tories, a result of his conversation with Carnarvon, was not warranted. Carnarvon had no support in the Cabinet; and, when his point of view on the Irish Question was neglected, he resigned.[2] Lord Salisbury was not impressed with Irish strength at the polls, and, thus, felt no obligation to embrace Home Rule because the British electorate had not endorsed the concept.[3] Despite his refusal to cooperate with the Parnellites who had run on the "one plank" issue of Home Rule and the fact that the Tories were a distinct minority without them, Salisbury refused to resign prior to Parliament opening in January. The situation, then, was ripe for secret negotiations, and

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 19 December 1885; the newspaper's London correspondent quoted an article in the Tablet in his report.

[2] Curtis, p. 65.

[3] Ibid., pp. 62-4. The author demonstrated that Irish Home Rule was not an issue in England during the general election.

representatives from all sectors of the political arena became involved.

With nothing said by the Tories on the Irish issue, Herbert Gladstone on 15 December informed the press that his father had been "converted" to Home Rule. The report, known historically as the Hawarden Kite, stunned the Whigs and the Radicals who looked to Chamberlain for leadership. Leaders of these Liberal Party wings quickly reassured their followers in the strongest terms that they continued steadfastly to oppose Home Rule. Later, Gladstone, maintaining an official silence, suggested privately to Salisbury that the Home Rule issue be settled on a bi-partisan basis. The Tory leader, however, rejected the idea.[1] Gladstone was left in the dark as to the Government's plan for Ireland, so he refrained from any public pronouncements on the subject. The Tories, it is clear, hoped to force Gladstone and the Liberals to take a stand on Irish Home Rule, and then dissolve Parliament on the issue of "the empire in danger."[2] Gladstone wished to have the Tories settle the matter. In the end, the Tory plan failed, and Gladstone's wish was denied.

As early as 7 December, Parnell publicly indicated that he was convinced the Tories were not planning to act favorably on the question of Irish Home Rule.[3] On 17 December,

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[1] Ibid., pp. 71-5.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 163.

he informed Healy and Justin McCarthy of his view in separate letters to the two men.[1] Healy, however, by 7 December already had reached a similar conclusion; the Tories would not cooperate and carry out his blueprint for Home Rule. In a letter that day to Labouchere, he said: "In my opinion, we have no course but to turn out the Tories."[2] Despite their limitations, the Irish would have to work with the Liberals, Healy reasoned. The conclusion was not the result of any discussion between Healy and Parnell, because Healy told Labouchere he had not seen Parnell for two weeks. Healy claimed to "know nothing of his [Parnell's] mind."[3] The 7 December letter was the beginning of a long and fruitless search by Healy to find some common ground on which to negotiate with Gladstone. Healy's letter apparently was in reply to one from Labouchere which stated that "the only man who could carry Home Rule was William Gladstone." The Radical M.P. urged Healy to "reason" with Parnell because the Tories "were tricking him."[4] Healy agreed to try; and, from the beginning, his reports led Labouchere to be optimistic about

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 113; Healy, I, p. 237.

[2]Thorold, p. 271.

[3]Ibid.

[4]B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 55 (dated 3 December).

the possibility of bringing about an alliance between Parnell and Gladstone.[1]

Healy's 7 December letter suggested strategy which the Irish and Liberals might use to oust the Tories. He found no difficulty in discarding his previous stance that a Home Rule Bill could not be passed into law by the Liberals because of the intransigence of the House of Lords. With Irish support, the Liberals could win a majority of 200 at the next election, Healy said, and the Lords could not afford to disregard such an overwhelming mandate. A corresponding majority on a Home Rule Bill division in Parliament meant, of course, a thoroughly united Liberal Party. Such unity, however, never would become a reality and Healy should have realized this. In concluding his letter, Healy said he completely agreed with Labouchere's optimism about Gladstone's plans for Ireland:

> Mr. Gladstone alone can settle the Irish question. He is the only man with head and heart for the task, and the only man who can reduce to decency the contemptible cads who so largely composed the last Liberal party.[2]

For the moment, at least, Healy's view was not endorsed by Parnell. Despite ominous signs from the Tories, the Irish leader refused to embrace the Liberals. The correspondence between Healy and Labouchere continued until Parliament opened. Both men were hopeful throughout this period,

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[1] Ibid., fol. 60.

[2] Thorold, p. 272.

although Healy constantly expressed concern that his role would be discovered.

Soon after he had praised Gladstone in the letter to Labouchere, Healy made his opinion widely known. In an interview for the press which appeared first in the Freeman's Journal on 14 December, Healy said Gladstone would settle the Irish Question. Asked whether he thought Gladstone, for political reasons, might oppose a Tory Home Rule scheme, Healy replied by stating the Liberal leader would not consider such an action:

> [I] think Mr. Gladstone takes a very high-minded view of the Irish question, and his anxiety as a statesman would be to look beyond party objects in order to promote peace and tranquility in Ireland.[1]

Also in the interview, Healy stated that he felt the newly-elected Parliament would be disolved and another general election held before the Irish Question was settled. And, as usual, Healy posed as the champion of the Irish party's goal of national unity. He said that the value of the party pledge was "that it warned off frauds, as only sincere Nationalists would be willing to accept the idea of discipline and sacrifice for the sake of the cause."[2] In the negotiations with Labouchere, Healy was acting alone and proving that he lacked the discipline he so forcefully

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[1] United Ireland, 19 December 1885.

[2] Ibid.

advocated. A few weeks later, his unwillingness to accept the principle of complete party discipline would become evident.

For his part, Labouchere used his weekly newspaper Truth to promote the advantages of an Irish-Liberal alliance. He also kept Healy informed of Herbert Gladstone's views, which certainly reflected his father's thinking.[1] Encouraged by what he heard, Healy on 10 December urged Labouchere to have the Liberals seek out Parnell and make some arrangement with him.[2] Labouchere did try to locate Parnell; but, after an unsuccessful search, he was told by Justin McCarthy that Parnell had "disappeared." The conversation with McCarthy led Labouchere to believe that such disappearances were frequent.[3] On 17 December, Parnell finally answered Labouchere's message, writing: "It would be better to await events, and see what attitude the two English Parties may take towards each other at the commencement of the new Parliament."[4] On the same day, Parnell wrote Healy and McCarthy that he had no faith in the Tories.[5]

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[1]Thorold, p. 273.

[2]Ibid., pp. 273-4.

[3]B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 74.

[4]Thorold, p. 275.

[5]R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 113; Healy, I, p. 237.

Healy heard of Parnell's reply to Labouchere on 19 December, in the course of a long discussion with the Radical M.P. in London. He also by this time had received Parnell's disgruntled opinion of his role in the past election. Dismayed by Parnell's unwillingness to negotiate with the Liberals, his lack of appreciation for a startling triumph at the polls, his neglect of party affairs because of Mrs. O'Shea, and his advocacy of Captain O'Shea's candidacy in Liverpool, Healy told Labouchere that the Irish leader was "half mad."[1] Labouchere's version of the interview offers a picture of an incensed Healy determined to go forward with negotiations on his own, despite the reticence of Parnell:

> It is quite as well that he [Parnell] should keep away. I am in a position to arrange everything. I have seen McCarthy, Harrington, O'Brien and Dillon. We are prepared to accept Mr. Gladstone's view [on Irish Home Rule, carried in the London press, 17 and 18 December 1885], provided that we can agree upon details. . . . Parnell is half mad--to tell the truth, we settle everything almost always, and he accepts it. We are going to form a "Cabinet." This Cabinet will be really chosen by me and by the men I have mentioned. If Parnell does object to anything, which he will not, we will vote him down.[2]

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[1]In versions of the interview sent to both Chamberlain and Herbert Gladstone, Labouchere attributed the same term to Healy. See Thorold, p. 276, and B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 85.

[2]Ibid. The report to Chamberlain is not as detailed as the one sent to Herbert Gladstone.

Members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Healy said, would "absolutely" accept the decisions of the "Cabinet." Quite naturally, Healy emphasized that the negotiations must be totally secret, commenting that Parnell must not know "what steps have been taken to corner him."[1] In a redundant comment in his cover letter, Labouchere told Herbert Gladstone that "there seems to be a good deal of ill feeling between Parnell and followers." Trying to understand the love-hate relationship of Healy and the others with Parnell, Labouchere concluded that despite their respect, "in their hearts, they dislike and rather despise him."

If Labouchere had any doubts as to the reasons Parnell supported O'Shea in Liverpool, Healy erased them with his comments. Engaging in some gossip, Healy told Labouchere that one of the Irish political hierarchy had exclaimed during a row over the Liverpool election that "we are not all under Kitty O'Shea."[2] Healy then suggested that the romance was over and that there was "a new Venus in the ascendent," someone that Parnell might have married secretly. Obviously, such gossip was wishful thinking or a planned ploy, because, as Healy must have known, it was quite untrue. The comments made by Healy, nevertheless, illustrated that Parnell's

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[1]B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 85.

[2]Ibid.

romance was an important topic of discussion among the major Irish politicians. Parnell must have known their sentiments and realized that there was grave political ramifications involved if his relationship with Mrs. O'Shea ever became public knowledge.

As Labouchere understood matters, Healy wanted terms from Gladstone, not from the Liberal Party. Healy's major concern was the need for assurances that Westminster would not have a veto over legislation passed by an Irish Parliament. Hopeful that the issue could be resolved, Labouchere instructed Herbert Gladstone on how to deal with Healy: "Don't forget that he is an Irishman, and is not adverse to being praised. He particularly values this, when he thinks that it emanates from Mr. Gladstone."[1] The veto, Labouchere suggested, might be exercised by the Queen on the advice of a reconstructed Privy Council. The new members of the Council, he commented, might be "of the Healy kind."[2]

In return for Gladstone's advocacy of Irish Home Rule in the face of certain opposition by Whigs, Radicals, the

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[1] Ibid. In a letter to Gladstone on 13 August 1888, Healy commented on an anticipated visit by telling the Liberal leader: "I will say that I have known no such honor in my life." B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44787, fol. 161. On 12 October, 1890, Healy closed a letter to Gladstone by saying, "with profound respects and prayers for your health and happiness." B.M., Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44511, fol. 81.

[2] Ibid.

Tories, and the House of Lords, Healy promised that "we would regard ourselves as members of the Liberal party."[1] Labouchere was delighted with the interview and the opportunity to play a major role in the private negotiations. He told Herbert Gladstone that the "G.O.M. will own the Irish vote" if he comes to an understanding with Healy. Herbert Gladstone immediately replied to Labouchere, following the Radical M.P.'s advice about Healy by commenting that his father was "much interested in Healy's view . . . for he had not forgotten his mastery of the Irish Land Bill."[2] To ease the fear of both Healy and Labouchere, Herbert categorically denied that his father was negotiating with Parnell.[3] But the former Prime Minister's position had not altered; he would not speak out on the Irish Question until the Tory Government made known its plan for Ireland.[4] For Healy, Herbert Gladstone's sometimes ambiguous, yet always unyielding statements about the veto must have been discouraging.

Labouchere, with amazing dexterity, kept up his communications with Healy, Chamberlain, Herbert Gladstone, and

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[1]Thorold, p. 277.

[2]B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 99.

[3]Healy had told Labouchere that if it were ever learned he was negotiating privately "it would ruin me with my party." Ibid., fol. 85.

[4]B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 116.

Lord Randolph Churchill. Each correspondent was the beneficiary of information gleaned by the Radical M.P. from the other, often unsuspecting correspondents. Healy's pique at the Liberals' failure to approve his terms, for example, certainly was transmitted quickly to Herbert Gladstone and Chamberlain, two persons whom Healy knew were being contacted by Labouchere. Healy wrote that "a while in the cold" would do the Liberal Party good and maintained that the Irish would be "a thorn--aye, a bayonet in your sides."[1] He warned Labouchere that those who refused to let Gladstone run the Liberal Party, especially regarding Ireland, "will have to take Mr. Parnell to-morrow [as leader], for assuredly things cannot rest as they are."[2] It is quite clear that Healy had intended the warning for Chamberlain, who did not accept Healy's view of the role of the Imperial Parliament. Chamberlain's support, of course, was vital if the Liberals were to force the House of Lords to acquiesce on a Home Rule measure. "If they [the Irish M.P.'s] refuse control of the Imperial Parliament, there is really nothing left but separation," Chamberlain wrote on 24 December.[3] His opinion never wavered; and, seven months later, his opposition killed Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. In particular, Chamberlain was concerned about the influence of American Fenians over an Irish

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[1]Thorold, p. 283 (letter of 23 December).

[2]Ibid., p. 285.

[3]Ibid., p. 287.

Parliament,[1] a matter which Healy frequently had sought to de-emphasize.[2] On one occasion, Healy declared to Labouchere that "you people will not realize that we are moderate men."[3] He then suggested an Irish Parliament be given power to classify American Fenians as aliens and throw them out of the country. Irish parliamentarians, Healy promised, would "deal" with any separatist movement in Ireland.[4]

Failing to achieve any tangible results in private channels, Healy and Labouchere next collaborated on the composition of a letter intended for publication which would contain the "minimum" the Irish would accept in any Home Rule measure. From Dublin, Healy sent Labouchere "a lot of notes" from which to construct the letter.[5] In a Christmas Day letter, Healy made it clear that if a united Liberal Party did not take up the cause of Home Rule, the best policy for the Irish was a "waiting game."[6] This policy coincided with Parnell's viewpoint at that time,[7] but Healy was not certain

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[1] Ibid., p. 288.

[2] Ibid., pp. 274 and 284.

[3] B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 85.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., fol. 118.

[6] Thorold, p. 290.

[7] Curtis, p. 76.

of just what Parnell was thinking. He remained quite worried that Parnell would learn of his negotiations with the Liberals. Healy especially fretted over the possibility that Parnell was negotiating secretly with Gladstone, and that Gladstone might be "using the views of others with Parnell."[1] In fact, during this period, there was a constant flow of letters between Mrs. O'Shea, speaking for Parnell, and Gladstone. Unaware of this, Healy nevertheless threatened to terminate the negotiations, causing Labouchere to write Herbert Gladstone that "this is evidently weighing on his mind," and to urge that "something clear" be said to "dispell distrust."[2] Apparently Gladstone did not betray Healy to Parnell.

On 24 December, Labouchere's newspaper said Gladstone was "prepared to deal with the Irish question in a bold and generous spirit, should he have the opportunity."[3] On 26 December, the letter containing the Irish "minimum" was mailed to the Times; on 28 December, it appeared with Labouchere's name under the heading, "What the Parnellites would accept." After a lengthy defense of the policy of the Irish M.P.'s, the letter listed specifics on ministers, the Viceroy, the House of Commons, protection of minorities (i.e., Protestants) and the question of a veto by Westminster. The veto,

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[1] B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 122.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Truth, 24 December 1885.

the letter stated, would be reserved for the Viceroy, with the consent of a reconstructed Privy Council. In the summation, Labouchere stated that there was a parliamentary deadlock, and the experiment of federalization had to be tried or "we will embark in a career of what practically amounts to war between the two islands." Pointing out that the Conservatives were not planning to bring in measures dealing with Irish Home Rule, Labouchere concluded by saying: "I turn therefore to Mr. Gladstone." Truth, of course, reiterated Labouchere's points in a leading article, saying Ireland "must either be a Canada, or a Poland."[1] The letter was praised in the Irish Nationalist press,[2] with Parnell's newspaper, United Ireland, commenting: "The scheme of Home Rule which Mr. Labouchere has communicated to the Times is a singular proof with what facility a workable plan can be devised by any clever man who sits down to think it out."[3] Healy, in Dublin at the time, easily could have written the United Ireland article, for he believed the letter was "an accurate description" of his views.[4] He wrote Labouchere

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[1]Ibid., 31 December 1885.

[2]See, for example, the Freeman's Journal, 29 December 1885.

[3]United Ireland, 2 January 1886.

[4]B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 124.

that the final version was an improvement over his draft, and that it "ought to do much good."[1]

There was a sense of urgency in Healy's letters as the year 1885 came to a close; he obviously wanted some definite signal from the silent Gladstone. On 27 December, Labouchere asked that Gladstone communicate to the Irish his plan of action on the Queen's Address.[2] To emphasize the importance of his request, Labouchere pointedly remarked that Healy and his "secret committee" were the "real directors" of the Irish party.[3] Gladstone would not become involved, however, and Healy was informed through Labouchere that the Liberal Prime Minister would recognize only one channel of communication with the Irish and that, obviously, was Parnell.[4] Unceremoniously, Herbert Gladstone informed Labouchere and Healy that further communications would be in vain:

> Given the facts that the Irish Question must be taken up and thoroughly dealt with and that the Irish party wish to settle it honorably and fairly, no sane man would wish to do anything to break up or weaken that party whose unity would be essential to the working out of lasting settlement.[5]

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[1] Thorold, p. 302 (letter of 30 December).

[2] B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 124.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., fol. 130.

[5] Ibid.

There was to be no commitment by Gladstone, either to Healy or Chamberlain. Herbert Gladstone, in reply to Chamberlain's remarks forwarded by Labouchere, said matter-of-factly: "If the Liberal Party chooses to break up over an Irish Parliament it can't be helped."[1] Healy took the letter in stride, claiming he was "very glad to think Gladstone [the Prime Minister] is not being intimidated out of his position by the pitiless storm beating upon him."[2] But earlier he had made it quite clear that the Irish could wait "for we are used to it" and stated that "our people won't have any fraud of a bill made for the Whigs to swallow."[3]

Labouchere continued his attempts to influence Chamberlain toward Healy's views, but Chamberlain would not be moved. "We shall be smashed because the country is not prepared for Home Rule," Chamberlain wrote on 3 January.[4] Thus, Healy was concerned rightly about Chamberlain's influence in a Liberal Government in that he (Chamberlain) might water down any Home Rule measure, making it unacceptable to the Irish.[5]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Thorold, pp. 302-3.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 307.

[5] Ibid., p. 309.

After the first of the year, Herbert Gladstone made contact with Healy through a personal emissary rather than through Labouchere. Writing from the Imperial Hotel, Dublin, the emissary, John MacDonald, wrote to the son of the Liberal Prime Minister that, "I have seen Mr. Healy, and arranged with his assistance a plan of operations."[1] MacDonald also was introduced to T.D. Sullivan, Dublin's Lord Mayor, publisher of the Nation, and Healy's uncle, as well as other Irish politicians. The purpose of the mission, however, is not known because, three days after the rendezvous, Healy wrote Labouchere in the same vein as before: there would be no overt Irish action to turn out the Tories without a modus vivendi with Gladstone.[2] A week later, Healy stated that Gladstone's speeches "aren't good enough guarantee for the Irish to make a decision."[3] He added: "No, we prefer instead of having to put you out, not to let you get in, until there's a straightforward arrangement made."[4] Healy also had decided that the time had come to sever his clandestine connection with Labouchere:

> If anything is to be done now, you had better see Parnell. I do not want him to suppose that I have been trespassing on his position as our

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[1] B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 143.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., fol. 151.

[4] Thorold, p. 313.

> leader, and now the time has come, if he is to be approached at all, for some communication to reach him otherwise than through me.[1]

Healy, however, could not resist the temptation to influence events which he felt would benefit Ireland. Returning to London for the opening of Parliament, he gave Labouchere his version of the Irish political meeting which had preceded the return of the Irish M.P.'s to London for the opening of Parliament.[2] Several factors were involved. Healy and the Irish M.P.'s knew of Carnarvon's impending departure from Ireland and that a new coercion proposal was likely.[3] Thus, the Irish would soon be forced to act, although Parnell still had not been persuaded to come to an agreement with Gladstone. Parnell still feared a Liberal cabinet which contained Chamberlain, Ireland's erstwhile friend, and Hartington, the coercion-loving Whig leader.[4] Parnell therefore planned for the Irish to react to Tory actions in Parliament as they came up; the Liberals would have to make their own decisions regarding their relationship with the Irish M.P.'s. Healy, therefore, in his report

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[1] Ibid.

[2] B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 159.

[3] United Ireland, 16 January 1886.

[4] On 16 January 1882, the Freeman's Journal, in an article by its special parliamentary correspondent, said the reasons for helping return the Liberals to power without a pledge would have to be "overwhelming." Conor Cruise O'Brien (p. 164) believed Healy wrote the article, but he does not state any reasons for this view.

to Labouchere, pointed out that "the Irish will not stand their 86 champions sitting still."[1] He said he thought he could get his party to follow Gladstone's lead even without an understanding between the two party leaders, and again encouraged the ousting of the Tories on a "bye issue" rather than on the Irish Question. He also reminded the Liberals that the National League was a moderating influence on the people who still had great grievances on the land issue.[2] Healy was implying that agrarian violence could be unleashed if the League were discredited.

Parliament opened on 21 January. Healy arrived a day or two earlier after a legal battle with Parnell's North Louth adversary Philip Callan.[3] The Tories wasted no time in showing their views on Ireland. In the second paragraph of the Queen's Address, it was noted that there were attempts in Ireland "to excite the people of Ireland to hostility against the legislative union between the country and Great Britain."[4] The Queen stated that steps would be taken to terminate the "excitement": "I am resolutely opposed to any

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[1]B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 159.

[2]Ibid.

[3]United Ireland, 23 January 1886. Callan sought to quash the election of Parnell's candidate Joseph Nolan on a technicality. He failed.

[4]Annual Register (1886), p. 12.

disturbance of that fundamental law [i.e. the Union], and in resisting it I am convinced that I shall be heartily supported by my parliament and my people."[1] In the debate which followed, Gladstone expressed sympathy for Ireland's cause, but would only refer to his vague manifesto issued in September. In reply, Parnell made a very moderate statement, praising Gladstone and saying that the question of a separate Parliament and unity of the empire could be solved if the House approached the problem with Gladstone's "spirit and the same largeness of views."[2] On the second night of debate, Thomas Sexton attacked the Tories for deliberately avoiding statements during the election which could be construed as opposition to a settlement of the Irish Question. The Attorney-General for Ireland replied, saying that the Nationalists had sought election to Parliament by preaching separatism.[3]

On the third night of debate, Monday, 25 January, the Government barely survived a division (211 to 183) on a measure dealing with agriculture.[4] It was, no doubt, considered a good vehicle by the Irish for ousting the Tories,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 18.

[3] Ibid., p. 21.

[4] Ibid., p. 23.

but no attempt was made by the Liberal leadership to have their M.P.'s on hand for the vote. Several unnamed "Irish Lieutenants" came to Labouchere to complain and express their fear that the Government might survive another agricultural vote.[1] The Liberals, of course, would be under no obligation to discuss their views on Irish Home Rule on an agriculture issue, and if they successfully ousted the Tories on the issue, it would prevent the Tories going out of office with the cry that "law and order" in Ireland was threatened.

On 26 January, the Government gave notice that it planned to introduce a bill designed to suppress the National League and "other dangerous associations" in Ireland.[2] A vote on the agricultural issue followed and the Government was defeated soundly although twenty Whigs voted with the Tories. Seventy-four Irish Nationalists voted against the Government which was ousted by seventy-nine votes, 331 to 252. There were, however, seventy-six Liberal absentees and the Irish M.P.'s knew such a defection meant trouble for Irish legislation in the future. United Ireland expressed concern that Gladstone might not be able to form a Government.[3] In fact,

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[1]B.M., Herbert Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 46015, fol. 170. Jesse Collings, an ally of Chamberlain's, proposed the measure.

[2]Annual Register (1886), p. 25. It had taken the new Viceroy, W.H. Smith, only forty-eight hours in Ireland to decide a coercive measure was necessary.

[3]United Ireland, 30 January 1886.

Gladstone could not persuade Hartington to join, but he did form a Government; Chamberlain accepted a cabinet post as President of the Local Government Board. The crucial appointment was that of Irish Chief Secretary, and Gladstone's nomination of John Morley, a Radical intellectual committed to Irish Home Rule, pleased United Ireland:

> It is inconceivable that a man of his rank should accept such a Grecian gift unless he knew that he is coming to Ireland to arrange for the transfer of power to native rulers. Having a high respect for his character and abilities, we would deeply deplore his fate as a politician if he consented to accept the office on any less clear and resolute terms.[1]

The Times concurred--but in dismay--when it commented on the Morley appointment:

> It would be impossible to overestimate the political significance of the selection of Mr. Morley, remarkable as it is in many aspects. The Irish policy of the new Cabinet is thus proclaimed to be a Home Rule policy in the largest sense, and Mr. Morley is chosen by the leader of the Liberal Party to undertake the task of carrying it through. . . . Mr. Morley's policy is well known, and he is not the man to disavow in office the principles he has advocated in opposition. All supporters of the Union, whether they call themselves Liberals or Conservatives, will be entitled and, indeed, bound to challenge the conduct of these distinguished politicians by contesting the seats they will vacate when they formally accept office under Mr. Gladstone.[2]

It was then, against this backdrop of Irish optimism and British political upheaval that the drama of the Galway by-election took place. Healy, who at great political risk

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[1]Ibid., 6 February 1886.

[2]Times, 3 February 1886.

had negotiated in vain for an Irish settlement with Gladstone, was about to set in motion events which threatened to destroy the need for any British political leader to deal with Ireland's demand for self-government. But an astute politician like Healy realized what he was doing. There was, however, a principle at stake, and Healy believed that he and other Irish political leaders could not ignore it despite possible disastrous consequences.

CHAPTER IV

THE GALWAY ELECTION

December and January were agonizing months for Parnell. He could not put off the insistent O'Shea despite his belief that supporting O'Shea in an Irish election "will be such a shock to my own men that they'll not be the same again."[1] In addition, he had been told of Callan's threat to discuss publicly "the lady in London."[2] When finally forced to make a decision regarding the vacancy in Galway, Parnell promised Mrs. O'Shea that he would force her husband "down their [the Irish M.P.'s] throats. . . . It will cost me the confidence of the party, but that much he [O'Shea] shall have, and I shall be done with his talk of pledges."[3]

By this time, Parnell also had decided on an official explanation for his imminent action. He tested it by suggesting in a 24 December letter to E.D. Gray, that he (Parnell) might support O'Shea in Galway if the Irish M.P.'s could be

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[1] O'Shea, II, p. 99.

[2] Ibid., p. 203 (letter of 15 January).

[3] Ibid., p. 100. Captain O'Shea refused to take the party pledge required of Nationalist candidates.

persuaded that O'Shea had genuine influence with Chamberlain.[1] Parnell's proposition clearly was contrived:

> You inform me, however, that Chamberlain is very adversely disposed towards the plan of Irish self-government attributed to Mr. Gladstone, and that you fear his opposition may be fatal to the settlement and the absence of his good-will may render it extremely difficult. You seem to intimate that O'Shea's influence upon Chamberlain, if it were exercised, might be of service, and I do not know how far I correctly interpret your letter in supposing it to suggest that if some hope of Galway were held out to the former this influence might be exercised. Under these circumstances do you think I should be justified in saying to you that if you can induce the leading members of the party to tolerate O'Shea's unpledged candidature for Galway neither would I oppose it? If you think so, it would be well for you to see O'Shea yourself soon, and try to restore his good-humour before his visit to Chamberlain.[2]

Gray was not fooled and he replied on 26 December that "there is only one way of doing it [running O'Shea unpledged in Galway] in my opinion--for you openly to take the responsibility."[3]

On 22 January, the day after the opening of the new Parliament, Chamberlain agreed to support O'Shea's bid for an Irish seat.[4] Parnell probably was shown the letter

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[1]T.W. Moody, "Parnell and the Galway Election of 1885," Irish Historical Studies, IX, pp. 332-3. Professor Moody of Trinity College, Dublin, stated that Parnell made "a plausible case" to justify support of O'Shea on political grounds.

[2]Ibid., p. 333.

[3]Ibid., p. 334-5.

[4]Garvin, II, p. 382.

Chamberlain wrote to O'Shea stating: "Surely it must be to the interest of the Irish party to keep open channels of communication with the Liberal leaders?"[1] The necessity of maintaining Chamberlain's good will, therefore, would serve as Parnell's only argument in favor of O'Shea's candidacy in Galway. Yet, it must have occurred to Parnell that a major challenge to his candidate in the election possibly could bring his affair with Mrs. O'Shea into the open. Nevertheless, he was willing to chance the destruction of all his efforts for Home Rule on the hope that nothing would be said.

Parnell did not even take steps to reduce the possibility of disaster in Galway. Unwilling to face the negative responses of his parliamentary colleagues, he avoided discussing the matter with his key lieutenants. Thus, he failed to take the basic political step of testing the cohesiveness of his organization prior to making a decision bound to create considerable internal controversy. Parnell was aware that the party contained a number of volatile individuals who passionately hated O'Shea and who would see support of the Liberal as a betrayal of the Irish people. If he had taken the time, or if he had had the courage, Parnell might have defused the issue in private conversations with members of the party's hierarchy. An astute politician would not have blundered so badly.

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[1] Ibid.

On 1 February in Parliament, when John Redmond moved the issuance of a writ for election in Galway[1] Parnell knew he could not keep his decision quiet much longer. On 5 February, Parnell confided in T.P. O'Connor, the M.P. for Galway.[2] O'Connor recalled that "my blood ran cold. I saw the disastrous consequence which must follow."[3] In telling of his encounter with O'Connor, the Irish leader wrote to Mrs. O'Shea that "we won't mind Queenie, if it leads to worry and fuss." Then, he added with a laugh: "You should have seen his face, My Queen; he looked as if I had dropped him into an ice-pit."[4] The dismayed O'Connor, who already had handpicked a local candidate, hurried to see Biggar at the Hotel Metropole. Biggar's response "was prompt and uncompromising," O'Connor recalled. Biggar said O'Shea must be opposed "at all costs."[5] The two men then left for Dublin to consult Healy and other parliamentary colleagues. On 6 February, United Ireland announced that warrants authorizing the issue of writs for by-elections in Galway borough and Ossory Division of the Queen's county had been received in Dublin. The election was imminent.

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 2 February 1886.

[2] Moody, Irish Historical Studies, IX, p. 322.

[3] O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 94.

[4] O'Shea, II, p. 100.

[5] O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 94.

O'Connor maintained that he hoped to persuade Parnell not to support O'Shea publicly, but that he (O'Connor) believed it "would be highly hazardous, if not disastrous" to oppose O'Shea's candidacy when it was endorsed by Parnell.[1] Even if O'Connor truly had wanted to persuade Parnell to desert O'Shea, he was too late, because Parnell obviously had set the wheels in motion for the Galway election. The opinions of the party leadership had been neither solicited nor wanted; candidate O'Shea was a special person from the beginning.

When Healy was told of Parnell's decision in a telegram from O'Connor which he received in Dublin the night of 5 February, events began to move toward a clash between Ireland's two most prominent public figures.[2] In his memoirs, Healy recalled that the telegram hit like a "thunderbolt," and well it must have. According to Healy, O'Connor suggested resigning in protest if Parnell insisted on O'Shea and he agreed to the plan.[3] Another telegram from O'Connor before he left London directed Healy to see Gray at the Freeman's Journal.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The two men were considered an almost invincible team by many in Ireland and England. For example, the Pall Mall Gazette had suggested only a week earlier that Parnell be made Chief Secretary for Ireland and that Healy be appointed Attorney-General. See issues of 27, 29 and 30 January.

[3] Healy, I, p. 239.

"An article to-morrow [mentioning O'Shea's candidacy] would kill the whole thing," the telegram read.[1] Still another O'Connor telegram directed Healy: "Beg Gray insert nothing in to-morrow's paper to help intrigue."[2] By the time this telegram arrived, Healy had informed three other key Irish M.P.'s, Dr. Joseph Kenny, William O'Brien, and Thomas Sexton. The news must have shocked all of them, for the Irish politicians had been led to believe that O'Connor's candidate in Galway had the party's blessing. The 3 February Freeman's Journal reported in an article from Galway that O'Connor planned to arrive in Galway on Friday to call a meeting of Nationalists to nominate Michael Lynch, T.C. Clearly, Parnell had done nothing to prepare his colleagues for the shocking news of O'Shea's candidacy. Those in the Nationalist camp were so completely unaware of Parnell's plan that the Freeman's Journal stated on 3 February that Lynch "has the approval of Mr. Parnell and the party, and is a very popular local man."[3] The next day, the newspaper's Galway correspondent wrote that nomination would take place on Monday, 8 February, and the polling on Thursday. Then he blandly stated: "There is nothing to add in addition to the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 3 February 1886.

announcement made yesterday regarding the successor of Mr. O'Connor."[1]

After talking with his colleagues on the evening of 5 February, Healy immediately composed a letter to the Freeman's Journal protesting against O'Shea's still-unannounced candidacy. Healy used strong terms for a public letter criticizing a decision by Parnell. In the letter, he assumed O'Shea had agreed to take the pledge and he portrayed O'Shea as having made a "deathbed" repentance which should "at once be questioned."[2] It can only be imagined what Healy might have written if he had known that Parnell was supporting O'Shea even though he had not taken the Nationalist pledge.

Gray would not consider challenging Parnell, and Healy's letter was not printed in the Freeman's Journal. At 4 a.m. on 6 February, Gray received an election address from O'Shea which claimed Parnell's support.[3] When Biggar and O'Connor arrived at Healy's home early in the morning of 6 February, the Freeman's Journal, already on the streets, carried O'Shea's address. O'Connor, therefore, refused to go any

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[1] Ibid., 4 February 1886. Healy's memoirs (I, pp. 238-9) are incorrect regarding the original Galway candidate. He said Thomas Quinn was O'Connor's handpicked choice and that a man named Kennedy was a compromise choice selected after Parnell's plan was learned.

[2] Healy, I, p. 240.

[3] Ibid.

further with his challenge of Parnell's leadership while Healy was undecided about what to do. Neither seriously considered resigning; however, Healy wrote that Biggar appealed to him to go with him to Galway. "I could not refuse," Healy stated.[1] O'Connor, however, said Healy persuaded Biggar to go with him.[2] Whatever the case, at 9 a.m. on 6 February, Biggar and Healy were on the train to Galway despite their failure to receive any support from their colleagues. Still, they could hope for help from their stunned colleagues who remained noncommittal. No one but O'Brien had come out strongly against opposing O'Shea. Obviously, Parnell was vulnerable at this point. According to O'Connor, O'Brien said that a collision with Parnell at this time was "midsummer madness."[3] O'Brien's "instinctive repulsion" for O'Shea was similar to Healy's but he said in

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[1] Ibid. A conflict similar to the one which developed in Galway between Parnell and Healy took place in County Tipperary in January, 1885, where the local Nationalists rejected the National League's official candidate (according to William O'Brien, Healy picked the candidate). See O'Brien's Evening Memories, p. 66. Instead, they picked a popular local man. Parnell refused to accept the decision of the county convention, called another, and forced it to approve the League's candidate. See Annual Register (1885), p. 192. A few months before the County Tipperary fiasco, Healy, too, had insisted on loyalty from a local organization. Healy appeared at Lismore on 24 August 1884 to praise J. Douglas Pine who stepped aside for P.J. Powers, the sanctioned candidate. Healy promised Pine a seat at a later date. See Freeman's Journal, 25 August 1884.

[2] O'Connor, Memoirs, II, pp. 95-6.

[3] Ibid.

his memoirs he would not threaten "the fate of the Irish cause for our generation [which] was trembling in the balance."[1] In a 7 February letter to John Dillon who had refused either to support or oppose Healy, O'Brien expressed his feelings:

> Your feelings and ours about O'S are, of course the same--loathing. So is our feeling about the infamous way in which P. had put him forward and slighted the party. The question was, in the special circumstances of the moment, whether we should swallow O'Shea or utterly destroy our movement and party at its brightest moment for a personal reason which we could not even explain. It was a most bitter and scandalous alternative, but it seemed to us an alternative between accepting an odious personality and chaos. We were all thoroughly in favour of terrorising Parnell by every means short of public scandal.[2]

O'Brien and others were pressing both Parnell and Healy to give way on O'Shea. Neither man would. O'Brien said that "all possible means short of open revolt" were tried on Parnell, but they failed. He concluded the letter to Dillon by saying: "He [Parnell] is plainly bound by some influence he cannot resist."[3]

Except for Healy and Biggar, the argument which stressed the need for party unity won over the seething Irish M.P.'s. The threat of a revolt collapsed with barely a murmur. Yet, Healy, who had fretted constantly that his secret negotiations

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[1]William O'Brien, Evening Memories, p. 104.

[2]Moody, Irish Historical Studies, IX, p. 327.

[3]Ibid.

with the Liberals might be discovered, threw all caution to the winds. His challenge to Parnell was either a reckless gamble for power or a matter of principle. Despite his intense feelings about O'Shea and Parnell's affair with Mrs. O'Shea, Healy certainly realized that if his revolt were successful, his colleagues would shun a man who had destroyed all they had worked for. In Galway, therefore, Healy's actions were those of a man who had tired of continually propping up an ungrateful and often unconcerned leader; it was time for all of Ireland to know what kind of man Parnell really was. Years of frustration for Healy would come to an end in Galway.

Healy would have little help in Galway. For example, the Freeman's Journal that Saturday morning had not only printed O'Shea's election statement; it also had printed a leading article defending Parnell's candidate. In commenting on O'Shea's assistance over the years to the Irish Nationalist cause, the newspaper was forced to rely on terms such as "he is credited," "he is also believed," and "it is said." The newspaper also stated: "In the present critical condition of Irish affairs no doubt the constituency and the public will attach full weight to the recommendation of Mr. Parnell, who has opportunities for judging the political situation not open to others."[1] Parnell obviously had

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 6 February 1886.

influenced this article. Healy maintained that Gray was "in telegraphic touch with Parnell "[1] that critical first evening and this does not appear unlikely. The leading article lists what O'Connor called all the "purely imaginary" services rended to Ireland by O'Shea.[2] What Healy did not know was that Gray, in Professor T.W. Moody's words, "was intimately involved in the whole affair behind the scenes from the time of O'Shea's retirement from Clare."[3] Thus, from the beginning, the Freeman's Journal put Healy on the defensive. Healy quickly realized this fact and, during the Galway campaign, he violently attacked the newspaper's role in promoting O'Shea's candidacy.

O'Shea's arrival in Galway, and the Freeman's Journal announcement of Parnell's support jolted and confused Nationalists there because, as one local newspaper noted: "Never perhaps in the history of the country was there an election looked forward to with less interest."[4] From a state of indifference everything in Galway changed in a matter of hours, because Parnell had become involved. The Galway Express

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[1]Healy, I, p. 240.

[2]O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 94.

[3]Moody, Irish Historical Studies, IX, p. 323.

[4]Galway Express, 13 February 1886.

claimed: "We held not only the future of the Irish Party, but the destinies of our Empire in our hands."[1]

Before leaving Dublin, Healy and Biggar sent Lynch a telegram urging him to "postpone committing" himself until they arrived at 2:30 p.m.[2] Lynch and some friends met the two M.P.'s at the station, and the group then proceeded to the Railway Hotel. Almost immediately, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Carr, Bishop of Galway, called on Healy.[3] Perhaps the Bishop already had been contacted by Parnell, but just what he hoped to accomplish in the interview with Healy is not known. If the Bishop sought to dissuade Healy from continuing his revolt, he obviously failed.

Captain O'Shea and Colonel Joseph Nolan, a Nationalist M.P. chosen by Parnell to conduct O'Shea's campaign, had arrived in Galway two and one-half hours before Healy and Biggar.[4] Certainly, Healy's arrival must have stunned O'Shea, for he considered Healy to be one of his "bitterest enemies."[5] O'Shea, however, could take courage in the fact that his

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Galway Vindicator, 6 February 1886.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 8 February 1886.

[4] Galway Vindicator, 6 and 10 February 1886. T.W. Moody's timetable published in Irish Historical Studies, IX, p. 322, stated that O'Shea and Nolan arrived on 5 February.

[5] Moody, Irish Historical Studies, IX, p. 331.

candidacy was receiving strong public backing outside of Galway because of Parnell's endorsement. Telegrams from party and League officials urging Healy and Biggar to withdraw streamed into Galway.[1]

Hoping to terminate the revolt quickly, Parnell used his trump card without hesitation. In a 6 February telegram from party Whip J. Deasy to party members via Gray, Parnell pointed out Chamberlain's special interest in O'Shea's election and then stated he would resign if O'Shea were beaten:

> Parnell telegraphs following to Gray: 'Advise friends that I have promised, if certain person [Chamberlain] adopted his Chief's views regarding Irish Government, O'Shea should have my strongest support. I consequently feel bound if not returned to resign my seat. Ask friends if under these circumstances feel desire to see me.'[2]

Chamberlain certainly was interested in O'Shea's candidacy for he knew of the love affair which made Parnell especially vulnerable.[3] He also knew of Healy's discontent and he could not help but be interested in the possibility of a party split.[4] However, all evidence indicates that Chamberlain made no bargain with Parnell.[5]

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[1]Healy, I, pp. 241-6.

[2]Ibid., pp. 243-4. The telegram is apparently misdated by Healy as 8 February. He replied to the telegram on 6 February.

[3]Moody, Irish Historical Studies, IX, p. 329.

[4]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 175-6.

[5]Ibid., p. 173.

Biggar and Healy were not impressed with Parnell's argument about Chamberlain's interest, nor were they frightened by Parnell's threat to resign. They replied in separate telegrams to Gray. Biggar's reply was strongly worded and direct: "I cannot believe Parnell can have wired such rubbish. Surely he's not insane. Nothing could tempt me to support such a wretch as O'Shea."[1] He concluded: "In speaking tomorrow we will be studiously temperate and will give no cause of offence."[2] Biggar obviously knew that Gray would understand that his words referred to Mrs. O'Shea. Biggar kept his promise.[3]

Healy's reply rejected Parnell's threat to resign because, if it were to be taken seriously, it would mean "that every time he [Parnell] wanted to do wrong he need only make this threat."[4] Healy stated that Parnell should have consulted the party when O'Shea demanded the previous November that Parnell procure him a seat in Parliament. Then, Healy clearly challenged Parnell's continued control of the party:

> Instead of this [consultation with the party leadership], the thing [O'Shea's demand] is dodged to the end and when he sees it is a failure he talks of resigning. I regret I am not able to choose suitable words to clothe my idea

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[1]Moody, Irish Historical Studies, IX, p. 336.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., pp. 324-5.

[4]Ibid., p. 336.

> of his proposed action just now in the hurry and I therefore merely say that I will stand by Biggar in the right rather than by Parnell in the wrong.[1]

In a postscript, Healy scoffed at the idea that O'Shea had influence with the Liberal Cabinet.[2]

At Dublin's Imperial Hotel, in the absence of Parnell, the influential members of the party huddled and fretted about Healy's actions. He had placed them in an extremely uncomfortable position.[3] On Sunday, 7 February, Healy and Biggar opened their attack on O'Shea's candidacy in Galway. Biggar in specific terms privately informed political leaders in Galway why Parnell was supporting O'Shea instead of the local Nationalist candidate. Healy's comments were more restrained, according to an observer:

> Mr. Biggar from the moment of his arrival was making no secret of the cause of the candidature of O'Shea. 'The candidate's wife is Parnell's mistress and there is nothing more to be said' were the words frequently on his lips. Mr. Healy said nothing, but Lynch [the local Nationalist candidate] told me on the evening of the day upon which Healy and Biggar arrived [6 February 1886] that he took Healy into a quiet corner and asked him what in the name of heaven was the cause of the contest? Healy replied: 'it has its entire origin in a woman of evil character and is an abominable scandal'. Mr. Healy

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 337.

[3] O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 96-7.

> made no other direct reference to the selection of Capt. O'Shea, either in public or private so far as I could gather.[1]

Professor T.W. Moody's contention that there was no hint of Mrs. O'Shea's relationship with Parnell in public speeches is noteworthy, because it usually is assumed that the campaign against Captain O'Shea included references to Parnell's affair.[2] On one occasion, according to Moody's evidence, Healy directly threatened to open the issue. He called out to O'Shea at a public meeting on 7 February: "We may yet have to raise other issues in this election and we shall not fear to do so before we allow the honour of Galway to be besmirched."[3] The threat was not carried out, however. Dr. Moody pointed out that O'Shea was supported by the local Catholic clergy; and, to the bishop and a kinsman priest, he denied the charge made privately that Parnell and his wife were lovers. O'Shea could not have held the clergy's support if the issue had become public knowledge.[4] No newspaper reported that Biggar or Healy mentioned a scandal involving Parnell; thus, Biggar's promise that he would be "studiously

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[1]Moody, Irish Historical Studies, IX, p. 324-5. Quotation taken from narrative of John Muldoon, a medical student who also reported for a Galway newspaper.

[2]Ibid., pp. 325-6.

[3]Ibid., p. 326.

[4]Ibid.

temperate" was kept. Healy had some difficulty being temperate and on one occasion he titilated an audience of Lynch supporters: "The issue is knit. It is one about which I could say a great deal more than I choose to say here today."[1]

On Sunday, 7 February--the first day of public campaigning--Healy unleashed a scathing attack on O'Shea and the Freeman's Journal before 200 Nationalist residents gathered in the town's main square. There were no clergy among the enthusiastic crowd, an irony which Healy surely noted. Healy also was concerned by his failure to get Colonel Nolan to guarantee that O'Shea would take the party pledge.[2] Frustrated by the solid combination of support for O'Shea, Healy lashed out at the Freeman's Journal, claiming it supported "the Government candidate." He also charged that the party had not approved O'Shea's candidacy and said that he believed every member "would cut off his hand before giving any support" to O'Shea.[3] The endorsement of O'Shea by the Freeman's Journal particularly irritated Healy, because the information carried in the newspaper concerning O'Shea's role in Irish politics over the previous five years was fallacious. Without mentioning Parnell's name, Healy hammered away at O'Shea's

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 8 February 1886, quoted in Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 179, n. 3.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 8 February 1886.

[3]Ibid.

failure to win the party's endorsement. If there had been a party vote favoring O'Shea, Healy said he would be supporting O'Shea. Then he added: "Under these circumstances, I consider we are completely justified in appearing and supporting the people of Galway in their choice of their present candidate [Lynch]."[1] Healy said he placed his faith in the Irish people's ability to see the justice of his cause and promised his full support to Lynch, "a true Nationalist." The Nationalist gathering quickly and enthusiastically nominated Lynch, and then condemned Colonel Nolan's support of O'Shea. Parnell's power must not have seemed so awesome to Healy and Biggar at this moment. But they could savour only briefly this moment of triumph; a powerful counterattack was about to be launched against them and their candidate.

Departing from usual procedure, the telegraph office in Galway remained open on Sunday so that the feuding Irish politicians could continue to negotiate.[2] Despite their unanimous loathing of O'Shea, the Irish M.P.'s in Dublin sent messages urging Healy and Biggar to withdraw their opposition. Telegrams from Parnell to Lynch and Biggar urged them to withdraw from the fray.[3] The one to Lynch had an ominous tone. It

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Irish Times, 9 February 1886. Healy asserted in his memoirs (I, p. 242) that the Government assisted Parnell in arranging for special service.

[3] Healy, I, p. 242.

stated in part: "the responsibility resting upon you or anybody else who attempts to weaken my power and influence at present juncture will be grave."[1] Healy, however, was not contacted. He did help Biggar frame a negative reply to Parnell's telegram, stating: "The O'Sheas will be your ruin."[2]

Throughout Sunday, Healy and Biggar wrote messages to O'Shea in an attempt to persuade him to withdraw.[3] O'Shea, waiting for Parnell's arrival in Galway, saw no reason to discuss the matter.

On Monday, Healy's speech of the previous day was published in detail in the Freeman's Journal while Biggar's speech to the same audience was ignored. To those who closely followed politics in Ireland, it was obvious that Healy had attacked Parnell's leadership directly even though his remarks had not been specific. To many horrified Irish Nationalists, the humiliation of their leader by a rebellious colleague signalled grave consequences, perhaps even the loss of Home Rule which had appeared so imminent prior to the Galway election. They realized they had to illustrate to the nation, therefore, that Healy had virtually no support for his position in Galway. O'Brien and others in Dublin decided to produce a petition of support for Parnell signed by the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid. Healy stated that Biggar's original draft had read: "Mrs. O'Shea will be your ruin."

[3] Irish Times, 9 February 1886.

Irish M.P.'s. Many were contacted by a telegram which stated:

> Parnell has intimated to us his leadership at stake in Galway contest. Healy's speech has created impression that the party generally is against Parnell. Will you authorize us attach your name with ours to public declaration upholding Parnell. Awaiting reply.[1]

O'Shea's name, for obvious reasons, was not mentioned in the telegram. A declaration which appeared in the Freeman's Journal on 9 February carried fifty signatures obtained in response to the telegram. The declaration called on the electors of Galway to "uphold the authority of Mr. Parnell as leader of the Irish people." The Irish M.P.'s who were not listed as signers, the newspaper explained, could not be reached prior to publication.

Candidates in Galway were nominated on Monday, 8 February, the day before the declaration appeared in the Freeman's Journal. O'Shea's kinsman, the Rev. Father O'Shea, O.S.F., nominated the Captain, and the second was given by Colonel Nolan. O'Shea took advantage of the ceremony to announce that he had received a message from Parnell stating he would come to Galway to assist O'Shea's campaign.[2] This bit of news infuriated Healy. In a rally for Lynch following the nomination, Healy opened his speech with a violent personal attack on O'Shea whom he called a "political caterpillar." Healy

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 9 February 1886.

[2]Irish Times, 9 February 1886.

did not spare Nolan whom, he said, had used "unwary, unlettered people" to sign O'Shea's nomination papers.[1] Now certain that O'Shea would not take the party pledge, Healy stressed this fact in the course of his speech and said that O'Shea sought to capture the constituency by the use of "backstairs intrigue." He also charged the Freeman's Journal with inadequate reporting of the large Sunday meeting where no one had supported O'Shea.[2] Using Parnell's name to support his own position, Healy stated that "he was firmly convinced that Mr. Parnell, so far from allowing personal friendship to induce him to support a Whig candidate, would fling it to the wind and O'Shea to the devil."[3] And in another portion of his speech, Healy paid allegiance to Parnell as the nation's leader, but at the same time implied Parnell had a responsibility to adhere to Nationalist policy, not a personal one:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Healy's specific objections to the Freeman's Journal report were set forth in a letter published in the 9 February issue of the newspaper. Healy's letter corrected two key words in the story and noted the ommission of the rally's unanimous support for Lynch. These errors, Healy claimed, were due to the reporter's "inattention." The 8 February issue which carried the report on Healy's speech also carried a short article on a "great meeting of Nationalists" at Kilrush, County Clare, "to recommend Capt. O'Shea . . . to the Galway constituency." Healy received on 9 February a telegram from M.J. Kenny, a Nationalist M.P., who said the resolutions passed at Kilrush were "bogus." See Healy, I, p. 245.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 9 February 1886.

> Our leader, Mr. Parnell, is himself in his own person, by his acts, vested with supreme control in the domain of Irish Nationality. He would never consent to deflect by one hair's breadth from the path marked out for the leader of the Irish Nationalists.[1]

Quite obviously, statements like this by Healy, a national hero second in popularity only to Parnell, demanded an answer from the Irish leader. He already had decided that it was necessary now to meet Healy face to face.

A late report carried in the 9 February Irish Times said that Parnell would arrive in Galway the next morning (Tuesday). The reporter speculated that despite local feelings at the moment, Parnell's appearance would prompt Lynch to withdraw from the contest. The unequivocal support of the country's most widely read daily Nationalist newspaper also helped Parnell's cause greatly. On 9 February, the day Parnell arrived in Galway, the Freeman's Journal carried a strongly worded leading article which appeared on the same page as the declaration of support by the 50 M.P.'s. From the outset the article attempted to inform Galway Nationalists of how serious their responsibility was:

> A grave and momentous crisis has suddenly arisen in our national affairs. The fate not merely of two Parliamentary candidates--not merely of the prestige of the Irish Parliamentary Party, but the fate of the National cause itself in our generation--rests to a large extent in the hands of the constituency of Galway Borough at this moment. . . . The issue which that constituency will have to decide at the polls on Thursday is

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[1] Ibid.

> a simple but vital one. The electors have to vote "aye" or "no" to the one question--have they or have they not confidence in Charles Stewart Parnell, and are they or are they not prepared to support him as the chosen representative of the Irish people in the policy which he advises them to adopt?[1]

The article denied Healy's contention that the contest should be waged on the merits of the two candidates, stating that "we decline to discuss the question on that ground--it is comparatively one of utter unimportance." The reason the article failed to respond to Healy's completely rational position was relatively simple:

> But we repeat, and we would fain urge upon every man in Galway the gravity of the fact, that the issue is not between Capt. O'Shea and Mr. Lynch, but whether at the very acme of the crisis when the question of Home Rule hangs in the balance, when Mr. Parnell almost holds it in the hollow of his hand, Galway will strike a blow at the prestige and at his authority, and do what in it lies to weaken his power with the English people and the English Government to press to a successful and immediate conclusion the united demand of a united people for Self-Government.[2]

Even if Parnell "was completely in the wrong in recommending Captain O'Shea, the issue would remain unaffected," the leading article stated. The Irish people must place their confidence in Parnell, because he might not be able to divulge all the facts at the moment, it added. The ultimate question then was put to Biggar and Healy: "What is it they expect

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

the National cause can gain by their perseverance in opposition to Mr. Parnell at this juncture."[1]

Certainly, the Nationalist cause was suffering as a result of the reports which described a "rebellion" in the party hierarchy. The hostile Dublin Daily Express headlined its story, "Mysterious Revolt against Mr. Parnell; Sensational Speech of Mr. Healy":

> There is a mystery about the interest shown by Mr. Parnell in the political position of Capt.. O'Shea which seems to be impenetrable, but whatever may be the special qualities which have won for him the marked favor of the 'National' leader, it is evident that the electors of Galway are not disposed to accept him although he comes to them accredited by the chief himself.[2]

The London press was just as interested and confused as the Daily Express by the unexpected developments in Galway.[3]

The declaration by the 50 M.P.'s and the strong leading article in the Freeman's Journal, was only one aspect of the counterattack. Intervention of the Catholic hierarchy was imminent, as was a confrontation between Healy and key members of the party, including Parnell. The Archbishop of Dublin, William J. Walsh, wired Gray that his name could be used to counsel Healy to abandon his opposition to O'Shea.[4]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Daily Express, 9 February 1886.

[3] See, for example, the Pall Mall Gazette's 9 February article on "The Parnell Rupture."

[4] Moody, Irish Historical Studies, IX, p. 337.

Bishop Carr of Galway, in a telegram, also urged Healy to desist, saying Archbishop Walsh supported him (Carr). Archbishop Croke of Cashel indicated in a letter to Gray that he would have done the same if asked.[1] In Galway itself, the clergy were working hard to convert their flock to support O'Shea. Even before the votes were cast, Healy, quite obviously, was beaten. All the major pressure groups in Ireland--party, press and clergy--had joined hands to support Parnell. A victory for Lynch (and, therefore, Healy) under these circumstances no longer held any real political significance. If only to "save face," the party would remain united under Parnell. When Healy realized that the odds were too great against him, he quit the campaign.

Healy did not comprehend how completely he had been isolated when on the evening of 8 February William O'Brien arrived in Galway. The two rebellious M.P.'s knew then that Parnell would be in Galway the next day. Upon arrival, O'Brien, after having arranged for his quarters at the Railway Hotel, went immediately to see Healy, his colleague on United Ireland.[2] The conference lasted for more than an hour and, at its termination, Healy refused to see anyone else. No doubt, O'Brien told Healy what he could expect to read in the next morning's Freeman's Journal. The correspondent of

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[1] Ibid., pp. 337-8.

[2] Irish Times, 9 February 1886.

the Irish Times managed to scrape together enough gossip to speculate "there is a prospect of the matter being amicably arranged."[1] If he were a seasoned political reporter, he had reasoned that Healy was not politically naive.

Parnell arrived in Kingstown from England on Tuesday (9 February) and was met by several key lieutenants who heard their leader's personal version of the O'Shea nomination for the first time. On the train ride to Galway, several Galway priests vowed their support of O'Shea.[2] Parnell arrived in Galway on the 11:30 a.m. train which also brought the copies of the day's Freeman's Journal which carried the declaration of support and the leading article endorsement. Healy stated in his memoirs that Parnell's appearance in Galway was a shock because he and Biggar had calculated that Parnell's messages and threats "were mere devices to compel us to withdraw."[3] The two M.P.'s probably were counting on Parnell not to appear, but they certainly were aware that he was expected to come to O'Shea's aid.

The real shock was experienced by Parnell when he stepped into the crowd at the railway station. The Galway population had been inflamed against O'Shea, and, despite Healy's retorical diplomacy, the people had cast Parnell as a villain.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 10 February 1886.

[3] Healy, I, p. 254.

Testifying to Healy's effectiveness, shouts of "Hie for Lynch!" and "To hell with Parnell and whiggery!" greeted the train's arrival.[1] "A good deal of rough pushing" commenced when Parnell and his allies disembarked from the train, but the Nationalist press explained that it was caused by "the usual motive of curiosity to see the new arrivals."[2] The Irish Times reporter expressed amazement at the incident, stating that among Lynch's supporters "were some men of powerful physique [who] threatened violence, not exactly to Mr. Parnell himself, but to Captain O'Shea and Mr. T.P. O'Connor."[3] O'Connor, who had caused Galway's predicament by giving up his seat, vividly remembered the size and hostility of the crowd that day.[4] It was Healy who spoke up and helped calm the crowd,[5] then a bodyguard was formed to escort Parnell along the platform the short distance to the Railway Hotel.[6] A triumphal tour of the town planned by Parnell was cancelled because the crowd had "assumed so

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 10 February 1886, records the first shout, but not the second, which appeared in the Galway Express on 12 February.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 10 February 1836; United Ireland, 13 February.

[3]Irish Times, 10 February 1836.

[4]O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 99.

[5]Daily Express, 10 February 1886.

[6]Irish Times, 10 February 1886.

threatening an attitude."[1] None of Parnell's associates missed the significance of this cancellation because, as Parnell's biographer noted: "Parnell's visits to the provinces generally were like the progress of a sovereign enthroned in the hearts of a nation; everywhere he was received with reverence, joy, enthusiasm."[2] Perhaps to illustrate vividly the veracity of its correspondent's report, the Irish Times printed on the same page the Press Association's story which confirmed that Parnell had not entered Galway like a conquering hero or a revered member of the royalty. Evaluating the remarkable event, one antagonistic Dublin newspaper gleefully noted that Healy "had made Mr. Parnell bite the dust."[3]

With Parnell safely sequestered in the Railway Hotel, local Nationalists then were confronted with the revelations in the Freeman's Journal. The declaration of support for Parnell signed by fifty of Healy's parliamentary colleagues made a deep impression on the town's residents although not as significant as the Freeman's Journal claimed.[4] The railway station incident had shown that the effect of speeches

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[1] Ibid.

[2] R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 125.

[3] Evening Mail, 10 February 1886.

[4] Freeman's Journal, 10 February 1886.

by Healy and Biggar would not wear off easily. Yet, in his memoirs, Healy said that once Parnell showed up in Galway, his battle was over:

> Lynch could easily have been elected, but I thought once Parnell appeared in person to support O'Shea his defeat would be harmful to Ireland. Gladstone had taken office to propose Home Rule, and mischief might ensue if Parnell's prestige were hurt. Biggar disagreed. Both of us failed to realize the depths to which the 'Chief' had sunk.[1]

Healy's rationalization, of course, was the argument put forward by his colleagues from the time it was made clear that Parnell was solidly behind O'Shea's candidacy. But Healy assumed Parnell was bluffing and he wanted to call the bluff. He did and he lost.

Before entering the hotel for a private conference with Parnell, Healy addressed the unruly crowd and attempted to defuse the explosive situation by indicating that someone would give way in the crisis. Obviously, Healy knew he would:

> I now beg of you, gentlemen, to maintain a quiet demeanour. I beg of you that everything may be done in a peaceable and respectful manner, that there will be no groaning for Captain O'Shea and no counter cheers raised for Mr. Lynch which would give the idea that there was a division in the party's ranks. I feel quite sure this matter will be ended amicably for the honour of Ireland and of Galway (cheers). Tonight, no doubt, there will be a public meeting which we shall all have an opportunity of addressing. It will be my wish that every speaker, and Captain O'Shea himself, should be heard with the utmost quietness and respect.

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[1]Healy, I, p. 247.

> Therefore at the present moment in this unexpected crisis I beg that for the present you will respectfully disperse. God save Ireland.[1]

Healy's candidate, however, was not swayed by such conciliatory statements from the man who had so stirred Galway's political conscience. Lynch told the crowd that it was "treason" for any man to force O'Shea on the Galway electorate. He added: "Mr. Parnell was a great man, but the people who made him great could unmake him."[2] With delicate talks in progress, such agitation of the local residents could not be tolerated; Lynch quickly was summoned into a private conference of parliamentarians and a few clergy.[3]

According to O'Connor, Healy was surrounded by hostile colleagues at the meeting.[4] Parnell had declared on the train ride to Galway that Healy had been "trying to stab him in the back for years, and that he was doing so now, thinking the opportune hour had come."[5] But Healy, after stating his

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[1] Ibid., 10 February 1886.

[2] Irish Times, 10 February 1886. The Press Association story also printed in the Irish Times confirmed Lynch's continued hostility.

[3] Ibid.

[4] O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 100.

[5] Ibid., p. 98. Perhaps this statement was influenced by reports published that day in London newspapers which commented on strong mutinous tendencies among Parnell's lieutenants. See, for example, the Morning Post and Standard.

case against O'Shea,[1] tearfully denied that his actions were influenced by personal hostility toward Parnell.[2] His remarks were received in silence, except for a word of support from O'Connor. Parnell then responded to Healy's arguments by saying his leadership was at stake and, therefore, O'Shea would not be withdrawn. The rumor that he would resign if O'Shea lost was without foundation, Parnell said, because "I would not resign it [the party chairmanship] if the people of Galway were to kick me through the streets to-day."[3] The statements illustrated that the hostility of the crowd had affected Parnell, but that he was determined to ignore their feelings about who should represent them in Parliament.

Biggar, according to Healy's memoirs, spoke frankly about Mrs. O'Shea at the meeting and stated that "no seat should be sold to a worthless woman's husband."[4] O'Connor, however, wrote in his memoirs that Healy forcibly tried to prevent Biggar from bringing Mrs. O'Shea into the discussion, and Biggar, for whatever reason, did not.[5] Healy agreed to

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 126.

[2]O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 100.

[3]R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 126. The threat to resign was not a rumor. Party Whip J. Deasy had informed Irish M.P.'s that Parnell would quit if O'Shea lost. See Healy, I, pp. 243-4.

[4]Healy, I, p. 246.

[5]O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 100.

drop out of the election campaign, despite the support of local Nationalists who were eager to follow his lead. He rationalized his complete capitulation on the basis of discovering he was clearly in the minority among the party membership. In his memoirs, Healy stated that his decision to back down was wrong; and relatives claimed that, later in his life, he frequently lamented his decision.[1] In Galway, however, it was Biggar who held his ground and refused to bow to the pressure exerted by Parnell and his panicky lieutenants.

Emerging from the private meeting, Lynch told local Nationalists that the results of the conference would be announced shortly at the Young Ireland Society hall. Here, too, the press was barred, but any local resident was admitted.[2] Although the meeting was designed merely to sanction the decision by the political leaders, it lasted two hours, from 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. Local Nationalists were by no means friendly toward Parnell, O'Shea, and O'Connor. O'Connor recalled that, when he entered the old hall, "the howling mob was there standing, fierce, impatient."[3] Parnell, Healy, Biggar, O'Connor, Sexton, and O'Brien all addressed

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[1]Healy, I, p. 247; interview with Dr. T.M. Healy, a grandson, in Dublin on 6 July 1968.

[2]Irish Times, 10 February 1886.

[3]O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 102. The Irish Times, 10 February 1886, confirmed that O'Connor was "hooted" when he appeared.

the meeting and, except for O'Connor, they were received with courtesy.[1] Parnell was received coldly; his speech was emotionless and directly to the point. He asked for unity under his leadership at a moment when Home Rule was about to be introduced by Gladstone. One eyewitness account has Parnell saying: "I have Home Rule for Ireland in the hollow of my hand. If you dispute my decision now, the English will say, 'Parnell's power is broken', and that will be the end of the Home Rule Movement."[2] Such a declaration certainly would frighten any Nationalist gathering; O'Connor stated that a "shudder of terror" ran through the crowd when Parnell told them the likely consequences of their opposition to his personal choice for the Galway seat.[3] When Parnell concluded, there were no cheers, "but complete submission," according to another witness.[4] In sharp contrast to the reception accorded Parnell, there was enthusiastic cheering when Biggar announced his continued opposition to O'Shea's

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[1] Irish Times, 10 February 1886.

[2] O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 105. The quote is based on the recollection of Thomas Marlowe, a medical student in Galway at the time who later served as editor of the Daily Mail.

[3] Ibid.

[4] R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 127.

candidacy.[1] Thus, Healy was faced with the ignominous chore of withdrawing from the battle in front of the people he had encouraged to revolt. The emotional strain was too much for Healy, and he broke into tears after exclaiming: "I will never sit on the same green benches with that man [O'Shea]."[2] Nevertheless, Healy did not fail his leader and succumb to second thoughts; however, he made it clear to the audience that he deeply regretted his decision:

> I retire from this contest and Captain O'Shea becomes, I suppose, the member for Galway. It is a bitter cup for you. God knows to me it is a cup of poison, but even so, let it be taken for the sake of the unity of the Party we love.[3]

Healy's faltering and low key speech was not likely to change the sentiments of many in the audience. However, William O'Brien, his cohort from United Ireland, followed with a passionate speech of endorsement for Parnell which carried the meeting.[4] Feeling assured that O'Shea would take the party's pledge, the Nationalist electors concluded the meeting by approving a resolution authorizing Lynch to withdraw

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[1]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 182. Another medical student, John Muldoon, wrote a memorandum on the Galway campaign which was utilized by Professor O'Brien in his book. Muldoon also was a reporter for the Galway Vindicator.

[2]O'Connor, Memoirs, II, p. 105, quoting Marlowe.

[3]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 182, quoting Muldoon.

[4]Ibid. According to Muldoon, "it was not really a speech; it was a thunderstorm."

from the campaign.[1] O'Shea, however, did not intend to take the pledge and, a few days later, he publicly confirmed his allegiance to the Liberal Party.[2] A few months later, the new Parnellite M.P. for Galway failed to support Gladstone's Home Rule measure when it came to a vote in Parliament.

Parnell left the meeting hall and walked to the hotel where he addressed the lingering crowd, still stunned and subdued, from the front steps. He paid tribute to Lynch and his supporters for "cheerfully surrendering" and promised Lynch the next vacant Nationalist seat.[3] Healy, who had secured this so-called compromise for Lynch, departed quietly with Biggar and O'Brien late that evening after a "sad feast" with Parnell.[4] A number of local Nationalists accompanied them to the train and, before departing, Healy again proved his loyalty to Parnell and the party by asking those in the audience to vote for O'Shea.

Back in Dublin, the press reports did not make pleasant reading for Healy. No doubt they caused him to wonder about his political future. One report stated that "the Irish

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 10 February 1886. The Irish Times on 12 February reported that O'Shea had taken the pledge.

[2] Daily News, 12 February 1886; Daily Express, 13 February 1886.

[3] Parnell did not keep his promise.

[4] Healy, I, p. 248.

chief will not lightly forget or forgive this deadly stab from his former protege in the crisis of his fortunes."[1] Another report indicated that Parnell probably had heard of the secret talk participated in by Healy and others:

> It has been whispered for some time past that the unity of the Irish Nationalist party was more apparent than real, and that one or more of the ablest of Mr. Parnell's lieutenants were exhibiting symptoms of mutiny.[2]

The Daily Telegraph called Healy "the ablest lieutenant" and expressed shock that he should be the one to dramatize the disunity in the Irish Nationalist party.[3] The Standard said that Healy's "commanding talents" marked him as a rival of Parnell and, having seen his opportunity to grab power, Healy "determined to make the most of it."[4]

Parnell remained in Galway attempting to undo the damage wrought by Healy and Biggar; or, as one newspaper commented, "to make sure no mischance should occur to his lieutenants."[5] In addition, it was necessary to encourage a large Nationalist vote, because Lynch had been nominated officially and, thus,

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[1]St. James Gazette, 9 February 1886. The Standard also believed Parnell would "look for revenge." See 10 February 1886 issue.

[2]Morning Post, 10 February 1886.

[3]Daily Telegraph, 10 February 1886.

[4]Standard, 10 February 1886.

[5]Irish Times, 12 February 1886.

his name was on the ballot. There was the possibility that local Whigs and Tories might seek to embarass Parnell and the Nationalists by voting in force for Lynch and making the election outcome close.[1] Thus, Parnell was moved to say things in Galway which were untrue, but might have seemed plausible to local Nationalists at the time:

> I shall take this opportunity of telling you that if I had known that Mr. Lynch was coming forward for the representation I should have accepted him, for I believe that he is an honest man and a gentleman, in every way suited to represent with honesty and ability the people of Galway. But in the duty which has devolved on me as leader of the Irish party and of the nation to advise the people of Galway with regard to the selection of a candidate, it became necessary for me ten days ago to inquire as to whether there was any local candidate in existence who desired to offer himself to the constituency, and I was informed by Mr. T.P. O'Connor that the only local candidate, Mr. Lynch, would not offer himself; that he had declined; and that, not under any circumstances, could be induced to offer himself for the representation. It therefore became necessary for me to look for some outside person unconnected with Galway--for the best candidate I could find. I therefore took it on myself to recommend Captain O'Shea, but owing to some misunderstanding, Mr. Lynch was induced to put himself in opposition to Mr. O'Shea.[2]

O'Connor and Lynch were with Parnell to endorse his statements if they were challenged. Parnell, of course, could have avoided the crisis with its confrontation and lies by having discussed O'Shea's candidacy with O'Connor and others privately well before the election.

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[1] Freeman's Journal, 11 February 1886.

[2] Irish Times, 11 February 1886.

In his speeches, Parnell listed O'Shea's merits in the pattern established in Liverpool. He stressed the fact that O'Shea, not a Parnellite supporter, cast the crucial vote in 1880 when he (Parnell) was elected chairman of the Home Rule Party. Parnell told his audiences that his only objection to O'Shea's politics had disappeared when O'Shea promised to move from the Liberal to the Irish section of Parliament.[1] Galway residents also were assured that "the day is very near at hand when we shall have gained for Ireland the right to make her own laws on Irish soil."[2] Parnell was wrong on both counts. During the campaign, O'Shea stayed out of sight. Parnell usually was accompanied on his outings by a band of Nationalists led by the faithful O'Kelly.

In the aftermath of the Galway election, Nationalists tried to play down Healy's mutiny. The Freeman's Journal, as early as 10 February, wrote that the crisis had disappeared so quickly that it "can now hardly be regarded as having been one even of slightly feverish importance at all." Healy's honor, however, was upheld by T.D. Sullivan, his father-in-law and publisher of the Nation, who also was Lord Mayor of Dublin and a Parnellite M.P. Sullivan indignantly replied to a statement in the Freeman's Journal on 10 February that no more letters of support for the declaration in

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

favor of Parnell would be printed because the issue was no longer important. The newspaper article suggested that Healy and Biggar had no support for their actions in Galway. Sullivan said that the article was a "cover" for the thirty-five M.P.'s whose names had not been attached to the 9 February declaration. He then stated he had not written a letter of support and asserted that the declaration "did not, to my mind, fully or rightly present issues at stake in the Galway election."[1] Because of Sullivan's stature in Ireland, the Freeman's Journal printed the letter on 11 February. This event prompted the Irish Times to speculate that "not everything [in Nationalist circles] is completely settled and harmonized."[2] The Irish Times would have been delighted to learn that Parnell's sister Anna had written a letter to the Freeman's Journal defending Sullivan and the Nation's position on the Galway election. The letter was not printed.[3]

On 11 February, O'Shea easily won the Galway election, 942 to 54. The two major Nationalist newspapers expressed

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[1]Freeman's Journal, 11 February 1886.

[2]Irish Times, 13 February 1886. Within a few days, broadsides were published which were hostile to Sullivan, pointing out that he was the father-in-law "to the traitor Tim Healy." See N.L.I. Ms 8237/16 (Sullivan erred in saying the year was 1887).

[3]N.L.I. Ms. 8237/7.

great satisfaction with the results. According to the Freeman's Journal and United Ireland, the crisis had proven Parnell's ability to lead a united party and nation. Such unity, reasoned United Ireland, would enable Ireland to become her own master:

> The incident which excited the malign interest of our enemies clouded the country also with anxiety for a moment; but looking back upon the whole thing now, the robust and kindly common sense with which personal preferences were laid aside and misconceptions cleared up in the interest of the public cause, makes it a downright advantage and almost a matter of congratulation to the Irish people that at this moment, when English opinion is so narrowly measuring their capacity for self-government they should have been enabled to make so signal a demonstration of the power of their great leader, the devotion of his party, the sober good-feeling with which honest differences of opinion among Irishmen can be reconciled, and the invincible determination of the Irish people to permit no breach in that majestic unity which is the secret of all their conquests and their hopes. With characteristic chivalry Mr. Healy's last word of advice to the people of Galway was to record their votes for Captain O'Shea on Thursday. And so ended the Last Prophecy of Irish Disaster (Perhaps).[1]

O'Brien excused Healy's conduct by writing in United Ireland that Parnell's views regarding the election were not understood immediately by party members. Healy, however, was in no mood to reciprocate the good will. To demonstrate his disgust with O'Brien's role in Galway, he quit United Ireland, ending a close personal and professional relationship of more than four years.[2] The Nation, published on the same day as

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[1]United Ireland, 13 February 1886.

[2]Healy, I, p. 249.

United Ireland, called Parnell's support of O'Shea "a deplorable mistake," and stated that his public explanation of his position was "hollow."[1] Unfortunately for Healy, the Nation had little impact on Irish Nationalists at this time; Healy, of course, was at least partially responsible because of his decision four years earlier to quit Sullivan's newspaper and write for United Ireland.

On the same day that the results of the Galway election were carried in the press, two other significant events were reported. One was the decision in a divorce suit involving Charles Dilke, a man who aspired to the highest political office in the United Kingdom. Although the co-respondent charge was dismissed, Dilke became a political exile.[2] The other event was Healy's return to work for the Irish Nationalist cause. Shunning seclusion or the sanctuary of England, Healy addressed a public rally in Ossory on behalf of a Nationalist candidate. His arrival sparked, not manifestations of hostility, but "an extraordinary display of enthusiasm."[3] In retrospect, both reports carried ominous portents

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[1] Nation, 13 February 1886.

[2] The petition against Dilke was dismissed with costs on 12 February. However, nine days earlier, Gladstone had to ignore Dilke when forming a Cabinet because of the case. Dilke remained in political exile for six years, and never re-established himself in the high councils of the Liberal Party.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 13 February 1886.

for the future of Ireland. The divorce court and Healy's political vitality, coupled with a residue of disgust in Ireland for Parnell's actions in Galway, would be highly significant in Parnell's later political career. As Parnell's biographer noted: "A grave crisis had been averted, but the Galway election of 1886 threw a dark shadow over the fateful career of the Irish leader."[1]

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[1]R. Barry O'Brien, II, p. 128.

EPILOGUE

Less than two months after the Galway election, Gladstone's Home Rule plan for Ireland was made known. The news thrilled most Irishmen; at Westminster, however, Chamberlain resigned from the Cabinet, and split the Liberal Party.[1] Healy, with typical enthusiasm, prepared for the crucial parliamentary battle which would soon commence. The special target of his wrath in Parliament would be Chamberlain, the man who threatened to make dust of the Irish nation's aspiration for Home Rule.[2] In Ireland, Healy continued his work on behalf of the Irish peasant and the Nationalist Party in the law courts.[3] And as the "Great Debate of the Century" neared, Healy and O'Shea became embroiled in another public feud. It began shortly after O'Shea visited Galway on 1 May to investigate complaints by local fishermen about the presence of foreign trawlers in the waters off the Galway coast. According to a friendly newspaper, O'Shea was received with

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[1] United Ireland, 3 April 1886.

[2] Ibid., 17 April 1886.

[3] Ibid., 24 April 1886.

considerable enthusiasm by the local inhabitants. This prompted Galway's new M.P. to say that his election had "struck a heavy blow at political blackguardism." He explained this statement in rather precise terms:

> I am very proud that my constituents are well satisfied with the choice which they made. But here and everywhere, I take great pleasure in proclaiming that no man can behave more honourably than my late opponent, Mr. Lynch, who protests against the gross deception which was practiced on him, and who is as warm a supporter of mine as anyone in the borough.[1]

O'Shea truly was buoyed by his greeting in Galway. He wrote to Chamberlain a few days later: "I can say anything I like in Galway now. I am the most popular M.P. that has represented the borough for a quarter of a century."[2]

As O'Shea should have realized, Healy could not ignore a public statement that strongly suggested he had duped Lynch into opposing Parnell's candidate in the Galway election. If O'Shea had reasoned that Healy would keep quiet because of his bitter experience in Galway, he erred badly. On 12 May, Healy wrote Lynch a public letter to repudiate the accusations which "your representative" was "hawking" in the lobby of Parliament. He did not directly refer to the story in the Galway newspaper; however, he undoubtedly had seen the story and now took the opportunity to unburden himself

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[1] Galway Vindicator, 1 May 1886.

[2] Birmingham University Library MSS, Joseph Chamberlain Papers, JC 8/8/1/70.

about O'Shea. He declared, without reservation, that O'Shea already had proved to be "a defiant enemy of Mr. Parnell," having chosen to ignore Parnell's "closed book" policy regarding the Galway election.[1] Healy's letter, released to the press, also justified his actions in the election campaign against O'Shea by pointing out that "from the moment opposition to him [O'Shea] in the borough was withdrawn; he showed that he intended to play the traitor."[2] Healy documented this statement by quoting pro-Liberal, anti-pledge notices inserted by O'Shea immediately after the election in the Liverpool Daily Post, a pro-Chamberlain newspaper, and in the Daily News, the Liberal Party's newspaper. O'Shea, according to Healy, was "a mere Ministerial hack" whom "all parties alike despise."

O'Shea, by now known to be anti-Home Rule, wrote to Chamberlain that the Liberal Party whips, Gladstone appointees, had encouraged Healy's letter.[3] O'Shea then replied to Healy's charge in letters sent to the Times and the Freeman's Journal. He maintained that Healy was "annoyed" because of his "rejection--short, sharp and decisive--of the overtures for 'reconciliation' which he [Healy] recently made to me through

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[1]United Ireland, 22 May 1886.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Birmingham University Library MSS, Joseph Chamberlain Papers, JC 8/8/1/71.

a gentleman in Dublin."[1] O'Shea continued by denying that Healy was a "trusted follower" of Parnell; then he asserted that Parnell was "under the deepest political obligations" to him [O'Shea]. In conclusion, O'Shea said that he was willing to publish "the secret history of the Galway election" any time. This threat might have concerned Parnell, but it did not frighten Healy, and he promptly replied to the charges made in O'Shea's letter. He expressed "outrage" at O'Shea's claim that he had sought reconciliation through a Dublin contact and then asserted:

> The statement is simply a lie, and if the honourable and gallant member can produce the credible testimony to prove that I ever spoke of him in public or in private except with loathing and contempt, I will canvass Galway for him in a white sheet at the coming election.[2]

Obviously unconcerned with Parnell's likely discomfiture, Healy made public a letter of 13 May from Lynch in reply to O'Shea's earlier charges. Lynch said in the letter that he had ignored the statements attributed to O'Shea in the Galway newspaper because he believed they had been "manufactured" in the newspaper office. The Galway Vindicator, a bi-weekly, four-page publication, clearly was enthusiastic about having Captain O'Shea as Galway's parliamentary representative.[3]

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[1] United Ireland, 22 May 1886.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See issues of 13 February and 9 June.

Its leading articles over the months indicated that it tolerated Nationalist sentiment only because there was nothing to be gained by actively opposing the majority viewpoint. During the Galway election, the Vindicator offered voting advice to local Conservatives.[1] The newspaper also displayed a special dislike of Healy, no doubt because he represented a serious threat to Captain O'Shea's continued representation for Galway.

Lynch denied "in the most unqualified manner" O'Shea's charge that he was duped by Healy or anyone who was anti-O'Shea in the election.[2] Instead, Lynch strongly suggested that it was Parnell who had duped him and the other Galway Nationalists because they "had believed he [O'Shea] had taken the pledge, and thought he would act up to it."[3] Lynch then indicated that the local Nationalists would turn out O'Shea at the next election. Healy's public challenge to O'Shea was endorsed enthusiastically by Lynch, who said he hoped the two men would come to Galway "and there test the feelings of his [O'Shea's] constituents, after which, I have no doubt, he will indicate his speeches in a less confident tone."[4]

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[1]Galway Vindicator, 10 February 1886.

[2]United Ireland, 22 May 1886.

[3]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

The public exchange of letters initiated gossip, some of which concerned the possibility of a duel; in London, further developments were awaited with some eagerness.[1] It soon became apparent, however, that Healy had called O'Shea's bluff, and O'Shea had to admit it.[2]

On 18 May, "the gentleman in Dublin," William O'Brien, Judge of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice (Ireland), contacted O'Shea about Healy's bid for "reconciliation." First, a telegram from O'Brien in the Four Courts, Dublin, to O'Shea in London stated: "Healy never expressed to me in any way whatever a desire to be reconciled with you nor did I ever tell you that."[3] An even more emphatic two-page telegram, sent three hours later, stated in part:

> Quite astounded at your telegram and did not say anything at O'Shaughnessy's as to overtures from Healy to you or anything of the kind. Healy always spoke of you in most contemptuous manner. Do not introduce my name into this matter. There is no shadow of foundation for so doing.[4]

In the Vindicator, O'Shea explained his statement about Healy's attempt at "reconciliation" by saying: "I find that owing to

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[1] Irish Times, 19 May 1886.

[2] Daily Express, 20 May 1886.

[3] N.L.I., Ms 5752, fol. 306.

[4] Ibid., fol. 308 and fol. 310.

my having stopped him [Judge O'Brien] very quickly on his speaking to me about Mr. Healy, I misunderstood him supposing that he was commissioned in the matter."[1] Another letter to the newspaper from O'Shea printed at the same time concerned Lynch. It described the local Nationalist as a man who said one thing publicly in Galway and then acted quite differently in private. O'Shea charged Lynch with using undue pressure to obtain from O'Shea a "snug little berth" for a friend.[2] The letter was printed in the Vindicator which chose not to print Healy's letters concerning O'Shea.

Lynch replied to O'Shea's charges at a public meeting in Galway, but his statement was noted in the Vindicator only as part of a letter which was highly critical of Lynch. The letter, signed "A Nationalist," said that Lynch had "innundated" O'Shea with letters for favors since the election.[3] A week later, another letter bearing the same signature, denounced Healy's tactics in the Galway election and his "venemous epistle" in reply to O'Shea's charges.[4] The writer also attacked Lynch for throwing over O'Shea, who had aided him, for Healy; then he denounced the letter from Lynch to Healy which Healy had made public.

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[1] Galway Vindicator, 19 May 1886.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 29 May 1886.

[4] Ibid., 5 June 1886.

The post-Galway dispute ended a short time later when O'Shea walked out during the Home Rule debate and then submitted his letter of retirement, saying that, indeed, his views were not in accord with the majority in his constituency. In response to this shock, "A Nationalist" and the Vindicator felt that a Catholic landlord, "most liberal and kind-hearted" would be a fine successor to O'Shea.[1] Parnell, however, had other ideas and he selected an Ulster Protestant to stand for Galway. Obviously, the M.P. for Galway was going to be Parnell's personal choice instead of some local Nationalist who harbored ill-will because of O'Shea's election. The Vindicator objected at first, but soon managed a diplomatic turn-about and agreed to Parnell's candidate because he "has made a most favorable impression upon the people of Galway with whom he came in contact."[2] Healy's public dispute with O'Shea could not be expected to please Parnell or many of the Irish political leaders despite the fact that all the Parnellite M.P.'s treated O'Shea as an "Ishmael."[3]

If he did hear any criticism, Healy paid little attention. During the Home Rule debate, he frequently displayed splendid form, prompting lofty praise in the Nationalist

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[1] Ibid., 23 and 26 June 1886.

[2] Ibid., 30 June and 3 July 1886.

[3] Irish Times, 9 June 1886.

Press.[1] In addition to his dispute with O'Shea and his constant vigilance in Parliament, Healy at this time was revising his 1881 book A Word for Ireland. The Freeman's Journal noted that this undertaking was "evidence of his marvellous industry."[2]

In Parliament, Healy, as usual, was especially effective when attacking those who occupied the Ministerial bench, but one evening he subjected George Trevelyan, the former Irish Chief Secretary, to an especially punishing verbal barrage. On this occasion, Parnell had agreed to let Healy reply to a hostile speech by Trevelyan, an enemy of Home Rule whom Healy had called "the apostle of the pinch-of-hunger policy." A friendly reporter who observed Healy's oft-cheered reply to Trevelyan, sought in his article to describe the exceptional oratorical gifts of the man who so often stirred the Irish members of Parliament:

> Mr. Healy's, I should imagine, is a nature intensely sensitive and sympathetic. It is the nature of the meridionale developed in the environment of the Irish Celt--the nature that responds like a harp to every note in the gamut of feeling that now is moved to scorn, now to tenderness, now to riant humour, now to hate; the nature of which words come at will in profusion ever varied, and whose style is the rich, irregular musing of its changing moods. This is the orator's nature, and those who study Mr. Healy's speech will agree with me, I think, that to Mr. Healy's other gifts heaven

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[1] See, for example, Freeman's Journal, 25 and 27 May 1886; United Ireland, 29 May; Nation, 29 May.

[2] Freeman's Journal, 26 June 1886.

> has added those of the true orator who is no more to be made if he be not born than the true poet. Mr. Healy spoke from his heart on Tuesday night and those who were not moved with him, whether English or Irish, I do not envy. By a speaker of this power it would hardly be considered any merit that he made his speech absolutely without preparation. Yet people less fortunately endowed well may marvel that his great effort of oratory was actually made upon the spur of the moment.[1]

Healy, however, knew that Chamberlain, not Trevelyan, was the real enemy of the Irish. He was quick to cry "shame" when the Birmingham Radical stated in Parliament that important Irish Nationalists a year earlier had privately approved his National Council scheme; Healy, of course, had been involved in the private negotiations at that time. On another occasion during the Home Rule debate, Healy charged Chamberlain had used a blade "lubricated with compliments" to stab Gladstone in the back.[2] Yet, Healy stated in his memoirs that he still was willing to negotiate privately with Chamberlain because he realized Home Rule had no chance for passage without Chamberlain's support. Parnell, however, killed the idea of negotiations with Chamberlain.[3]

On 7 June, Gladstone's Home Rule Bill was defeated in the House of Commons, 341 to 311, and the Prime Minister

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[1] United Ireland, 29 May 1886.

[2] Ibid., 5 June 1886. Earlier, Healy had said he would imitate Chamberlain if he (Healy) ever wanted to give Parnell "a very deadly stab." See Freeman's Journal, 10 April 1886.

[3] Healy, I, p. 254.

immediately dissolved Parliament. Chamberlain's defection, based on the bill's failure to provide Irish representation in Westminster, was supported by a large number of dissident Liberals; these votes were decisive. Although all the Irish Nationalists voted for the bill, they could not offset the Liberal schism.[1] Parnell did nothing to hold the Liberals together, a major error according to Healy decades later.[2] The defeat was the signal for a wild outburst by Conservatives and some Liberals. When the noise died down, the Irish bravely gave three cheers for the "Grand Old Man." An attempt by Healy to speak his mind on the division results was gavelled down by the Speaker.

Immediately, Parnell's Irish followers became concerned with the general election. In particular, the concern centered on the North where many Protestant farmers had, a few months earlier, supported Nationalist candidates because of their well-known commitment to land reform. United Ireland, optimistic as usual, claimed that Nationalists could hold their Northern seats, pointing out that there were only two Nationalist constituencies in the North where Protestants

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[1]Although O'Shea occupied a Nationalist seat he did not vote for the bill; instead he resigned his seat. United Ireland called him "traitorous" (12 June) and the Daily Express wondered why the "bosom friend" of Parnell had done so (9 June). The latter newspaper also noted Parnell had been "almost the constant guest at Captain O'Shea's."

[2]Healy, I, p. 254.

held "an indisputable majority on the register."[1] One of these was South Derry, the seat Healy only recently won. William O'Brien held the other threatened seat in South Tyrone. Healy had out-polled his two Protestant opponents in Derry by 500 votes; O'Brien had won by 53 votes. In the Derry division, Protestants had a majority of 500 to 900 votes.[2] Clearly, Healy faced a stiff fight to retain the loyalty of so many voters not committed to the Nationalist cause.

Perhaps it was Healy's somewhat comfortable majority in the previous election, his well-known energy and campaign experience, or his popularity in the North as a land reformer that caused Parnell not to provide Healy with one of the five safe constituencies[3] as a "back-up" seat; perhaps, though, it was Healy's rebellion a few months earlier that Parnell was considering. Adding to the difficulties of those who campaigned under the Nationalist banner in the North was the party's continued emphasis on Home Rule. Rioting by anti-Home Rule mobs in the Northern counties was not uncommon during the election campaign.

In his speeches Healy attempted to reconcile Home Rule and land reform, something those seeking re-election in safe

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[1] United Ireland, 12 June 1886.

[2] Ibid., 17 July 1886.

[3] Ibid., 19 June 1886.

"Catholic constituencies" did not have to worry about. He tried to make the major election issue the question of "fair rent or rack rent," arguing that Home Rule was sought by the Nationalists in order to bring justice to the rack-rented who received no consideration from the Government. Healy's strategy, including the usual personal attacks on his opponents,[1] this time was to no avail. The Orangemen were out in force during the campaign, harassing Healy with demonstrations and circulars that stressed unionism and Protestantism.[2] Also, it was noted well before the election, that many Nationalist farm laborers were, on their annual trek to England for harvest work.[3] Another major difficulty Healy faced was the persistence with which the local anti-Nationalist press emphasized from the outset that the election revolved on a single issue, "loyalist" versus "rebel."[4]

When Thomas Sexton was declared the winner in a Belfast division, rioting erupted in the Protestant quarter of Londonderry.[5] Sexton's triumph did Healy's campaign no

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[1]North Whig, 8 July 1886.

[2]Freeman's Journal, 5 July and 7 July 1886.

[3]Morning News, 1 July 1886. An appeal was made by the newspaper for the men to remain in Ireland until after the election.

[4]Sentinel (Londonderry), 26 June 1886; Standard (Londonderry), 9 July 1886; Belfast News-Letter, 24 June 1886.

[5]Freeman's Journal, 7 July 1886.

good whatsoever. One hostile newspaper urged Derry Protestants to avenge the loss of the Belfast seat by ousting Healy; canvassing efforts by Healy's opponent emphasized this argument.[1] A final obstacle for Healy was the fact that the election in South Derry was scheduled on the eve of the Ulster Protestants' great celebration of the Battle of the Boyne. More than 130 additional police were assigned to the district to guard against outbreaks of violence on election day, 10 July. Healy's chances dimmed even more when it was learned that there was a significant increase in the number of voters in South Derry, most of them Protestants.

In the election, South Derry narrowly voted to uphold the Union; out of more than 10,000 votes cast, Healy lost by 108. Healy's ouster prompted the churches of Derry's Protestant section to ring their bells and once more rioting broke out.[2] While the anti-Nationalist press celebrated the defeat of one of the most prominent Parnellite M.P.'s,[3] Ireland's major Nationalist newspaper suggested that Healy be allowed to contest Sexton's safe seat in South Sligo inasmuch as Sexton already had won in Belfast.[4] A few days later,

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[1]Northern Whig, 8 July 1886.

[2]Sentinel, 13 July 1886.

[3]See, for example, Northern Whig, 12 July 1886.

[4]Freeman's Journal, 12 July 1886.

when William O'Brien's defeat by 100 votes was announced, the newspaper demanded that seats be found for both O'Brien and Healy "without delay."[1] The demand fell on deaf ears, as did a later unanimous resolution by Irish M.P.'s.

In the aftermath of the two defeats, the Nationalist press stated its belief that the seats could not have been won because of the emotionalism of the Home Rule issue.[2] This observation might be hindsight rationalization, but it also points up the curious facts that not a single well-known Nationalist aided Healy during his difficult ten-day campaign to hold his seat and that the party did not assure him a safe seat elsewhere. The failure to protect O'Brien can be explained because he was more valuable editing the Parnellite newspaper full-time in Dublin and keeping watch over the local Nationalist leaders while the Parnellite M.P.'s were occupied at Westminster. Healy, on the other hand, had no position similar to O'Brien's but he was considered by all parties as a superb practitioner of the parliamentarian's craft. That he was not found a seat immediately should have been very illuminating for British politicians seeking to understand the stresses and strains within the Parnellite party.

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[1] Ibid., 20 July 1886.

[2] Ibid., 12 July 1886; United Ireland, 24 July 1886.

Healy, not a person to meditate quietly about his problems, went immediately to work in the law courts with two other Nationalist lawyers in an attempt to preserve Sexton's slim margin of victory and to overturn Justin McCarthy's narrow defeat in Londonderry. In addition, Healy spent considerable time after the election representing tenants in the land courts.[1] For the next few months, however, Healy did not attend the meetings of the National League's Central Branch and also avoided other Nationalist gatherings, such as a banquet chaired by Parnell for Justin McCarthy, who was departing for a tour of the United States.[2] In the autumn, a new land agitation called the Plan of Campaign was initiated. Although it followed Healy's concept of three years earlier, Healy did not participate in its implementation by the National League.[3]

On 25 October, Healy's legal acumen paid handsome dividends for the Nationalists when Justin McCarthy was awarded the victory in the Londonderry election. Healy had proved in court that a number of those who had voted for McCarthy's opponent were ineligible to participate in the election. The Freeman's Journal said it was "the skillful cross-examination" by Healy which led to the disclosures in court.[4]

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[1]See, for example, Freeman's Journal, 24 February 1886.

[2]Ibid., 10 September 1836.

[3]See, for example, United Ireland, 30 October 1886.

[4]Freeman's Journal, 25 October 1886.

Healy, aided by the two Nationalist lawyers who were with him in Londonderry, also was successful in having charges of bribery and intimidation against Sexton dismissed in the West Belfast election.[1]

Healy continued to keep busy in the courts during the closing months of 1886. He demonstrated that he wanted to forget the animosity and bitterness created by the Galway election by defending United Ireland and William O'Brien against libel charges.[2] In addition, he defended John Dillon, hardly an ally and friend, against the Government's attempt to halt him from making inflamatory speeches on the land question.[3] Nevertheless, Nationalist seats which fell vacant in September and January went to other, virtually unknown, Nationalists.[4] Finally, on 24 January it was announced in the Freeman's Journal that Healy would return to Parliament for North Longford, another Nationalist constituency where there would be no opposition. He was elected on 5 February, ending a seven-month exile from Parliament.[5] Healy was

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[1] Ibid., 4 November 1886.

[2] Ibid., 8 November 1886.

[3] Freeman's Journal, 13 December 1886. Healy was successful. See United Ireland, 26 February 1887.

[4] Northeast Cork was one vacancy and South Donegal was another. See Freeman's Journal, 30 September 1886 and 15 January 1887. On 4 August the party had resolved unanimously that Healy and O'Brien be put forward at the first available vacancies. See Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 256, n. 1.

[5] United Ireland, 12 February 1887.

entering a new phase of what finally would be a career of almost four decades at Westminster.

When the political turmoil caused in 1886 by the Home Rule question is considered, it must be remembered that, only a decade earlier, the people of England generally ignored affairs in Ireland as they had throughout the century. To them, the Irish were just another subject people; and Ireland, despite the geographical proximity, was just another one of Great Britain's colonies. Although the concept of self-determination is accepted universally now in the Western world, it was not in the 1880's. Great Britain, in particular, was slow to accept the concept of national self-determination because of its far-flung imperialist pursuits. Thus, the majority of Englishmen were not prepared to consider rationally the Home Rule question in 1886.

In the 1870's, virtually no one in England or Ireland considered the possibility of Irish autonomy in administrative and domestic legislation. Yet, in the 1880's, a dramatic change in Anglo-Irish relations took place that was not the result of any voluntary change in the beliefs of those in England. Instead, it came about as a result of sustained agitation by a new breed of young Irish Nationalists in Parliament, in England's industrial cities and in the Irish countryside. Gladstone's open advocacy of Home Rule in 1886 demonstrated that these Nationalists had made the

Irish question the crucial political issue of the era. And, until the Parnell-O'Shea divorce case split the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1890, the Governemtn at Westminster always had to include Ireland in its deliberations when making important policy decisions.

In evaluating Anglo-Irish relations of the mid-1880's, the historian Nicholas Mansergh wrote: "The [Home Rule] Bill might be defeated, but the Liberals, having inscribed it on their banner, were determined that once and for all the spirit of Anglo-Irish relations was to be changed."[1] In fact, relations already had been changed by the strength of the Irish Nationalist movement. Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule, in effect, shaped British politics at Westminster for the next three decades. During this time, Liberals and Nationalist cooperated on most issues and the Liberal Party continued to advocate Irish Home Rule.

In Ireland, also, dramatic changes occurred as a result of the agitation for Home Rule. After analyzing the election in 1885 of eighty-six disciplined Parnellites to Parliament and Gladstone's public conversion to Home Rule, the historian Emmet Larkin stated that these events transformed Ireland from a British colony to a unified state.[2] Although

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[1]Nicholas Mansergh, The Irish Question, 1840-1921 (1st ed. rev.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 134.

[2]Emmet Larkin, paper given before the American Committee for Irish Studies at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., 7 May 1971.

the state did not immediately become a reality, Ireland, for the first time, became identified as a separate entity in the minds of the Irish people. According to Larkin, this change in attitude, as a result of the Parnellite agitation of the 1880's, determined the future course of Irish history. And Mansergh, in evaluating Parnell's contributions to Irish Nationalism, pointed out that "the obedience he [Parnell] exacted from his supporters, his unwavering concentration on the end to be achieved, gave to the Irish people a new confidence and a new hope. . . . So long as he remained to give forceful leadership and a clear sense of direction to the Nationalist Party, Irishmen had reasonable hope that Home Rule would sooner rather than later pass from the region of debate to that of reality."[1] The Historian J.C. Beckett saw another person as the crucial force in altering Anglo-Irish relations:

> His [Gladstone's] importance in the history of Anglo-Irish relations lies less in the measures that he actually carried, far-reaching though they were, than in the immense influence that his concern for Ireland had on British public opinion. It was he, more than anyone else, who made the state of Ireland in British politics.[2]

But no matter who was responsible, a significant change had taken place.

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[1]Mansergh, p. 222.

[2]J.C. Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923 (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 412.

On the floor of the House of Commons during the 1886 Home Rule debate, Sir William Harcourt, one of those whose attitude toward Ireland had been changed drastically, demonstrated that he perceived then the impact of transpiring events: "You [the Members of Parliament] may reject this Bill, but its record will remain. The history of England and Ireland can never be as if this offer had never been made. You may kill it now, but its ghost will ever haunt your festivals of coercion."[1] The Tories, who ruled for most of the next twenty years, discarded coercion and adopted a policy of "killing Home Rule with kindness." But this effort to pacify Irish separatist sentiment was as unsuccessful as coercion. Parnell and his followers had managed to instill in the Irish people a vision of a Parliament in Dublin; and, after Gladstone had attempted to transform the vision into reality, nothing else would suffice.

As has been shown in this study, Healy was significantly involved in the Irish Nationalist movement during the crucial decade of 1877 to 1887. Because of his contacts in Ireland and England, he began his career close to Nationalist leaders. Until the Galway election, he remained in a key position, influencing policy and strategy decisions. His energy, vigor and vitality were not exceeded by any member of Parnell's inner circle. Thus, Healy must be considered as

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[1]Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCCIV, 1458.

responsible as any Parnellite (other than Parnell himself) for the introduction of the Home Rule Bill by the Liberal Party. The historian Conor Cruise O'Brien does not believe that Healy was a positive factor in the Parnellite party, but he nevertheless was impressed with Healy's talents:

> Of the leaders of the 'parliamentary,' as distinct from the 'agrarian', wing of the party, by far the ablest and most eminent was T.M. Healy. He was the best debator, though not the best orator; the best legal mind; the best calculator of parliamentary chances. The 'instinct of combinations', in which O'Brien was so deficient, was to him the breath of life and yet, like O'Brien, he had a popular touch. At the National League, as well as in political trials and in parliament, he drew eager listeners. His speech was always racy, often witty, sometimes scurrilous. . . . Like O'Brien he had his share of traditional national characteristics, the supposed 'celtic' qualities. He surpassed Dillon in this respect as much as he surpassed both of them in intellectual energy and in his grasp of political strategy. One other important qualification for leadership, which they both lacked, was his: the desire for power.[1]

As a parliamentarian, Healy consistently was able to force the Government to consider Irish needs either through his grasp of the subject he wanted debated or through skillful use of parliamentary procedures. Thus, if the system did not respond to his demands, he used perfectly legal devices to make the system malfunction. In this way, he frequently won benefits for the Irish peasants at Westminster while at the same time infuriating British M.P.'s and officials, to the delight of almost everyone in Ireland.

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[1]Conor Cruise O'Brien, p. 254.

Healy's role in the Nationalist movement was not confined to Westminster. As a propagandist for the obstructionists in the late 1870's, Healy equated parliamentary obstruction with Irish Nationalism and helped win the support of the average Irishman. Along with William O'Brien at United Ireland, Healy made heroes of Parnell and the men who faithfully followed him. As a land agitator and party spokesman, Healy stirred thousands of Irishmen at hundreds of speaking engagements in the Irish countryside. His popularity indicated that he was successful in steeling their resolve to obstruct and resist British rule and to follow Parnell's leadership no matter how confusing his tactics appeared on the surface. As the party's most astute tactician, Healy advised Parnell in the delicate manuevering among political parties and political issues so that Nationalists at home would be satisfied and the English M.P.'s would not be totally alienated. As a barrister, Healy was usually successful and always spectacular in fighting for Nationalist causes in the courts of Ireland. Because of his vigilance and concern for detail, he constantly kept the administrators of Dublin Castle informed of what he considered the legitimate demands of the Irish people under the laws that then applied to Ireland.

There can be no question that Healy's talents and seemingly limitless energy helped to build the powerful Parnellite Party which held the balance of power at Westminster

in late 1885. Even before 1885, Parnell, Healy and sixty Nationalist M.P.'s had made a dramatic impact on parliamentary affairs and the operation of government. Constitutional historians D.L. Kier and F.G. Marcham have noted that a handful of Irish members forced the House of Commons to alter significantly the rules and impose the principle of cloture for the first time. Marcham wrote: "In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Irish Nationalist members proved themselves masters of the art of bringing business to a standstill by exploiting the traditional rules and prolonging debates almost indefinitely."[1] Because he always was so thoroughly prepared for parliamentary discussions, and was such a skilled debator, Healy was the most effective of the Irish "masters."

Along with the land agitation and accompanying violence in Ireland, obstruction by Nationalist M.P.'s focused English public opinion on Irish dissatisfaction and prompted Gladstone and most Liberal leaders to try to alleviate the causes of dissatisfaction. By 1886, Gladstone, who had visited Ireland but once in his long life, had become so convinced of Ireland's right to Home Rule that he risked destruction of the party he led in order to advocate it. As a result of the clash Gladstone percipitated over party principles and

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[1]Frederick George Marcham, A Constitutional History of Modern England, 1485 to the Present (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 371.

objectives concerning Ireland, the Liberal Party was superceded by the Tories as the majority party in Great Britain. In this acid test of English liberalism, ninety-three party members chose to vote against the principle of self-determination for the nation across the Irish sea. However, in years preceding 1886, the Liberals, with the prodding and help of the Irish Nationalists in Parliament, had passed several important measures designed to improve life in Ireland. The Land Act of 1881 was a tribute to the parliamentary effectiveness of the small Parnellite band, who took advantage of the agrarian disorders in Ireland to win concessions at Westminster. In this instance, Healy, more than any other member, was responsible for making the Land Act a significant measure for the beleaguered Irish peasantry. The inclusion of Ireland under the provisions of the Reform Acts of 1884-1885, which increased the Irish electorate from 200,000 to 700,000 and made them a far greater political force, was another tribute to the vitality of Irish politicians.

Together, the Land Act and the Reform Acts meant the imminent destruction of landlordism in Ireland and the creation of a landowning, politically powerful peasantry. And, although the Irish did not win control of their affairs in the 1880's, their militancy and cohesion in politics insured their eventual control of local government. D.L. Keir pointed out in his study of British constitutional history that "the

policy pursued in Ireland by successive British governments, both Liberal and Conservative, after 1867 rendered it impossible to govern Ireland except, to an increasing extent, with the co-operation of the mass of the native Catholic population."[1] This statement could not have been made if the agitation between 1877 and 1887 had not been directed and controlled by men like Parnell and Healy.

Gladstone, by proposing Home Rule, in effect had recognized that to continue to deny the demands of Ireland would lead to disruption of the United Kingdom.[2] The Liberal leader, therefore, sought to appease the Irish Nationalist leaders and eliminate the threat of violent separation. The Irish Question had become so absorbing by 1885 that Gladstone directed his foreign secretary, Lord Rosebery, that "while we have this big Irish business on hand . . . no other important issue of disturbing character should be raised."[3] And, indeed, Rosebery, to the satisfaction of Tories, kept foreign policy concerns to himself.

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[1]Sir David Lindsay Keir, The Constitutional History of Modern Britain Since 1485 (9th ed.; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1969), pp. 536-7.

[2]One historian pointed out that Gladstone's Home Rule decision was based on a principle of self-government which he had long advocated for the British colonies. See Paul Knaplund, Gladstone and British Imperial Policy (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), p. 161.

[3]Paul Knaplund, Gladstone's Foreign Policy (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935), p. 249.

Throughout the 1880's, the Irish Question frequently dictated inaction or changes in foreign policy. Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher of Cambridge University in their book on British policy in Africa made several significant observations on Ireland's impact on important foreign policy decisions. They pointed out that in 1882, Gladstone sacrificed his policy of non-intervention in Egypt so that the Cabinet would support his Arrears Bill for Ireland.[1] The previous year, Irish affairs significantly affected the Government's South African policy. The Irish M.P.'s unanimous support of the Radicals' position on the Boer crisis forced the Whigs to accept the settlement embodied in the Pretoria Convention.[2] In the midst of the crisis, Charles Dilke, a cabinet member, wrote in his diary:

> Chamberlain had an hour and a half with Bright and got him to write a strong letter to Gladstone about the Transvaal, which we put forward as our ground for proposed resignation, although of course the strength of the [Irish] coercion measures, the weakness of the [Irish] land measures and the predominance of the Whigs in the Cabinet are the real reasons.[3]

Parnell fashioned a strong and well-disciplined party at Westminster, and the mass of the Irish people usually unhesitatingly accepted the political views of these parliamentarians. The party's impact on British affairs in the

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[1]Robinson and Gallagher, p. 112.

[2]Ibid., p. 70.

[3]Ibid.

1880's can best be gauged by considering the basis of many political, constitutional, domestic and foreign policy decisions made by the British Government in this era. The strength of the party depended on several dedicated and zealous workers like Healy to hold together an alliance of constitutional and revolutionary elements in Ireland and to convince the Government in London to honor their demands. Parnell was not the party; he was only one man and not a very dedicated one at some times.

By continually embarassing and disturbing the Government's conduct of English and Imperial politics, the leadership of the Irish party insured that the day of Home Rule soon would come. However, the inability of these men to hold the National movement together after 1891 also insured, indefinitely, that no settlement between the Catholic majority and the Protestant minority was possible. The Nationalist split was directly tied to the relationship of Healy and Parnell. And that split began at Galway in the by-election of February, 1886, when Healy publicly challenged Parnell's right to ignore the Irish M.P.'s and the Irish people in choosing a candidate for a Nationalist constituency.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Although Timothy Michael Healy was a major figure in British politics from 1878 to 1928, no aspect of his career has been the subject of a scholarly study. His early political career, the focus of this study, was especially eventful for Healy and for Ireland. Nevertheless, Healy's role during the ascendant years of Charles Stewart Parnell has been considered only superficially in studies primarily concerned with other topics or persons of this era. Presumably, a primary reason for this neglect is the fact that Healy's private papers are not available to the scholar. In fact, a widespread belief exists to this day that Healy deliberately destroyed his papers after completing his 1928 memoirs, Letters and Leaders of My Day.

The first object of my study, therefore, was to discover if a collection of Healy's private papers still existed. I learned from family sources that, indeed, a large collection of Healy's papers had been deliberately destroyed, but not by T.M. Healy. Healy's grandson and namesake, Dr. T.M. Healy of Dublin, Ireland, informed me by letter on 10 November 1967, that the papers were destroyed sometime in 1953, twenty-two years after Healy died. In a personal interview on 10 July 1968, he told me that the circumstances surrounding the

destruction were not made known to him when he was told of the actual destruction by his aunt Mrs. Maev Sullivan, Healy's daughter, who had written a book on her father, No Man's Man, in 1943. While writing this book, Mrs. Sullivan obviously did not have any of her father's private papers at her disposal. The book, published without footnotes, index or bibliography, was based on Healy's two volumes of memoirs, newspapers, memoirs of other Irish and English politicians, and her recollections of conversations with her father.[1] Dr. Healy commented during the personal interview that Mrs. Sullivan was extremely upset when she learned that the papers had been destroyed, but she did not inform him who had possession of the papers in 1953 or who was responsible for their destruction.

The unfortunate incident in 1953 mainly involved those Healy letters which his brother Maurice had retained. Healy had used these letters as the basis of his memoirs. On 14 August 1968, Maurice Healy's daughter Mrs. Frances O'Connor of Ballintemple, County Cork, wrote me: "After my father's death, my mother sent back all the letters T.M. Healy had written to him, and which he had always kept. It was principally on these letters that T.M. Healy based his book

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[1]Two other non-scholarly books have been published on Healy: Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton, Timothy Healy: Memories and Anecdotes (Dublin: The Talbot Press, Ltd., 1933) and Liam O'Flaherty, The Life of Tim Healy (London: Jonathan Cape, 1927).

Letters and Leaders of My Time [sic], as his own papers and documents had been destroyed during the Civil War."

In a return letter, I asked her to explain her comment regarding the papers destroyed during the Civil War. She replied on 17 August:

> You ask why T.M. Healy papers were destroyed during what we euphemistically allude to as 'The Troubles.' He must have had a lot of confidential documents and letters as he was a sort of liason officer between Collins [Michael Collins, Irish revolutionary hero and leader of the Free State army in the Civil War against the Republican element which refused to recognize the Free State] and his fighting men, and the English Houses [sic] were constantly being raided and it must have seemed more prudent to destroy all papers. There was a reign of terror in the country. . . . He and his brother wrote to each other nearly every day in shorthand, and of course all current events would have been discussed and the letters might have been compromising.

The above quote is illuminating, if a bit confusing. During the Civil War, Healy was Governor-General; and it is unlikely that his personal possessions would have been in danger of destruction at the hands of Republicans. It seems much more feasible that Healy would have destroyed his letters and other documents between 1916-1922, when Ireland was governed by the British army and police seeking to quell the Sinn Fein revolutionary agitation. Also, there really would be no need for Healy to be a "liason man" between Collins and his fighting men during the Civil War when the line of command was formalized and Collins' men were the legitimate armed forces of the Irish Free State. Again, it would seem that Mrs. O'Connor is referring to the years between the Easter

Rebellion of 1916 and the signing of the peace treaty of 1922. That Healy had strong ties with several active revolutionaries is well-known. Certainly, discovery by the British of letters and documents which verified his involvement in the revolutionary movement would have been "compromising." Healy was, for example, very close to Kevin O'Higgins, a prominent revolutionary who was his wife's nephew. (Healy had married the dauthter of T.D. Sullivan, his first cousin.) In its obituary for Healy in 1931, the Dublin Daily Express noted the close relationship between Healy and O'Higgins. Healy, the newspaper noted, "seemed to have found a new incarnation in Kevin O'Higgins; the old spirit, the ancient fire was in the young Minister [Minister of Justice in the Irish Free State] whose career was lovingly watched and advised by his uncle." In the period between 1916 and 1922, Healy defended in court a number of Sinn Feiners, and, in 1918, he voluntarily resigned his seat in Parliament in favor of a Sinn Fein prisoner. His elevation to the position of Governor-General in 1922 is generally attributed to his ties to the Sinn Fein leadership and his friendships with highly-placed members of the British Government who knew him well from his long years of service in Parliament.

It is logical to assume that Healy--like other prominent Nationalists of his time--frequently destroyed letters and other documents throughout his career. For long periods

of time during Healy's public life, Ireland was governed by special coercive legislation which abrogated the ordinary safeguards of the law. During the various stages of the land war in Ireland and the political agitation of the 1880's, England relied on these coercive acts to keep order in Ireland. During this period, Healy was brought to trial twice, served one term in jail and spent several months in the United States to avoid imprisonment. That he did not preserve his personal papers during this period especially is not surprising. Healy noted in his memoirs that, prior to his arrest in 1882 he burned letters that he had written to his wife while in America the previous year.[1] In an 1885 letter to an English acquaintance, Healy stated his fear of police intrusions.[2]

In view of the times, the preservation of Healy's personal letters by his younger brother is amazing indeed. Maurice Healy was a skilled solicitor who also was an active Nationalist. Like his brother, Maurice was an M.P., and thus, also was scrutinized by British law enforcement officers throughout his public career. Then, during the Civil War, Maurice was far more vulnerable than his highly-placed brother to Republican violence. According to Mrs. O'Connor, her father's

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[1]Healy, I, p. 151.

[2]Healy to W. H. Duignan, 11 January 1885 (See Howard, Irish Historical Studies, VIII, p. 244).

house was set on fire by Cork Republicans who "deported" him to England at gunpoint for his support of the Free State. Yet, the letters survived to be passed on to T.M. Healy when Maurice died in 1923. In its 13 December 1928 review of Healy's memoirs, the Cork Examiner stated that Healy did not realize Maurice was preserving their correspondence, and then noted that after Maurice died, that the letters "were all found carefully collected and arranged." Of course, the Healy letters published in Letters and Leaders of My Day would be far more interesting if seen in manuscript rather than in the form in which they were published. Because no one actually saw these letters, the belief has grown that Healy told his story as he wanted it told and then destroyed evidence which could prove the contrary. Family sources which deny this assertion point out that Healy died suddenly in 1931 and that he was working on a second book of memoirs at the time of his death. In its obituary of 27 March 1931, Belfast's Northern Whig commented that Healy was in the midst of preparing another book when he died. On 4 April 1931, Newspaper World made similar comments. Presumably this manuscript also was based on the letters kept by Maurice and destroyed in 1953.

Discovering that Healy's letters were lost forever was not the only frustrating aspect of the search for primary materials for this study. The various manuscript collections in the National Library of Ireland contain no significant

Healy letters or letters authored by others which deal with Healy's role in this period. No doubt this reflects the fact that the Irish politician of Healy's era could not afford to take a chance that British police would obtain incriminating documents. (For example, there are no Parnell papers; only a few Parnell letters survive.) In addition, few Healy letters are located in the collections of the British Museum and other libraries in England. Healy, like most Irish politicians, rarely formalized contacts with the English M.P.'s.

Another frustrating aspect of the search for documents was the fact that the papers of John Dillon and Michael Davitt, two extremely important Irish Nationalists of the period, still are not available to the scholar. Dillon, like Healy, was one of Parnell's key lieutenants during the 1880's despite self-exile in the United States for several years due to health problems. Professor F.S.L. Lyons of the University of Kent at Canterbury utilized the Dillon Papers for several years with the permission of the Dillon family and produced a biography of John Dillon in 1968. In a letter of 17 May 1968, Professor Lyons told me that the Dillon Papers were no longer in his possession and they were not available to researchers. He stated that "a very major task of storing and cataloging is to be undertaken before they will be fit for perusal of scholars."

Davitt, organizer of the Land League and the most prominent Nationalist outside the parliamentarians, was the

inspiration and driving force of the land agitation in the 1880's. He frequently shared the speaking platform with Healy at land meetings and the two were arrested, convicted, and jailed at the same time in 1883. Professor T.W. Moody of Trinity College, Dublin, has held the Davitt Papers for a number of years and is working currently on a biography of the land agitator. In an interview on 13 August 1968, Professor Moody told me that the Davitt papers offer "no critical appraisal" of Healy for the period examined in this study.

Another disappointment was to discover that the "Muldoon Memorandum" concerning the 1886 Galway election had disappeared. The author of the memorandum was John Muldoon, a reporter for the Galway Vindicator who was allowed to attend private conversations in Galway among the Nationalist politicians. He was pledged, however, not to write in his newspaper about what took place at these meetings. Muldoon's recollections of those meetings were set down in a memorandum which was turned over to Professor Moody by a relative of Muldoon in the early 1950's. Professor Moody published an article about the memorandum in the March, 1955, issue of Irish Historical Studies. According to Professor Moody, no copy was made of the memorandum which now cannot be located by family sources I contacted. The memorandum apparently was printed with some handwritten notes added by an unidentified person. Professor Moody said he thought the document

might have been a clipping from a newspaper, but the copy he received contained no date or place of publication.

Of the private collections examined for this study, the most important are the William and Herbert Gladstone Papers in the British Museum, the Joseph Chamberlain Papers at the University of Birmingham Library, and the O'Shea Papers in the National Library of Ireland. Although there are few letters in these collections written to or by Healy, an examination of those letters pertaining to Irish affairs is vital to understanding the political realities of the period. The Chamberlain Papers are important because they contain all of Labouchere's letters about his many private conversations in 1884 and 1885 with Healy, and Chamberlain's replies. The Herbert Gladstone Papers also contain a number of Labouchere's letters on the same subject. In the O'Shea collection, there are several letters from O'Shea to Chamberlain which help explain the hostility which existed between Healy and O'Shea and O'Shea's political objectives. William Gladstone's Papers are indispensible for anyone who wants to comprehend the Grand Old Man's policies toward Ireland. There are several letters from Healy in this collection and a number of letters from Mrs. O'Shea who served as the contact between Parnell and Gladstone.

With only a few of Healy's personal letters surviving to this day, it was necessary to turn to other, less satisfactory sources in order to reconstruct his early political

career. The most important of these sources are Irish and English newspapers. Healy's entry into the inner circle of Nationalist political leaders came as a result of his newspaper writing for the Nation, an early and warm supporter of Irish activists in the House of Commons. The Nation was a weekly publication owned by Healy's uncle T.D. Sullivan, who hired Healy in 1878 to write a column of the activities of Irish parliamentarians. A careful examination and evaluation of Healy's "London Letter" is essential for anyone wanting to grasp Healy's political philosophy and outlook in his early years in the Nationalist movement. Healy left the Nation in 1881 to help edit and to write a similar column for United Ireland, a weekly newspaper dedicated to publicizing the views of Parnell and his parliamentary followers. Healy remained with United Ireland until he challenged Parnell's authority in the Galway election of February, 1886. Because the newspaper was so politically oriented, so thorough in its political coverage and so faithful in following the Parnellite line, it is an indispensible document for anyone studying the Irish Nationalist movement of this era.

The Freeman's Journal, a daily Nationalist newspaper published in Dublin, is another invaluable source of information regarding Irish political activities during this period. Most speeches given by prominent Nationalists were reported in great detail by the Freeman's Journal.

Another interesting collection of Healy's political views can be found in The Republic, an Irish-American newspaper

published in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1882, Healy contributed a weekly column to the newspaper and an examination of his column helps explain the Parnellite strategy with regard to the Irish-American community.

In addition to his newspaper writings in the 1880's, Healy contributed several articles to English journals and published several small books. In 1898, he published Why Ireland Is Not Free: A Study of Twenty Years in Politics; and, although Healy's interpretation of events in the 1870's and 1880's must be weighed carefully, this book, like his memoirs contains some important observations not found elsewhere. His other books and articles were mainly rationalizations of Parnellite parliamentary and political policies.

In order to reconstruct the impact and importance of events taking place in the 1880's, it is essential to read the Annual Register and a cross-section of Irish and English newspapers. In Ireland, the most important Unionist newspapers were the Daily Express and the Irish Times. In England, the Times, the Standard and the Daily News reflected the various political viewpoints of the era. All of these newspapers were thorough in their political coverage and, like all British newspapers of the period, gave extensive coverage to Irish affairs. Irish and English provincial newspapers also are important sources, and many of these can be examined at the British Museum's annex at Colendale.

While Healy earned his living by writing, he also earned a reputation as a highly unorthodox, but skillful and effective Member of Parliament. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, therefore, is an invaluable source in following and understanding the activities of Healy as a parliamentarian. However, in order to truly appreciate the impact of Healy's activities in Parliament and to learn the observations and evaluations of friend and foe alike, a reading of the memoirs and authorized biographies of prominent politicians of the day, both Irish and English, is essential. On the Irish side, the most important are R. Barry O'Brien's The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell (1898); William O'Brien's Recollections (1905) and Evening Memories (1920); T.P. O'Connor's Memoirs of an Old Parliamentarian (1929) and The Parnell Movement (1891); Justin McCarthy's England Under Gladstone (1884); Michael Davitt's The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland (1904); John Denvir's The Irish in Britain (1892) and Katherine O'Shea's Charles Stewart Parnell (1914). Some of the more important books written from the English viewpoint are Lord Eversley's Gladstone and Ireland; John Morley's The Life of William Ewart Gladstone (1903); Algar Labouchere Thorold's The Life of Henry Labouchere (1913); T. Wexmyss Reid's Life of the Right Hon. W.E. Forster (1888); Stephen Gwynn's and Gertrude M. Tuckwell's The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke (1918); A.G. Gardiner's The Life of Sir William Harcourt; Winston S. Churchill's Lord Randolph Churchill (1906) and Bernard Holland's The Life of Spencer Compton, Eighth Duke of Devonshire (1911).

There are several scholarly books dealing with aspects of the period examined in this study which should be consulted by anyone interested in the period's political history. In particular, Conor Cruise O'Brien's Parnell and His Party, 1880-1890 (1957) is an indispensible guide for the student of Anglo-Irish political relations. An important study which provides background to the crucial 1880's is David Thornley's Isaac Butt and Home Rule (1964). The agrarian agitation in Ireland which first provided Parnellite politicians with an opportunity to effectively pressure the Government is thoroughly examined in Norman D. Palmer's The Irish Land League Crisis (1940). J.L. Hammond's Gladstone and the Irish Nation (1938) is a detailed study of Gladstone's attitudes and policies toward Ireland throughout his career. The most comprehensive study of an important Irish politician is F.S.L. Lyons' John Dillon: A Biography (1968). L.P. Curtis' Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland examines policies of the Tory Party toward Ireland in the 1880's. The best study of Irish-American activities during the Parnellite years is Thomas N. Brown's Irish-American Nationalism (1966).

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