

**Deprecated by the Government.**

I wish to intervene only for a short while and to a very limited extent in this debate. I can assure the House and I may venture to make the assurance with the greatest possible respect, although some people may think that it is not a very respectful assurance to make, but still I make it with the greatest possible respect,—that it is not from any belief that anything I can say, or wish to say at this time, will have the slightest effect on the public opinion of this House (loud cheers from the Irish benches), or upon the public opinion of this country (renewed Irish cheers). I have been accustomed, during my political life, to rely upon the public opinion of those whom I have desired to help, and with whose aid I have worked for the cause of prosperity and freedom in Ireland (great Irish cheering); and the utmost that I desire to do in the few words which I shall address to this House is to make my position clear to the Irish people at home and abroad from the unjust aspersions which have been cast upon me by a man who ought to be ashamed to devote his high ability to the task of traducing them (cheers). I do not wish to reply on my own behalf to the questions of the right hon. gentleman, the late Mr. Forster, on the subject of Ireland." I consider that he has no right to question my standing, as he does in position very little better than that of an informer with regard to the secrets of the men with whom he was associated, (cheers and laughter); and he has not even the pretext of that remarkable informer whose proceedings we have lately heard of. He had not even the pretext of that miserable man, that he was attempting to save his own life (renewed cheers). No, sir; other motives or less importances seem to have weighed with the right hon. gentleman in the extraordinary course which he has adopted on the present occasion, of going out of his way to collect together a series of extracts, perhaps nine or ten in number, out of a number of speeches—many hundreds and perhaps thousands—delivered during the Land movement by other people, and not by me—upon which to found a charge against me for what has been said and done by others, (cheers). If the right honorable gentleman had even been accurate in his quotations, there might have been some excuse for him;—but, upon this occasion, also, he has displayed the same remarkable ignorance as to matters of fact, in connection with Irish affairs, that he displayed during his tenure of office as Chief Secretary for Ireland, (hear, hear, and cheers). He has charged me with the responsibility for writings in the *Irish World*. Sir, I suppose if there is one newspaper that I differ with more than another, it is the *Irish World*. The *Irish World* is a newspaper of this kind. I have studied less, it is the *Irish World*. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Forster) appears to have been studying the *Irish World* very closely, during the progress of the Land movement (laughter), and in the considered that the articles in that newspaper incited, or were likely to produce, crime in Ireland, why did he not exercise that power,—the common law power,—which he subsequently exercised, and refuse to allow that newspaper to circulate in Ireland? (Irish cheers.) What is the difference between the responsibility of the right hon. gentleman who read these articles, who divined their tenor, and anticipated what their result would be, and yet who refused to take the responsibility of preventing their circulation among the peasantry,—what, I repeat, is the difference between his responsibility and that of the man who never read the articles which are now brought up as an accusation against me, because, indeed, Mr. Patrick Ford, in his office, in Brooklyn or New York, chooses to direct his newspaper for the purpose of destroying, or attempting to destroy, the movement which we have been so carefully building up in Ireland? (Cheers.) Mr. Patrick Ford's aims and objects and programmes are not my aims and objects and programmes (renewed cheers), although they may be much nearer the aims and objects and programmes of the Chief Secretary than they are to mine. I have heard desirous to think, and (loud cheers). I have had very little time to get into the speech of the right honorable gentleman, and to arrange the different accusations which he has made against me in order; but I think that another of his great points was, that whilst he made, not against me, but against my hon. friend the member for Mallow, the editor of *United Ireland*, for some paragraphs—not "articles"—which appeared in that journal; and he asked last night, "Does the hon. member for the city of Cork approve of the articles in *United Ireland*?" I nodded my head; I supposed that he alluded to the articles that appeared in *United Ireland* either before or after my imprisonment; but what was my surprise to find that he alluded to paragraphs which appeared in the paper—at the time when the hon. member for Mallow, the editor responsible in the eye of the law for what appeared in the newspaper, and myself, together with the majority of the staff of the paper, were in prison—(laughter and cheers)—where we were denied even the privilege

of seeing a single copy of that newspaper—"when it was utterly impossible, so close was the watch kept by the police at the right hand of the Government," who failed to treat us well and faithfully; as I know, though attempts to throw doubts upon their faithfulness have been made"—and clearly were we watched that it was perfectly impossible to obtain a single copy of that paper; yet, he does not scruple taking advantage—and recollect that this is what makes such conduct so guilty, and it is this conduct which marked his career when he was Chief Secretary,—taking advantage of the ignorance of the members of this House on Irish affairs, taking advantage of the prejudices which prevail in this country against Ireland,—and of courses there are always reasons for prejudice when one nation attempts the impossible task of governing another.—taking advantage of the trials in Dublin, where twenty men will have to face the tribunal constituted under the Ormsby Act, which is to say whether they are to live or not—taking advantage of all those unprecedented and extraordinary circumstances which surround us at the present time—the right hon. gentleman selects in this way his headings and passages, and incidents such as these, and uses the purpose of making an accusation against me and making me responsible for the words of others (cheers). And furthermore, he is not only guilty of sinning in commission, he is guilty of suppression also. Not only is he the *suggestio falsi* but the *suppressio veri* applicable to his speech (cheers). The heading of these paragraphs was, I believe, "Incidents of the Campaign;" but the very moment my hon. friend, the member for Mallow, was released from prison and resumed control of the paper, that very moment the heading disappeared (cheers). It does seem, I say, infamous and shocking that we should have such accusations made against us in this House for acts over which we could not by any possibility have the slightest control (great cheering). Now, I do not propose to accept the rather indecent invitation which has been held out to me to discuss the recent proceedings in Dublin (hear, hear). I have been asked to give an explanation with regard to matters which have been put in evidence at the preliminary investigation at Kilmainham. The right hon. gentleman, the Attorney-General, the Secretary, who is a lawyer of great eminence and ability, rebuked the right hon. gentleman the member for the University of Dublin for asking him to go into these matters (hear, hear), and expressly declined to do so into them. The right hon. gentleman, however, shortly afterwards loudly applauded me when I spoke of my hon. friend (hear, hear) when he invited me to go into these matters, and did not only loudly applaud, but called out to seek in ecstasy (hear, hear, and cheers). I do not wish to refer to the evidence which is now being given before the courts in Dublin; but, as that evidence has been, by the Dublin correspondents of the London papers, garbled in the most extraordinary way, I will just refer to it so far as to state what the evidence actually was,—I mean the evidence which is supposed to throw suspicion on some members of the Land League,—as having connected them with these terrible assassinations in the Phoenix Park (hear, hear). Now, sir, the statements that were made in that direction were made by the approver Carey. There is no need to comment upon that fact beyond saying that they were statements not of fact, but of belief. They are mere numbers in number. Firstly, Carey swore that he had met a person in the garb of a priest, and that he was introduced to him as "Father Murphy"; and that this man informed him (Carey) that he was going down into the mountains to form a branch of the "Invincibles" organization. Carey then said that he was afterwards informed (but he did not say by whom) that this "Father Murphy" was Mr. Sheridan, of Tubbercurry. Secondly, Carey swore that some amongst his comrades received the money came from America, but where he believed it came from the Land League. Thirdly, again, the House should bear in mind the statement of belief; and if the House will acquit me of any desire to comment on this evidence, I simply quote Carey to show what the evidence really was, and am perfectly satisfied to allow the House to draw its own conclusions (cheers). Thirdly, Carey swore that a woman, who, he was informed, was Mrs. Frank Byrne, wife of the secretary of the English Land Confederation, brought him weapons. That, too, is hearsay evidence. I wish to point out again that these statements of Carey's would not have been admissible in an ordinary case, and would not have been admitted, were it not that he had sworn that he heard these statements made by some among the prisoners who were charged with participating in the conspiracy (cheers). At that evidence, I say again, was hearsay evidence; and, so far as we have gone, the third statement—that the woman who brought the weapons was Mrs. Frank Byrne, has been unduly disproved, for, when Mrs. Byrne is brought over for identification, Carey refused to identify her, and she was discharged with profuse apologies from the Irish benches (cheers). The second of the approver's statements, namely, with regard to the source from which the money came, seems to rest on what was said by his comrades, and which I am perfectly willing to admit, and which I believe to be true, and so the witness has got obseques for the support of the families from the "Sustentation Fund" while in prison. These obseques, it is right to tell the House, are paid to hundreds of the families, and are common throughout the country. It was the ordinary custom of the managers of the Sustentation Fund to give money to the families of all prisoners, and very often was given to the prisoners themselves, and was given because the families of the prisoners were deprived of the ordinary means of support by the imprisonment of the bread-winners; and I believe evidence will be brought to show that Edward McCaffery, one of the prisoners, actually sent back his cheque to the Ladies' Land League, and told him that he did not belong to the Land League,—that he had done nothing that would entitle him to support out of the "Sustentation Fund." And yet the fact that the Ladies' Land League sent those men cheques, in connection with other "suspects" throughout Ireland, has been put forward as implicating us in a mere suspicion of having found money for the purpose of committing the Phoenix Park murders (cheers). Now, sir, with regard to Mr. Sheridan's statement has been made, and very extensively quoted in the English newspapers, that I offered the services of the West of Ireland, and considered him a fit reward for the work because he knew all the details of these outrages. This statement is based upon a celebrated Government memorandum, which the right hon. gentleman rebuked he furnished to his colleagues, and which when they decided upon the release of the "suspects" (hear, hear, from Irish members). But it is right to point out for the information of the English public that the right hon. gentleman is directly contradicted in regard to the Government memorandum;

"The following are the facts." I myself know nothing about the organisation of the Land League, but, I told Mr. Forster that I had been informed by Mr. Parnell, that the day before, if the arrests question were settled, that organisation would explain the boom to the people, and tell them that they ought to assist the operation of the remedial measures in the tranquillising of the country. I added that Mr. Parnell had expressed his belief that Messrs. Davitt, Egan, Sheridan and Boyton would use all their exertions, if placed in a position to do so, to advance the pacification of the country, and that Mr. Sheridan was the only one of special importance to the West of Ireland, because of the fact that he had been the chief organiser in Connaught, while Mr. Boyton had held a similar appointment in Leitrim. Upon these points "he continued," "I knew no more and said no more." So that we at once came to this—that a question of grave dispute with regard to a matter of fact has arisen between the right hon. gentleman the member for Bradford and the hon. and gallant member for Okehampton. Now, sir, it is a very remarkable thing that the right hon. gentleman should not have mentioned those other names (Irish cheers) in his Cabinet memorandum.

Mr. Forster.—They were not mentioned to me (cries of Oh, from the Irish members). Captain O'Shea rose, amidst cries of "Or—" from the Ministerial benches, on which the hon. gentleman sat down, but there being hurriedly out of the House, a movement which provoked considerable merriment among the Ministerials, which quickly changed to alarm, when the member for Bradford was returned to his seat, with a volume of a sneer's "Parliamentary Reports" under his arm.

Mr. Parnell continued.—Mr. Davitt was released immediately afterwards, owing to the representations which were made by the hon. member for Okehampton. Why was Mr. Davitt's name not included in the Cabinet memorandum? (Cheers.) Why was Mr. Boyton's name not included in this Cabinet memorandum? (Renewed cheers.) He had left Ireland immediately after his release, and it was known he could not return to Ireland without being arrested. Why was Mr. Egan not included in the Cabinet memorandum? (Renewed cheers.) Why was it that only Mr. Sheridan's name was selected for the purpose of attempting to make out that I was privy to and knew of some connection of Mr. Sheridan's with outrages or attempted outrages? (Hear, hear, from the Irish members.) I leave these questions to be answered by members who may have a better knowledge with regard to what actually passed than I have. I hope, however, their significance will be considered and pondered on by the House. The right hon. gentleman has asked me to defend myself. Sir, I have nothing to defend myself for (loud cheers from the Irish members.) The right hon. gentleman has confessed that he attempted to obtain a declaration or public promise from me which would have had the effect, if given, of discrediting me with the Irish people (cheers). He has admitted that he failed at that attempt (loud cheers), and falling in at that attempt he lost his own position (renewed cheers). He boasted last night that he had posed me from some imaginary position in which he was pleased to assign me; but at present I have this consolation—that he also posed himself—(renewed cheers). We both fell into the ditch, and I do not think that in the process of pulling ourselves out I have suffered quite so much in the opinion of my countrymen as the right hon. gentleman has suffered in the opinion of his countrymen (loud cheers). The right hon. gentleman has deposited me from my position as a prominent Irish politician, I admit, that he has been very successful in that. I have been very little part in Irish politics since my release from Kilmainham. I expressed my reason for that upon the passing of the Crimes Bill. I said that in my judgment the Crimes Bill would result in such a state of affairs as it would between the Government and the secret agitators it would be impossible for constitutional agitation to exist in Ireland—(hear, hear, from the Irish members). I believe so still—(hear, hear). And what is the mass of news which was published in the journals of yesterday—cabled from America? It is from Mr. Patrick Ford, of the *Irish World*, who used to collect money for the purpose of aiding it to us, is now collecting it for a very different purpose (hear, hear, from the Irish members). The right hon. gentleman may think that as another part of his work—(cheers). I regret that it should be so. I look upon the utmost apprehension to the future relations between England and Ireland (hear, hear). I see that it is impossible to stem the current of prejudice which has arisen during the last few days. I regret that the officials charged with the administration of this Act are unfitted for their post (cheers from the Irish members). I am afraid the right hon. gentleman, the present Chief Secretary to the Government, must admit that to the fullest extent (hear, hear) and looking forward to the day when Mr. Bradfoot, he must say himself, "Why am I here, while he is there?" (Great laughter and cheers.) I am the right hon. gentleman's successor in the administration of Ireland, and, according to his own account, knew everything, although he was invariably wrong (renewed laughter and cheers)—why did he depose from his position and the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) prentice, although a very willing hand—ced in his stead? I feel, I think, that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant must to himself, in the words of Scripture, "I do not worthy to uncover his shoe latchet" (renewed laughter and cheers). It would have been far better, if you were going to be an Act of this kind, and to administer an Act of this kind as you are obliged to administer it, and as you have been going to administer it, "up to the hilt," by the seasoned politician in Ireland, Mr. Seale, and look out for secret negotiations in Dublin (loud cheers). Send him to the Lord Lieutenant's office, and let him superintend the payment of blood money (renewed cheers). Let him be the one to whom the people, the unfortunate and starving peasantry have to pay crimes not committed by them (renewed laughter and cheers). This would be congenial to his rank and send your abject and best men to the ranks and send your task of the Government. Push forward the task of the Government, and let the people of the country and the time will come when the House of Commons of the people of this country will admit once in that they have been mistaken—that they have been deceived—that they have been deceived of deceiving them—that they have been deceived as to the right method of governing a noble, a generous, a brave, and intelligent people. (Great laughter and cheers.)

...ent leaders, who are conducting them into the terrible course upon which, I am sorry to say, the Government appears to be determined to carry out; their duty, whose aid and assistance the right gentleman has refused to give, and who have been called upon by the Government to support it. The Government has been called upon by the Government to support it. The Government has been called upon by the Government to support it.

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