

kindred, and all the sacrifices of your imprisoned brothers."

Following closely on the heels of this manifesto came a proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, warning all persons that the association styling itself the Irish National Land League, or by whatsoever other name it might be called or known, was an unlawful and criminal association, and that all meetings and assemblies to carry out or promote its designs or purposes were alike unlawful and criminal, and would be prevented, and, if necessary, dispersed by force; warning too all persons connected with the said association to disconnect themselves therefrom, and to abstain from giving further countenance thereto; and declaring that all the powers and resources of the government would be employed to protect the Queen's subjects in Ireland in the free exercise of their lawful rights and in the peaceful pursuit of their lawful callings and occupations, to enforce the fulfilment of all lawful obligations, and to save the processes of the law and the execution of the Queen's writs from hindrance or obstruction. The plain meaning of this was that the Government was determined, *per vim et arma*, to uphold Landlord tyranny, and drive the people into the catacombs— to conspiracy and mad insurrection.

But from all friendly quarters, from the imprisoned leaders, from the clergy, from the press, even from such organs as the *Irish World*, wise counsels came, and wise counsels prevailed. People who were determined to pay no rent would not be provoked into an armed resistance. They could be patient and wait, and were sure to win in the end.

At this point, Archbishop Croke published a letter disapproving the Land League manifesto, and repudiating the doctrine of the nonpayment of rent in unequivocal terms. He declared that he held to the original platform of the League; that there was no more reason for abandoning it now than there was when Davitt took possession of his cell in Portland. It was a sufficiently elastic policy. It was a righteous policy; it was a successful policy; and it pained him to think that any attempt should be made to displace the old lines, especially by the very men by whom they were so judiciously laid down. Thoroughly believing in the policy of the past in all its substantial branches, he quite as firmly believed that the policy now so impetuously recommended to the country, besides being condemned on grounds of principle and expediency, could lead to nothing but disintegration and defeat.

From Paris Mr. Egan immediately telegraphed to Archbishop Croke, that the original programme of the League was not "Fair Rents," but the abolition of Landlordism! He pointed out that there was no comparison between the present situation and that when Davitt

and the first of the "suspects" were arrested. The government had now thrown away all pretences, appealed to brute force, and suppressed all forms of constitutional expression. He asked whether the Archbishop advised the people to surrender at discretion, pay rent to their real jailors and resuscitate the corpse of Landlordism; and said that the executive of the Land League had long and carefully considered the advisability of a strike against rent, and believed it the only wise and courageous course.

And the opinion of the Irish in America was voiced by the *Boston Pilot* in the following words:—At first view, it must have appeared to many that the "No Rent" manifesto was precipitate and mistaken. It would seem to be an utter refusal to recognize the rights of property. But it is not so. It simply means that, until the Government returns to constitutional practices, the Irish farmers refuse to move in any way. They do not rebel: they stand with folded arms. Leaping to the first conclusion, even the Prelate who had taken the first place in Irish affection, without one hour's consideration, issued a condemnation of the manifesto. This action, we believe, Archbishop Croke will profoundly regret in the near future. The leaders were in prison. The great organization, perfect and unbroken, was resting and waiting. The only officer at liberty, of its old command, was one whose head was known to be unequal in ability to the impulsive dictates of his heart. Action under such leadership might naturally be shrank from. Above all requirements for the moment, Ireland needed those of coolness and foresight. But the "No Rent" policy was not the thought of any one man. It was the surging and suppressed opinion of Irishmen everywhere that flamed out at last when patience was no longer a virtue, when the Government had outraged law, when the people of Ireland were a proclaimed slave-population, when public meetings were scattered by bayonets, when legal agitation was declared a high crime, when the leaders of the people were in irons, and the people themselves were under orders to lie down and be manacled.

Meantime Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Dr. Dillon Egan, delegates of the Irish Land League to the people of America, had arrived on this side, and were addressing nightly immense assemblages in the principal cities of the United States. Defending the attitude the League had adopted, previous to Mr. Parnell's arrest, towards the Land Bill, Mr. O'Connor said: "We are accused of not giving the mice to go into a court where the bench was exclusively occupied by cats. We are accused of not giving it a fair trial because we refused to tell our people that they should have confidence in a court presided over by a converted rebel and the most abject flunkey lawyer alive. We are accused because we kept up an organization which we would be willing to dis-