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THE  
SPEECHES AND PUBLIC LETTERS  
OF  
THE LIBERATOR  
WITH  
*PREFACE AND HISTORICAL NOTES.*

BY  
M. F. CUSACK,  
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE LIBERATOR,"  
"THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF IRELAND,"  
ETC. ETC. .

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"I have struggled for happy homes and altars free."  
*Speech at Athlone, Aug 1825.*

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*VOL. I.*

DUBLIN  
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~~I~~ DEDICATE THIS WORK

TO

HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE,

Archbishop of Tuam,

*A S A M E M O R I A L*

OF THE

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS CONSECRATION TO THE EPISCOPATE,

AS A PERSONAL TOKEN OF AFFECTIONATE RESPECT

AND GRATITUDE,

AND

IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

BY WHOM HIS GRACE IS SO DEEPLY AND JUSTLY REVERED.

KERNABE, JUNE 5TH, 1875.



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE careful student of the history enacting at the present day, for we are all enacting history, and of the history of the past century, cannot fail to observe how singularly pertinent the speeches of O'Connell are to current events.

Genius is mental power, and as we are reciprocative beings genius leaves its impress, deeper or less deep, on the lives of others. In some genius develops itself exclusively in action. The combination of successful general and skilful statesman, as, for example in Wellington or MacMahon, is rare. The mental power which has its outcome in physical force is seldom beneficent, nor are its effects lasting; the mental power which is exercised in moral or intellectual suasion is lasting, generally in proportion to its beneficence. It is simply a law of Eternal Truth that good shall triumph, *magna est veritas et prævalebit*, and even in time it prevails; it triumphs though we may not always recognise its victory, because we do not always recognise the form of its apotheosis.

It is not altogether to the credit of humanity, nor to the glorification of a much-boasted march of intellect, but it is simply true that there is scarcely a speech uttered by the Irish-

man whose voice echoed through the old Parliament of the early century, which might not be proclaimed with equal force and truth in the new and ornate House of Commons. It would seem almost as if everything was new except prejudice, as if the advance of Liberal principles was a step in advance towards a licentious freedom rather than a forward march to the banner of true liberty.

We find O'Connell in his earliest speeches pleading with incontrovertible eloquence to the common sense of his fellowmen, to convince them that Catholic and traitor, that Romanist and perjurer were not convertible terms. Nearly half a century has passed away—no act, no word of disloyalty has been proved against Catholics, no oath has been violated, no treason has been discovered, and yet all O'Connell's words are needed again: one statesman, who might be excused from the puerility of age, if his life had not been consistent with his later words, having reiterated the foolish accusations against the Catholic clergy which O'Connell was weary of contesting and answering, and though Lord John Russell has long ceased to have disciples, he is not altogether without followers;\* while Mr. Gladstone, whose fame culminated when he indicted the

\* In a chapter entitled "Justice to Ireland," he lays down the following propositions:—

1. That murders in Ireland are not the isolated crimes of persons excited by covetousness or revenge, but the deliberate acts of a powerful confederation, which, in defiance of the Queen and Parliament, orders the infliction of a criminal law more formidable than the law of the State. The proposition can be demonstrated both by authority and by numerous instances.

2. That the Roman Catholic clergy in the capacity of parish priests have great sway over the minds of the people of Ireland, but being entirely dependent upon the voluntary offerings of their flocks, are, from sympathy or from fear, unwilling to appear as the prosecutors of the confederacy that directs and executes murder.

King of Naples for tyranny, has found, or forestalled his declension by indicting the Pope.\*

One fact is worth a good many assertions. The ex-premier, capable man as he is, has not been able to find a single instance in which English Catholics have been disloyal to their country or deceptive in their oath of allegiance. He might have found an instance of deceptiveness and disloyalty amongst those modern Italians, of whose general proceedings, both sacred and secular, he has become so singularly enamoured.

Signor Cavelotti, an "older" Catholic than Dollinger, who rejects not merely a few creeds, but all, has declared himself, in undeniable terms, on the subject of an oath—this gentleman, whom, we suppose, Mr. Gladstone would delight to honour, was elected by the citizens of Corteolona to represent their opinions in Monte Citorio. He objects to taking an oath, not believing in divine or human rule, but he objects still more strongly to the renunciation (for such a trifle) of parliamentary honours. He takes the oath, he is advanced in the liberality and civilization which this English statesman so ardently admires. But to reconcile the matter to his conscience, he de-

\* We take the following extract from the Report of her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed to inquire into the management and government of the College of Maynooth in 1855:—

"We should, however," say her Majesty's Commissioners, "be doing injustice to the College if we failed to report as the general result of the whole evidence before us, that we see no reason to believe that there has been any disloyalty in the teaching of the College, or any disposition to impair the obligations of an unreserved allegiance to your Majesty."—*Maynooth Commission*, 1855, page 64.

At the time of the report the doctrine of Papal Infallibility was taught in the College to the future priests of Ireland, yet the Commissioners saw no reason on this account to doubt the "unreserved allegiance" of Catholics to her Majesty.

clares that he has no intention whatever of keeping it. The "public conscience of Italy," he says, "has already proclaimed the nullity of political oaths." If a Catholic had made such a declaration, or uttered such a sentiment, what vials of indignant wrath would have been justly poured forth upon him; but the author of these exceedingly enlightened sentiments is only a follower of Victor Emmanuel, and an advanced specimen of that perfection to which everything Italian has attained since its Government ceased to be Catholic.

Burke said,\* that "the Popery Laws were one leading cause of the imbecility of the country:" had he lived in our own times he might have said that an anti-Popery mania was a painful indication of the mental failure of eminent men.

But, as our present object is merely to indicate the relevancy of O'Connell's speeches to subjects of the day, we pass on.†

\* Works, vol. i., page 325.

† It is observable, and characteristic of the times, that a Comtist, Mr. F. Harrison, has come forward in defence of Catholic liberty of conscience, and to condemn Protestant intolerance. Writing to the *New York World*, he says: "It is easy to force Catholics or any other theologians into logical dilemmas; but, as a matter of fact, we all know that a more loyal, conservative, and national body of men does not exist in this island. They cause no Government trouble, neither embarrass Church nor State. Mr. Gladstone, Lord Acton, and Dr. Dollinger, appear to have put their heads together to start an 'Old Catholic' movement in England, as a pendant to the ridiculous neo-Christian bubble in the Anglican Church. Even in Germany, where Old Catholicism is supported by the whole force of the Government (which takes it up just as Napoleon III. used to subvention an inspired newspaper), it is a miserable abortion. Here it will be welcomed by only half a dozen archæologists, and die out like 'Lady Huntingdon's Connection.' As to the deeper principles in this discussion, it certainly seems to me that those who attack the Church are asking of it admissions which they never would make themselves. If they would they are teaching doctrines more dangerous to liberty and morality than any attributed to the Popes. To tell a Church that it is never to meddle with politics, never to teach a duty different from that approved



The Irish magistrates of O'Connell's time were the frequent and deserved objects of his strongest animadversions. A glance at his parliamentary statements, always too well-founded for refutation, will show that his interference was not unneeded. Times, or rather opinions, have changed since the day when men could be judges in their own cause, and could condemn the innocent because they happened to be personally obnoxious. But since human nature does not change, except in the form of its developments of evil, we may even yet find cases to which O'Connell's words are singularly applicable.

One of his most powerful speeches was on the subject of Coercion Laws for Ireland, and on the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* (Feb. 18, 1833). It is painful to record that much which it contains is equally applicable in February, 1875. He showed that the supposed necessity for treating the Irish virtually as a nation at war with England was "gossiping stories" of less value than the "ravings of antiquated womanhood." He asked, in stern tones of indignant remonstrance, to whom the Irish people were to look when they were liable to imprisonment and loss of property and perhaps life at the suspicion or caprice of the Irish Government. He gives

by the Government of the day, is to tell it that it is not to be a religious community at all, but a Government bureau on a par with the official gazette. There is no religious community, no moral or intellectual association which would honestly accept these terms. If every opinion a man may hold is to be followed out to what we think the logical result, and every man is to be supposed in any dilemma which our ingenuity can frame, every man is a rebel. If Mr. Disraeli and the Archbishop of Canterbury succeeded in passing an Act to burn every copy of the Bible, Mr. Newdegate and Mr. Whalley would be preaching sedition and heading a rebellion. If they passed an Act abolishing in Anglican churches vestments, crosses, fonts and organs, rubrics, prayer-books and hymn-books, Mr. Gladstone would be raging about the country as the Hugh Peters of a new rebellion."

instances, within his own knowledge, of the cruel injustice of arrests on simple suspicion and imprisonment without trial, and yet we find that such practices are not discontinued in peaceful Ireland—that the people of the King's County are obliged to protest, and have protested in calm and dignified language, against the continuation of Coercion Acts, where, out of a population of 75,900, there was only one prisoner in jail, who had two chaplains, a doctor, a governor, a deputy governor, a matron, in fact a staff of fifteen officials for his own special behoof and benefit. Mr. Stirling, one of the Town Commissioners of Tullamore, having well observed that under such circumstances it was essentially bad policy to renew the Coercion Act, for “instead of uniting England and Ireland in a mighty friendship, it only tended to intensify the hatred and bad feeling prevailing between the two peoples,” thus unconsciously re-echoing the very language and argument of O'Connell.

In this peaceful county, 268 policemen are occupied in doing nothing, and in this meeting, which was composed of men of the most opposite politics, Home Rulers, Liberals and Conservatives, it was suggested with laughter, but not without reason, that the few magistrates who were desirous of thus “preserving the peace” had more probably in view “preserving their game.”

It is singular that men of the highest intellectual ability, of unquestionable rectitude, of benevolent habits, and of general information, should be so singularly beguiled or blinded by prejudice to facts when Ireland is concerned or when its faith is in question.\*

\* In the end of last century the well-known Father O'Leary wrote thus. His letter, dated June 5, 1790, might be studied at the present day with advantage by the wilfully ignorant:—

“If in reality the tenets of my Church were such as prejudice and ignorance proclaim them—if they taught me that a Papal dispensation could

O'Connell declared again and again that the gross ignorance of English statesmen on Irish questions, whether real or assumed, was one of the strongest arguments for Repeal of the Union. A similar argument might be made in the present day with little less justice as a plea for Home Rule.\*

But O'Connell's philanthropy was neither sectarian nor national; all men were his brothers; and he pleaded alike for all. His liberality was seen again and again in his defence of the consciences of Dissenters, whose religious liberty he would guard with a sacredness which they had not always extended to others.

On the subject of Reform, Parliamentary and Social, he was greatly in advance of the most advanced minds of his age; and could he enter once more the Opposition benches in the House of Commons, we cannot doubt that he would defend the English rough from the debasing punishment of the lash, which there is

sanctify guilt, sanction conspiracies, murders, the extirpation of my fellow-creatures on account of difference of religious opinions, perjury to promote the Catholic cause, by pious breaches of allegiance to Protestant kings, or rebellion against their government—if it were an article of my belief that a priestly absolution without sorrow for my sins, or a resolution of amendment, had the power of a charm to reclaim me to the state of unoffending infancy, and enable me, like Milton's devil, to leap from the gulf of sin into Paradise without purifying my heart or changing my affections—if it were an article of my faith that the grace of an indulgence could give me the extraordinary privilege of sinning without guilt or offending without punishment—if it inculcated any maxim evasive of moral rectitude—in a word, if the features of my religion corresponded with the pictures drawn of it in flying pamphlets and anniversary declamations, I would consider myself and the rest of my fraternity as downright idiots, wretchedly stupid, to remain one hour in a state which deprives us of our rights as citizens, whereas such an accommodating scheme would render them not only attainable but certain."

\* See Speeches *passim*.

no longer even the shadow of an excuse for administering to the Irish peasant. O'Connell was no sentimental advocate for the remission of the just penalty of crime; but it is one thing to punish and another to revenge. Because men are brutal, they are not to be flogged like beasts into deeper depths of moral degradation. If the state of society in England has come to such a pass that physical force is to be the only deterrent from crime, it is time for statesmen to inquire a little more into the causes of crime, and to make some larger and more effective efforts for its prevention.

Brutes are apt to be revengeful even for just punishment, and a time may come when the human brute may have the power as he most certainly will have the desire of revenge. Well might O'Connell exclaim that "it was lamentable to see a country increasing everywhere in science and art, and so backward in the progress towards civilization in her criminal laws."\*

O'Connell's power of adaptation was singularly developed. He could win the Irish heart with a smile and racy anecdote, yet he did not forget in addressing an Irish audience that he spoke to men the very poorest of whom were as thoroughly *au courant* of the political questions of the day as himself, and almost as capable of giving an opinion on them. His humour was infectious. An eminent prelate of the Catholic Church in Ireland said one day to the present writer, "he laughed in every inch of his body," and in Ireland he could laugh as he pleased.

As a parliamentary orator, his forte was quickness of retort and a power of scathing sarcasm which told on its victims, who, while they would fain deny the ability of the "Broguing Irish-

\* July 3, 1834. See also his observations on the brutalizing influence of prize fights.

man\* writhed, not always in silence under the lightning shafts of his ire.\*

There is yet one other of many subjects on which O'Connell spoke out plainly and sternly, in somewhat of anger and yet not without a shade of sorrowful regret. English Catholics, who owed all their civil and all their public religious advantages to the courage and fidelity of the Irish people, were cold in their recognition, and not unfrequently contemptuous even in their faint praise.

This was no new feeling, but it did not enhance itself by age. When England was as Catholic and as devoted to the Chair of Peter as Ireland, there was little reciprocity of sentiment. It was in the ages of faith that the word "Irish dogge" was applied. But times were changed. The "dogge" had proved faithful. The Saxon consulted his worldly interests and sacrificed his eternal hopes. The Celt, through ages of no common persecution, of no common temptation, endured the loss of all things, endured worse than loss. It might have been supposed that those who professed the same faith would have honoured him for his constancy, would have taken a very pride in his virtue.

But it was not so. Honourable exceptions there were, no doubt. But O'Connell was obliged to declare that "English Catholics had forgotten who emancipated them," when, as he expressively termed it, "they were afraid of their own shadows."†

\* Sir Robert Peel was thoroughly conscious of O'Connell's ability as a debater. His name was one day mentioned at Lady Beauchamp's as a "broguing Irish fellow." Lord Westmoreland asked Peel's opinion, and he replied, "If I wanted an efficient and eloquent advocate, I would readily give up all those of whom we have been speaking, provided I had with me this same 'broguing Irish fellow.'"

† June 13, 1832.

It is a subject which merits a special consideration at the present day.

It is somewhat startling to find a statesman of singular ability, and who was once, at least, supposed to be of enlarged mind, seconding the Falck Laws, and openly avowing his entire concurrence in the Bismarckian persecutions.

It is not unfair to argue that he needs not the will but the power to persecute. How soon a man may be found who shall have both qualifications who may dare predict. Both friend and foe admit that this malignant paper attack upon Popery and Rome has had its origin in the biting humiliation of a disappointed ambition. Irish prelates and Irish people would not bow to the parliamentary ukase of the Prime Minister. Catholics must be made to suffer, with the pen at least; how long the sword of individual and general persecution may be withheld is another matter.

Some Catholics, not Irish, have been ungenerously taunted with an over zeal for the Papal power, and with having set their house on fire thereby. If the house is set on fire, not metaphorically but really, it will be by deeds not by words, and it is quite possible that the Celt will have the principal share in extinguishing the conflagration. A period must come from time to time in the world's history when the Church and the world will come into collision. No prudence of speech, no wisdom of action can avoid the shock. The two powers are antagonistic; they are intended to be antagonistic. If this great truth were more generally admitted by the children of the Church much unnecessary verbal controversy would be saved.

Fencing, and hedging, and considering, and explaining is simply waste of time. The world knows too well what the Church's principles are to accept explanations from her disciples.

Better at once to say the naked truth, even should it be met by the naked sword. The world would shut up religion into a fenced garden of its own. There it will sometimes permit its free exercise, so long as it is pliant and passive, and altogether submissive to the behests of human rulers.

To-day the *Times* may courteously admit the letters of the Archbishop of Westminster to its columns; to-day it may report his speeches with sedulous attention and respect; to-morrow it would triumphantly exult in his incarceration, could a statesman be found to suppress Catholicity in England on any, or on no pretence.

With the recollection of Communism in France, and the condition of Italy—*pace* Gladstone—before us, we cannot fling the state of England into the face of Protestantism; but no man with ordinary perception can fail to see that we stand on the brink of a social volcano, and English Catholics would do well to remember how they are likely to fare when the passions of a deeply debased and cruelly brutalized class are let loose against them.

The social amenities and the literary connections of which they are so self-gratulatory will not avail them much. When the vaunted liberality of Protestantism and rationalism exhibits itself in the cruel persecution of men who only wish to serve God according to their conscience and the faith of their fathers, the real value of sentiments and professions of friendship will be seen.

It was no wonder that O'Connell spoke in indignant tones of men who, letting I dare not wait upon I will—reaped the fruit of long centuries of Celtic tears and blood without one word of gratitude, with, it must be said, something like con-

tempt for those whose life-blood has procured their social and religious gain.

O'Connell's intellect was too keen not to see this in all its bearings; his sense of justice was too noble not to feel it. He might be himself received with courteous respect and treated with cordial equality, but Ireland was shrined in his heart, and personal advantages were worthless to him while they were not shared with the whole nation.

Yet it is but fair to say that the fault has not been altogether with the Saxon. Long centuries of slavery, however nobly resisted, leave their inevitable trace on the disabled limbs and the somewhat enfeebled frame. The manhood is there, but the power of asserting the manhood has been held in abeyance. Irishmen have needed lessons of self-reliance and self-respect, and O'Connell was the first to teach them. We need another O'Connell to renew the lesson. We may blame the Englishman who scorns Ireland either socially or politically, but are there no Irishmen who are more culpable? Are there no Irish nobles or landed gentry who are quite willing to give their money or their eloquence to Irish Catholic universities or schools, but who are equally unwilling to give their sons? They, for some special reason, must have the "advantages" of an English education, as if to be educated in Ireland should not be the highest ambition of every Irishman. No Government dare resist an united people, and when Irishmen unite in asking for what is yet needed to make Ireland prosperous and free, they will most assuredly obtain what they want.

A certain class of Irishmen do incalculable harm to their country. In their intercourse with English statesmen, gentlemen, and especially literary men, they profess a certain quali-



fied love for Ireland, and an unqualified knowledge of her condition. They patronize Ireland because they cannot altogether deny their parentage, and their vanity is gratified by having their information accepted at the value which they place upon it themselves.

Englishmen are by no means unwilling as a nation to do justice to Ireland, and if the Irish had not been Catholic as a nation they would have received a full measure of justice long since. The editors of English serials and English papers not unnaturally look to some of these self-sufficient and pretentious writers for their reviews and leaders on Irish subjects. The result is deplorable. Men who are ashamed of their country are not capable of writing truthfully about it. Men whose poor idea of social superiority is to be as English as possible are very unfit to estimate, to legislate for, or to review a condition of things which they are too prejudiced to understand fairly, and too self-interested to explain with common justice.

There can be no question that O'Connell's peculiar rhetoric was more suited to the Irish people than to the House of Commons; but a great deal of sheer nonsense has been written about the vulgarity of his style. We do not quote Mr. Lecky as by any means anxious to defame him, but he has been somewhat led away by groundless general defamation, and yet he can only find such expressions as "scorpion" applied to one gentleman, and "descendant of the impenitent thief" to another, with "contumacious ass" and "indescribable wretches;" but vituperation, if it was unparliamentary, was certainly used very freely in Parliament as well as out of it by O'Connell's opponents. Anyone who takes the trouble of studying "Hansard" would find there less stinging but quite as vulgar invective.

O'Connell was no talker for talk sake. He had too great a work for to study the fashion in which he did it. His opponents might round their periods more elegantly, or adorn them with classical quotations; but O'Connell was a man, and his work was for men, and how well he accomplished it is best proved by the malignity of his opponents.

The motto on our title page was the Life Work of O'Connell. He struggled for *Happy homes and altars free*. The most beneficent of mortal men has never had a higher aim. To see Ireland free from the slavery that enchained her was the life work of the illustrious Liberator. In his first parliamentary speech he tells of the Erin so dear to his heart, and demands justice for her. In his last broken utterance he asked for bread—only for bread for his starving people; and then, true to the instincts of his life, Irish and Catholic, he goes to the Father of the Faithful, fain, if possible, to leave his heart to Rome, determined at least that his body shall be enshrined with his memory in Ireland.

O'Connell's Parliamentary Speeches are well worth careful consideration. They may not be cited as models of rhetoric, but unquestionably they are full of the stern logic of fact. Indeed his statistics were never denied, and his statements were rarely controverted, and when controverted it was evident that the political or religious opinions of his opponents led, as too frequently happens, to a denial of what scarcely admitted of doubt.

A careful perusal of his speeches will throw considerable light on contemporary opinion, and we may hope will remove the too frequently iterated assertion that his language was coarse. That he used coarse or rather indecent epithets occasionally is not to be denied, but such expressions were the exception.

O'Connell's horror of bloodshed, his dread of violence, the one only phase of his character which has been objected to by some of his own countrymen, should at least command the gratitude, if not the respect, of the English nation.

It is not a little curious that every Irish patriot who has appealed to the sword, or promoted rebellion, has been Protestant.\* No Catholic ever threatened the sword as it was threatened by John Mitchel; and even his peaceful and pale reflex, John Martin, did not escape the contagion.

The one remarkable sentence in which O'Connell expresses his sentiments will be found in this work. It is an axiom from which we differ, and indeed there are few general propositions which can be propounded without some qualifying clause.

O'Connell knew his countrymen, and his fears may have given a shape to his words other than his actual meaning. We can scarcely suppose it possible that he disavowed an appeal to the sword under any circumstances—that he would not have admitted that there were times when to shrink from such an appeal would be to stand coward before heaven and earth.

But the justifying circumstances of what is called actual rebellion if it fails, and revolution if it succeeds, should be first a moral certainty that no other means would obtain such rights as all men who are not slaves in soul may and must claim, and an equal moral certainty of success.

\* It is observable also that when a Scotch publishing house wished to puff an American life of O'Connell, they took care to put it forward as being written [by a man who differed from O'Connell on this subject, evidently hoping that its revolutionary tendencies would promote its circulation. An Irish Catholic publisher would scarcely have dared to offer such an inducement.

It has been said by the advocates of the sword that if O'Connell had fought at Clontarf instead of submitting,\* Ireland would have been freed from British rule. But O'Connell had already obtained so much by peaceful means that he could not have been justified in plunging the country into all the horrors of revolution. How far an appeal to the sword might have succeeded is a purely speculative question. A momentary triumph might have been gained certainly, but at what a cost! The best, the noblest, the purest of Ireland's patriots and sons would have lain weltering in their gore, or at best for long years wasted out their lives in a relentless incarceration.

The hand of might would have triumphed after a little, and deliverance from real evils would have been further than ever from realization. O'Connell knew the deep, bitter, ingrained, inborn hatred which the Celt bore the Saxon. He knew that there were many men so thirsty for even a temporary revenge that they would purchase it even at the expense of failure; he warned his own people of the terrible consequences of failure; he warned their rulers of the ever-impending danger of rebellion. The one he warned in love, the other he warned as a grim caution to men whom he believed would be moved to equity rather by fear than justice.

There were men even in the late troubles in Ireland who had the same opinion—who did not join in open insurrection from foreseeing its inevitable failure—but who, nevertheless, sympathised with those who rebelled.

At a certain point the success of revolt depends on

\* A personal friend of the present writer, who was with O'Connell at that momentous time, says the mental anguish he endured was something frightful until he was assured that there would be no bloodshed.

the sympathy of those who have hitherto taken no active part.

English statesmen who deal with Irish affairs should make this fact a large element in their calculations. It will be said, it has been said, that the Irish are a discontented and dissatisfied race. It is asked, and sometimes in no querulous spirit, what more can be done for them?

Even the *Times*, which makes such odd blunders about Irish affairs,\* has some misgivings as to the Celtic nation across the Atlantic, and the English politician of the future may have to make the same nation a very important element in his calculations. Every emigrant who leaves the Irish shore takes with him a force that will one day prove that the "Celt has gone with a vengeance." Few of us will care to see the day when he comes back with it.

The element of disaffection in Ireland has ceased to be active, but it is none the less strong.†

A correspondence of some years with the Irish-Americans of all classes has given us evidence that no lapse of time and no prosperity in their new homes will ever eradicate their hatred of those who were once believed to have been their oppressors.‡

\* *e. g.* Confounding Cardinal Cullen and the Archbishop of Tuam. How can writers who make such mistakes have any real idea of popular feeling in Ireland?

† A gentleman in business in a large town in Great Britain has informed us lately that secret societies are rife there notwithstanding the efforts and prohibitions of the Catholic clergy, with details which we could not doubt.

‡ It is too freely believed that the emigrant will forget his ancient animosities when he has settled in another land—that at least they will fade from remembrance in the second and third generation. Mistakes on this subject, whether from ignorance or a desire to question unpleasant truths, may be very dangerous. The Irish-American press has become a power in the land.

But it may be said let the dead past bury its dead. What and wherein are the present "grievances" of Ireland?

The subject is a wide one, and of that grave importance which all that concerns the well-being of a people must ever be.

We can but lightly touch it here, and only in so far as the topics illustrated the subjects on which O'Connell spoke and wrote.

It is not creditable to English Government of Ireland that Coercion Acts should continue. The irritation, the annoyance, which this unnecessary restraint causes is a continual source of bitterness, and tends to perpetuate feelings and recollections which a wiser policy would allow to fade away.

When the history of this nineteenth century comes to be written, it will tell badly for English statesmanship when it is recorded that one of the best Protestant landlords in Kerry\* complained that Irish farmers were not allowed to kill their rooks; that another member of Parliament† declared that he was refused a license for his own gamekeeper; that another member of the House‡ announced that he had given up sporting sooner than subject himself to the indignity of asking for a license; while yet another§ grimly asked the Chief Secretary

One paper which openly advocates the sword has a circulation of 100,000; and its columns are constantly filled with letters which breathe anything but a spirit of peace.

Notwithstanding many failures and gigantic frauds, money is still being collected in the United States, and laid by for "the time of need." The *Clan-na-Gael* Rifle Association has been formed with all the advantage of not being a secret society, and with the plainly avowed declaration that "deeds not words" will be the order of the day when any movement is brought forward to free Ireland. Irish associations, and they are numerous, will tend to keep up the feeling to future generations, which is too generally supposed to have died out with American prosperity.

\* Mr. H. A. Herbert.

† Sir P. O'Brien.

‡ Mr. Ronayne.

§ Mr. A. M. Sullivan.

for Ireland "could he point out one murder that had not been committed for want of a gun," and asked why the wearers of clogs should not be "coerced" in Lincolnshire. Coercion Acts may be very consoling to elderly gentlemen of nervous habits, and of the class of one of whom the story is told that he declared no one ever frightened him by shooting his agent, for he would at once replace him; but it is infinitely degrading to those who persevere in such enactments.

The inequality of the franchise is another subject demanding rectification. It is a subject on which O'Connell spoke again and again; yet we find that Dublin, with a population of 265,668 has only 13,562 voters; while Bradford, with a population of 145,830 has 23,451; and Cork, with a population of 97,887, numbers but 4,347; while Dudley, with a population of 82,249, has 14,210.\*

\* The English Reform Act of 1867, 30 and 31 Vic., cap. 102, by the third section, gives the borough franchise to every inhabitant occupier as owner or tenant of any dwelling-house within the borough who has been rated for poor rate. The corresponding Irish Reform Act, 1868, 31 and 32 Vic., c. 49, gives the borough franchise to every owner of a house within the borough who is rated as occupier at a net annual value of more than £4. In other words, the English borough franchise is household suffrage, no matter what the rating may be, while in Ireland it is a rating franchise of more than £4. By the English Rates Act of 1869, 32 and 33 Vic., cap. 41, it is provided that the owners of premises which are rated at small sums, i. e. from £20 downwards, may pay the poor rates instead of the occupier, and shall get a discount of 25 per cent. off for so doing, and that all such payments by the owners shall be deemed as full payments by the occupiers, so far as the franchise is concerned; that the owners so paying the rates shall deliver to the overseers of taxes a list containing the names of all the actual occupiers, and that the overseers shall under severe penalties enter in the occupiers' column of the rate book the name of every such occupier, and that such occupier shall be deemed as duly rated for the purposes of the franchise; and this, be it recollected, no matter how small the valuation may be. This Act has never been extended to Ireland.

The landlord and tenant question may be difficult of adjustment, involving as it does complicated and opposing interests, but it should certainly not be impossible to foster and promote Irish industries.

He would be a bold man who denied that England has ruined Irish trade. A perusal of O'Connell's Speeches and Letters, a brief glance at any Irish History, will show an array of facts that are simply undeniable.

As a matter of simple justice England is bound to make the most ample reparation. Has this subject ever been considered from this point of view? To deprive a nation of its trade deliberately, we will not say of *malice prepense*, is to rob so many men of their tools. Does it need to be said that restitution alone can repair so grievous a wrong?

As a matter of policy England is bound to foster and restore Irish trade. It is infinitely to be regretted that English statesmen do not see this. England is at the zenith of her power. How long will she remain so? Her navy is not what it was. Her officers admit that her army has lost much of its ancient prestige; it is now more difficult to fill the ranks, and the raw material when obtained is often scarcely worth training. Foreign countries are taking away no small share of her manufactures. Every strike is cutting slowly but surely at the root of her prosperity. Men who are not content with wages which would amply supply the wants of the country curate or the banker's clerk, are doing injustice to others rather than to themselves.

The supply not being forthcoming in the usual quarter, it will cease to be sought there, or, if it returns to the old channel, the merchant will have learned that there are other sources



open to him where he may obtain what he needs at less cost, and with a certainty that there will be no interruption in the supply.

The whole moral tone of men who are on strike must necessarily become demoralized. Is this for the national prosperity? Feelings of dislike, of distrust, if not of hatred, and of overt hostility, are being intensified between employers and employed, and such feelings have been the ground-swell of very nearly every bloody revolution—justly or unjustly, rightly or wrongly. Let a people once become thoroughly discontented with those above them, and we have the beginning of an end too frequently accomplished not to be feared exceedingly, and to be arrested by all possible efforts. The tocsin of war hangs trembling, and ready to peal its loud alarm at a touch. Will England altogether escape when the dire conflict comes? Will she have a prosperous, contented Ireland to help her, or a discontented revengeful people to hang on her skirts and harass her at every turn?

The sooner it is well understood that commercial prosperity is the one thing which Ireland wants, and that commercial prosperity in Ireland means commercial stability in England, the better.

The statesman who will lay down for himself a steady course of fostering encouragement to Irish trade will benefit his own nation even more than ours.

It is true that there will be many difficulties to encounter, but the work of resuscitation is not easy. It is easy to destroy, it is very difficult to restore, but the difficulty does not excuse from the duty.

Let England do her part—it is for her to commence—and let Ireland do hers.

It cannot be denied that long centuries of oppression have

disqualified the Irish people in many respects for commercial success. All the more reason why the disqualifications should be removed.

Nor can the Irish, as a nation, be charged with indifference to this subject. If countless acres of waste land remain unreclaimed, it is because the poor peasant has not the necessary capital to bring them into cultivation. Yet in how many places has he done his best, and that at an expenditure of personal labour and weary toil which should redeem his character from the often iterated reproach of indolence.

He has carried soil and sea-weed with patient industry day after day long distances, and up mountain slopes. He is fed on what an English prisoner would reject, and for his reward he has not unfrequently had his rent raised, and when unable to meet the demand has been flung out on the roadside like a dog.

A recent Irish election has given ample evidence that the Irish people will make almost any sacrifice to secure the return of a gentleman whom they hope will assist them in their industrial pursuits. The successful candidate was, to say the least, shaky on the subject of Home Rule—he was, however, very prominent indeed on the subject of Home Trade, and was known to have the ability to make good his promises. He had even sat on a jury which brought in true bills against Fenians, but his promises to increase the bills of his constituents outweighed the balance against him. Moreover, this gentleman was a Protestant, and appealing to an eminently Catholic constituency. His religious opinions, however, would not in any case be considered a disqualification, as Ireland has advanced far beyond England in practical questions of toleration.

We have already alluded to a class of Irishmen who take a singular pleasure, and imagine it to their own honour, to misrepresent public affairs. By such persons the great cry of Irish prosperity is being perpetually raised. As we said, they are unfortunately believed in good faith by some, and in selfish indifference by others.

Ireland can never be prosperous in the source in which England is prosperous until her resources are cultivated and her trade developed. There are, certainly, some rich and prosperous farmers, and this fact will only help to encourage the cry of Irish prosperity and to deceive those who are really anxious to understand the true state of the country. But, the rich farmers are little better off than the large body of English yeomen. Their capital is spent timidly on their land, or locked up carefully in the county bank. Their wealth does not enrich the country, and is of little benefit to themselves.

Sometimes an enterprising son emigrates to America, but capital is rarely invested in trade—and so little interest is there in any trade that the father, who makes a moderate fortune, retires early to enjoy it, and the sons become gentlemen at large. Hence the colossal fortunes of English merchants are unknown in Ireland.

As the subject is important to all thinking men, we give a few evidences gathered almost to hand of the general state of trade in Ireland.

Wexford is not the least prosperous of Irish counties, and yet the *People*, a well printed and ably edited paper, says:—

“Not even the most enthusiastic optimist but must see ruin extending its dark wings all over the country. That which in an eminent degree constitutes the wealth and power of a nation, that is its population, is daily and hourly growing less. Once populous districts scarcely now rejoice in the

sound of the human voice. It is only in the vicinity of towns that signs of life are visible; and even here evidences of decay are manifesting themselves so unmistakably that even the most solvent in the community cannot ignore them. Prosperity cannot exist without industry, and industry is cramped and crippled. Our only industry is the cultivation of the soil; and for this the law affords not that security which should stimulate the honest and vigorous endeavour of the farmer. There is no sign of healthy progress in the country, and the few who do prosper are only an evidence of the ruin of the many. Our struggle with our rulers has now become a struggle for existence, and the patriotic spirit of the country must soon become its salvation from ruin. Patriotic action must now of necessity arise from the spirit of self-preservation; and he who lacks heart in the struggle is but a poltroon whose cowardice and want of faith in patriotic action will bring down upon his head the condemnation and contempt of his country.\*

A commercial traveller in preceding issues of this paper complains bitterly of his inability to get orders, and a farmer answers him:—

“Your correspondent’s ‘experience’ ought to show him that that which he complains of, like all evils which oppress Ireland, can be traced to misgovernment. If we had a Parliament of our own, our noble rivers would no longer run idly to the sea, but would float large ships. The commercial resources of our country would be developed. The mining resources of our country would also be developed. The mineral treasures that now lie hid deep beneath the emerald sod of old Ireland would be brought to the surface, and our factories would flourish, and would rival those of England as they did in the days when we had a Parliament of our own in College-green. Then there would be no stagnation of trade. Then emigration would soon be checked, for Ireland could pay for labour wages as good as any other country. Home government, too, would immeasurably benefit the farmers. Alongside our flourishing mining districts and manufacturing towns, we would be able to realise a far better price for our cattle and saleable commodities than we do at present, as they have to go across the water, to England, to the markets. If ‘A Commercial Traveller’ has the welfare of Ireland really at heart, let him become a Home Rule propagandist, let him do all in his power to forward a movement, which is the real panacea for poor coerced and persecuted Ireland.”

And in truth the neglect of Irish industries is the main

\* *The People*, May 29, 1875.

support of the agitation for Home Rule in more senses than one.

Even the *Times* has given glimpses of a dim consciousness that the Irish in leaving Ireland do not forget England, and with suddenly awakened perspicuity warns her that the "Nemesis of seven centuries of misgovernment will come," a Nemesis which the writer appears to believe in thoroughly and to fear exceedingly.

It is an age of spirit manifestations; and so unlike is this article to its fellows, that one could imagine the spirit of John Mitchel had passed into the editorial room whilst the thunderer slept, and penned the lines with more humour, better grammar, and more sense than the mysterious beings who are so admired and believed in, not by the ignorant and superstitious Celt, but by the very enlightened and rational Saxon.

The *Dublin Evening Post*, which certainly does not deal in sensational articles, and which circulates we believe principally among the upper classes of Irish country gentlemen, had a very short but very pithy article on "Irish prosperity" lately, which we give in its entirety:—

"The Legal Diary of this date contains one hundred and twelve cases entered for hearing to-day before the two Judges of the Bankruptcy Court. The Judges of this Court have no sinecure post of it just now. Three heavy failures in the city this week have to be added to the list. And yet, trade is said to be 'flourishing' in Ireland!"

The provisions made in the Dublin Bankruptcy Court have proved insufficient for over-prosperous and Protestant Belfast; and the *Kilkenny Journal* asserts that the electors of that city did not care "two rows of pins" about the principles of their new member "provided he established any branch of trade in the city, and afforded employment to the people."

Indeed, the great mass of the Irish people are, by no means, indifferent on this subject; and even some of the Home Rule members have been asked why they did not patronize Home Trade when publishing works on Irish subjects.\*

\* The Irish have been frequently accused of indifference to their own literature. Certainly the printing and publishing trade does not flourish in Dublin. In a recent appeal made by the Dublin Typographical Fund they say:—

“With all the fanfaronade about Irish genius, Irish generosity, and Irish national spirit, will it be credited that the greater part of the annual income of the Dublin Printers’ Benevolent Fund is derived from sources altogether outside Ireland? It is painful to record such a state of facts, but the committee believe they would be evading their duty did they shrink from making known how little has been done in the metropolis of Ireland to aid the only institution associated with the literature and the Press of the country.”

The editor of the *Nation*, in a reply to correspondents, says: “One of the faults of our countrymen is the scanty support they give to our native literature.” A glance at the advertisements of the two principal Dublin publishers, Catholic and Protestant, will show that the announcement of an Irish book is the rare exception.

It is time that Catholics were aroused to some sense of the importance of supporting their own literature, and by literature we mean not merely religious publications, but historical and philosophical writings. The active propagation not merely of the infidel literature which O’Connell so vehemently denounced, but of the highest class of infidel and anti-Catholic literature, is met with a stoic and stupid indifference. Not long since we saw an advertisement of a “History of Protestantism” by one of the first London publishing houses. The advertisement was prefaced by the following sensational observations:—

*“The time has come when Protestants must look back to the history of the great conflict between Protestantism and Romanism, to learn the real issues which are at stake. See speech of the Prime Minister of England, who says, ‘There are agencies at this moment which are preparing a period of great disturbances.’”*

*“Mr. Gladstone writes: ‘No one can become Rome’s convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty at the mercy of another.’”*

Are Catholics going to leave this kind of work entirely to Protestants? are they going to leave the mass of the people with no reading but such as is supplied to them by the active exertions of those who have the double interest

The important subject of education has made rapid advance since O'Connell's day. Still there is much yet to be done. A system of education which teaches Latin and Greek roots to girls who, when they go to their homes, will, or ought to be, occupied in digging potatoes, or at best in milking cows, is an anomaly which one ought have supposed a little common sense would have worsted. To require not merely parsing, but analysis and mathematics from those whose station in life is certain never to rise beyond a decent competency, if it even attain the same, is not indicative of real political foresight.

To rush children in three or four years through a course of mutilated history, physical and mathematical geography, geology, anatomy, physical science, elaborate and totally useless penmanship, music and drawing, is not education.

Happily for themselves the Irish are a light-hearted race—they are quick to imbibe any amount of mental pabulum, but imbibing is not assimilating. The child can be crammed with considerable labour to the much over-tasked and under-paid teacher. She “passes” the inspector, goes back to her mud cabin, or her little hut, or perhaps the poor room in some unwholesome dwelling where her life will be spent, and unless she in her turn is selected to cram another race, she forgets, or finds that all she has been taught is nearly useless to her.

The cramming system is given up in the navy, its utility is

of making money and disseminating their own views. The masses of the people will read, and do read. Circumstances have afforded the Irish people a facility for learning of which they have carefully availed themselves, but have Catholics supplied any literature to take the place of what is so freely offered them. I could give a list, were it advisable, of bitterly anti-Catholic literature at present in active and increasing circulation amongst the middle and lower classes in England and Ireland.

questioned in the Indian Civil Service, and the sooner it is entirely abolished the sooner shall we have a class of really educated men and women in the middle and lower classes.

The cry for the education of the people has been so strong of late years that a man would need a considerable amount of moral courage who should attempt to discourage such education. He would be the victim of general reprobation. He would have his ears assailed with the cry that the poor had just as good a right to be educated as the rich. His assertion that he desired more education, and to have it of a better kind, would be scouted by the millions of exceedingly sapient people who know a great deal better than himself what he thought and intended. If he happened to be a Catholic, he would be peremptorily silenced with the assertion that his Church hated education, and wanted to keep the masses in ignorance, the fact of his Church having kept all that was valuable in literature for centuries notwithstanding.\* Let the education that is given be of the highest order, but let it be suitable in kind to the class for whom it is intended.

For boys in an agricultural country such knowledge of chemistry as would be of use in farming operations should be an important element in their instruction. And the know-

\* A return just laid before Parliament exhibits some remarkable results as to the comparative efficiency of the different classes of public elementary schools. We find that in the year ended last August the per centage of the average attendance of children at public elementary schools was—At board schools, 62·8; at Catholic and British schools, 70·6 and 70·5 respectively; and at Church of England schools, 70·1. The highest results in passing the several standards were achieved at the Catholic schools, the Board schools coming last. Under this head the averages of grant earned upon these results are per head—British, 5s. 6½d.; Church of England, 4s. 11¾d.; Catholic, 4s. 7¼d.; and Board, 3s. 8¾d.



ledge imparted should be practical, and thoroughly freed from useless technicalities—which however brilliant they may be on an examination paper, are of no utility in after-life. Art schools should be encouraged, not on the principle that every student is an artist, but on the broad practical common sense principle that some art knowledge will certainly be useful, and with a careful eye to the special training of talent when it appears.

Above all, education should be religious; and it is difficult to understand how men who have even the faintest belief in a higher power can wish it otherwise. If there is to be such a thing as freedom of human thought, those who do believe at least should be allowed to educate their children in their faith.

Even Mr. Matthew Arnold has spoken out\* pretty plainly on this subject. Commenting on Mr. Gladstone's University Bill, he says:—

“Religion, moral philosophy, and modern history are probably the three matters of instruction in which the bulk of mankind take most interest, and this precious university was to give no instruction in any one of them! The Irish have a right to a university with a Catholic faculty of theology, and with Catholic professors of philosophy and history. By refusing them to Ireland our fanaticism does not tend to make one Catholic the less—it only tends to make Irish Catholicism unprogressive. So long as we refuse them, sir, I persist, instead of congratulating myself with the *Times* on our admirably fair and wise treatment of Catholicism—I persist in thinking that, where we are put to the test, our treatment of Catholicism is dictated solely by that old friend of ours—strong, steady, honest, well-disposed, but withal somewhat narrow-minded and hard-natured—the British Philistine.”

If for Philistine you read prejudice we are agreed.

The *Times* in one of its moments of weakness said:—

“It is precisely because we dissent so strongly from all that is especially

\* Letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

characteristic of Rome that we would be careful to allow to Roman Catholics the same measures of freedom that we should claim for ourselves if they were masters of a national government to which we were subject."

This in regard to education is giving all that Catholics ask, yet this is precisely what a very large majority of Protestants are altogether unprepared to grant.\*

It has been said, not by monks in the cloister, or what some are pleased to call fanatical Ultramontanes, that "our times are sliding backward," and we fear the assertion is not altogether untrue.

The war of religious opinion which begins with words is not unlikely to end with blows; and it is pitiful to find in a modern statesman, and in modern writers, all the acrimony, and not a little of the vituperation which O'Connell so vehemently denounced in his letter to Dr. Daly.†

\* A writer in the *Standard* says:—"For downright intolerance of free thought it is difficult to find the match of your professed Freethinker, and for good round bigotry of opinion commend us to those who think it a sign of feebleness to hold any opinion at all. Even science has rushed into the fray, and we hear from its lips, once conceived to be so sedate, the most virulent denunciations of faith; whilst the heavenly maid, Divine Philosophy, has taken upon herself a quite terrestrial temper, and scolds like any virago. Statesmen of the highest rank and of the most unquestionable powers have caught the infection, and seem to think that the first duty of statescraft is to fan the flames of sectarian animosity by acrimonious language and pointed persecution. Half the world seems anxiously to desire the extermination of the other half, and if the fires of former times are not lighted anew it is because the two sides are too evenly matched to make the operation feasible; or because the doctrines of toleration, slowly matured during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have yet too strong a hold upon the consciences of outsiders."

† In an article on Primary Education in Ireland (*Frazer*, June, 1875) we find the most miserable anti-Catholic bigotry. With an appearance of fairness, the one object of the writer is to press the point that the Irish people should not be educated in the religion of the people, and that it is an injustice

His letter to Lord Shrewsbury will not escape criticism. We have 'already alluded to the feelings which some English Catholics entertain towards those of their own faith in Ireland. It is not creditable—and it is not wise. Those who have a

to allow Catholics any active part in the management of the Board. We recommend the opinion of the *Times* to this gentleman's private consideration. What would an English School Board say if English Protestant education was to be placed under the control of a majority of Catholics? Once again we ask, as we have asked often before: Does Protestant liberty of conscience mean liberty to believe only as Protestants do? If it does not, then Catholics should have equal rights, social, political, and religious. If it does, then political liberty of conscience means tyranny. If Catholics denied liberty of conscience to others, they might justify themselves on the principle that they were right, and all the world besides were wrong. But Protestants who claim that every difference of opinion is allowable should not exact submission to opinions of the most contradictory character.

The writer in *Fraser* wishes Irish education to be "untrammelled by the fear of any priesthood." It is time for Irish Catholics to be on the alert. Each generation finds a new method of tempting Ireland to betray her faith, and this effort will be made through her education and her teaching.

In a recent memorandum, addressed to his clergy by the Right Rev. Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, he says he saw a letter, written by one of the most active agents of the Teachers' Association, in which he said that he "would not give up the agitation until every teacher in Ireland was free from the degrading tyranny of the priests." We happen to know of some similar efforts, and that very large sums of money have been expended for this express object. It is time that our Catholic members of Parliament were thoroughly roused to action on this subject.

In a most important letter dealing with the whole education question, the Right Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, says:—

"I think I may venture to offer a few words of warning to the National teachers of Ireland in the great effort which now engages their attention. Mr. Butt's work has undoubtedly suggested these warnings; but I myself am solely responsible for their appropriateness and justice. No man sympathises more keenly than I do with the grievances of the National teachers, and I admire the courage, the earnestness, and the perseverance with which they have at last forced the public mind to take their wrongs into consideration. Patrons, managers, local influence, and local authority exhibited cruel indifference—I will not say to their decent requirements, but to their very privations. Confronted with this criminal apathy they would be false to the

common interest above all nationalities, in the great struggle which is coming, surely and perhaps more rapidly than we think, should be united, and the union will be none the less secure for having been firmly cemented before the hour of danger.

A Prime Minister has done more than hint that the Jesuits are living on sufferance in these countries. It does not need much wisdom to perceive that when the first stone is pulled out of their houses there will be little safety for others. The events of the day succeed each other rapidly, and, with the example of Germany before our eyes, we see how little security there may be even for toleration of Catholic practices when once Catholic institutions have been attacked.

instincts of self-preservation if they had not made a great effort to right themselves. No man can doubt their claim to the increased remuneration they demand—the only question is the source whence it is to be derived. But it is impossible for any one who loves his country not to feel a deeper interest in the principles and feelings of the teachers themselves than even in the improvement of their material condition; for the youth of Ireland is in their hands, and the character of the rising generation will be substantially such as they shall have formed it. Hitherto the National teachers have been, as a body, above reproach: they have been independent and patriotic; and I think it would be easy to show that the traditional teaching of the old persecuted hedge schoolmasters contributed largely to make them what they are.

“I may, perhaps, be pardoned if I make one passing allusion to the religious aspect of their position. Secular and religious instruction can never be disunited in Ireland. The National teachers must, therefore, be always under the guidance of the clergy, the religious instructors of our youth. As Catholics, then, it is impossible not to feel a deep interest in all that concerns them; and it is pardonable if we are sensitively jealous of everything that might compromise their freedom.”



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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**A**LTHOUGH Ireland is now celebrating the O'Connell Centenary, no attempt has been made to publish O'Connell's Speeches until the present series was commenced. Two volumes of "Select Speeches" were published nearly fifty years ago, and can scarcely claim to be an exception or an honor to Irish literary enterprise, though they have been put forward from time to time as something new. As the latest speech in this collection dates as far back as 1825, no further comment need be made.

The value of the collection of "Speeches and Letters" in the present work will speak for itself; and we can only hope that a national appreciation of O'Connell's legacy to Ireland will enable us to continue and complete the series.

It must be said with regret, that Ireland has not

been forward in rewarding her literary men. Such memoirs and collections as have been published hitherto, have been due to English enterprise; and English works are too frequently, and exclusively preferred in Irish schools and colleges both as class-books and premiums.

The materials in our possession for the second and third volumes of this series will be found of considerable importance; and, like that which forms the present series, it has been hitherto unpublished. Besides a valuable collection of private letters, for which I am indebted to many friends, all the papers, letters, and documents relating to the Repeal Association have been placed in my hands: no words are needed to enhance their value and importance. For years they have lain mouldering in cases and unopened. A few years more, and many of the most valuable contents of these cases would have been undecipherable. I purpose to dedicate the volumes which will contain the most important of these, to T. M. Ray, Esq. To do so is the only return I can make for his years of indefatigable labour for Ireland, and the admirable manner in which he kept every record of public and

\* We know at least one instance in which an Irish publisher refused to sell the works of an Irish author for reasons too contemptible to be credited. Irish trade is not altogether blameless in the matter of Irish prosperity. We want a good deal more generous cordial co-operation with each other.

*Advertisement.*

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private business in connection with the Repeal Association.

In conclusion, I would request any of the clergy or laity, still living, who were in any way connected with the Repeal Association, to communicate with me with as little delay as possible.

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## APPENDIX.



### No. I.

WE append the following letter of the Right Rev. Dr. Nulty, as an important addition to contemporary history. It is much to be regretted that public opinion in Ireland is not more generally heard in England; if it were much misapprehension would be saved, and, possibly, grave political blunders, if not worse, would be averted:—

#### THE COERCION ACT IN WESTMEATH.

*To the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli.*

SIR—You were a distinguished member of the committee appointed by the House of Commons in 1871 to inquire into the outrages alleged to have been committed in Westmeath at that time; and I distinctly remember with what punctuality you attended all the tedious sittings of that committee, from its opening to its close. The appointment of the committee itself, its composition, the character of its members, and the principle on which it was to carry on its inquiries—all gave rise to considerable excitement and to the interchange of heated party recriminations. While the committee was occupied merely with preliminaries, and before it held any of its regular sittings, we all felt that our liberty and independence were inevitably doomed. But it was of the witnesses summoned before the committee that the people arraigned before it had the greatest reason to complain. If it were assumed that Parliament, having resolved to annihilate our freedom, sought to discover



some colourable pretext to justify to the world the coercive legislation it contemplated, then the witnesses called before the committee would be in perfect harmony with the theory. Of all the witnesses summoned there was only one who could have the smallest sympathy with the people whose liberty was about to be immolated. I therefore stood all along alone. My testimony was exceptional throughout, and I differed on vital points with all the other witnesses. I deprecated coercion throughout; they all clamoured for it—all except Mr. Mooney and another; the latter, speaking from experience, preferred jury-packing. Yet nothing could be more natural than this essential divergence between us, for, with the exception of Sir Ralph Cusack, who gave his evidence with singular moderation and respect for our rights, they were all in the employment and pay of the Crown, or the avowed enemies of the people. Even if I had not positive certainty that the evidence given by them was substantially unsound, I should, for this reason alone, always maintain that on the question at issue it was not trustworthy or reliable. These witnesses were marvellously unanimous in proving the existence of a widespread, well-organised, and thoroughly-disciplined Ribbon confederacy, with recognised leaders, and with a code of laws, bound to each other by the sanction of a most awful oath, holding their meetings and maturing their plans in impenetrable secrecy, and spreading terror and dismay among her Majesty's peaceful and loyal subjects. And yet not a single witness examined could give direct testimony to the existence of this formidable confederacy that so alarmed them. They argued: you felt yourself confronted with this wicked conspiracy everywhere. And yet it was everywhere shrouded in darkness; its power was everywhere acknowledged; its authority everywhere obeyed; its vengeance everywhere dreaded; yet it was itself something invisible and impalpable. Its members were banded together under a fearful oath, and yet (if we except a piece of dirty paper found in the tap-room of a public-house) no one ever saw that oath. Of course, that oath must, in their theory, have been administered to thousands; yet no one was ever found to testify that it had been administered to anyone. Hundreds of the most degraded, the most needy, and most unprincipled of men must have been enrolled in the ranks of this confederacy; yet no reward, no amount of money, ever induced any of them to turn approver, even to the length, I will not say of bringing them to justice, but of giving a rational account of any of their proceedings.

To convince the committee, therefore, of the veritable existence of this confederation, your witnesses had to rely entirely on inferential or circumstantial evidence. The disturbed state of the county, they argued, the terror and dismay of peaceful men, the special character of the outrages perpetrated and the murders committed—all pointed evidently to the existence of a fearful Ribbon conspiracy, and could not be satisfactorily explained on any other hypothesis. I have read through the evidence taken before the committee

quite recently, and I cannot find there a single remark worthy of notice that is not substantially reducible to this argument. Unfortunately for us, this argument convinced the committee, and Parliament proceeded at once to the enactment of that precipitate, passionate, and penal legislation, whose galling and exceptional severity you yourself, sir, in your scathing philippics against Mr. Gladstone's Government, have so eloquently proclaimed. It was in vain that Mr. Seed, a Crown Solicitor, with an experience of more than forty years of our county—and with sympathies so avowedly hostile to us that his testimony was beyond all question—assured your committee that the outrages on which your witnesses relied were far less numerous and less criminal than those of former times, when no one thought of coercion. It was in vain that the Catholic clergy of Meath and Westmeath and King's County indignantly repudiated and denied, through me (as I conveyed to the committee), the existence of that Ribbon confederacy as a foul calumny, both injurious and unfounded. It was in vain that they referred the five murders, on which your witnesses principally relied, not to the operation of a Ribbon society, but to what everyone now knows to have been their true cause—the acts of personal, private revenge, the murderers being, in each case, isolated individuals, carrying out their designs with a secrecy and skill that precluded the possibility of detection. Parliament, after holding us up to the execration of all honest men in the empire as assassins or the abettors of assassins, as a community of miscreants, devoid of honour and humanity and religion, proceeded straightway with that penal legislation which strangled our liberty, despoiled us of our property by fines and penalties wantonly enacted, and then condemned us—robbed of reputation and of honour—to a degrading slavery. If Mr. Rochfort-Boyd correctly interpreted the wishes of the party which he is commonly supposed to represent, they would have felt satisfied, in 1871, with our enslavement for *two years!* They have now enjoyed the gratification of witnessing our slavery for nearly *four years!* Yet the same fierce instinct which then influenced them—instead of being appeased—now clamours to perpetuate our degradation indefinitely. And now, sir, it is time to inform you that her Majesty's subjects in this part of the empire have been arraigned again, and again put, for a second time, upon their trial. The magistrates of Meath, Westmeath, and King's County constitute the tribunal before which we now stand, with fear and trembling.

Your committee in 1871 was composed of distinguished, experienced, and honourable men—commissioned by the highest authority in the empire—who published their inquiries, and the result of their inquiries, fearlessly to the world. The magistrates, before whom we now stand accused, needed no commission from higher authority, and asked none. They authorised and commissioned themselves; they set themselves up to judge and adjudicate on our liberties, and—for aught we know—on our properties and very lives. We

objected to the credibility of the witnesses produced before your committee, on the ground that, notwithstanding the high personal character of some of them, all seemed profoundly and manifestly prejudiced against us. But it is the *sublime prerogative* of the tribunal before which we are now arraigned to require no witnesses; to dispense with the vulgar requirements of all other tribunals, and that the magistrates themselves should discharge at once the functions of *Judge, Jury, Witnesses, Accusers*. The presence or absence of the accused is quite immaterial in the *findings* of this tribunal. Men may be impeached and condemned here, not only without a hearing, but without a suspicion that any action has been taken against them. Your committee summoned, at least, one witness whose sympathies were notoriously on the side of the accused; and though you declined to follow my advice or carry out my proposals, you listened to them with respect and attention. But I was not summoned by the tribunal of the Westmeath magistracy. I did not apply to be admitted—for I felt sure that I should not be admitted—to give my people, in defending them, the benefit of the experience acquired before you. Now, sir, I do not intend to say one word disparaging to the private character of any magistrate in these three counties. Speaking from personal knowledge, I affirm that some of them, with whom I am acquainted, are as honourable, as just, and as kind-hearted as any men living; and having said this I will not even insinuate what I think of others. But, speaking of their public acts, what right had these magistrates to gather themselves together thus into secret conclave; to erect themselves into a Star-chamber tribunal; to sit in judgment on us, and listen to the defamatory declamation of stipendiary magistrates, accusing us, behind our backs, of crimes of which we had not the slightest knowledge or warning? What right had they to impeach us in our absence; to deny to us the privilege of defending ourselves; to condemn us in the dark, without judge or jury, and then pass us on to Parliament for punishment? These magistrates, therefore, with their secret tribunals—with their neglect of the essential forms of justice; with their refusal to the accused of the right to be heard; with their cruel and unjust findings against innocent, honest men; but, above all, with their deep-laid schemes and organised conspiracy against the liberty and constitutional rights of a large number of her Majesty's subjects—are certainly the nearest approach that I can find to the description that they themselves give of that pestiferous confederacy that spreads dismay among the peaceable inhabitants of these counties. And such is the impenetrable secrecy in which this Star-chamber tribunal held its deliberations, that it is only by the merest accident that we have recently discovered our accusers or our crimes. Mr. Marlay, of Belvidere, in an excess of zeal and loyalty to his party, has, unintentionally, I suppose, revealed both to us. Mr. Marlay assures us that the magistrates in other counties as well as those in Westmeath were unanimously of opinion that the great Ribbon

confederacy of 1871 existed still in full force and vigour, ready to burst forth as soon as the checks that held it in restraint were removed; and, consequently, that the same reasons that rendered the imposition of coercive legislation necessary in 1871 render a continuance of the same legislation necessary now.

Magistrates very often support their opinions by very loose and, illogical arguments; but the magistrates of Westmeath did not leave themselves open to that imputation—for they advance no argument at all. The statement they make plainly contradicts itself. In 1871 the disturbed state of the county, the character of the outrages and of the murders that had been committed, proved unanswerably the existence of a formidable Ribbon conspiracy, and could not possibly be accounted for on any other hypothesis. And now, the absence of all crime, the cessation of every form of outrage, the profound peace and universal respect for law and order, prove exactly the same thing—the existence of this same confederacy! In 1871 we were murderers and rebels because we were Ribbonmen; and now we are peaceable and loyal subjects for precisely the same reason! In 1871 we were blamed and punished for our criminal acts, and now we are reproached and upraided—and the Legislature is called on to punish us—for our criminal intentions! Our criminal intentions render us as culpable as our criminal acts, and merit for us exactly the same amount of punishment. Thus the magistrates of Westmeath have the glory of having invented and of having added a new species of crime to the criminal jurisprudence of mankind. They have arrogated to themselves a right which no human tribunal ever claimed before, because it is one of the exclusive prerogatives of the Deity. Human tribunals take cognisance of, judge, and punish criminal free acts; God alone judges and punishes *purely* criminal intentions. That this pestiferous principle was a recognised maxim of Westmeath magisterial jurisprudence is proved by a resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of magistrates held at Mullingar in the year 1869, and which Mr. Rochfort-Boyd informs us was the largest meeting of magistrates ever held in Westmeath. This meeting was convened, of course, for purely coercive purposes; for when did the magistrates of these counties ever meet for any other object? After calling on the executive for the extension and aggravation of the penal enactments then existing; after demanding the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*; after requiring that the magistrates and police should have the right to pay domiciliary visits, make arbitrary arrests, and establish a detective force in the several districts of the county—the Westmeath magistrates coolly wind up by demanding that a liberal grant of the public money be made for the purpose of establishing and subsidising a band of informers who will hunt up such information as will enable them to detect and bring to justice the perpetrators of *intended* as well as of actual crime! Here are the very words of the resolution :—

"That a detective force for the several districts be organised; and, further, that the resident magistrates should be entrusted with funds for the purpose of acquiring information of intended as well as perpetrated crimes."

An intended crime is simply a future free act, and a future free act is simply nothing at all, and suggest even nothing reprehensible, except a purely criminal intention. Just fancy a gang of informers let loose among a people with express instructions to hunt up and bring to justice all those whom they might suspect of harbouring criminal intentions! Verily, the justice which the Westmeath magistrates would dispense is precisely the justice meted out at the fountain by the wolf to the lamb. "How dare you, sirrah, muddy my drink?" "That is impossible, sir," meekly replied the lamb; "for the stream flows down from you to me." "Well, if you did not muddy the stream," quoth the wolf, "you intended to do so, and that makes you just as culpable." "Why do you murder her Majesty's subjects and disturb the peace and order of her Majesty's shires?" "Why, gentlemen," we reply, "that is impossible, as no murder has been committed anywhere, and everywhere a scrupulous observance of law and order prevails." "Well, if you do not do so, you *intend* to do so, and that makes you just as culpable." Need I add that the people as well as the lamb go to the wall in the sequel. The local magistrates, having no reason of their own, rely entirely on the recommendation of the resident magistrates; as far as one can glean from Mr. Marlay's letter, that is the only rational ground they allege for the coercive legislation they recommend. The whole question, then, hinges on the weight and importance that a rational, experienced man would attach to the authority of these functionaries. A resident magistrate—as far as our experience enables us to judge in this locality—is, as a rule, a gentleman by birth and education; and I may add, too, a gentleman in his habits, his manners, and his style of living. He does not forfeit his rank by accepting this situation; he is recognised as a gentleman, and enjoys the privilege of associating with gentlemen everywhere. The power annexed to his office secures to himself personally the influence and respect that always attach to authority, whilst the liberal salary he draws enables him to provide the luxuries and comforts enjoyed by the highest and most respectable. As long as you keep him to the routine of his ordinary, recognised duties, he may be—and I am happy to testify that resident magistrates, as a rule, are—honourable, just, and conscientious; I may add, too, reasonable and kindly-hearted. But, if you take him out of the natural sphere of his usefulness, and put him in the face of a hotly-contested political question, in which the Government has taken a side, and has interests involved; or one in which a local magistracy, having much influence with the Government, think themselves seriously compromised—to expect, in these circumstances, that a resident magistrate, through a romantic affection for abstract justice, would express dissent, is

tantamount to expecting him to commit suicide. He would soon feel the penalty of his rashness in the loss of his situation; and that would imply the loss of position and influence, and sometimes, perhaps, involve the ruin of his family besides. It was, therefore, not only inconsiderate, but excessively unkind, to invite the resident magistrates to take part in a controversy to which their authority could add no weight, and in which they could hardly avoid compromising themselves; still worse, to shift on them the entire odium and responsibility of a resolution demanding the continued suspension of the constitutional rights of a large community. This hardship was largely aggravated by the fact that, as we learn from Mr. Rochfort-Boyd (*Question 1,527*), local magistrates have hitherto "denied the right of the stipendiary magistrates to attend any meetings of this sort."

But, painful and humiliating as is the position in which Mr. Marlay's letter has placed the resident magistrates, they can hardly expect much sympathy from us. They have, without provocation, arraigned us before a tribunal composed of the hereditary and, in some cases, the avowed enemies of our civil rights. They have accused us there of grave crimes of which they have not given us the slightest intimation or warning. They have accused us in our absence, where we could not be heard, and where we could not possibly defend ourselves. They have put into the hands of our enemies the only tangible arguments on the strength of which they could have the hardihood to ask for a continuation of our bondage. Grave charges, such as these—charges vitally affecting the dearest interests of a whole community—ought never to be alleged, even if they were clearly true, except with pain and reluctance, and always under the pressure of an overwhelming sense of responsibility. But when these charges are doubtful, or cannot be clearly established—nay, when they are positively untrue as well as unjust—then the responsibility of those who make them is great indeed. Now, it is my painful duty to attest that these allegations are utterly untrue. The Catholic clergy of Westmeath, after most careful inquiry and patient consultation with each other, have certified to the world, in a resolution published in the *Freeman*, that not a single trace of any Ribbon confederacy exists now, or has existed for years, in any part of the county. The statement, therefore, in which the resident magistrates affirmed the existence of such a confederacy, though made, no doubt, in good faith, did grievous injustice and wrong to the people of Westmeath.

And now, sir, this letter has become so unexpectedly long, that I promise to close it very briefly. The evidence taken before your committee was so conflicting on so many vital points, that it is quite refreshing, on reading it through, to find all your witnesses unanimous on the existence of one important fact, and to that fact all testified unhesitatingly—namely, that the vast majority of the people of these counties were peaceable, loyal, and in-

dustrious ; and that the miscreants who were the real responsible contrivers of the outrages that disgraced us were a mere handful, not numbering more than a dozen. The committee itself adopted that view in its "report," when it describes these men as "a few individuals who may be looked upon as the heads of the society, and are alleged to be known as such to the local authorities." Further, all the witnesses unanimously certified that these few leaders were notorious to the magistrates, to the police, in fact to everyone in the district. Some of the witnesses strongly impressed on the committee that the arrest and imprisonment of these men was the only means of restoring peace and tranquillity. It was argued, and with much force, that the people themselves would cheerfully consent to their own enslavement, and to the temporary suspension of their constitutional liberties, for the purpose of being relieved from the alarm and terror with which these few ruffians inspired them. The temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was recommended, and only as a lesser evil. No coercive witness ventured to suggest the perpetual suspension of this Act ; and Mr. Rochfort-Boyd (Quest. 1,549) declared that such a demand would be "repugnant to any man's ideas and feelings." These, sir, are the only intelligible grounds on which the Legislature could have enacted the penal legislation passed four years ago, and of which the magistrates of these counties now demand the indefinite prolongation. Immediately after the passing of this Act, several of these leaders were arrested and cast into prison. Now, sir, if a brigand or a highwayman whose excesses and outrages had filled an entire community with mortal fear, had at length, at an immense cost and sacrifice to that community, been captured and conveyed to prison, what would be thought of a man bearing her Majesty's commission of the peace, who would sympathise with that ruffian, mature such plans, and take such steps as eventually succeeded in getting him free ? Now, sir, that is exactly our case against a section of the very magistracy that are now clamouring for a continuation of our bondage. Among the "leaders" thus imprisoned there were two—*primi inter primos*—who were believed by every witness examined to have been the *fons et origo* of at least all the principal outrages perpetrated in one entire county. What has been the history of these men since their arrest ? That after having endured a short and tender imprisonment, they have been set free, and are now at large and in the very midst of us. The fact cannot be denied—I have it on high authority—that gentlemen holding her Majesty's commission of the peace, signed a memorial and presented it to the Executive, petitioning for the release of these "notorious leaders," and the Executive, in compliance, I presume, with the prayer of the memorial, as a matter of fact set them free.

Now, sir, let me repeat what I said before—that we know of no Ribbonism in these counties, save that which seems to be thus fostered and encour-

raged, and, I suppose, subsidised by a section of our magistracy. Perhaps you may remember the indignant incredulity with which this statement was met when I first made it, in that now famous pastoral of 1871, and in support of which I appealed to facts in my examination. I stated in that pastoral what I now repeat—that the Ribbonism I then denounced—

“ Was got up by hired traitors for the sole purpose of enabling exterminating landlords to carry their projected clearances through with increased security and confidence. It is a matter of notoriety that two of the most cruel and extensive exterminators in this diocese had been Centres of Ribbonism in their respective districts, whilst carrying their inhuman clearances through. I have before me what I cannot but regard as solid grounds for believing that the relations still subsisting between exterminating landlordism and Ribbonism are the very reverse of unfriendly. . . . We fear that before many days we shall witness those secret societies co-operating with a weak and pusillanimous Executive in handing over the people to the tender mercies of a party that was never yet known to exercise absolute power with moderation, or with a due sense of the responsibility accompanying it.”

These, sir, were my deliberate opinions then, and they have since ripened, by observation and reflection, into mature firm convictions. And I confess, in looking back at the events of the last five years, I feel astonished how the Legislature could have been led into the enactment of harsh and exceptional laws against honest, loyal men, at the cry of a party, amongst whom were to be found the very men who, above all others, countenanced and encouraged the outrages which all good men deplore. And now, sir, let me add one word about Mr. Marlay, who moved the resolution adopted by the magistrates of Westmeath, and to which we have taken such serious objections. Mr. Marlay's character as a landlord stands very high with the people of this neighbourhood; and, therefore, they regretted bitterly that he should have lent his influence and his name to a movement so unfair in itself and so hostile to them. But, let me assure him that, though he saddened them much, they are not angry with him, for they believe that though he did them this grievous injury, he did it in good faith; and that the moment he discovers his error, he will promptly make ample and suitable reparation.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

✠ THOMAS NULTY.

*Mullingar, February 18th, 1875.*



## No. II.

The following note, which has been communicated to us by a literary friend, will be of interest:—

“The first time I saw Mr. O’Connell was in Dublin, in 1822, after my return from London, at which time I was introduced to him by Charles O’Connor, Esq., of Merrion-square. Mr. O’Connell was then working hard for Catholic Emancipation. I remarked to him that I thought he never could bring it about; his reply was—‘No matter; we will persevere, and no doubt but we shall one day or other carry it.’ His determined manner and appearance struck me forcibly, and I could not help thinking that it was a pity he was not brought up as a military man, for he would have made an able general-officer. His zeal for his country, and his exertions in favor of civil and religious liberty, will hand his name down to posterity; while his private character, which is so exemplary as a husband, a father, and a friend, endear him to the recollection of all who have the pleasure of being acquainted with him in his domestic circle.”—*The Veteran; or Forty Years’ Service in the British Service*. By Captain John Harley, late Paymaster, 47th Regt. London: 1838. Chap. v., vol. ii., 148.

## Kennmare Publications.

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### APPROBATION OF THE RIGHT REV. DR. MORIARTY.

“ THE PALACE, KILLARNEY, *June 20, 1875.*”

“ MY DEAR SISTER IN CHRIST—I learn that you are issuing some new works, and some new editions of those already published; your literary labours reflect honour on your Convent, on your Order, and on this Diocese.

“ But I rejoice much more in this, that you are contributing to supply one of our greatest needs—a Catholic Literature. I know, too, that the funds realised by the sale of your works are exclusively devoted to the service of religion.

“ Praying God to bless you, and to preserve your health and strength,

“ Yours sincerely in Christ,

“ ✠ D. MORIARTY.

“ To SISTER M. FRANCIS CLARE (CDSACK),

“ *Convent of Poor Clares, Kennmare, Co. Kerry.*”

## HISTORICAL WORKS.

**THE LIBERATOR. HIS LIFE AND TIMES: POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS.** New Library Edition, Seventh Thousand. Two Vols., 12s. each Vol.

The illustrations in this work are executed in the very highest style of art, and comprise portraits, engraved expressly for this work, which manifests throughout Miss Cusack's extensive research, biographic skill, and literary talent. By the way, the frontispiece, 'O'Connell's Last Look at the Irish Shore,'—a mere sketch—would form a fine subject for an Irish historical picture.

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"Beloved Daughter in Christ, Health and Apostolic Benediction. We congratulate you, beloved daughter in Christ, on having completed a long and difficult work, which seemed to be above woman's strength, with a success that has justly earned the applause of the pious and the learned. We rejoice, not only because you have promoted by this learned and eloquent volume the glory of the illustrious Apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick, but also because you have deserved well of the whole Church; for, in recording the actions of so great a man, you have placed before the eyes of the world the benefits received through the Catholic religion so clearly, that they can no longer be questioned."—*Extract from the Apostolic Letter of His Holiness Pius IX. approving this work.*

"Well may the Bishop of Kerry—himself a scholar of the highest order—take pride in the successful efforts of the Nun of Kenmare, and when giving his episcopal approbation to her works, say: 'Your literary labours reflect honour on your Convent, on your Order, and on this Diocese.'"—*Cork Examiner*.

### POPE PIUS AND THE POOR CLARES.

"In the midst of his troubles Pope Pius has found time to send an Apostolic letter to our countrywoman, Miss Cusack, known in religion as Sister Mary Francis Clare, Author of the 'Life of St. Patrick.' . . . He compliments her on having completed 'a long and difficult work, which seemed to be above woman's strength, with a success that has justly earned the applause of the pious and the learned.' We believe this is the first time the Holy See has congratulated a woman on the success of her literary labours. And the compliment was never more deserved. . . . His Holiness does not forget the 'Island of Saints,' which now so keenly sympathises with his sufferings. The letter is a charming summary of the benefits conferred on Ireland by the Apostle, and a tribute to the learning and sanctity of his successors, who, in the sixth and seventh centuries, as Apostles and Missionaries, illumined the darkness of Pagan Europe with the light of Divine truth. The Poor Clares, in their seclusion in Kerry, must be delighted at this testimony to the genius and services of one of their community. The rarity of the tribute vastly enhances its value."—*Freeman's Journal*.

"It is worthy of note, as not a very frequent occurrence in the literature of the nineteenth century, that a religious lady, a nun in the 'sister island,' has been turning her time to such good account of late years that she has produced quite a crop of literature, and that of no mean order, including, besides a host of lesser works, a 'History of Ireland,' and a 'Life of St. Patrick,' both in quarto, the one containing six hundred, and the other a thousand pages. Miss Cusack is Hibernian—Irish of the Irish—and her name is well known in her native country, and especially in Dublin, as a painstaking, accurate, and able writer; and we are glad to learn that she has made the name of the community of Sisters at Kenmare a 'household word' through the length and breadth of Ireland. She has devoted herself heart and soul to works of charity and mercy, and she has been able to combine with those works a devotion to the Muse of history and of facts, which we do not often see realised except in such persons as Miss Strickland, Mrs. Everett Green, and Mrs. Cowden Clarke. Miss Cusack is not overstating her case when she claims for herself the credit of having written the first life of the great 'Apostle of Ireland,' which has 'given full details of his acts and missionary labours,' as it is certainly the first in which a real practical use has been made of the materials at hand."—*Illustrated Review* (London).

"As a literary work it can scarcely be lauded too highly. Every source of information has been thoroughly exhausted and collated, so that in the line of research

it is complete. The theological views and reflections, which are occasionally called forth by the subject, are so lucidly stated as to be clear to every intelligence, while at the same time rendered highly interesting by a fascinating style."—*The Morning Star* (New Orleans, United States).

"It is this *Life*, never before fully written for modern readers, that Miss Cusack, the nun whose fame as an authoress now stands almost too high for encomium, has undertaken to recount. The execution has been a wonderful success. For all that a graceful and flowing pen could do in giving expression to the results of unwearied diligence we were prepared, but we own we were astonished at the extent of this lady's scholarship."—*Irish Times*.

"Next after the Holy Scriptures and the Apostolical writings of the Fathers of the Church, no productions of Christian authors are of greater importance and value than the writings of the Saints. They have served to stir up the faithful to deeds of deep devotion and Christian heroism, and to plant the seeds of virtue and grace in many a fruitful soil. Whenever, therefore, a fresh attempt is made to describe and illustrate the life of one of the sanctified servants of God, we rejoice, if the work be well done and calculated to profit the immortal souls of those who may read it.

"The volume before us is very handsomely got up and illustrated, and consists of no less than 656 pages, and is in many respects a very important publication. In some respects it is an indirect reply to a recent treatise of the late Rev. Dr. J. H. Todd, who discussed at great length the subjects collaterally connected with St. Patrick. In other respects, its author has avoided controversy, trusting most wisely to a plain statement of undoubted facts for the results produced and the aim gained. The 'Preface,' occupies exactly twelve pages, and contains a terse and lucid defence of the principle on which the book has been written, incidentally referring to the archaeological discoveries of Mr. W. Hennessey, the Rev. J. O'Laverty, and others, which have notoriously thrown so much light on Irish Ecclesiastical antiquities. Most touchingly and beautifully is every detail in his important life dealt with in this volume. It is thoroughly Christian from beginning to end. It aims to be a standard work on the subject, and those aims are justly and deservedly satisfied. Learning, investigation, patience, careful criticism, and hearty devotion have all combined to render this book full of value. The style is pleasing, the information sound, and the conclusions solid and just."—*The Church Herald* (London).

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Some of the first topographical, antiquarian, and philological writers of the day have assisted in this undertaking, and the Rev. Maxwell Close, a member of the Royal Irish Academy, has most generously furnished a geological map of the county at his own expense, and has added a valuable chapter on the Geology of the county. A chapter on the Fauna has been written by Dr. Harvey, the well known and respected late President of the Cuvierian Society. Mr. Isaac Carroll has contributed to the Flora; and Sir Ralph Cusack has added a list of High Sheriffs from archives in the Dublin Record Office. A number of other gentlemen have contributed unpublished documents, making the work of more general interest than a county history.

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## OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

*From the Cork Examiner.*

"It is impossible for a thoughtful person to see, wherever he passes, the testimonies to a former existence so full of life and activity and variety without wishing for some more accurate information of the men and women who watched and fought and prayed, who lived their lives, and spent their passions, and carried out their loves and hatreds in these vehement times. It is the object of this book to afford the necessary information for this purpose—it is designed to re-people the remote past, to set the fighting

shepherd again upon his rath, to place the mailed warrior once more behind the loophole of his tower; to furnish a picture of the monk, and to give an echo of the hymn of praise which went up from Kilcrea and Timoleague, from Benedictine and Franciscan, from pious men and holy women. Such a task, it is needless to say, is one of great difficulty. It involves long and patient research, most diverse and often very profound study. The mere amassing of materials, however, is only a part, and that the subordinate part of the task. It is only the quarrying of the stones which the builder has to fashion. The capacity of the historian has to be exhibited in causing order to reign through the chaos, in so arranging the stuff in the loom that a distinct pattern shall run through it, in so ordering the telling of events and people that the story shall read as a tolerably continuous narrative without break or trying back or confusion. This task the Nun of Kenmare has accomplished with characteristic ability, producing a history that must be read with deep interest as well for the vivacity of its story as the importance of the events and circumstances with which it deals.

"The history is traced back to the earliest or pre-Christian period, and the author, without placing excessive reliance on the legendary portion, still gives so much of it, under due reserve, as may be considered worthy of a certain amount of credence. As there is little doubt that Ireland was first peopled in Munster, the history of Cork naturally involves something of the early history of the whole island; and we are therefore furnished by the author with a striking picture of the manners and customs of the Irish before the Conquest, not as the barbarians they were long represented to be, but, as is shown abundantly by the discoveries of O'Curry, a people fully abreast of the European civilisation of the day. This early history was honourably distinguished from that of other nations at the same period by the number of men of sanctity who adorned its annals and refined its morals by their example, and left to it, probably as their blessing, that traditionary attachment to the faith which has made Ireland deserve the glorious title of the 'Martyr Isle.' Such a theme could hardly be uncongenial to such an author, and we find naturally due prominence given to the ecclesiastical portion of our history, from the foundation of the City of Cork, down to the latest exemplification of bigotry under the penal laws. But no such prominence is given to this portion as to absorb the secular history. We have, indeed, in these chronicles, an epitome of Irish history at large. We have all its leading features set out. The quarrels of the septa, the English invasion, Perkin Warbeck's insurrection, Henry the Eighth's introduction of the royal Supremacy which is called the Reformation, the wars which took place when Ireland was being pacified by Elizabeth's pirates, Cromwell's butcheries, the struggles of the Irish Catholics under the silly and ungrateful Stuarts, the insurrection of '98, and the political consequences which followed, are all told in stirring strain which keeps the reader's attention absorbed, while it is so explicit as to its connection with the general history of the country as to render the student of this book fairly acquainted with the history of the whole."

"Much of the nonsense which has been spoken and written regarding Ireland for the last two years has arisen from ignorance of Irish history. Miss Cusack's volume will help to remove this, as well as for educational purposes."—*London*

"Miss Cusack's work will repay a perusal."—*Evening Standard*, will in the conver  
put a genuine place of  
 "Life of St. Patrick."