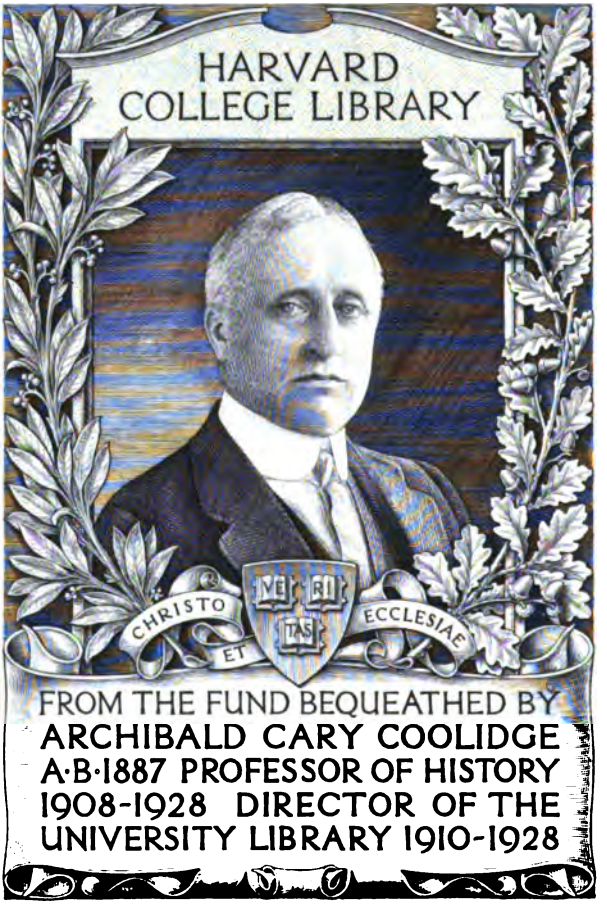
HARVARD
COLLEGE LIBRARY
CHRISTO
ET
ECCLESIAE
VE RI TAS
FROM THE FUND BEQUEATHED BY
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE
A·B·1887 PROFESSOR OF HISTORY
1908-1928 DIRECTOR OF THE
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY 1910-1928

Archbishop Mc Hale
80 years old

JOHN MAC HALE,

Archbishop of Tuam.

HIS LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE.

BY

RIGHT REV. BERNARD O'REILLY, D. D.; D. LIT. LAVAL.

Domestic Prelate of His Holiness.

"In advocating the cause of the POOR I am only fulfilling my covenant with my God and my People."

ARCHBISHOP MAC HALE'S first speech in Tuam.

VOL. I.

FR. PUSTET,

Printer to the Holy See and the S. Congregation of Rites

Fr. Pustet & Co.,

NEW YORK & CINCINNATI.

1890.

N. Y. C. PROTECTORY PRINT,
WEST CHESTER, N. Y.

DEDICATION.

To the Sacred Memory of the Dead,

WHO, IN PRISON, ON THE SCAFFOLD, ON THE BATTLE-FIELD, IN EXILE, THROUGH THE LONG SUFFERINGS OF CENTURIES, AND THE STARLESS NIGHT OF FAMINE AFTER FAMINE, HAVE PERISHED, MARTYRS TO THEIR LOVE FOR IRELAND, AND LOOKING IN VAIN FOR THE DAWN OF HER RESURRECTION MORN;—

To the Generous Spirits of the Living,

THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF IRELAND AT HOME AND ABROAD WHO STILL SUFFER AND LABOR AND HOPE AGAINST HOPE FOR THE REDEMPTION OF ERIN;—

TO THE BRAVE HEARTS ON IRISH SOIL WHOSE HEROIC RESOLVES NO TYRANNY CAN CHANGE, WHOSE FIDELITY TO THE HALLOWED CAUSE OF NATIONAL RIGHT NO BRIBE, NO TORTURE CAN MOVE;—

To the Friends of Ireland,

OF EVERY RACE AND CREED, IN EVERY CIVILIZED COUNTRY, WHO, LIKE JOHN OF TUAM, SEEK FOR IRELAND JUSTICE, AND ONLY JUSTICE.

THESE VOLUMES, CONTAINING THE RECORD OF A NOBLE LIFE GIVEN WHOLLY TO GOD AND COUNTRY, ARE DEDICATED BY

The Author.

ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE,
France,
July the 12th, 1889.

PREFACE.

THE name of JOHN MAC HALE, Archbishop of Tuam, is one deservedly dear to living Irishmen; and it is the hope of the Author that the LIFE he has undertaken to write may help to make that name still more dear to the entire Irish race for generations to come.

If absolute devotion to his country, and the most precious services rendered to his countrymen, during a public career extending over 67 years, constitute a claim to national gratitude, then ought Ireland and her sons be grateful, deeply and everlastingly grateful, to the prelate and patriot whom they fondly loved to call JOHN OF TUAM.

Life-long devotion, however, and most faithful service, are not the only titles which he has to the affection of his countrymen. The virtues which adorned the private life and shone in the public conduct of the great Archbishop of the West are such as to challenge both admiration and veneration.

Those who only knew the Archbishop from his writings, from his unceasing struggle with the men who misgoverned or misrepresented Ireland, or from his fearless advocacy of Ireland's right to self-government and full political JUSTICE, may have conceived but an imperfect notion of his character. A superficial observer, seeing that the Prelate's long life was, apparently, one of uninterrupted warfare with the enemies of his religion

and his country's independence, might only have considered the militant side of his great personality. What strikes us and wins upon us, on a nearer and more careful survey, are the moral and intellectual features of the man.

JOHN OF TUAM was truly a wise and a great man; it is impossible to read his utterances or study his conduct amid the fearful vicissitudes of his country, without being convinced of his prophetic forethought and moral greatness. But he was also, and above all, a good man. The populations of the West of Ireland, among whom he was born, and to whose welfare his whole existence was consecrated, worshipped in him a benefactor, a protector, a parent. But they loved and revered him, because they knew him, by long and intimate experience, to be a MAN OF GOD.

This, more even than his acknowledged and sterling patriotism, is the adamantine quality in his character which will defy the wear of time.

Public men, politicians, statesmen, eminent writers and journalists, who had looked up to the Archbishop as an eloquent, consistent, and uncompromising advocate of national and popular rights, might, on a first personal acquaintance, have been chilled or overawed by the Prelate's dignified and austere presence. Still, they never failed to be attracted and fascinated by a closer knowledge of the courteous, gentle, true-hearted, and single-minded man and patriot.

This may seem exaggerated or wholly unmerited praise, to those who know him only as political or religious prejudice has painted him. To such, however, as will read with any degree of attention the authentic docu-

ments contained in the following chapters, testimonies to the man's sterling worth, coming from such high and such varied sources, must be convinced that we have not placed him on too high a pedestal.

And this first volume stops short of the most glorious part of his long career.

The destiny of the Archbishop of Tuam was to live in the world a life extended far beyond the usual period of active usefulness. He had, up to his ninetieth year, to contend with a mighty tide of adverse worldly interests, influences, prejudices, and passions. But, from first to last, his mind, his heart, his life remained unsoiled by worldliness.

In some few of the most distinguished men of his own creed and class the Archbishop of Tuam found the most strenuous and persistent opponents of the principles and policy which he conceived to be the most salutary toward preserving and developing the life of the nation. His undeviating opposition to a more time-serving policy, to maxims more flexible, to subserviency to those in power, exposed him from his first appearance in public, in January 1820, till his death, in November 1881, to the most painful misconceptions and aspersions.

Still, those who refused to act with him on occasions when the dearest interests of religion and country were involved in the policy he advocated or reproved, never thought of imputing to the Archbishop of Tuam any selfish or unworthy motive. Nor was he the man to permit himself, on any matter whatever, to impugn the conscientious motives of others. People might say that he was too absolute, too dictatorial, too unyielding, too unwilling to kiss the hand of Power, when it seemed to

proffer some scanty or treacherous boon, instead of the large measure of natural justice due to Ireland. The public has long ceased to agree with them in their judgment of him.

In the series of memorable controversies which succeeded each other during Dr. Mac Hale's episcopal career, the opinions advocated by him and the prelates who followed his leadership have in every instance been sanctioned, sooner or later, by the entire hierarchy and by the Holy See. In the politico-ecclesiastical course which he counselled his brother-prelates and the clergy in general to pursue, TIME, the revealer, has shown *him* to be the true statesman.

In the merely political order, if such there be in Ireland, the claims which John of Tuam ever upheld, the cause which he advocated and defended, are at this moment identified with the National Cause so dear to the majority of Englishmen and Irishmen, aye, and even to the majority of free citizens in America and Australia.

The illustrious GLADSTONE, and the men who once abetted and aided him in advocating wrong views and enforcing coercive measures, instead of trying the magic power of JUSTICE towards Ireland and her people, at present think, speak, teach, and would fain act, in accordance with John Mac Hale's life-long teaching.

PARNELL, and the men who with him are ready to sacrifice everything, even life itself, who brave everything, endure everything for the cause of Ireland, because they believe that cause to be that of JUSTICE, Right, and Reason, sure to triumph in the near future, these too are only doing what John Mac Hale ever did

and taught. He patiently bore with obloquy, abuse, and reviling; with the treason of false brethren and the loud denunciations of open enemies, because he was conscious of only demanding JUSTICE for Ireland, laws and government in conformity with the dictates of Eternal Justice, sure that such justice would bring with it to his country appeasement, conciliation, strength, prosperity, and the abundance of all earthly good.

The maxims and practical rules of the Archbishop of Tuam, culled from his writings and condensed into a small volume, would be for the true statesman, governing the British Empire from Westminster, or legislating for Ireland in College Green, a manual of marvellous political wisdom.

Let the sceptical reader open the following pages and judge for himself.

One word about the materials placed at my disposal for the composition of this work.

They were furnished by the man most loved and trusted by the Archbishop of Tuam, by his nephew and executor, the Very Rev. Thomas Mac Hale, D.D., of the Irish College, Paris. To him the Archbishop bequeathed all his manuscripts, and the treasures of his immense correspondence. All these are now in my hands.

Besides that, he has most kindly and generously given me, during the progress of my work, the priceless help of his light and coöperation. Every chapter, as it was completed by me, was read to him; and, in revising the book in its entirety, we have read and corrected together every line from first to last.

A complete and satisfactory life of the great Archbishop of Tuam, mixed up as he was with all the im-

portant events and personages of his time, would be, in substance, the last century of the History of Ireland. There is not a question discussed in his day, and in which he bore a principal part, which is not in the present year of Grace a living question in Ireland. The interest, therefore, which attaches to the present work is not a dead interest, belonging to debates and controversies forever buried out of sight and to be revived no more.

John of Tuam is so identified with all that relates to Public Education in Ireland, and to the national cause itself at its present crisis, that he seems to be as truly living and active a personage as Dr. Walsh or Dr. Croke. They are the embodiment of his principles and spirit.

It would, therefore, be impossible, were it not most unadvisable, to compress such a LIFE, with its wealth of original information, into the space of a single volume.

The present volume closes with the death of O'Connell and the desolation and almost despair of 1847.

The reader of Irish history is well aware that then began for the Archbishop of Tuam the sacred mission of reviving the spirit of the nation, crushed by disappointment, failure, and a succession of calamities unparalleled in history. During the last six months of "Black Forty-Seven," and the scarcely less terrible years of 1848 and 1849, it was he whom O'Connell loved to call "the Light of the West," who alone, under God, sent a few rays of brightness and warmth into the darkened homes and despairing hearts of our poor people.

He fought the battle for tenant-right, while opposing with unflinching courage the Government proselytizing

schemes of Mixed Education. He contended year after year, decade after decade, for the formation of an Independent Irish Parliamentary Party, in spite of the formidable opposition and the denunciations we know of. He supported with all his might the Home Rule movement under Isaac Butt, as he had endeavored to create under George Henry Moore the party of parliamentary independence. All who still hoped and still labored for Ireland looked to St. Jarlath's for sympathy and counsel, till God's good providence over Ireland led, at length, to the formation of the present National Party, the truly independent Irish party the Archbishop had so long dreamed of, so often described, and so often, but in vain, pressed on the Irish leaders of his day.

We shall see toward the end of the second volume with what favor the venerable Archbishop, just as the last shadows were closing around him, beheld the successful efforts of Mr. Parnell.

The first volume of this biography, therefore, which will appear early in 1890, in advance of Dr. Mac Hale's CENTENARY, will, interesting though it surely is, only be a preparation for the second volume, and the record of the most heroic half of the LIFE we are narrating.

This will be published in advance of the Centenary of Dr. Mac Hale's birth, MARCH 6, 1891.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST EDUCATION, II.

CHAPTER V.

SECOND EDUCATION—COLLEGE.

PART SECOND.

AT WORK—PRIESTHOOD—APOSTLESHIP OF TEACHING.

CHAPTER VI.

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.

CHAPTER VII.

PROFESSOR AND PUBLICIST—APOSTLESHIP OF THE PEN.

PART THIRD.

1825–1834.

DR. MAC HALE'S APOSTOLIC LABORS AS COADJUTOR-BISHOP OF KILLALA.

CHAPTER VIII.

APOSTOLATE IN TIRAWLEY—JOHN OF MARONIA.

CHAPTER IX.

HOME SCENES AT TUBBERNAVINE—A BISHOP'S HOLIDAY.

CHAPTER X.

DR. MAC HALE'S FIRST BATTLE WITH FAMINE.

1830—1831.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BISHOP OF MARONIA'S PILGRIMAGE TO ROME.

CHAPTER XIV.

1833—1834.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE IN THE WEST OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER XV.

DR. MAC HALE BECOMES BISHOP OF KILLALA, AND IS SOON APPOINTED BY THE HOLY SEE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

1834.

CHAPTER XVI.

DR. MAC HALE'S LAST DAYS IN THE DIOCESE OF KILLALA.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TRIUMPHAL PROGRESS FROM BALLINA TO CASTLEBAR.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM CASTLEBAR TO TUAM.

PART FOURTH.

APOSTOLATE IN TUAM.

CHAPTER XIX.

JOHN OF TUAM AT WORK.

CHAPTER XX.

THE "KILLALA TROUBLES."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE KILLALA CONTROVERSY.—(*Continued.*)

CHAPTER XXII.

JOHN OF TUAM'S PRIVATE LIFE AND PERSONAL CHARACTER.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE LONG BATTLE FOR CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE NATIONAL SYSTEM BEFORE THE HOLY SEE.

1840-1841.

PART FIFTH.

PUBLIC ACTION OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM FROM 1841-1851.

CHAPTER XXV.

PRELIMINARY.

DR. MAC HALE AND THE REPEAL MOVEMENT OF 1841–44.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DR. MAC HALE'S UNSWERVING ADVOCACY OF REPEAL.

1841-'44.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONTENDING FOR THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE NATION.

1844-'45.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SCHEME OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

THE "INFIDEL COLLEGES."

CHAPTER XXIX.

BATTLING WITH FAMINE.

I. *Dr. Mac Hale and the Famine of* 1842.

II. *Dr. Mac Hale and the Famine of* 1846–'47

CHAPTER XXX.

DR. MAC HALE AND "YOUNG IRELAND."

CHAPTER XXXI.

1847.

JOHN MAC HALE,

Archbishop of Tuam.

His Life, Times, and Correspondence.

PART FIRST.

FROM INFANCY TO PRIESTHOOD.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE life which these pages narrate covers almost an entire century. JOHN MAC HALE, so well known to both hemispheres as the great Archbishop of Tuam, was born on Sunday, March 6th, 1791, and died on Monday, November 7th, 1881.

From the year 1814, when he was ordained priest and appointed Lecturer in Theology at Maynooth, till the day of his death, he ceased not to labor with voice and pen, and by every species of priestly ministration, for the freedom and prosperity of Ireland, for the religious, the intellectual, and the political welfare of Irishmen.

Ever since the 29th day of January, 1820, when, under the assumed name of HIEROPHILOS, John Mac Hale wrote his first published letter in defence of his ancestral creed, until his dying day, he became endeared to the ancient race from which he had sprung as their purest patriot, their most loved teacher and most trusted national guide.

In very truth, the subject of this biography, which covers nearly the last century of Irish history, has been all through that period, in a special and extraordinary manner, identified with the heroic struggles of the majority of Irishmen for civil and religious equality, for their indefeasible right to live, labor, and prosper as Christian freemen on the land of their birth.

Toward the close of this long career of honor undefiled, of unwearying devotion to his country and his God, the Archbishop of Tuam, visiting for the last time a parish in his diocese, had to receive an illuminated address from the people who worshipped him.

"The gift of itself," said the gentleman who presented it,

"is of little intrinsic value, but the sentiments of love and veneration which it embodies, find an echo in every Irish heart from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear—What do I say?—from the Giant's Causeway to the Rocky Mountains, ... to our Antipodes. In every land where an Irishman has set his foot,—and, alas! what shore is there so distant that a poor exile of Erin has not wandered to it?—in every place, in every clime, the name of JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, is revered as a household word. . . ."

To this the venerable nonagenarian touchingly replied:—

"You will not estimate the depth of my gratitude by the poverty of the language in which it is conveyed. Seldom it happens that the heartfelt emotions find outward corresponding expressions.

"Grief is often expressed in bursts of loud and passionate language. Yet the picture of Job, sitting in lonely silence, on which his friends had not the courage to intrude, conveys an image of sorrow more eloquent than the most classic rhetoric ever drew.

"You have given me credit for all the real or imaginary Irish attractions or qualities. You remind me of a Secretary of the Propaganda, now no more, who, condescending to mention me to some of his friends, stated that I possessed those qualities of my country in double-dyed colors. For this genuine representation I did not hesitate to thank him.

"And I must own that I like to retain all the ruggedness of a genuine love of country. Indeed, I may say, that so deeply has the rugged love of country been stamped upon my heart, that *I am like some old coin with the impression still unworn, whilst many another coin has been so wrought upon by time, that no trace of the impression upon it may now be found.*"

When the reader recalls the gloom, the desolation, the suffering, and the terrors which hung over unhappy Ireland all through the springtide, summer, and autumn of 1881, —as the venerable Patriarch of the Irish Church sat, like Job, amid the ruins of the national hopes, awaiting the approach of death, and scanning with a patriot's and a prophet's eye the coming years for the dawn of Ireland's

redemption,—the force of the words above quoted must come home to mind and heart.

Even then, while Coercion was sowing seeds of undying bitterness and hatred in the souls of the Irish millions at home and abroad, the first great instalment of justice to Ireland came in the form of a Land Act. But the Landlord Party in Parliament defeated the Prime Minister's beneficent intention by attaching to this great measure of relief clauses and conditions which went far to neutralize every element of good it contained. The constitution and working of the Land Courts did the rest.

The Act and its operation have since passed into history as an illustration and a monument of the antagonistic forces at work in the "British Legislature:" the one, growing out of a consciousness of long wrong-doing toward the majority of Irishmen, out of the secular experience of the utter uselessness and the supreme injustice of coercion toward a people reduced by the cruel oppression of centuries to chronic starvation and despair; the other, born and nurtured in the blind bigotry of religion and race, and deriving its strength from the fierce hatred which cannot forgive the inveterate wrongs inflicted, joined to the resistless power which enables the oppressor to continue the infliction.

Had JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, been given to live another decade, he would, to his unspeakable joy, have seen that sense of wrong-doing acquiring, in the hearts of Englishmen such increase and such intensity, as gradually to pervade the majority of the electors of Great Britain, impelling the foremost statesmen of the United Kingdom to lay before Parliament a large and generous scheme for Home Rule in Ireland.

Nor would the temporary defeat of this measure have disheartened one who had witnessed in his long public career so many political vicissitudes as JOHN MAC HALE. The very extremities of savage coercion, to which the opposite force in Parliament has recourse to govern Ireland, the shameless denial of all constitutional rights and even parliamentary liberty to Irish representatives, only

bear witness to the fact that, in the moral order, the reaction always carries the friends of violence far beyond the limits of policy, prudence, moderation, common sense, and ordinary justice.

The extraordinary measures enacted in the Parliament of Westminster as these lines are written,[1] mark the extreme limit to which anti-Irish bigotry and hatred can reach. From this point the spent forces of unreason, violence, and coercion must recede downwards.

Public opinion all over Great Britain is rising,—slowly, steadily, irresistibly rising,—among all but a portion of the landlord classes, in favor of justice to Ireland, and of that conciliation and peace which are the inevitable fruits of justice.

Englishmen, Welshmen, Scotchmen, led by the very men who have hitherto coerced Ireland, and enforced with the aid of the bayonet, the plank-bed, the hangman, and the crowbar-brigade, the rights of Land against Man,—are determined to do for Irishmen what law and justice, nature, reason, and common sense have done for the agricultural masses of Great Britain,—to give the man who ploughs and sows the soil some right to live on and by the soil and the fruit it bears.

This was the dawning light which a kind Providence may have vouchsafed to the dying eyes of the great Archbishop of Tuam.

[1] Passing of the Act creating the *Times* "Forgeries Court."

CHAPTER II.

BIRTHPLACE—PARENTAGE—BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD.

JOHN Mac Hale was born at Tubbernavine,[1] a hamlet situated on the eastern slope of Mount Nephin, the second in elevation among the mountains of Connaught.[2] Few districts in Ireland have been endowed by nature with such features of united loveliness and grandeur as this, or enriched with greater advantages of soil and climate, or possess such splendid facilities for commercial activity.

Through the glen in which the hamlet nestled, and which bore in the neighborhood the name of Glen Nephin, passed in 1791, when our narrative begins, the post-road connecting Sligo, Ballina, and Crossmolina with Castlebar, the capital of Mayo; and on this road, between the lofty foothill of Knock Mara and the towering mass of Nephin, were the well of the Fenians and the hamlet in which the subject of this biography first saw the light of day. This old road is still sought out and followed by the artist and tourist, on account of the prospect it commands over the three neighboring magnificent sheets of water, Loughs Conn, Cullin, and Lavalla.

No wonder that, when Strongbow and his Normans first visited this strikingly romantic and fertile part of Mayo, in the twelfth century, they should have resolved to make

[1] Pronounced *Tubbernaveene*, "the well or spring of the Fenians," the Celtic hero FIONN or FINN having stamped his name and memory on several localities in this district.

[2] Mt. Nephin has two adjoining summits, the westernmost of which is 2,646 feet high, and the other, overlooking Lake Conn and the vale of Tubbernavine, is 2,384 feet.

The two engravings in the text will enable the reader to form some idea of the surpassing beauty of the scenery.

themselves masters of so desirable a country adjoining the Western Sea. They therefore brought over a strong colony of their Welsh followers, and under one of these, called Awley, the barony in which Tubbernavine is situated, assumed and retained the name of Tir-Awley,—"the country of Awley."

It is still a question among the Irish scholars, whether the Clan Mac Hale or Mac Keale[1] did not, originally, form a part of this Welsh colony. Leaving to those skilled in Celtic literature and the folk-lore of Connaught to discuss this question, we need only state that the parents of the illustrious man whose career we are about to describe were Patrick Mac Hale and Mary Mulkieran, both natives of Tir-awley, and belonging to families of great respectability among the sturdy mountaineers of western Mayo.

The father of this child, destined to fill so large a space in the history of his nation and Church during the four-fifths of the nineteenth century, was popularly known as *Padrig Mor*, an appellation which his commanding stature and handsome person more than justified. He stood several inches above six feet; remained straight as an arrow till his old age; was fair-complexioned, with deep-blue eyes, regular features, strong and lithe of limb, active, energetic, capable of great endurance, and withal gifted with a bright humor and a quick and practical intelligence. He was "a true and grand type of his Milesian ancestry," as one who knew him well and long has written of him.

His house, situated on the high-road between the two assize-towns of Sligo and Castlebar, and quite near the historic well of the Fenians or companions of the heroic Finn, which gave its name to the elevated vale of Tubbernavine, was a wayside inn,—one of those truly hospitable resting-places, so well patronized and so popular in the ages when railroad travel was unknown. The Mac Hale homestead was a considerable establishment. For Padrig Mor kept up a large farming business together with that of his inn; and

[1] See for the Mac Hale genealogy O'Harts "The Irish and Anglo-Irish Landed Gentry," pp. 106, 107.

Lough Conn and Mount Nephin.

so there was a numerous staff of laborers and household servants.

Besides, Patrick Mac Hale carried on, in a country and a district where industry encountered all sorts of discouragement, a brisk trade, which helped to keep alive among his neighbors such home-industries as were still possible to the Irish peasantry. He went frequently to Dublin, across the whole extent of the Kingdom, with his own teamsters and conveyances, bringing back with him not only such goods as belonged to an innkeeper's business, but great quantities of the best dye-stuffs. With these he supplied the country-folk far and near, driving thus a very thrifty business, exchanging them with the cottiers for the fine linens and yarns then still produced in Tirawley.

"The house-wives of that period felt proud of having their husbands and families attired in the beautiful woolen fabrics spun, woven, and dyed by themselves, their daughters, and maid-servants. And this reminds me," continues our informant[1] "that the Archbishop of Tuam, in after years, used to order presents of fine wool for members of his family, with the view of fostering and encouraging their skill in manufacturing these beautiful wollen cloths,—for such they were. These and the fine yarns spun in his father's house and woven there into excellent linen, they were wont to present to' him whenever he visited the old homestead. He carefully treasured them all his life."

The linen trade was then flourishing in Ireland, and Patrick Mac Hale turned it to good account. He bought in largely the fine linens of the neighborhood, selling them at a handsome profit at the Linen-Hall in Castlebar.

The wayside inn at Tubbernavine was, therefore, not only a popular place of rest and refreshment, but a popular mart for the mountaineers. It was the centre where news was retailed, and information on all passing events, on religious topics as well as the stirring political incidents of the time, was obtained.

[1] Mrs. Catherine Higgins, of Tuam, the Archbishop's youngest sister, and for many years residing with him.

The home into which JOHN MAC HALE was born at the first dawn of spring-tide, 1791, was a large, warm, hospitable, joyous, and happy home, in which thrift was honored and practised; religion was first, middlemost, and last in the hearts and lives of the parents; and with religion there flourished all the sweet virtues and charities so dear to the Celtic soul.

There were already five other birdlings in that warm nest by the road-side, when this child of blessing made his appearance "rather unexpectedly," as his youngest sister relates. He was the fifth son. It was a tradition among the Catholic Irish, so retentive, amid the national desolation, of all the most ancient memories connected with their faith, that a child born either within the sacred season of Lent, or in the days immediately preceding it, was destined to be a man of austere and holy life, devoted to religious renouncement, if not apostolic labors. So believed the fond mother, who welcomed this other John the Baptist with more than a mother's tenderness, and with the deep, fond hope of a Christian parent.

He was but a puny, suffering little thing at his coming, and for more than a year thereafter. It took all the watchful love and experienced care of Mary Mulkieran Mac Hale to keep that little spark of life from going out.

He was born on Quinquagesima Sunday,[1] the Sunday preceding the solemn fast of Lent. This only allowed two whole days to prepare for the child's baptism and for the banquet which it was the time-honored custom to hold on such occasions. A hasty summons was forthwith issued to the Clan Keale as well as to the Mulkierans.

The baptismal ceremony was performed in the house of the parents, the nearest church being a mile distant, and the fragile health of the infant forbidding all thought of taking him to the little chapel of Leath-Ardán. So, the reverend pastor of Addergoole, Father Andrew Conry, came to the house itself on Shrove Tuesday, the third day after the

[1] Quinquagesima ("fiftieth"), so called because it is the fiftieth day before Easter Sunday.

child's birth, and there, in presence of the assembled Clans of relatives, fulfilled the solemn rite and the anxious mother's wishes.

Then followed the baptismal feast. Padrig Mor and his guests made good use of what remained of the day,—the eve of Ash-Wednesday. Among that long-tried and primitive race, the laws of the Church were held in even higher regard than the law of hospitality. As they heartily observed the rigorous Lenten fast and abstinence from flesh meat, so did they heartily enjoy the festivities which brought them together and strengthened the mutual ties of affection and kindliness created by blood and neighborhood.

After the bountiful banquet came the music and the dance. They kept it up, with true Irish spirit, forgetful of the flight of time, till some of the servants suddenly burst in among the merry company, and said that "the cocks were already crowing." It was Ash-Wednesday morning.

Instantly the notes of fiddle and bag-pipe were hushed, the dance ceased, and the sobered feasters, young and old, prepared for church, eager to sanctify the first day of the great penitential season.

On their way to the chapel of Leath-Ardán, and on their journey homewards, the Clan Mac Hale and their friends discussed the career likely to be filled by a boy born within Shrovetide, and baptized on the very eve of Lent.

Certain it is that from his boyhood till his latest year, and when long past eighty, the JOHN who lived to be the boast of Tirawley and the light of all Ireland, was throughout his career a man of prayer in the fullest sense of the word, and a man addicted to the most rigorous fasting. No persuasion, even in extreme old age, could induce him to modify his Lenten austerities; so that, when Holy Week with its long and fatiguing ceremonies came round, he needed the support of his attendants at the altar.

So much may we, at the beginning, forecast of the long life and priestly spirit of the feeble infant we have just left in his cradle.

He battled bravely with all the chances which, during the first year of his existence, threatened continually a sudden ending to the hopes of his parents and the anticipation of their many friends. Even for some time after the age when children begin to walk, little John had to be carried about in his nurse's arms. And as his mother wisely judged that he should have as much as possible of the invigorating mountain air, the child was taken out into the fields for hours whenever the weather permitted. Placed on a soft cushion firmly strapped to the nurse's back, he was made familiar from his cradle with all the grand and beautiful scenes around his father's house. He loved to rest his eyes on the broad expanse of Lake Conn, with its numerous picturesque islands, or to gaze up at the giant form of Mount Nephin, shrouded in shifting vapors, or to be taken from his nurse's back and allowed to rest on his cushion amid the mountain meadows with their wild-flowers. Everything lovely in nature had irresistible attractions for him. "The song of the birds gave him special delight. He would lie on his soft couch in the meadow-grass, the flax-field, or on the hill-side, and listen, entranced, to the skylark as it rose from its nest and circled higher and higher till lost in the blue. And as the fields around were filled with these warblers in spring and summer, the child found no small pleasure in listening to them."[1]

Thus were formed in the babe the tastes which were to be so carefully cultivated in manhood, and which threw such a charm over the lengthened evening of the busy life we are about to relate.

[1] Higgins. MSS.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST EDUCATION.

Still crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge,
  Or stretched on mountain fern,
The teacher and his pupils met
  Feloniously to learn.

THE child John, as soon as he had outgrown his feeble and sickly infancy, displayed both great vigor of limb and brightness of intellect. And the atmosphere of the wayside inn was one peculiarly fitted to develop this early thirst for knowledge and to satisfy its first cravings.

The period was one of intense and unceasing excitement in Ireland. The parliamentary struggle going on in Dublin between what might then be aptly called the National Party, headed by Grattan and Curran, and the abettors of Pitt and the English Government in their endeavor to do away with Irish legislative and administrative independence, was followed with deep and anxious interest by the inhabitants of every town and village in Ireland. The speeches of friends and foes were eagerly discussed among the Clans of Tirawley. Few as there then were among the peasantry of the West who could read and speak the English language, there were enough, nevertheless, to master the contents of the rare newspapers which found their way to the mountains, and to interpret their contents for greedy ears and minds quick to appreciate and understand.

Padrig Mor Mac Hale was one of those who were comparatively familiar with the English tongue. His business in his frequent journeys to the Capital, his commercial dealings there, all demanded that he should know the Saxon speech. He was one of the many in Tirawley who had perceived the necessity of imparting a knowledge of English

to the youth of the country, if these would ever hope to hold their own against the dominant race.

The master of the wayside inn at Tubbernavine was also an ardent patriot, loving with the whole strength of heart and mind the dear old Celtic land with its memories, its traditions, its undying aspirations toward nationality, and its venerated religion, rendered all the more dear and sacred, that it had been so bitterly persecuted for centuries.

With the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789-'90, there were created throughout the popular masses in Ireland ardent hopes of civil and religious freedom. Emancipation and National Independence had become bright and seductive dreams for a people on whom, for centuries, the yoke of social and political serfdom had pressed so gallingly, and whose ancestral faith had been proscribed and punished as the most heinous crime against God and man.

Patrick Mac Hale, as he sat, in the long winter evenings, with his guests, neighbors, and large circle of children around his own wide hearth and blazing fire of mountain-peat, would discourse intelligently on the speeches of Flood and Grattan, on the doings of Lord Charlemont and his Irish Volunteers, on the hoped-for aid from France, whose armies began to fill Europe and even England with just alarm. The adult generation then living remembered well the achievements of Paul Jones and his privateers along the coast of Great Britain and in the Irish seas. And now everybody spoke of Wolf Tone, of the forces Repulican France would place at his command, and of the formidable combination in sympathy with him in Ireland, and which counted in its ranks some of the élite of the Anglo-Irish gentry and nobility.

Such were the topics of conversation around the hospitable hearth of the Mac Hales, as the childhood of our little John passed away year after year. But with these matters always came up the ancient and never to be forgotten story of Ireland's glories before the days of St. Patrick and St. Columbkille, as well as afterward. The time when Ireland was, in the sixth and seventh centuries, a land literally

flowing with milk and honey, the land of herds and hospitable homes, the land of learning, apostolic zeal, and brotherly love,—was a subject fondly cherished in the Irish peasant's mind, and carefully described by him to his children.

The Irish people have long ago been characterized as a people of far-reaching and unfailing memory, reaching far back into the past, clinging tenaciously to the records of former independence, happiness, and greatness. Travellers in the Ireland of our day, even after nearly a century of further "Anglification" patiently but surely achieved by the Kildare Street Schools, the National Schools, the Queen's Colleges, the Intermediate Examinations, and the Royal University of Ireland,—remark with wonder how thoroughly the ragged and half-starved children, met by chance on the high-roads or among the country-lanes, are acquainted with local history, with the pedigrees of neighboring families, their vicissitudes, and the legends attaching to the biography of individuals.

This is one result of the education given by Irish firesides, so long as the dominant landlord class permitted anything like villages or hamlets to remain on their broad acres. This first home education,—and I here purposely omit to speak of the careful religious training given by parents to children in the Ireland of a hundred years ago,—this first home education had another remarkable feature, nowhere more noticeable than in Tirawley. This was the enthusiastic fondness for the ancient ballad-poetry and music of the Celtic Irish. As we shall see further on in this narrative, it was among the mountaineers of Mayo and Sligo that Hardiman and other collectors of our ancient national melodies went to find and store up the intellectual treasures to which Thomas More gave imperishable form.

When, therefore, in the warm light of Patrick Mac Hale's blazing hearth, and warmed still more, it maybe, by his wine or his punch-bowl, the circle of happy guests and neighbors had told each other in turn some thrilling tale of the times of Cromwell,—the victories of Owen Roe O'Neill, the siege of Limerick, the dark days of William III., of

Anne and the Georges, they would ask a favorite singer to give them some of the heroic ditties in which a nation's heart had vented its joys or its sorrows.

We can fancy the child of four or five years, seated by his mother's side, among his listening brothers and sisters, drinking in these tales of Ireland's past glories, or carried away by the thrilling poetry and music of these much-loved melodies. And this is no imaginary picture. Such was the atmosphere of song and story in which the soul of John Mac Hale had its first formation.

His father was anxious that he, as well as the older children, should acquire early a mastery of the English tongue. This was no easy thing to do. The native Irish Celtic or Gælic was universally, almost exclusively, spoken by the country folk in Tirawley ; it was, usually, the only language spoken in the Mac Hale household. When, at the age of four, the little John began, by his father's command, to learn the alphabet, as a preparatory step to his attending the hedge school (for there was none other) at Leath-Ardán, Patrick Mac Hale's mother, Anne Moffett, who lived with him, seriously objected to the child's being "anglicized."

The first difficulty of learning the alphabet was quickly overcome. The bright child was but too eager to learn. Then came his daily journeyings back and forth, with his elder brothers, to the "Hedge School" at Leath-Ardán (pronounced LAHERDÁNE). But, at this first dawn, for the oppressed Catholics of Ireland, of educational freedom,[1] it was found to be no easy task to enforce the law of speaking nothing but English both at school and at home.

Was it possible, in the case of these peasant children of Tirawley, to make them learn English without neglecting their own tongue? It was a very practical question from 1790 to 1800, and much later. Save in a few localities, the question has been solved in favor of the English language.

At any rate, in the family of Patrick Mac Hale, all the children, without forgetting the use of their own native

[1] The Penal Laws, making it felony for Irish Catholics to teach or to be taught, were not then abrogated.

Gælic, were made to acquire a thorough knowledge of English.

Their grandmother, Ann Moffett, who lived with her son, retained a strong predilection for the Gælic; John was an especial favorite with her, and her death, which occurred in 1795, was the child's first grief.

The family remembered and recounted, long after her death, and when John Mac Hale was the most eloquent upholder of the language and literature of the Celt, that she it was who encouraged her grandson to speak and to cherish his native Gælic.

But the boy quickly acquired a good knowledge of English also. Once he had learned to read, he devoured whatever came within his reach of history or fiction.

"At this time," says his sister, "he had gone through all the story-books that could be procured by his father and his friends, as well as many lent him by his school-fellows. For they were in the habit of exchanging with each other the amusing or instructive books they happened to obtain, such as fairy-tales, "the Seven Champions of Christendom," and other juvenile readings.

At the age of six, the precocious child, fascinated by the solemn service of the Mass, even as it was humbly performed by Father Conry in his thatched mountain-chapel of Laherdáne would not rest till he had learned the Latin responses in the liturgy, and had been allowed to serve the priest at the altar. He used, in after years, to relate to the clergymen around him what delight his childish heart experienced in thus "serving Mass." And, in truth, nothing could be more fitted to inspire reverence, piety, and fervor, than the scene witnessed in such lowly houses of worship as the chapels of Glen Nephin, when Catholics began to breathe a little freely after the long, dark night of the Penal Laws: the simple and ardent piety of the worshippers; the living faith which poured itself forth in canticles of praise and thanksgiving at the most solemn moments of the Eucharistic sacrifice; the seemingly absolute indifference to all external splendor, to even personal discom-

fort or hardship, in the blessed enjoyment of freedom to adore together the God of their fathers;—all this and much more came powerfully home to the intelligence and the heart of the child of five and six years old.[1]

The venerable Father Conry, destined to end so tragically, a few years later, his apostolic career in Glen Nephin, was a man who had thoroughly at heart the instruction of his flock. "The 'hedge-school' at Laherdáne was not the only one of its kind which nestled in the many glens around the giant Nephin, and dealt out instruction beneath the shelter of the road-side hedge of furze, heather, and black and white thorn. But what John Mac Hale treasured in his memory, and could relate to his priests, when coadjutor, bishop, and archbishop, were the eloquent sermons of the priest-martyr who had baptized him, and who loved to see the bright, promising boy near the altar on Sundays. The members of his family who knew the Archbishop of Tuam best, and lived in his intimacy, still remember the anecdotes he was wont to relate about serving Father Conry's Mass, and the impression made on the child by the sermons of the devoted priest. The prelate, to the end of his life, could recall and repeat passages from these discourses. They were delivered in the popular Gælic, and were pregnant with timely instruction and warning about the French Revolution and the dangers which threatened the faith in Ireland from 1789 to 1800.

[1] Though born nearly thirty years after the illustrious subject of this biography, the writer has never forgotten his own early impressions of such scenes as the above. Only a few miles separate Mount Nephin, Tubbernavine, and the Lake of Cong from the lovely Lake of Islandeady, on whose shores the author was born. The people were the same; so were their customs:—their fervent piety; the unquenchable faith which made them careless of distance and inclement weather, so that they might come to the lowly chapel on the Lord's Day, and refresh their souls deeply at the fount of Life. I remember, as if I heard it but yesterday, the chorus of voices at the Elevation of the Sacred Host, rising from all parts of the thronged edifice: *O Salutaris Hostia!* "O Saving Victim," etc. Many years later,—in the autumn of 1846, celebrating Mass for the first time at Tingwick, Lower Canada, among a colony of Mayo men from the very hills and lakes where were born and reared both biographer and Archbishop, I was overcome by deep feeling, at hearing the same burst of voices at the Elevation, proclaiming the coming on the altar of the God of Calvary.

Meanwhile William Pitt and his government were taking effective measures toward doing away with the semblance of constitutional liberty enjoyed by the Irish nation. In the two Houses ot Parliament assembled in College Green, Dublin, not a single Catholic Peer or Commoner had a seat. The disfranchised and despised body of Papists had no voice in the councils of the nation, no influence on the political or economical measures which passionately agitated the public mind. The proposals for alleviating the unjust, cruel, and intolerable burdens which the Catholics had so long borne, whether advocated by Grattan in Dublin, or by Edmund Burke in Westminster, were contemptuously set aside by the illiberal majority.

It was designed by Pitt and Castlereagh to do away, once for all, with the troublesome phantom of Irish nationality, to absorb the Irish Parliament in that of Great Britain, while paving the way for absorbing the Irish Catholic Church in the Protestant Establishment. The rebellion of 1797–98, so unscrupulously fostered by Government intrigues, was a good argument in favor of Pitt's Bill of Union; the power of veto which he so determinedly sought to obtain from Pius VI. and Pius VII., in return for British sympathy and support, was to make of the Irish bishops and other dignified ecclesiastics the pliant creatures and salaried servants of the British Government; the cunningly devised educational schemes to be introduced among the Irish masses would soon, Pitt and his associates hoped, make good Protestants, or, what was next best, good unbelievers of the coming generations of Irishmen.

The United Irishmen were a Protestant organization; the men who sought the aid of Revolutionary France to carry out in Ireland the designs of those who then were designated as the National Party, were, almost to a man, Protestants, or such persons as had embraced the principles of Voltaire and Weisshaupt. Their connection, direct or indirect, with the Catholic body, could only create a prejudice against the latter. The Catholics, as a body, most certainly never acknowledged their co-operation. Nor,

considering what were the avowed Jacobin principles of such conspirators as the Brothers Sheares, can we do otherwise than rejoice that they failed in setting up in Ireland a republic like that of Danton and Robespierre.

All these conspiracies, however, succeeded and crossed each other in Ireland, keeping the unhappy people in a continual state of vain hope or fearful apprehension, and helping forward, in the end, the designs of the British Ministry.

It is not without a certain interest to the general reader to know, that in 1791, the very year of John McHale's birth, Daniel O'Connell and his younger brother, Maurice, left Ireland and entered the English College at St. Omer. In 1794, the dominant hatred in France against Englishmen and "aristocrats" forced the boys to return to their home in Kerry. And in that same year Daniel O'Connell began the study of law at Lincoln's Inn, London.

We place together before the reader's eye these two great names, at this first stage of our narrative, because the men who bore them were destined afterwards to labor together in the cause of Ireland.

From his boarding-house at Chirwick Daniel O'Connell wrote, in that same year, to his brother Maurice:—

"I have now two objects to pursue—the one, the attainment of knowledge; the other, the acquisition of those qualities which constitute the polite gentleman. I am convinced that the former, besides the immediate pleasure that it yields, is calculated to raise me to honors, rank, and fortune; and I know that the latter serves as a general passport; and, as for the motive of ambition which you suggest, I assure you that no man can possess more of it than I do. I have indeed a glowing and,—if I may use the expression, —an enthusiastic ambition, which converts every toil into a pleasure and every study into an amusement."

Such, in his nineteenth year, were the motives which urged Daniel O'Connell to the pursuit of the excellence that was to make him a leader of men.

But the child whom, in these same years, we have described

as "wearing the score" in his hedge-school at Tubbernavine, or qualifying himself to serve, like Samuel of old, in presence of the Mercy-Seat, is guided by a different spirit, and along a road which will lead him to the goal of a nobler ambition,

The child Samuel, however, watching and serving within the Sanctuary, and David, guarding his father's flocks on the hillside at Bethlehem, or tuning even then his harp to the inspired songs destined to live forever, or boldly facing the wolf, the bear, or the lion,were both, in the designs of a fatherly Providence, fitting themselves to save, to defend, to elevate a chosen race and people.

"Travellers passed to and fro at the little inn of Tubbernavine, bringing each some piece of information about the rumored rebellion. The observant child heard and noted all this. He wondered, and watched, and thought what it all could mean; and he determined to find out the cause and purpose of this agitation among kinsfolk and neighbors, and of all the wild fears with which the air was filled. They were not long in revealing themselves to him." All of a sudden, like the first flash of lightning from the long gathering storm-clouds, came the tidings that the French had landed at Kilcomin, near Killala. This was on August 22d, 1798.

Father Conry, who had been educated in France, had more than once warned his flock against the infidel principles proclaimed by the Revolution; and Father Rickard Mac Keale, who had, not long before this, barely escaped from Paris and from France with his life, had related, by his brother's fireside at Tubbernavine, some of the horrors he had been doomed to witness in the French Capital,—the death of the King and Queen, the massacre of September, the flight of the nobles, the fearful persecutions to which religion was subjected, the working of the Guillotine, and the thrilling tales of the Reign of Terror.

The peasantry of Tirawley were, therefore, in no mood to welcome the French invaders under General Humbert with anything like favor or sympathy. They and their

Catholic countrymen had suffered too much for their attachment to the faith, to accept aid from men who were stained with the blood of bishops, priests, and holy nuns, and who had outraged all religion and God Himself by the impious honors rendered to the "Goddess Reason."

Little John had not lost one tittle of all that he had thus heard from the lips of men he revered and loved. So the coming of the French was to him a something of dreadful import. On August 25th, General Humbert took possession of Ballina and Killala, and soon the Tricolor of the Revolution floated in the streets of Crossmolina.

"Great was the consternation and wild the alarm created along the line of road over which the troops were expected to pass. At Tubbernavine a hurried consultation was held by Patrick Mac Hale and his people. What should they do to save the crops in the field, and their household goods? Would the French not plunder there, as they invariably did on the Continent? Would they not insult and outrage the helpless population, and treat all who did not join them as enemies? These questions, and such as these, the terrified peasants asked themselves. And no man could reassure them.

"Patrick Mac Hale (continues his daughter) quickly collected his men, gave his orders, and all went to work digging deep pits, in which they buried, in large barrels, &c., all household goods and valuables of every description. They carefully obliterated all traces of these deposits.

"The next thing was where to hide themselves; and, as the French were already advancing, there was no time for deliberation. Young folks fled far up into the fastnesses of Mount Nephin, where they were safe from pursuit or discovery. Others, the aged in particular, took refuge in well-known caverns and coverts not far away. Not so the little John, ardently bent on observing all that passed. He kept near his parents, who would not forsake their home, come what might. The boy's quick intelligence led him to a spot on the neighboring slope, and quite near the high-road. There he took up his station in a flax-field, where the sheaves were stacked. Into one of these stacks the little

fellow crept, and thence could keep a look-out on every side. And as these stacks were pretty close together, he could, unobserved, easily creep from one to the other, ascending higher and higher on the slope, so as to obtain a wider view of the panorama beneath.

"It was, in truth, an imposing if not an awful spectacle to the eyes of one so young, that long array of blue-coated infantry and horsemen, with bayonets, sabres, and burnished helmets glittering in the sun, as regiment after regiment passed silently along, with their scouts thrown far forward to reconnoitre, and their heavy artillery wagons thundering along the road along the valley of Tubbernavine, the battalions, unmolested and unmolesting, looking to the eyes of the boy-watcher like some mighty serpent with flaming crest and glittering scales, winding its slow length between the overhanging majesty of Nephin and the silent, peaceful waters of the lakes nestling below in the embrace of the foot hills. As the last mass of the dreaded invaders disappeared behind the inequalities of the road, the boy, expecting some encounter with the advanced British outposts, gained the very crest of the slope, and waited till in the far blue distance he beheld the sheen of bayonets, sabres, and helmets lighting up the gloomy sides of the Ox Mountains, and passing, unopposed, beyond the lofty barrier of the Windy Gap.

"He then hastened back to join in the jubilation of the reassembled friends; and many a fervent prayer went up in thanksgiving that the people were spared the recurrence of the horrors attendant on Cromwell's wars. On these desolating wars the conversation turned that day and the next in the Mac Hale homestead, John questioning his father about the memorable events of the Cromwellian rule in Ireland. 'Yes, my boy,' said Patrick Mac Hale, as he concluded his narrative, 'they were fearful times for our country: men, women, children massacred; the land laid waste from shore to shore; churches, monasteries, and convents levelled, and their inmates either butchered or barbarously treated.'"

These details made a deep and lasting impression on the child's mind. From that moment he discarded all books of fiction, and craved only to know the history of his native land.[1]

But the horrors of the Cromwellian rule in Ireland were renewed all too vividly in that very year and the next; and the ruthless cruelty with which Catholic priests had been treated for centuries in that unhappy country was soon to be brought home to the inhabitants of Glen Nephin, and to the sensitive heart of little John Mac Hale.

The day after he had seen the blue-coated French legions disappear over the lofty crest of the Windy Gap ridge, the distant booming of artillery woke up the echoes along Mount Nephin, and told of the conflict going on with the British forces at Castlebar. The success which, in the first moment of suprise, the small body of men under Humbert had met with, was soon turned into irretrievable defeat. Whatever the British Government may have thought of the complicity of the Irish Catholics and their clergy in the French invasion, it is certain that the men who misgoverned Ireland for them were disposed to treat all Catholics as rebels and revolutionists.

In each county were then, as at all times, to be found men who abused their authority as magistrates to persecute and oppress on the slightest pretext given them. These local tyrants have ever been the bane of even the most peaceful parts of Ireland. In Mayo, at the time of the French landing at Killala, the lieutenant of the county, or chief local magistrate, was Denis Browne, a brother of the Marquis of Sligo. This worthy had shown but little intelligence or energy in organizing resistance when the first tidings were spread abroad of the appearance of Humbert's ships. But he was as savage and blood-thirsty after battle, as he was useless in the hour of conflict.

He was one of those who believed his Catholic fellow-subjects to live in a state of permanent conspiracy against the British Crown.

[1] Mrs. Higgins' MSS.

Some of the French officers had entered the lowly abode of Father Conry on their way to Glen Nephin; and the courageous pastor, who had remained at his post to watch over and protect his flock in the hour of danger, could only prevent the invaders from molesting the defenceless peasantry by treating the Frenchmen with courteous civility. His frequent denunciations of the French Revolution and its abettors were well known beyond the limits of the parish of Addergoole. This did not prevent Denis Browne from seeing, or pretending to see, in the reported visit of the French officers to the priest's home a treasonable act, to be punished by martial law.

So, months after the utter defeat and disappearance of the French from Mayo, when every spark of what might be deemed a rebellious spirit had been stamped out or quenched in blood, Denis Browne assembled a court martial in Castlebar, and arraigned before it Father Andrew Conry, on the specious charge of having been in treasonable correspondence with the invaders. Before such a tribunal, presided over by this ferocious bigot, it was vain to protest or to prove innocence. And thereupon one of the most inhuman scenes was enacted that could disgrace even Cromwell or his lieutenants. The gentle and heroic priest was not given a single hour's reprieve; but, taken forthwith from the hôtel where his judges sate, he was hanged to a branch of the nearest tree. The spot, sacred to the hearts of Irishmen, is still pointed out to the traveller, near the Wesleyan chapel, in Castlebar.

The arrest of the venerable pastor of Addergoole had filled his parishioners with grief and consternation. In the Mac Hale household in particular, where Father Conry was worshipped for his goodness, the lamentations were loud. Little John wept unceasingly and could not be consoled. No terror could prevent the people of Glen Nephin from crowding into Castlebar to testify in favor of their beloved spiritual guide. But their testimony, even if admitted, would have been unavailing. And to their horror and despair the man of God was hung like a dog before their eyes.

Never to be forgotten was the spectacle which the boy of seven beheld, when the bereaved and sorrowing parishioners brought home for burial in his own chapel the corpse of this other martyr,—for such they might well deem him; he had been slain by the twofold hatred of the old religion and the old race.

Down the deep pass of the Windy Gap streamed the thousands who had come to do honor to the saintly dead. Thousands covered the steep acclivities on each side of the road and all the way down to the gentle hills above Lake Lavalla. And high, piercing the very sky, rose the wail of the women as the funeral procession, bearing the corpse of the martyred priest, first showed itself in the gorge. It was the heart-cry of a whole people, taken up and repeated by the multitude far and near. Ah! the blind, mad folly of political rulers, whose deeds of wrong and blood let loose in the souls of men such hurricanes of grief and righteous wrath!

And so did John Mac Hale, as he kissed the cold hand of his reverend friend and pastor, and looked upon the countenance distorted by the shameful death agony, learn to know Denis Browne and the tyranny exercised by him and his throughout Mayo. Little dreamed the petty tyrant that the child who walked down that stricken valley near the lifeless form of his priest, and who wept so bitterly as they laid it to rest before the very altar at which the martyr had been wont to celebrate, would be, in God's good time, the champion of creed and country, destined to destroy forever the detested ascendancy of the Browne family.[1]

Such were the scenes, such the political storms and struggles amid which the soul of the brave boy unfolded itself and waxed strong.

[1] It is a noteworthy circumstance that the home of this same Denis Browne, near Claremorris, was purchased by Archbishop Mac Hale, and is at this moment a Convent of the Sisters of Mercy.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BOY'S THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE—OLD MARTIN CALLAGHAN—SENT TO A CLASSIC SCHOOL IN CASTLEBAR—DEATH OF HIS MOTHER.

THE population of Glen-Nephin was not long left without a pastor. And the stout-hearted race, who had survived in the past the utmost violence of religious persecutions and political tyranny, pursued their humble occupations cheered on by the voice of religion, which was their light and their comfort, even when all human hope had died out of their lives.

The hedge-school at Laherdáne beheld master and scholars in their places all through the troublous autumn, winter, and spring of 1798–99. On the bright, sunny, tepid days, the lessons were conned and told in the open air, beneath "the sheltering hedge," or while the learners were half "stretched on mountain fern." In cold and rainy weather they took refuge in the adjoining, comfortless shed.

John Mac Hale continued to grasp and master with insatiable avidity every branch of knowledge his teacher could supply. He still delighted to be in his place in the sanctuary on Sundays and Festivals. His doating mother fostered in him all the seeds of early piety, and encouraged his inclination for all Church ceremonies, bare and devoid of all outward pomp as these necessarily were in the poor thatched chapel of Laherdáne. Her ambition for this her darling son was to see him a priest; and she was doubly consoled by seeing that John and his younger brother, James, loved from their childhood to minister in the Holy Place.

So sped the years which followed 1800.

From Mrs. Higgins' notes we gather two things, which throw no little light over the long road our readers have to travel with us. Referring to the atrocious murder of Father Conry, and to the dismay and grief of his parishioners, the manuscript says:—"These scenes made a deep impression on the youthful mind and feelings of little John Mac Hale. And it is said that he then vowed in his heart, that if the Almighty gave him life, ability, and position, he would expose the misdeeds of those who ruled Ireland, and denounce the laws which permitted such foul crimes to go unpunished. He resolved then and there," we quote literally, "to get himself well informed on the history of these times of misrule, and sought thenceforward to increase by every means his store of knowledge on this point.

"There was an old man named Martin Callaghan, living in the neighborhood of Tubbernavine, who was looked up to as an infallible authority on everything connected with the history of the country. He was equally well read on matters of fact as on folk-lore and fiction. To him John had recourse, after having exhausted all the other accessible sources of historical knowledge.

"The child was impelled by mingled curiosity and self-love to seek this venerable scholar. As it often chances with ambitious boys of his age, he fancied that he had himself climbed pretty far up the hill of knowledge, and was impatient to see whether Mr. Callaghan really deserved the popular fame he enjoyed.

"But his amazement was great, and his delight no less, when, on conversing with the latter, he was introduced to an undiscovered world of knowledge. Callaghan opened up before the wondering child the history of Ireland back to the Conquest and beyond it. Then he led his pupil through the wide and enchanted fields of tradition and legend. All the stores of ancient Irish poetry were familiar to the old man, back to the real poems of Ossian. John's enthusiastic nature revelled in these recitals. It was a feast of which he never wearied. Every day, after school hours, he hastened to this new master. Nor was the good old man.

less pleased to gratify the wishes of a scholar so intelligent and eager to learn.

"And so time went on happily till it became necessary to send the lad to a higher class school."

There then lived in Castlebar a remarkable man, named Patrick Stanton, one of the survivors of the old persecuted generation of Catholic instructors in the classics, who had ventured to open a school for boys preparing for college. We say "ventured," for the penal laws against Catholic masters had never been repealed; though the infractions were generally overlooked, yet such brutal tyrants as Denis Browne had it in their power to worry the master and close the school.

The writer of these pages distinctly remembers the name of Patrick Stanton, as that of a man who had won the respect and admiration of his fellow-townsmen, and the lasting gratitude of their children.

The school was in the town of Castlebar; and Patrick Mac Hale, in taking his son to it, made arrangements that the boy should board for some time in the town itself, and then with some relatives four or five miles outside of it.

The few of us who belonged to the generation next following John Mac Hale, can well recall how gladly children in those days faced fatigue and hardship in order to enjoy the benefit of solid literary instruction. A tramp of four or five miles to school in the morning, and home in the afternoon, was undertaken joyously, and in all weathers. The little band of scholars living along the same road waited for each other, and travelled along merrily, retailing the newest bits of village gossip, in boyish banter and innocent tricks, or discussing the lessons to be recited. It was good training for the difficulties of after-life. We were all light-hearted and happy.

And so, on these long morning and evening walks, John employed himself to acquire that first familiarity with the languages of Rome and Greece, and that acquaintance with the master-pieces of English literature, which were so soon to stand him in good stead. His advancement was very rapid.

On Saturdays he made it as often as he could his custom to walk all the way to Tubbernavine, a distance of about seven miles. This he deemed anything but a hardship. His mother had ever a warm welcome for him; and what is like an adored mother's welcome to a true-hearted boy of twelve? And his father was also proud of him, shooting up as if he would equal in manly stature the respected Padrig Mor, and giving such promise of moral greatness and intellectual superiority as made parents and kinsfolk hope to see him, like his uncle Rickard, the pride of the Clan Mac Hale. Brothers and sisters also eagerly looked for John's coming on the appointed Saturday afternoon, and went far up the valley to watch and wait for him.

Could there ever come for boy or man happier days than these, when all the wealth of parental, brotherly, and sisterly love was lavished on the foot-sore scholar, as he stood clasped in his mother's embrace, and shared all the brightness and warmth of that dear hearth in the wayside inn?

> Who has not felt how sadly sweet
> The dream of home, the dream of home,
> Steals o'er the heart, too soon to fleet,
> When far o'er sea or land we roam?
> Sunlight more soft may o'er us fall;
> To greener shores our bark may come;
> But far more bright, more dear than all,
> That dream of home, that dream of home.

He had not been more than a year under Patrick Stanton's tuition when ominous tidings reached him about that dear mother's health. In 1795 he had lost his grandmother; it was his first acquaintance with death, and the loss cost the childish heart many a bitter pang. Then, in 1798, his priest, the man to whom, among all living men, the affectionate child most looked up, was brought back a stark corpse from Castlebar. And now the shadow of death was over his mother. Nor could the tears and prayers of her ten living children, nor the devoted love of her husband, turn away from the threshold the visit of God's messenger.

Thus went out the light of that happy and blessed home. When John Mac Hale, now in his fourteenth year, went

from his mother's grave to resume his Greek and Latin studies at Patrick Stanton's school, he seemed to have left behind both boyhood and childhood. All the world wore a gray, sad tint for the serious-minded scholar. Whatever else his father's house did not possess, it was passing rich in love and piety and unsullied honor. No home on earth, in his estimation, could vie with his own in all the essentials of bliss. But now, that his mother was gone, he had lost

> His heart's best joy where'er he roves,
> That dream of home, that dream of home. [1]

Two years more passed away, during which the inclination toward a clerical life, so assiduously encouraged by that same worshipped mother, was pronounced by the young scholar's spiritual advisers to be a true vocation. Was the divine choice and calling, then, not a grace obtained for her boy by the departed mother? Was not this perfect flower of piety one which sprang from her grave beneath Mount Nephin?

The then Bishop of Killala, Dr. Dominick Bellew, was well acquainted with the talents and virtues of John Mac Hale. He had followed the boy's upward course with a fatherly attention. Patrick Stanton was loud in his praise; so was, in truth, every one who knew him. And as the good Bishop had it in his power to name that year, 1807, a bursar for Maynooth College, he selected John Mac Hale.

It is a sad necessity, in the natural course of things,—but it is none the less a necessity,—which breaks up the most closely united family circles. Sons and daughters, like birds fully fledged, and ready to take their own flight in the world, will leave the nest and need no longer the warm shelter of the mother's wing, nor all the constant care and toil of parental love given to them during adolescence. What does it not cost a mother's heart to give up the daughter she has so tenderly reared to the protection and control of a husband,—a stranger! What a generous sacrifice she makes in seeing her boy, the idol of her purest

[1] Moore, *Ballads and Songs.*

worship, whom she has hitherto looked upon as all her own, led away captive from her threshold by the love of another woman! And mothers also give no little proof of generosity in consenting to send their boys to distant schools for years, contenting themselves, as best they may, with rare, short glimpses of them when they come back in vacation time.

And nowhere are the family affections stronger than in the homes of the Irish peasantry; nowhere are the pangs of separation more keenly felt. For among these descendants of the ancient Celts or the Anglo-Irish the holy love which knits together the souls of parents, children, kinsfolk, and neighborhood, is, frequently, the chief earthly treasure left them,—often their only treasure.

And is it, indeed, "earthly," this love of home and family ties, which we have seen surviving separation, exile, distance, all the destroying influences of time and change and bitterest deceptions?

In such a household as that of Padrig Mor Mac Hale, with his noble wife and her numerous offspring of sons and daughters, there was all the more love and happiness, because there was solid independence, with the means of securing both comfort and abundance to all within the home-circle, and generous aid to the outside poor.

But in the grave of his mother lay buried the only absorbing love young John Mac Hale had ever known: he had not to tear himself away from her embrace in quitting Tubbernavine for Maynooth.

Still was it a sad parting. For the student was the pride of both father and children; and Maynooth was so far away in those days when railroads were an undreamed of possibility of the future.

Early in September, John bade farewell to brothers and sisters, and to the kinsfolk and neighbors who had come to bid the boy God-speed. One of his brothers, Thomas, accompanied him on his long and pleasant journey, both being mounted on two of their father's best nags, with a well-filled purse to enable them to travel comfortably.

In truth, it was a most pleasant and most instructive jour-

ney to the two young men. Every district through which they passed, every town on their road, every country inn at which they put up at night, had monuments or memories of the bloody struggles between Celt and Celt in the olden time, between these and the Anglo-Norman invaders, and in later ages, of the fierce struggles of the oppressed and divided Catholics for religious and political freedom, of the fearful doings of Cromwell's hordes, and the no less fearful cruelties enacted in 1798.

To John Mac Hale, so eager for information on every phase of his country's history, on every ruin of castle, and monastery, and church which they passed on their way,—every mile of the road opened up new stores of interest and instruction; and at evening he would question with earnest curiosity both inn-keepers and guests on local monuments, legends, and traditions.

In Dublin, the two youthful travellers found a capital discrowned, dispirited, and despoiled of the wealth and industries created and fostered by the brief and brilliant period of national self-government. The stately edifices erected before the Union,—the Parliament House, the Four Courts, the Post Office, and Custom House still displayed to the eye of the citizens or visitors their classic fronts, pediments, and colonnades; but they were all, the Halls of Justice excepted, as lonely and silent as the grave. The busy commercial thoroughfares, Westmoreland Street, Grafton Street, Dame Street, etc., were no longer thronged with customers; and many of their shops were closed. The houses of the nobility and gentry were untenanted, many of them "for sale" or "to be let." The proprietors had migrated to London with the Irish Parliament. The "Liberties," a large and once populous suburb of Dublin, inhabited chiefly by linen-weavers, were now an uninhabited wilderness. The linen-industry was dead,—killed by British monopoly; the Linen-hall was empty; and the sound of loom and shuttle had forever been hushed in the once busy, thrifty, and populous hive of the metropolis of Ireland.

The brothers saw all this, felt all this, and took the thought

of it away with them as the food of deep meditation, and the germ of fruitful resolves.

And so, in mid-September, 1807, the two brothers took their way from Dublin to Maynooth. The rich level country along which they rode was then thickly populated. The frequent villages through which they passed, and the well-cultivated fields stretching out on every side, gave evidence of the care of the landlords and the husbandry of farmers and laborers.

How sadly different is the aspect of this same country in the year 1890! It only lacks two decades of a century since then,—and what power hostile to the Irish people and to all the dearest interests of the nation has depopulated these fertile lands, killed or paralyzed thrift and industry, and given to the land the aspect of one over which some terrible plague has swept, carrying away man and beast, and leaving only a few unskilful hands to cultivate the kindly soil?

But here they are at Maynooth. The townsfolk, as the two horsemen pass up the main street, look with friendly eye at the manly youths, noble specimens of the budding manhood of Tirawley; and many a "welcome," and "God bless them," are uttered by women old and young, aye, and by men, too, ere the travellers reach the massive, ivy-mantled keep of the Geraldines, which towers aloft near the gate of the College. By and by John Mac Hale will have leisure to learn the history of the Geraldines' ruined castle. Now his heart beats more quickly, as he alights at the porter's lodge, and looks at the venerable little Gothic church, which seems to stand there, at the very entrance to yonder halls, to welcome, mother-like, the sons of Ireland, come from her furthest borders to fit themselves for the sacred ministry.

No! That is the Protestant church of Maynooth; the Catholic College chapel is within the grounds.

John Mac Hale experienced no difficulty in passing the prescribed examinations before his being admitted as a student.

The great National Seminary which thus received him among its *alumni*, and on which he was to confer undying honor, was only in the second decade of existence. The men who might be called its founders, who were, at any rate, the parents of the noble intellectual life enjoyed by Maynooth from its very infancy, were either Irishmen who had been obliged to seek in foreign lands the advantages of a collegiate and university education, or who, like the French refugee priests, whom young Mac Hale counted among his preceptors, had derived their scientific training from Continental schools. But they were, one and all, men of uncommon merit, men worthy of imparting to the first generations of priestly youth allowed to be educated on Irish soil a formation producing such scholars and patriots as the future Archbishop of Tuam, a formation which has ever since been growing in excellence, and is only now waiting for the full measure of educational justice and liberty, to be second to that of no national seminary in the world.

John Mac Hale had only heard of the men who created Maynooth and gave it a high and promising position by the side of the splendidly endowed and equipped Protestant institutions, when he was yet a schoolboy under Patrick Stanton. Then the College of Maynooth loomed up before his boyish imagination as an intellectual paradise destined only for a chosen few. The wonderful story of its foundation he had heard related in Castlebar and at Tubbernavine, by priests and laymen, who all mentioned with enthusiasm the names of those who had been most active in calling this college into existence: the great Edmund Burke, Dr. Thomas Hussey, its first president, Archbishop Richard O'Reilly, Earl Fitzwilliam, and the Duke of Leinster.

Yes, in the first six months of 1795, just when little John Mac Hale was learning his alphabet at his mother's knee, and when his father was thinking of sending him to the hedge-school, at Laherdáne, Richard O'Reilly, Thomas Hussey, and Edmund Burke were actively engaged in planning the foundation of a home-seminary for educating the priests of Ireland.

In May of that year a bill for that purpose was passed by both Houses of Parliament, and obtained the reluctant sanction of the king. The Duke of Leinster gave 54 acres at Maynooth in perpetual freehold to the new corporation; a building was purchased there; a corps of officers and professors was at once organized, and the school opened with *fifty* pupils.

Not without violent opposition did the new seminary thus begin its glorious labors. But it was the work of God, and His blessing was on it. The first year ended after beholding, on April 20th, 1796, the Lord Lieutenant (Earl Camden), attended by Primate O'Reilly, come out in state to lay the coner-stone of an additional building with chapel.

On November 30th, that same year, Dr. Hussey, the president, could write from Maynooth, to his illustrious friend, Edmund Burke:—"I have returned to this favorite spot, this *punctum saliens* of the salvation of Ireland from Jacobinism and anarchy."

To save Ireland, through a priesthood reared in the pure atmosphere of their own native land, from the pestilential doctrines and social vices then let loose, like an inundation, over Continental Europe, such was the idea cherished by Edmund Burke and the man whom he admired as a superior being, and who was worthy of heading the long series of presidents of Maynooth.

To save Catholic Ireland from the same dangers, by rearing for it a priesthood in every way fitted to be the guides of a nation both in knowledge and in virtue, while cherishing all the sacred ideals of the past, all the noblest aspirations of the present, such has ever been the aim of the men who succeeded to Dr. Hussey and the illustrious men who shed a glory on the infancy of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

In 1807 the Rev. Patrick Byrne was president of Maynooth College. He was succeeded three years later by Rev. Patrick Everard, a native of Thurles, educated in Salamanca, where he succeeded Primate Curtis as rector of the Irish College, and had, in turn, for his successor the

Rev. Daniel Murray, afterwards archbishop of Dublin. He died, archbishop of Cashel, in 1820.

Dr. Murray filled for a time, in 1812, the office of president, although he was then coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin. The Rev. Bartholomew Crotty, who was chosen president in 1813, and died bishop of Cloyne, his native diocese, had been one of the first pupils, in 1782, of the restored Irish Seminary in Lisbon. He governed it as rector after 1801, till his return to Ireland in 1811.

After Dr. Crotty, and during the remaining years of John Mac Hale in Maynooth, the president of the College was the Rev. Michael Slattery, who died archbishop of Cashel, and whom we shall find in the following chapters, by the side of his former pupil, fighting the battle of Christian education.

One other venerable name we must mention here as connected with John Mac Hale's college days, that of the Rev. Michael Montague, who was in deacon's orders, in October, 1795, when sent to Maynooth to be among its very first students. He was deservedly called "the Father of the College;" for to its service he devoted his whole life, as professor, treasurer, vice-president, and president, and saw the College grow from its first beginnings to its present size, dying in the president's chair in 1845.

He was the representative of the generations of home-bred priests whom Maynooth has reared for Ireland, or sent to every country where her scattered children are to be found. From a body of accomplished men, of such varied and ripe experience, who had gathered abroad the best fruits of sacred and secular science, and who spoke the languages of nearly all Continental countries, John Mac Hale, athirst of knowledge as he was, could not fail to learn much, speedily, and well. The company and conversation of such men was, in itself, a liberal education.

Besides, both among those who were his superiors and professors, his school-mates, or associates afterwards in teaching, many, like Archbishops Crotty, Murray, and Slattery, or like Bishops Mac Nally and Cantwell, were to

be either his antagonists or his most valued and devoted supporters in the long struggle that lay before him for the religious and civil liberties of Ireland.

CHAPTER V.

STUDIES IN MAYNOOTH—ORDAINED PRIEST—CHOSEN LECTURER IN THEOLOGY.

THE studies pursued in Castlebar under Patrick Stanton only enabled our young seminarian to follow successfully the superior course of literature, which in Maynooth prepares the way for philosophy, as philosophy itself fits the student for the higher science of theology.

John Mac Hale applied himself with the earnestness which was a striking feature of his character to acquiring not only a thorough knowledge of the best models of English composition, but such a familiarity with the Latin language, as to allow him to write it with correctness and elegance, and to speak it fluently. His success, in this respect, was remarkable. Latin is the language of the Universal Church; with her it has never been a dead language. Her pontiffs, her doctors, her councils, her schools, ever since the foundation of Christian society, have used the Latin tongue as their chief vehicle of intercourse, as the vehicle as well in which all the sacred sciences have been communicated.

In the manuscripts left by the subject of this biography we have abundant evidence of the mastery which he possessed over the language of Rome. The traditions of Maynooth College still recall the brilliant days of his professorship. But these were preceded by seven years of indefatigable mental toil, and by such acquired superiority as made John Mac Hale pass, with the unanimous applause of his fellow-students and the choice of his professors and superiors, from the bench of the learner to the chair of the teacher, and of the teacher of the most difficult and sublime of all sciences.

If we thus anticipate somewhat on time and events, it is only to show with what ardor our young Tirawley mountaineer gave himself up, among the élite of the sacerdotal youth of Ireland, to the pursuit of all intellectual excellence, in order better to fit himself for his future apostleship.

The chief instrument of that apostleship was, he conceived, the English tongue. It was the weapon with which he should have to fight and win the battles for country and creed, of which he had a prophetic presentiment. The living statesmen and writers of both England and Ireland furnished him with models of composition in every department of literature: Francis, Gibbon, Burke, the two Pitts, Charles James Fox, Curran, and Sheridan, among others, were speakers and writers who might well fascinate students of genius, ambitious to be among the leaders or teachers of their generation.

A thorough mastery of Catholic philosophy and theology and of all their kindred sciences, demanded that John Mac Hale should be familiar not only with the languages of Rome and Greece, but with Hebrew as well. A broad knowledge of European literature required that he should, besides the English, master also the French, the Italian, and the German languages. The French he learned in Maynooth, where his professors afforded him peculiar opportunities for speaking it with purity. The Italian and German came later.

Suffice it to say that these seven long years of mental and moral training in the halls of Maynooth seemed to our student all too short for the work he had to do, and were made delightful by the progress which marked the end of every one of them.

All was not arid study, however. The superiors in the College knew too well that the longer and more serious was the strain on the mental faculties required by the daily and weekly toil of the students, the more these needed occasional relaxation. There were pleasant walks around Maynooth. And among other scenes of pleasant recreation were the neighboring grounds on the Duke of Leinster's

princely estate. These were always opened to the collegians, who did not fail to profit by the friendly indulgence of the noble Geraldine.

In the usual hours of daily recreation, as well as on the weekly holidays, our young student was ever foremost in promoting hilarity and every species of innocent and healthful amusement. The future priests were too near Dublin not to hear of the exciting events which were occurring in that Capital, and which were most frequently only the consequence of the discussions in the Westminster Parliament, — the repercussion of the exciting political changes and struggles among Whigs and Tories in England.

It must be remembered that from 1807 to 1814 efforts were periodically made to emancipate the Catholics, accompanied by counter-efforts to proselytize them. The grants made or proposed to be made in favor of Maynooth always seemed a bribe offered by the Government for the good will and support of the professors and directors of that establishment, and were intended to divide the bishops and priests. There were men in Maynooth, as there were men outside of it, who were too ready to kiss the hand that bestowed any favor on their religion. It had been so long persecuted, and the scars left on the national neck by the yoke of the Penal Laws were so imperfectly healed, that there were prelates as well as priests disposed to be devoutly grateful whenever they were not kicked by their traditional tyrants.

Among the students of Maynooth a wholesome and manly sentiment of patriotic independence was cultivated. That John Mac Hale cherished this lofty spirit, we are assured by his sister.

"Some of the professors," she says, "were allowed to have plots of ground near the College, which they cultivated and embellished in recreation time; and thus sprang up some pretty flower-beds and shrubberies. One of those gentlemen, wishing to give evidence of his loyalty, set up in his *parterre* a nicely finished post, with a carved cross-piece representing a tree on whose waving branches were

several birds singing with all their might. Beneath were inscribed the following lines:—

> "'Hark the warblers, how they sing
> The loyal tune "God save the King!"'

"The appearance of the board,—silly and insignificant as the incident was, — produced a commotion among the students. The professor's sentiments were known. But why insult those who differed from him with such a display of loyalty?

"In the calm atmosphere of college life, and among hundreds of ardent and intelligent young men, the lightest breath will create a breeze. The young men met and discussed, and at length, to make the matter end harmlessly, John Mac Hale's aid was invoked. One fine morning another neatly finished post was found, bearing a sculptured head-piece representing the Irish piper with his bagpipes in the attitude of playing with all his heart; and beneath was this legend:—

> "'Let yonder warblers sing what they please;
> I, too, shall blow my pipes at my ease.
> But that loyal tune I ne'er will play;
> So, here's a lilt for Patrick's Day.'

"This happened in the first years of his collegiate course, and served to turn the laugh against the professor. So both posts were taken away, and flowers, not politics, were cultivated as a pastime."

This was only a straw on the surface. But it showed which way the strong current of the students' national feelings ran.

Naturally, when the yearly long vacation came, John Mac Hale's heart turned toward Tirawley, its mountains, rivers, and lakes, and toward the father and family who so longingly waited for his coming home. But the library at Maynooth had too many attractions for the ambitious student, who, during vacation, was at perfect liberty to enjoy its stores, so that he did not every summer yield to the attractions of home. Whenever he did, the venerable Dr. Bellew, Bishop of Killala, who took a parental pride in this

hopeful collegian, had always a warm welcome for him in Ballina. At Tubbernavine; at Ardagh, his uncle Rickard's parish; in Castlebar, where Patrick Stanton still flourished, and where so many true friends expected him, most delightful days were passed. The terrible famines, the wholesale evictions, the emigrations of after years, had not then destroyed the peasant-homes and all the deep charities of neighborhood in the West of Ireland. The coming home in vacation time of a student from Maynooth, in the days when Bianconi's cars were not in existence, was quite an event in Tirawley. The whole country-side took an affectionate interest in Padrig Mor Mac Hale's brilliant son. For brilliant even then fame reported him to be.

From these visits to his native place, his kinsfolk, and his people, the Maynooth student returned to college with renewed vigor of body and mind, and more than ever resolved to fit himself thoroughly for the work which lay before him. What his reading in College had revealed to him of the causes which, in the pagan and in the Christian world, had led to the rise and fall of empires, to the ruin or prosperity of states, only made the patriotic youth more desirous of helping to rescue his native land and her people from the chronic condition of misery and degradation to which they were reduced.

Thus year after year passed away for John Mac Hale. If his progress in philosophy had been remarkable, that which distinguished his theological course was extraordinary.

This was completed in the summer of 1814. But some months before the end of the session, the health of the venerable Dr. De la Hogue failed, and it became necessary to find a fit person to continue and complete his lectures on dogmatic theology. At his suggestion, by the unanimous advice of the College Faculty, and to the great joy of the students, young Mac Hale, who was only in sub deacon's orders, was appointed to fill the chair of dogmatic theology. It was a splendid tribute to the talents and accomplishments of one so young.

In 1814, also, to the great grief of John Mac Hale, died

his bishop, friend, and patron, Dr. Bellew of Killala. And when, at Pentecost, the usual season for ordinations came around at Maynooth, the young lecturer in theology could not be ordained with the others. He had to wait till a successor was appointed to Bishop Bellew, in the person of Right Reverend Peter Waldron. This appointment soon happened; and on July 25th, 1814, the Right Reverend Dr. Murray, coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin, conferred on John Mac Hale the holy order of deaconship in his own private chapel, in Mountjoy Square, Dublin; and on the next day, the Feast of St. Ann, the deacon was raised to the priesthood in the same place.

His appointment to fill, as lecturer, the chair of dogmatic theology, still held by Doctor De la Hogue, was only a provisional one. It had to be confirmed by the Board of Trustees at their next meeting. This took place at the end of the ensuing month of August, when, on the 30th, the Board unanimously confirmed the appointment.

The receiving of Holy Orders is likened, among Catholics, to the first entrance into the bonds of matrimony. The candidate for the priesthood espouses the Church, devoting to her and to Christ, the Redeemer and Father of souls, his person, his affections, his whole life. John Mac Hale was one fitted by character, inclination, and training to conceive the most exalted idea of the obligations thus contracted, and to enter upon the discharge of his priestly duties with the seriousness, the earnestness, and the scrupulous fidelity which had marked his conduct hitherto.

Had he, while yet the fragrance of the priestly unction was fresh on consecrated hands and robes, been sent home to his native diocese, to minister among his loved mountain population of Tirawley, he would have bestowed on their instruction all the treasures of his well-stored mind, and cared for their spiritual welfare and earthly comfort with all the fervor of a love which, although never over-demonstrative, was as deep and pure and inexhaustible as the fountains that feed his own Lake Conn.

Providence, however, had so ordered events in the young

priest's life, that he should continue for another decade to increase still more the stores of his knowledge, and still more to deepen and purify the springs of piety and charity within his soul, before sending him back to Tirawley to pour out all the treasures of mind and heart over the sorely distressed people of his beloved West,—over those of all Ireland, in very truth.

Young as he was, the archbishops and bishops of Ireland deemed him fit to be the master and guide of those who but yesterday had been his schoolmates. His superiority was so well established, that these gladly hailed his elevation to the chair of theology; and the mingled simplicity, gentleness, and dignity of his character ensured their respect for the teacher.

He was then, in his twenty-fourth year, judged by his superiors to be, at this early age, worthy of guiding the clerical youth of all Ireland in the acquisition of that loftiest and most difficult of sciences, theology. He, however, only blessed God for thus affording him so precious an opportunity of perfecting himself in all sacred knowledge and all priestly virtues. So, his former ardor for study was only increased ten-fold by his present necessity of teaching others; and his accustomed piety gained intense fervor from the recent grace of ordination and from his own wish to edify his scholars.

The men who in 1814 filled the chairs of sacred science in Maynooth were, as we have seen, French refugees, who were respected and beloved not only by the inmates of Maynooth and by the Irish hierarchy, priests, and people, but by the most distinguished Protestants in the Kingdom. The Professors of Maynooth, Doctors De la Hogue, Anglade, and Darré among them, were welcome and frequent guests at the table of the Duke of Leinster, who was their near neighbor. And many pleasant anecdotes are still told in the College and among the Dublin clergy of Dr. De la Hogue, and his friendly disputes with his noble host.

Besides being men of spotless virtue and saintly lives, these French priests were also keenly alive to the intellec-

tual needs of the Ireland of this nineteenth century of ours. The anti-Christian philosophy and subversive doctrines of the French Revolutionists had effected more destructive changes in the European social order, than the armies and policy of Napoleon had wrought in the merely political system of the Continent. Voltairianism had affected public thought in Great Britain, while Revolutionism and Rationalism were penetrating, from above downwards, the masses; nor was Ireland free from the notions of a false liberty and a religions indifference which had been borne to her shores from France.

Besides, natural science was even then attacking the foundations of revealed religion, and challenging on the most essential points the authority of the Church. So that, apart from the traditional and old time prejudices and objections of Irish and English Protestants to the religion of the majority of Irishmen, the arguments of the modern scientists had to be met and refuted on their own ground.

The priest in Ireland, therefore, as in France, as everywhere in Continental Europe, where religious truth had to defend every foot of her ancient and immense domain, must be so armed and disciplined as to be able to cope with the old and new enemies of the Faith, and to wield victoriously against them their own strategy and their own weapons.

Dr. De la Hogue had made it a custom, long before 1814, when age and ill health had begun to tell seriously upon him, to call around him some twice a week the principal professors in the establishment, and to discuss with them, —especially on the most controverted points,—the most powerful arguments brought forward in establishing or defending the revealed doctrines, as well as the most formidable objections put forth against them by the enemies of religion. This method of thorough discussion, even on the subjects most successfully assailed at that day by secular science, was admirably adapted to form young professors, as it was to give to the oldest doctors greater precision, skill, and power in exposition and refutation.

Although Doctor Mac Hale was only appointed lecturer

on theology, and not professor, while Dr. de la Hogue still held that office and title,—the latter, knowing the young man's uncommon abilities, and wishing to form him thoroughly, made him at once a member of their Theological Club or Circle.

Every one of the members made it his duty to read and master the opinions and arguments of some one of the great lights of theological science on the dogmas which were soon to be taught in the Class of Theology; of these, the names of St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, SS. Bonaventura and Anselm, Suarez, Vasquez, Benedict XIV., Cardinals de Lugo and Bellarmine,—to omit some other great men,—are familiar to scholars. While among these, and among the Fathers of the Church, such as St. Augustine and St. Irenæus,—there is perfect unanimity on all matters of revealed or defined doctrine, there is a great diversity with regard to the method of scientific exposition or defence. Men like those who, about 1814, read up the works of theologians and Fathers, and reduced to the briefest and most lucid form their arguments on each subject, rendered each other, and the young men they were training, a service beyond all price.

Such intellectual discipline as this gave Dr. Mac Hale's mind not only uncommon precision and vigor, but that confidence in one's own knowledge which can alone be derived from the scientific analysis of sacred truths, and the clear perception of what is divinely revealed, what defined by the Church, and what is still left open to free discussion.

Familiar intercourse with his French associates also encouraged him to study and master the French tongue, an advantage which he never ceased to appreciate afterwards.

The following years, full to overflowing of noble labor, passed all too rapidly for the devoted Lecturer in Theology. Had not a single echo from the outside world penetrated that busy hive, where masters and pupils were only ambitious to improve to the utmost each day and hour, the constant round of occupations and duties would have left little room for regret that every rumor of political events,

of passionate religious controversy, of exciting revolutions even had expired at the threshold of old Castle Browne.[1]

The years 1814 and 1815 witnessed some of the most momentous and startling events recorded in history: the series of gigantic battles in France which ended in the defeat and abdication of Napoleon, and his virtual imprisonment in the Isle of Elba, together with the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne of France and the return of Pius VII. and his exiled cardinals to Rome.

Then, a few months later, came the tidings, which shook Europe like an earthquake, that Napoleon had once more landed in France and reëntered Paris as a conqueror, while both Pope and Bourbons again took the road to exile.

The re-apparition of the French Empire, with its mingled hopes and fears, its sudden successes and terrible reverses, arose on the vision like a dream of the night on a fevered brain. Waterloo came, and the shattered imperial army melted away before the allied forces of Prussia and Great Britain. And then Napoleon, abdicating a second time, threw himself on British magnanimity, and was sent a prisoner to pine away and die on the far-off coast of Southern Africa.

Again the Bourbon returned to his constitutional throne, and the meek and saintly Pius went back to his ruined States and his demoralized people.

Such were a few of the events which fixed on the political stage in Europe the eyes of the civilized world; and amid the crash of thrones, the downfall of the Conqueror and his Empire, John Mac Hale had begun his career as a teacher and guide of men.

How could he shut his ears to the ever-succeeding rumors of all these mighty changes, all the more so that the temporal fortunes and the very freedom of the Head of the Church were involved in them?

The victorious flag of France, borne along the road on which stood his father's house, first brought home to him

[1] Such was the name of the mansion which in 1795 was purchased by the Trustees, and became St. Patrick's College.

in childhood the image of war and the power of Revolutionary France. Then had come, as the most fearful fruit of French invasion, the brutal murder of the holy and peace-loving priest who had baptized him—John Mac Hale. A little later on he had heard from his father how the French had invaded Rome, and carried off to prison and to death the defenceless Pius VI. And, all through his school-days at Castlebar, and his student-days in Maynooth, the marvelous military triumphs of Napoleon had dazzled the public eye and filled the public ear, till people half believed the Corsican would subject to his sceptre the whole of Europe.

And all this glory was to end at Waterloo, just as the splendor of that other Napoleonic Empire was to end, in John Mac Hale's life-time, and eleven years before his death, in the surrender of Sedan!

The young Lecturer in Theology was too enlightened and too serious-minded not to note and interpret aright the unparalleled catastrophes which occurred at the very gates of the United Kingdom; and he was too solicitous about the instruction of his many pupils not to point out to them the Hand of God in History.

He was, in truth, most anxious that these young men should go forth from Maynooth as so many apostles, burning with zeal for the glory of their long-persecuted national Church, willing and able to vindicate the claims of their coreligionists and countrymen to a full and due share of civil and religious equality.

In 1814, as ever since the first day of the century, the day when an Irish Parliament consummated the crime of national suicide, and all through the years that followed 1814, the efforts of every succeeding Administration in Great Britain aimed at either making of the Irish Catholic clergy the salaried servants of the State, or of devising some scheme by which the Irish bishops and priests might be as effectually shorn of all political influence and condemned to as absolute inactivity in political matters, as were the bishops and clergy of the Established Church.

The VETO question, so energetically urged by the younger Pitt, was taken up by the Ministers who succeeded him, whenever the dire necessities of the Holy See placed the exiled and imprisoned Pius VII. under special obligations to England. This pressure on the Sovereign Pontiff reached an extreme point in 1813, when the long night of his captivity was at its darkest hour, though the gentle sufferer may not then have apprehended the near approach of dawn.

Then it was that the celebrated Monsignor Quarantotti appeared on the scene, bearing a rescript from Pius VII., apparently conceding to the British Crown the right of vetoing the names of all objectionable ecclesiastics elected to bishoprics in the two Kingdoms, that is, virtually the right of nominating all dignified ecclesiastics in the realm.

In Canadà, after the cession of that country to Great Britain, the King of England had claimed persistently the right of nominating candidates to the vacant See of Quebec, because this privilege had been held and used by the Kings of France. This pretension, however, neither the Court of Rome nor the Canadian clergy would admit for a moment. And seeing that it was useless to persevere where there was no hope of succeeding, the Cabinet of St. James gave up the game.

But in the last years of the eighteenth century, the British Government tried once more to devise a scheme for pensioning the Irish clergy and for obtaining the right of vetoing the nomination of Irish bishops. The members of the Irish hierarchy were induced to favor this plan. But if they yielded, the weakness only lasted a moment.

The learned and saintly Bishop Milner, who had at first been seduced into favoring the VETO, was soon convinced of his error, an Irish bishop's letter being the means of changing his opinion. On learning, however, the danger which threatened the Irish Church, Dr. Milner went over to Ireland to urge his brother-bishops there to be firm in resisting the Government proposals.

And so the peril passed away for a time.

When, in the last years of Napoleon's baneful reign, the

Ministers of George III. succeeded in obtaining from the imprisoned Pius VII. what is known in history as the Quarantotti Rescript, granting to the British Government the right of VETO on Irish episcopal elections, Dr. Milner's services in defence of Irish ecclesiastical liberty were no less distinguished. He was nobly seconded in the successful contest which he then carried on against the Rescript, by the Right Rev. Dr. Murray, Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin, and by Right Rev. Richard Hayes, a Franciscan monk and a native of Waterford.

Dr. Murray, just as the question had arrived at a critical point, thrilled the Catholics of Dublin and of all Ireland by denouncing the VETO from the pulpit on Good Friday. Thenceforward his efforts toward defeating the cherished design of the Government were, beyond all praise, energetic, unceasing, and successful.

In Ireland and in Rome Drs. Murray and Hayes labored, in season and out of season, till the spectre of the VETO was laid, or seemed to be laid, forever.

This is one mighty service for which the Church of Ireland owes an everlasting debt of gratitude to Dr. Murray. It won him, as did his other contemporary labors in encouraging the establishment of the Religious Orders of men and women in the Diocese of Dublin, the hearts of clergy and people.

Dr. Lanigan, too, the learned historian of the Irish Church, did yeoman's service in the cause, as did O'Connell, then at the zenith of his fame as a lawyer. They prevented the Ministers of the day from fastening on the Catholic Church in the British Isles the degrading fetters which bound to the State the Church in France and Spain and Portugal.

All this agitation, touching on questions vital to the dearest and most sacred interests of Irishmen, was going on around John Mac Hale, while he was preparing for priestly orders, and while he was delivering to the students of Maynooth his first lectures on theology.

The reader will not wonder that in Ireland the most im-

portant political questions are and have been for centuries identified with the Catholic religion. The fact is, that the politics of the two dominant parties in Parliament and in the Government always, in so far as Ireland is concerned, aimed at either extinguishing altogether the Catholic faith in that Kingdom, or in so fettering it by legislative enactments and educational schemes, as to assimilate it at length with the Established Church.

Moreover, the one great reason why Englishmen refuse to Ireland the boon of self-government in dependence on the British Crown is not so much because the majority of Irishmen are aliens in race, as because they are aliens in religion.

Were the Irish all Protestants, they would to-morrow repeal the Union, and restore to them their native Parliament.

The Irish bishop or priest is by the very force of things compelled to be an active politician, for the simple reason that the agitation and advocacy of the simplest political reforms or improvements means, for priest and people, the agitation and advocacy of measures essential to the religious interests of the nation.

One must be blind indeed not to see that this was true in 1814; nor has a single year elapsed, down to the dawn of 1890, when this ceased for a moment to be true.

The fatal misfortune for Catholic Ireland would be, so long as Protestant ascendancy faces her people and her religion, as an irreconcilable foe, that her priests should cease to be both patriots and politicians. Her salvation, the security both for faith and nationality, lies in the fact that Catholic Churchmen should be what John Mac Hale was to the end of his long life, each a true Man of God as well as the true Man of the People,—inviolably, incorruptibly wedded to their interests, their aspirations, their struggles.

If the reader does not understand this, then the life of the young Lecturer of Theology at Maynooth, during well-nigh seventy years that still lie before him, is only a riddle that cannot be read aright.

Up to the death of Pius VII., in 1823, the British Government never relinquished the hope of obtaining from the fears or gratitude of the Holy See the right of nominating to vacant Sees; nor did they cease to pursue this cherished purpose under every succeeding Pope. It is, in 1890, the dream of Lord Salisbury, as it had been that of William Pitt, of Canning, of Peel, of Russell and Palmerston, of Disraeli and Gladstone.

NON PRÆVALEBUNT!

Meanwhile, the men who were educating at Maynooth the priestly youth of Ireland watched with concern the efforts made by the British Government, or by societies patronized and subsidized by it, to possess themselves exclusively of all the available means of instructing and enlightening the Catholic masses.

Already in 1812 the British Parliament voted £14,000 sterling for educational purposes in Ireland. Whether or not "the Ring" of officials in Dublin Castle thought more of their swarms of hungry dependents than of the intellectual improvement of the Papist children around them, certain it is that no one thought of opening a single Catholic elementary school. New Protestant missions, with day-schools ostensibly for Protestant children, were established in various localities of Munster and Connaught; and a central Board of Control was opened in Kildare Street, Dublin.

Thus began the famous Kildare Street Society, a sort of Protestant Propaganda, organized to spread among the benighted Irish Papists the Protestant version of the Scriptures and to open proselytizing schools for the children of such poor parents as they could intimidate or inveigle.

With the machinery, the weight, the money of the mightiest Government in the world to sustain their efforts, to animate and reward their zeal, what would the members of the Kildare Street Society, and of the Bible and Tract Society acting in conjunction with it, not hope to effect among the poverty-stricken and ignorant masses of the Irish peasantry! The men who had thus banded themselves together to seize upon the life-springs of the Irish Catholic

nation and Protestantize them, counted both on this ignorance and on this poverty as powerful helps toward the desired result. Did they or did they not reflect, and blush at the reflexion,—that for many successive generations the Irish peasant had been systematically kept in forced ignorance and reduced with his family to the most abject poverty through very hatred of his creed as well as hatred of his race? But the Irish peasant instinctively knew his enemies.

This was one reason why the Kildare Street conspirators were doomed to utter failure. Another reason was that the Irish priesthood were too well informed and too vigilant, not to be aware of the danger with which their flocks were threatened, and prepared to resist the Protestantizers at every step and turn.

Of that zealous and devoted priesthood no one member was destined to be a more formidable foe of this Protestant propaganda and its specious schemes of popular education than John Mac Hale. We shall presently see him entering the lists as a publicist, and beginning on these enemies of his creed and nationality that relentless warfare which only terminated with his life.

PART SECOND.

PRIESTHOOD.

DR. MAC HALE'S APOSTLESHIP AS PROFESSOR AND PUBLICIST.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH PROFESSOR MAC HALE FORMED HIS PUPILS.

CONFIRMED by the Board of Trustees as Lecturer in Theology, on August the 30th, 1814, Dr. Mac Hale continued to teach as such till July, 1820,—when he was appointed Professor of Dogmatic Theology, Dr. De la Hogue having been relieved from the laborious duties of his office, while retaining the title of Professor *Emeritus*. The accomplished French scholar ceased not to encourage and guide with his experienced counsels, his youthful successor during the eleven years that the latter taught in Maynooth. Between both a warm friendship continued ever to exist.

It is sometimes, at least for students of the highest classes, a great advantage to be given a young professor of comprehensive genius. Masters of ripe experience and talent can always place before their scholars the precious and varied fruits of a science sure of itself. But a young genius entirely devoted to his work divines by intuition the secrets which cost ordinary talent so much intellectual toil. A young professor, like John Mac Hale, all athirst for knowledge, and more ardent in the pursuit of it than his most ambitious pupils, will fill these with his own ardor, and lead them to unhoped for results.

The reception of priestly orders at the very beginning of his career served only as an additional stimulus to the conscientious care which he brought to the discharge of his new duties, as well as to his zeal in perfecting his stores of sacred knowledge.

His great superiority must have been fully and universally admitted by the students themselves; and students

judge their teachers, as they do each other, very severely and very justly. We have evidence that the young Irish priest was received by them with unbounded satisfaction, first as the assistant of Dr. De la Hogue, and then as his successor, in the Chair of Dogmatic Theology, the highest in Catholic universities.

Eleven years later, when his elevation to the episcopate obliged him to sever his connection with the College, a letter from one of his pupils, and found among his papers at his death, reveals to us, both in the regrets and in the grateful praise it gives to the professor and the man, the secret of Dr. Mac Hale's superiority, as well as of his enviable popularity. Some hundreds of young priests had by that time passed from Maynooth to replenish, in every diocese in Ireland, the ranks of the priesthood, then very scantily filled.

"Feeling as I do," the anonymous writer says, "the most sincere joy at your elevation to the episcopacy, I must, however, confess that I look back with mingled sentiments of pleasure and regret to the days when I have heard from your own lips those admirable discourses, which have elevated the minds, enriched the ideas, and astonished the understanding of the students of Theology.

"But while in them I admired a bold and ennobling manliness of thought, an exquisite appropriateness of expression—the efforts of a memory stored even with the interesting minutiæ of historical allusion, and of an imagination of the highest and most classical order—there were yet other and more personal causes which were equally imperative in challenging my admiration and esteem:

"That true knowledge of the human heart which penetrates into the hidden springs of actions and of passions, and anticipates them in their earliest openings; that mild and Christian-like authority, which enforces (or rather does not want to enforce) prompt and rational obedience; that steady inflexibility, which adheres with firmness to a resolution when once entered upon, ... and, above all, your belief in that peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of your

countrymen, *An Irishman is a lamb when stroked, a lion when provoked*,—have contributed, by awakening the national feeling, to cast an air even of sacredness about your character."

The young man who thus opens his heart to the newly consecrated bishop justifies his freedom of speech in praising him on the ground that, being from a province of Ireland remote from Killala, he cannot be suspected of interested flattery.

So, among the students of Maynooth, among the hundreds of young priests who have gone forth from that institution during the professorship of John Mac Hale, the character of the latter had so endeared itself to all, so risen in their estimation, that it was already looked upon as something "sacred."

So much for the intellectual and moral qualities of the man. But the letter gives a further insight into the methods employed by the youthful Professor of Theology in giving elevation, interest, and completeness to his doctrinal lessons.

"You and I know, my Lord," continues the writer, "that there are men who, wandering into the high latitudes of Scholastic Theology, would willingly place the sacred temple of truth amid the ice of the pole. They would exclude from its venerable vestibule the thirsty votary, till he had been pinched with the cold and hoared with the frosts of the arctic regions. We know that there are men who would banish science and literature from the society of Theology, and who, by stripping it of half its usefulness, would rob it of half its interest.

"But sweets only become delicious by comparison. 'The days of my sojourn in the land are few.'...Whatever be my future destinies, I shall look back upon the hours spent under the immediate direction of your lordship as upon the happiest of my life."[1]

It is clear, then, that while Dr. Mac Hale was acquiring by his pen an honored reputation both in Great Britain and in Ireland, he omitted no pains to make the young men under him in every way worthy of the country they had

[1] This letter is dated from Maynooth College, June 28th, 1825.

to serve, as well as of the Church whose ministers they were to be.

The Faculty of Maynooth College had wisely adopted, at a very early period, a graduated system of encouragement for the talented and industrious among the students.

Besides the severe test imposed on all of them by the yearly examination papers in literature, science, philosophy, and theology with all its attendant branches of sacred learning, the superior abilities and acquirements of even the theology students were further tested by written essays on the most important subjects. These were submitted to a board of examiners, the names of the essayists being appended, under seal, to their respective compositions; and the seals were only broken in full board, when judgment had already been given on the merits of the essays themselves.

Thereby an impartial decision was arrived at.

It is interesting to read in Dr. Mac Hale's own words what criterion he followed in his own estimate of literary excellence, and by what conscientious rules he guarded himself against the possibility of bias or favoritism. For the rules which he followed at Maynooth in awarding the prize of merit, he ever afterward, as bishop and archbishop, adhered to in rewarding his priests.

"The relative superiority of speaking or writing is," he says,[1] "a subject of grave and serious controversy, which has a long time divided the learned world, and which I feel as unwilling as I am incompetent to decide. To avoid, therefore, any undue partiality for either excellence, I endeavor, in my estimate of merit, to blend both those qualities, unwilling to depress the talents of oratory or composition, but manifesting a preference when the readiness and profusion of the one would be seconded by the precision and accuracy of the other.

"I feel all the difficulties of adjusting the nice shades of discrimination between such a vast number of persons, a task in which no one can plead exemption from error... I

[1] Farewell Address of 1824, "Sermons and Discourses," pp. 490 and following.

register my judgment before the name is disclosed, a judgment which afterwards remains undisturbed through favor or affection. Nor shall I, I trust, ever imitate those whose first unbiassed judgment of an unknown writer would be found with the fluency of mercury to rise or fall in obedience to the warmth or the coldness of their feelings."

So much to inspire the students with a high idea of the impartial and disinterested equity of the decisions pronounced on their compositions.

Now, here is another admirable passage, aiming to lift the minds and hearts of his hearers above the mere vanity or satisfaction afforded by acknowledged literary distinction:

"Were I, abstracting from my duty as professor, to give my opinion of the gentlemen of the class in any other relation, I have no hesitation in saying that there are some in the class whose virtues and literary acquirements will confer as much lustre on religion, and perhaps more, than those who are most highly distinguished.

"The Church is not confined to one species of excellence; and, as the Apostle well remarks, there are but few who excel in a variety of attainments. Hence a diversity of natural and divine graces, springing from one common origin, which imparts to one the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge, to a third the grace of healing, to another the discerning of spirits, to another divers kinds of tongues.... Of all which gifts it is as doubtful which is the most excellent, as of the organs of the human frame which is the most perfect....

"Let those, then, who may be disappointed console themselves with the approbation of Him whose vigilance never slumbers, and whose judgment never strays, inviting us to a competition into which the spirit of jealousy never enters; holding out a reward for which all may strive, and which all may acquire."

There is in this same discourse, after an admirable exhortation to love, in their college, the mother who had trained and developed the life of their souls, another invaluable advice to the young men preparing to receive orders.

"I could talk to you a great deal," he says, "and dispense a variety of formal admonitions on the dangers which you are to meet, and on the prudence with which you are to avoid them. But, with a saint who was asked by another to give him some lessons on the great affair of salvation, I answer, *Be in earnest.*

".... It is thus with you; be in earnest about the magnificent designs of benefiting your country and your Church by your labors, *and you will infallibly succeed.*

"If, then, there be any one that requires incessant vigilance to guard him against wrong, let him not enter into the Church, since even the eyes of Argos could not follow him everywhere.

"Nay, if there be any whose dispositions are not mischievous, but of that passive kind, requiring to be roused by incessant admonitions, *let him not enter.* No outward action could sustain his languid career against the *vis inertiæ* of his own indolence.

"You must not only possess that singleness of eye, which will direct you in the right way, but also the strong and ardent spirit of zeal; that *vivida vis animi* ('that intense energy of soul'), which moves the living body, which no obstacle can hold back, and no exertion can tire, . . . borne along by the force of its own velocity, and kindling, as it moves, by the vehemence of its own action."

More than golden words these for the young, entering upon the most holy and most dangerous of careers,—aye, more than golden in the estimation of all who have well-nigh fulfilled their race, and can look back upon the mighty and manifold perils therein encountered and overcome.

Such were the lessons by which he who was, not long thereafter, to be called "the Eagle of Tuam," stimulated the priestly youth around him to lofty, supernatural aims and divine achievement. Those who only know John Mac Hale by his writings and by the contradictory opinions formed by friends and foes of his utterances and public acts, know nothing, less than nothing, of the pure and lofty spirit which guided his purposes and acts, and made his private

life as stainless, as beautiful as that of the child Samuel in the Tabernacle, and of Samuel the Ruler and Prophet, standing at the head of his people, saving them by prayer and self-sacrifice.

"I wish," he continues, "I could feel some of the madness of St. Paul in speaking of the same religion which inspired the Apostle, . . . what each of you can do for the Catholic Church, that your own meditations will speak to you more than human tongue can utter.

"As you are, then, going to embark on the voyage of life, I should be insensible if I felt not an interest for those who have so long sojourned here. And if I cannot furnish you with the lessons that are derived from age and the tried perils of the deep, . . . we can all invoke for each other that Power, Who will not fail, as He has promised, to awake at our prayers, to rise at our prayers, to rebuke the sea and still the anger of the storm. . . .

"If St. Paul, in the ecstasy of his revelations, thought he stood in need of the prayers of the faithful, it would be in us the height of presumption to think we stood in no need of such assistance.

"Since, then, we are the heirs of that religion which has for every pang its peculiar consolation, and which alone associates the heart to the empire of the understanding, I trust we shall not be unmindful of that Apostle's pious practice. . . There is scarcely one of his letters which he does not conclude with a tender and solemn adjuration of mutual remembrance in prayer."

We have, in the farewell address to the students at the end of the college year 1821–'22, another instance of the manner in which he elevated the minds and hearts of these young men by setting before them lofty, divine ideals. They had been studying under him, during the year, the treatise on the Church of Christ.

"Of the treatise which occupied your studies," he says, "I shall not detain your attention in magnifying the importance or advantages; what one is as yet unacquainted with, he may well take on the credit of another. While the

mind is yet void, it may be satisfied with the most clumsy or unfinished likeness. But were I now to attempt to delineate the Church, I should probably resemble those who would fain continue the cold labor of dispensing lectures, when the master-minds of some of their disciples had already caught those living and divine forms, to the apprehension of which they might have been stimulated by their professor's encouragement, but which their professor's mind could never have conveyed.

"You have explained the foundation and contemplated the majestic edifice of the Church; in the solidity of that foundation, in the symmetry of that structure, you have doubtless recognized the finger of the Divine Artist.

"You have been, during the year, slowly ascending the mystical mountain of the Lord, and the glory still incessantly burning on its summit is a standing proof that it is still sanctified by the residence of the Almighty.

"Your study has not, I trust, been a barren and lifeless lecture, satisfied by the cold assent of the understanding, in which your piety had no share. We are the children of the Church. We are told that 'he that honoreth his mother is as one that layeth up a treasure.'[1] It is through her you have been regenerated. It is on being members of her communion that you found your hopes of salvation. It is to her service you are shortly to consecrate all the faculties of your being. And surely, this is a service that will dignify the noblest exertions of men.

"In the language of Ecclesiasticus, we may say, 'He that loveth her loveth life; . . . they that serve her shall be servants to the Holy One; and God loveth those that love her. He that hearkeneth to her shall judge nations; and he that looketh upon her shall remain secure.'[2] "Your talents, then, cannot be devoted to a nobler end. The moment one is consecrated to her service, he should apply to himself the prophetic admonition: 'Set thy face toward Jerusalem, and let thy speech flow toward the holy places.'[3]

"And there is none who feels a lively devotion for her

[1] Ecclus. iii. 5. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 13, 16. [3] Ezechiel xxi. 2.

interests, that would not gladly resign the most flattering prospects with which the world could tempt, for the sake of following, even in the last places, in the train of the Tabernacle."

These remarks addressed themselves to the senior as well as to the junior students. But to those who had finished their college course, and were about to enter on the active duties of the priesthood, the professor had other and golden words of wisdom.

"After long confinement to a place the duties of which one considers to be dull from their sameness, or painful from their rigor, one naturally looks for relief in a change of condition. In no other point of view can you look upon the mission as a relaxation. . . . .

"It would be a preposterous idea to separate great labor from the functions of the priesthood. The high places of the world may be consistently aspired to by its votaries, for the purpose of moving through a wider range of dissipation. Not so in religion. This reverses the principles of human ambition. And what Christ says, 'He that is the greatest among you must be as if he were the least,' is rigidly true.

"In religion, the higher you rise, the more restraints it imposes. What may be allowed to an humble, is denied to a higher ecclesiastic. The nearer you approach the centre, the more glaring become your defects, and the narrower the circle of your enjoyments, until the first dignitary, the very centre of the Church, is restrained by regulations almost approaching to confinement. . . . .

"Those who are going on the mission. . . . will soon find themselves in possession of authority, which it would be necessary to administer with a gentle yet firm hand. The instruments by which a priest should rule his people, are represented by the Prophet Zachary under the emblems of two rods, the one called Beauty, the other a Cord; and it is remarkable that he had not recourse to the chastisements of the latter, till the people had become insensible to the sweetness of the former."[1]

[1] Zachary xi. 7.

The young professor was, however, well aware that, even among a Christian population so full of innate reverence for the priestly character and authority, it was needful that these should be supported and strengthened by a saintly life or at least a spotless name. Hence this well-timed warning :—

"Character, or the good opinion of men, you are to value as far as it may be subservient to your ministry, and an auxiliary to virtue. The more you win the confidence of your flock, the more extended will be your influence. Never, through a weak condescension, venture beyond the sphere of your duty. If you do, you will find it hard to return with dignity. . . . .

"Let me, therefore, exhort you rather to keep in view the precepts of the Gospel than the practice of those who would fain seduce you to a different standard. . . . The priest, according to the Apostle, ought to be the pattern of his flock. He it is who is to guide, they to follow. And when you approach each other, it should be by a connection resembling that golden chain mentioned in ancient story, with which you might draw them upwards to yourselves, without their being able to disturb you from your immovable position.[1]

"Reputation, like every other conquest, must be preserved by the same means by which it was acquired. . . .

"The man whose reputation attracts admirers, and whose company is courted to give animation to every circle; who is told that, after the severity of his toil, he may now lawfully taste all the charms of repose,—may live a little time on the repute he has treasured up. But he will soon find himself not only a bankrupt in virtue, but totally rifled of the odor of his good name.

"The talents which excited just admiration when enlisted in the service of religion, excite disgust and alienation *when profaned to the purpose of conviviality.*

[1] Sermons and Discourses by the late Most Rev. John Mac Hale, D.D., Archbishop of Tuam, edited by Thomas Mac Hale, D. D., Ph. D.; Dublin: 1883; pp. 461 and following.

"The strong man of Israel, now shorn of his strength, becomes a proverb among his enemies, and the jest of the banquet. The priest, whom the tears and benedictions of thousands would have followed to the grave, goes down abandoned and forlorn."

As in the social relaxations necessary to the young priest and sought by him, lie either the chief dangers for his virtue, or strong safeguards against degeneracy, Dr. Mac Hale is careful to enlighten his pupils on that most important point.

Priests ought to seek priestly society:—

"An extensive intercourse between the clergy would be productive of much advantage. The little prejudices that are fostered in less frequent intercourse, would be dissipated. The common fund of intellect and knowledge would be enriched by individual contributions. All would derive strength and energy from cordial co-operation. . . . Those are always weak who are divided.

"Besides, it is a melancholy truth, that young men of hope and promise often sink beneath their level, and that the talents, which would have ripened under proper cultivation, are chilled and contracted under an unpropitious influence."

But whose society ought young clergymen to seek in preference?

"An intercourse with those whose virtues are worthy of imitation, is calculated to counteract the effect of these untoward circumstances. It would always cherish the spirit of self-improvement. It would be a relief to the labors of the mission. And it would give you an opportunity of confiding to some enlightened and sympathizing heart the cares and anxieties that are rendered lighter by being shared in by others.

"Such an interchange of civility, always under the control of decency and temperance, would oblige you to attend to domestic propriety, so favorable to health and virtue. You would find in such a society an element in which your spirit would rise above the overwhelming influence of the manners that surround you."

Connected with this is another topic ever dear through life to the heart of John Mac Hale,—a grateful attachment to the National College, and an affectionate intercourse with its professors.

"In the annals of learning we find," he says, "that an affectionate regard for the Alma Mater was a strong feature in the character of those who were either distinguished for the elevation of their genius or the generosity of their feeling. The opposite sentiment never influenced but those who were too insensible to feel or too proud to acknowledge their obligations. Connections the most disinterested and lasting have been the result of academic education; and often are anniversaries instituted by the children of the same Seminary, to seek a respite from the cares and anxieties of the world amidst the fresher and probably more inherent recollections of college life.

"The College, like our country, is endeared by distance; time and experience will only increase your veneration. Let, therefore, your thoughts occasionally flow toward Jerusalem. In these recollections you will find something of an exalting and classical nature, that will prove a counterpoise to the sordid and depressing tendencies of the world."

Noble and ennobling sentiments, addressed by a true man to what was deepest and best in the souls of his youthful hearers!

These were rules and maxims which Dr. Mac Hale cherished and proposed to himself as the guiding light of his own life. How faithfully he followed it in practice, we shall see in the following chapters.

The Catholic Church in Ireland was still struggling through a period of transition between the long arctic night of the Penal Laws and the preceding centuries of proscription, and the full noon-day of religious freedom. The people, who had been so long denied that bread of life which is dealt out in a truly Christian education, now hungered and thirsted for knowledge. As we have seen, the Catholic clergy, though sharing themselves the manifold privations

and poverty of their flocks, were putting forth superhuman efforts to provide them with schools and teachers. But there was one source of instruction which could always be supplied by the pastors, that delivered to the adult population from altar or pulpit, and the priceless knowledge imparted in the Sunday school.

It is to this that Dr. Mac Hale calls attention farther on in the same address:—

"The information you have acquired here will be more or less valuable in proportion to the use to which it is converted. Whatever might have been the indulgence of the people heretofore to their pastors, there is now among them, whether as a blessing or an evil, an eagerness for acquiring knowledge which makes them impatient for instruction from the priest, and perhaps discontented where that instruction is withheld.

"In whatever light it is viewed, whether as a blessing or an evil, this feverish disposition can only be allayed by an increased exertion on the part of the clergy in administering wholesome knowledge."

But how is the bread of life to be prepared and broken?

"To be useful and efficient ministers of the Word, you must divest yourselves of the erroneous notion, that to instruct well a long and laborious preparation is necessary. Begin your preparation the moment you begin your mission. It requires no extraordinary talents to convey simple instructions to the poor.... For them it is not good to be learned or theological.

"I do not mean, however, to recommend that careless manner which, by exciting disgust, relaxes the attention, and perhaps excites the hostility of your hearers."

But if the priest's lamp of knowledge is thus to light up the House of God, and to send its radiance all over the widest parish, it needs itself to be carefully and steadily replenished. From the admired publicist, the accomplished theologian, the ever-ardent and indefatigable student, how gracefully fell on his young hearers such precious advice as the following!

"Whatever may be your talents, they will be unsuccessful if not improved by unremitting industry.... I only mean that you ought not to defraud the poor of instruction, because you have not arrived at that eminence which the more you labor to attain, the more sensible you will become of your distance from it."

To this conscientious sense of priestly duty, Dr. Mac Hale would have them add motives of the purest, noblest patriotism.

"I have mentioned," he says, "that the Irish mission has its difficulties. Yes: but the Irish mission has its advantages, too. Unlike the countries over which the blessed feet of them who bring the good tidings of peace have never walked, Ireland exhibits to her missionaries the monuments of their religion.....

"Our people are Catholic; their habits are Catholic; nay, the Protestant churches in our cities, as well as the solitudes of our mountains, still breathe the living spirit of the Catholic religion.

"In the one you behold the broken reliefs of Catholic statuary still revealing, in spite of every effort at defacement, the original design; in the others you are shown the hiding-places where, like Jeremias, our priests preserved the Ark of Ireland's religion.... We have worshipped in the spot where their feet have trodden.

"Yes, gentlemen, Ireland seems destined to be Catholic. Her inhabitants are Catholic. The Catholic religion is inscribed upon the soil. It is intertwined with her society; it lives in the memory of the present; it loiters among the monuments of past times. The very language of Ireland's topography shall ever preserve the ancient piety of her people."[1]

Can we be astonished if such sentiments as these, inculcated by such a man, under the circumstances of the country and the times, and authorized by a life of spotless purity and exalted patriotism, should give to the teacher a character little less than "sacred" in the eyes of the future pastors of the Irish Church?

[1] *Ibid.*, pp 461—468.

Only a difference of a few years separated the professor from his pupils. He was destined to outlive most of them; he was to be in Tuam what St. John had been in Ephesus, the venerable witness to the struggles and trials of a century as full of suffering as the Apostolic Age, and the invincible defender of all the principles and interests for which so many generations of Irishmen had suffered death and exile and the loss of all earthly goods and honors.

We shall see all these young men going forth from Maynooth, filled with the spirit which they so much admired in John Mac Hale, uniting with him, from their places in every rank of the Irish clergy, to restore the ruins of the Church of St. Patrick, and to make the beautiful places of ancient Catholic Ireland if possible more beautiful than in the days of old.

The endeavor will be memorable and glorious, even though they fall short of their aim.

There was, outside of his college duties, another sphere in which Dr. Mac Hale contrived to render most timely and important service to the cause of his religion and country, while seemingly absorbed in the laborious functions of teaching the highest of university sciences. It was that of a publicist. And, as we shall now see, the work done by him here, and the fame he acquired by it, endeared him greatly, not only to the numerous College youth, but to the Irish clergy and people.

CHAPTER VII.

Apostleship of the Pen—Letters of Hierophilos—Elevation to the Episcopacy.

IN this highest function of the apostleship of education, the moulding of the minds and hearts of the priestly youth of the nation, Dr. Mac Hale felt that he was doing a work the most God-like of all that can be intrusted to the devotion of priest or layman. With this lofty conception of his labors ever present to his thoughts, his zeal and fervor in obtaining knowledge and imparting it to others never cooled or decreased.

But he, at the same time, felt that another species of apostleship, ever most highly praised by the Church and most fruitful in its results, is the Apostleship of the Pen. And in our age, with the enormous development given to the daily and periodical press, and with its unrivalled influence in forming public opinion, John Mac Hale perceived that the Catholic priest should be as ready and zealous to avail himself of this mighty instrument for conveying knowledge, as he should be of the pulpit and the professor's chair.

One remarkable feature of the man's mind was the prophetic instinct which impelled him to be, on the most important religious and national questions, in advance of his contemporaries.

This instinct led him, in the very first days of 1820, to stand forth in the public press as an apologist of his Church, and, soon afterwards, as the advocate of every measure that was virtually important to the national interest.

Thenceforward, we shall see him pleading at one and the same time for political justice as well as for religious equality, because to him, the Irish patriot-priest in the highest and truest sense of the word, Religion and Country are the objects of one undivided worship.

Just when an era of comparative educational liberty was dawning upon Ireland, it was an imperative duty for the Catholic priesthood to vindicate their religion from the aspersions cast on it by its enemies; to thoroughly educate their people in a knowledge of its doctrines and its duties; to labor to create a literature for the mass of the nation, such as was required by the new needs of a people about to emerge from centuries of enforced intellectual starvation, of religious and political oppression.

Be it remembered that, before the Reformation, the ancient Irish tongue and literature were proscribed, and the Celtic literary monuments were destroyed with as blind and fanatical a hatred, as the Pagan persecutors in the early ages of the Church sought out and destroyed the Sacred Scriptures and rituals of the Christians. After the beginning of the Reformation, the same fanaticism which desolated the Catholic churches and monasteries, sweeping away works of Christian art, altars, shrines, illuminated missals and choral books,—also extended to the magnificently illustrated manuscripts inherited from the Middle Ages. In Ireland,—if not all through Great Britain as well,—such exquisitely adorned books in the Gælic and Latin tongues dated,—like the book of Kells,—from the sixth century of our era.

Of all such there was,—we now know from unquestioned authority,—an incomparable wealth in the Sister Islands: it was the growth of that religion which at one time knit their peoples so closely together in brotherly love.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century it became the aspiration of every soul who ardently loved the ancient faith of Ireland and yearned for the social elevation of its people, to create a literature worthy of the intellectual greatness of the past, worthy of the culture of the present age, worthy of the new hopes and the new ambition which swept over the nation like the breath of life.

The press and literature of England were bitterly hostile to the Irish Celt, to his religion, and the bestowing on him of equal rights under the Constitution. Authors and publi-

cists formed public opinion. As long as public opinion among the dominant Protestant minority in Ireland, as well as among the popular masses in Great Britain, was allowed to remain thus prejudiced and immovably hostile to Irishmen, so long would the double yoke of religious degradation and civil bondage continue to weigh on their necks.

All through the twenty-first years of the century Daniel O'Connell and a few courageous Catholics in Dublin had labored persistently to change in Ireland this powerful current of public opinion and inherited religious prejudice. In England such men as Edmund Burke, Grattan, Plunkett, Sheridan, and Canning had pleaded unceasingly and not without some effect the cause of Catholic Emancipation.

More powerful, perhaps, than their joint efforts were the songs of Thomas Moore, his "Irish Melodies," his ballads and satires, in penetrating the homes, the hearts, the minds of the leading classes in Great Britain, and in predisposing them, and with them the wealthy middle classes, to sympathize with the country and the people of which the Poet sang so divinely, so touchingly. "The Fire Worshippers" was dramatized and acted in the palaces of the great, almost in the shadow of royalty,—by the noblest men and women in the land. Who that took a part in the representation did not know that the oppressed *Iran* was Erin, Ireland? that the heroic *Gheber* was the Catholic Celt? that the Moslem maid, "Araby's Daughter," typified the generous soul of England, awakening to the merits and unmerited misfortunes of a race so long oppressed?

The awakening, begun by the enchanting influence of Moore's inspired creations, has been progressing ever since. Much as the Poet may have misunderstood O'Connell and his purpose, no man who has connected cause and effect in the contemporary history of Ireland, will think of denying the powerful aid given by the Bard to the Tribune, not only in forwarding Emancipation, but in creating that public opinion in Great Britain from which we are sure to obtain at no distant future Repeal, Home-Rule,—the full JUSTICE, which alone will give lasting peace.

By the side of O'Connell and Moore, history will place John Mac Hale as having contributed most powerfully to enlighten the public mind, to dispel prejudice, to place the just cause of Ireland clearly and fully before British opinion.

And his first contribution to the cause were the letters of Hierophilos.

The first of this series of letters, published from time to time in the daily papers, is dated from Maynooth College on January the 29th, 1820. It is in refutation of an article in the *Dublin Journal*, which assumed that, had the religious opinions of the historian Gibbon changed from a belief in Paganism to a belief in Popery, and then in Protestantism,—Gibbon would have continued a Protestant till his death; wheras he began by being a Protestant, then was converted to Catholicism, which he abandoned for infidelity.

HIEROPHILOS begins by giving the true story of Gibbon's religious changes from the historian's own account of it. Unsatisfied with the foundations on which his native Protestant belief rested, he used the Protestant principle of free thought to inquire further, and falling upon the works of Bossuet, he became convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion. His father, thereupon, not only threatened to disinherit him, but sent him to Geneva, where he renounced the Catholic faith and whence he returned to be reconciled to his father and to live and die an unbeliever.

"Even this apostasy," says Hierophilos, "is honorable to the Catholic faith. Gibbon's first inquiry, and consequent conversion, the fruits of an unfettered freedom of judgment, proved the insecurity under which he labored in the Protestant faith. But on being compelled to desert the pale of the Catholic Church, he was far from taking shelter in the communion which he had first abandoned. He had too much discernment not to be disgusted with the half-faith and half-philosophy of the Protestant religion; and therefore the same insecurity of mind that had first prompted him to abjure its tenets, made him now push them to the farthest verge of their application, until at last he sought repose in absolute infidelity.

"The writer of the article tells us that Mr. Gibbon was armed with as much logic and general argument when he abjured the Catholic religion, as the defenders of that religion possess. Waiving that point, Mr. Gibbon's logic and criticism cannot be a cause of alarm to the Catholic, or of triumph to the Protestant, when we reflect that he rejected the Pope's supremacy because he believed, though contrary to the evidence of history and the admission of Protestants, that St. Peter never came to Rome; and (that he) disbelieved the Real Presence, because mysteries are not capable of physical demonstration.

"Such was the revolution of Mr. Gibbon's religious opinions, a revolution naturally arising from the genius of the Reformation, and exemplified in the character of many eminent men."[1]

This first letter caused quite a sensation, and drew public attention to Maynooth, where the writer did not care to lay aside the veil under which he chose to conceal his identity.

But two weeks later another letter appeared with the same signature, and addressed this time "to the Catholic Clergy of Ireland." It was the first note of alarm sounded against the insidious schemes of the Kildare Street Society and the Biblical Propaganda, —the first battle-cry in that long, unceasing struggle which John Mac Hale and the majority of the Irish bishops, priests, and people kept up against educational proselytism and in favor of a truly national and purely Catholic system of education, up to our own day.

As the nineteenth century advances toward its close, the very men who deemed the great Archbishop of Tuam unwise in his generation, extreme in his views, and impolitic in his opposition,—are unanimous in declaring that his was the true wisdom. He saw beneath the surface of things what they could not or would not perceive; his eye scanned a far wider horizon, and beheld clearly dangers and difficulties concealed from their feeble vision.

[1] The Letters of the Most Rev. John Mac Hale, D.D., Vol. I.; Dublin: Gill and Son, 1888.

"As all"–he says, in beginning his stirring appeal, "are not equally sensible of the danger which menaces the religion of which they are naturally the guardians, it may not be useless to address the great body of the Catholic priests; and if the prelates should be respectfully reminded of their trust, they will pardon a freedom which shall be always tempered with reverence for so venerable a body."

What is "the danger" to which the letter solicits the attention of the Irish priesthood?

"I have watched," he continues, "the progress of a Society the most singular in its composition, and yet the most systematic in its operation of any that have hitherto appeared; a Society that is spreading with rapid increase, and profusely scattering its colonies over different quarters of the globe. Of the object and tendency of these Societies (for now they are multiplied), no one needs to be informed who has glanced over the reports which inveigh with such holy warmth against 'the Superstitions of Popery.'"

This formidable Society is, evidently, the original Bible Society, which soon multiplied its branches on both sides of the Atlantic, and, falling into the hands of the Dissidents, —Methodists, Baptists, Independents, etc.,—attacked the Established Church, which they looked upon only as an outwork of the great fortress of Popery, and pushed an active proselytizing campaign among the neglected, ignorant, or lukewarm masses belonging to the Church of England. Then, encouraged by this success, they have begun work in Ireland, the great nursery, as they proclaimed, of "Popish Superstition" in the British Empire.

In Kildare Street, Dublin, where this formidable organization had its chief seat in Ireland, the foremost names among Churchmen, nobles, and gentry headed the long rolls of membership. The Established Church and the aristocracy did not refuse the aid of the Dissenters, so long as these formed the active and energetic vanguard in the campaign against Romanism in Ireland.

By their missions, their schools, their Bibles, their tracts, and an ubiquitous swarm of colporteurs and "Gospellers,"

they will attack the faith of the Irish peasantry and buy up the souls of the children in the cities.

HIEROPHILOS calls on the Catholic hierarchy and clergy to adopt at once a strategy which will confound and baffle the enemy.

"If I could offer an advice," he says, "I would suggest that you avail yourselves of the favorable moment of the accession of his present Majesty (George IV.). Convey to the throne the sincere expression of your condolence and congratulation, and to Parliament a petition for a portion of those grants that are given for the purposes of education.

"If but a small sum of money were put into the hands of each of the Catholic bishops, schools could be established for educating the Catholic children; and a few tracts, containing a simple summary of religious and moral principles, might be circulated among them....

"If the legislature should acquiesce in the prayer of such a petition, I am sure they would find it to their account, in the growing attachment of the people for so liberal and conciliating a system.

"If you should be disappointed in that appeal, make still an experiment on those who are loudest in the praise of education. But if they refuse their aid to any plan that will not be regulated by the principle of these societies, is it not then clear, that whatever may be their pretensions, their purpose is PROSELYTISM?"

This was a crucial test of the loudly professed liberality of the patrons and promoters of the Kildare Street Society. The proposition of HIEROPHILOS, while clearly indicating what was, at bottom, the aim of these would-be apostles of education in Ireland, gave such men as the then Duke of Leinster and Lord Cloncurry the opportunity of either going openly the whole way with the proselytizers, or of openly separating themselves from them.

The public controversy to which this letter gave rise resulted, in fact, in the public withdrawal of both of these noblemen from the Kildare Street Board.

As HIEROPHILOS surmised, however, this withdrawal only

served to stimulate the efforts of the men who were the impelling force in this new crusade.

Under his assumed name the bold writer hesitates not to urge the Irish bishops and priests to prompt and concerted action. Want of unity of action and of energetic decision in the presence of such emergencies as this crusade of the "Gospellers," had, unhappily, characterized the conduct of the Irish hierarchy on more than one important occasion.

"It is to be regretted," the Letter went on to say,—"that some uniform system of defence has not been hitherto adopted. If some have evinced a steady zeal in opposing the designs of the Gospellers, others have aspired to the merit of a more prudent line of conduct. Thus the activity of some is neutralized by the passiveness of their colleagues, and the enemy is strengthened by the evidence of indecision in your councils. It is not by desultory efforts, however ably conducted, that the enemy is to be defeated, but by a compact, well-regulated plan, originating with the bishops, and adopted by the great body of the clergy.

"The exertions of these societies cannot be any longer contemplated with indifference. It is, then, the duty of those whom the Holy Ghost has placed as bishops to rule the Church of God,[1] to provide for its defence. Let the more humble laborers in the ministry be assiduous in instructing their flocks, and dispensing to them the truths of Christianity, in language adopted to their simple comprehensions."

Looking back over the long and troublous years which have elapsed since this letter was published up to the death of the writer, we find in the extract just given the golden rule of conduct which he, in his high and responsible position, followed with inflexible constancy, which he prescribed to his own priests, and never ceased to urge upon the acceptance of the entire hierarchy and clergy of Ireland.

It was a bold thing to do, for one so young. But it was characteristic of the man, who never feared reproach from friends or abuse from foes, when he felt himself called upon

[1] Acts xx.

to speak the needful, timely word for his Church or his country.

Nor is it to be believed for a moment that in exhorting bishops and priests to withstand, by concerted action, the attempts to proselytize and pervert of the "Gospellers," John Mac Hale was opposing the diffusion of useful and salutary knowledge among the masses of his countrymen. He was himself too ardent an inquirer, and he earnestly sought for his people the opening up of all the legitimate avenues to knowledge, ever to be looked upon as an "ignorantist." But, in profiting by the very limited opportunities for education within reach of the Irish Catholic clergy and people in the reign of George IV., Dr. Mac Hale was naturally jealous of preventing the religious faith of his country from suffering any possible loss or decrease.

That treasure had cost the nation too dear a price, to be filched from their hearts and homes by the arts of the new preachers and their schoolmasters.

His own sentiments on the movement which he denounces can be best understood from the following remarkable passage:—

"Far be from me the wish to impede the current of information that is now working its way through the humbler classes of society. Far be it from me to endeavor to embitter it by the infusion of religious acrimony. I should, if possible, give it a wider and more rapid diffusion, and purify it from every ingredient that could infect its salutary qualities. But as this cannot be done while there exists a suspicion that, under the mask of educating, their lurks a design of proselytizing the people, let the abettors of the Bible system remove the cause of such well-grounded distrusts. Let them not insist on the introduction of the Bible. And our prelates in their wisdom will determine what books may be substituted. . . . .

"How often must it be asserted that the Bible, the most sublime of all compositions, is not a book fitted for the unripe understanding of a school-boy? . . . .

"Men of warm and benevolent feeling are often caught

by delusive theories for promoting the happiness of the human race. That such men are engaged in the Bible system, in justice to human nature, I must admit. It were to be wished, however, that they listened to the sober lessons of experience. . . . . But that there are others, actuated more by a deadly hostility to the religion, than by compassion for the ignorance, of the people, I am equally convinced. Hence their unyielding perseverance in their own plan, in opposition to any improvement that may be purposed.

"Education coming from such men I should receive with the most timid and scrupulous caution."

This timely and temperate appeal to the good sense of the Protestant community in Ireland caused the secession of the Duke of Leinster and Lord Cloncurry from the Kildare Street Society. But it stirred up at the same time the anti-Catholic spirit of the Bible Society and the "Gospellers."

The efforts of O'Connell in Dublin powerfully seconded the purpose of the Maynooth professor. The latter was soon obliged to face more than one able opponent in the public press. Mr. North, the secretary of the Bible Society, in an address to that body, took it on himself to say that the Bible was anything and everything but what HIEROPHILOS described it, while the "Dublin Journal" published three successive letters, signed "Bibliophilos," purporting to refute all the assertions and arguments of Dr. Mac Hale.

To these assailants HEIROPHILOS replied in the "Weekly Register," by letters dated March 4, April 1, April 29, and June 17.

There was, at bottom, but little good to be done to the religious and political bigots in Ireland, to whom these letters were directly addressed. They had inflicted on the Irish Catholics wrongs so deep, so manifold, so persistent, that they hated their victims with an undying hatred; they were interested in perpetuating the wrong, in keeping the Catholic Celt in hopeless bondage and degradation: it was useless to appeal to their humanity or their Christian charity. The national wrongs could only be righted by the people of Great Britain, and through the Parliament, which had

sanctioned the monstrous injustices, the confiscations and the exterminations, the persecutions, the oppressions, the misgovernment, the wilful economical blunders of more than seven centuries, in a kingdom which they claimed as an integral portion of the Empire.

The British People must be appealed to, must be enlightened on all these monstrosities, in order to have the constituencies of England, Scotland, and Wales send to Parliament representatives who would undo what preceding legislatures had done in the Sister Island against the dearest interests of the Empire, against the most sacred principles of liberty, against Christian charity, humanity, and common sense.

This was the purpose to which HIEROPHILOS addressed himself in the second series of letters "to the English People" in the third, on Catholic Emancipation, "to the Right Honorable George Canning."

There is no question but these eloquent and convincing appeals to the common sense, the practical wisdom, and the conscience of Englishmen made at the time a very powerful impression. More than one of the leading journals in Great Britain reproduced these letters with comments which were not always unfavorable. Even the London TIMES, though then mainly edited by a Protestant Irishman, bitterly hostile to everything Catholic, could not always refrain from acknowledging the truth and forcibleness of the statements put forth by the Maynooth professor.

The generation who had admired Edmund Burke, and Grattan, and Sheridan, had not passed away: there were in England very many who shared the opinions of these great men about Catholic Emancipation,—nay, about the iniquity and illegality of the Act of Union. They read the letters of HIEROPHILOS to find in them a confirmation of their own opinions, and some new argument appealing to the English mind.

The Catholics of Great Britain, to whom the name of John Mac Hale was unknown in 1820, learned to admire and applaud HIEROPHILOS. He was the able expounder

and defender of their religious faith; he was the eloquent advocate of their constitutional right to civil liberty and religious equality. The fetters which he sought to remove from the limbs of his countrymen were the same which galled and degraded the highest Peers of England, the most ancient among her landed gentry, the most faithful among her yeomanry.

The manuscript letters now before us from the then Earl of Shrewsbury, and other English Catholics of note, plainly tell in what high esteem they held the man who so successfully pleaded the cause of Catholic Emancipation, and crowned, a few years later, his writings in favor of Catholic truth by his admirable work on "the Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church."

We thus mention at length these letters of HIEROPHILOS, in order to show the foremost part taken by our young professor of Theology in advancing the National Cause of Ireland. These letters were the fruit of his night-vigils.

As he kept himself minutely informed of all the movements of the Catholic agitation in Dublin and throughout Ireland, directed by O'Connell, he devoted many of his weekly holidays to visits to the near Metropolis. Though fond of walking, the distance between Maynooth and Dublin was too great, and his time too precious, to permit him the luxury of performing the journey on foot. He was a good horseman, and preferred riding, as that allowed him to devote more of his time in Dublin to conversing with leading men, and obtaining all the information on public matters of which he made so good a use.

As the first letters of HIEROPHILOS had thrown the Kildare Street Society and the "Gospellers" into a great flurry, excited meetings were held in Dublin to devise some means of repelling such damaging attacks as those of the Maynooth professor, seconded as these were by the Catholic leaders. The Protestant archbishops of Armagh and Dublin had, after the exposure made by HIEROPHILOS of the proselytizers, openly seceded from the "Hibernian Bible Society." So the campaign begun against the relig-

ious faith of the Irish masses seemed threatened with utter failure. There was dire confusion among the entire evangelical army. Knowing beforehand, that in a public meeting called in their emergency by the Bible Society HIEROPHILOS would be rudely handled by some of the speakers, even by those who wrote so ably against him in the columns of the "Dublin Journal," Dr. Mac Hale resolved to attend the meeting in person.

The meeting was held in the Rotunda, on April 19th, 1820, under the auspices of the Sunday School Societies.

"It would naturally be expected," says HIEROPHILOS,[1] "that the proceedings of men who pretend to act upon the most honorable principles would be accessible to my curiosity. But, strange to say, I was denied admittance, on pretence of my having no ticket. To show that by this was meant a positive exclusion, where I was directed to for a ticket, none could be procured. This is the boasted publicity of their proceedings."

It is pleasant to picture to ourselves the young professor, during these years of unceasing mental toil, profiting by his scant holiday hours to throw himself, body and soul, into the midst of the intellectual currents of the national life and the national conflicts.

He was tall and slender in person; fond of activity and athletic exercises; simple and unpretending in his manners; but bearing about with him a natural dignity and reserve which never left him. He always meant more than he said, especially when his affections were moved. He always preferred performance to promise. His intimates in college,—and he did not readily give his confidence,—like the friends of later years, well knew that he did not allow his best and holiest feelings to appear on the surface. Still, the magnetism of his noble nature bound fast to him all those whom his many great qualities attracted.

He was, we are told, during these memorable college years, a welcome if not a frequent guest of the Duke of Leinster at Carton House. The Irish ever have had a warm

[1] "Letters," i., p. 47.

corner in their hearts for the Geraldines. This great family did not, like their rivals, the Butlers, go over to the Reformation on its first appearance in Ireland. Indeed, it is still a question whether the head of the Butler family, instead of being among the first to be won over to schism by Henry VIII., was not, on the contrary, a prime instigator of every measure taken by Henry against the papal authority.

Be that as it may, Carton House, at the close of the last century, and during many years afterwards, was ever open to the professors of Maynooth. There lingered in the very atmosphere of the home of the Geraldines much of the traditional sympathy for the persecuted Catholic majority; it took personal form in the chivalrous Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald. Its root may have survived the class-conflicts of the present century, and blossom forth yet into active patriotism.

Although in every kind of company, whether around his own hospitable board and hearth, or in the society of the noble, the wealthy, or of his clerical friends, no man could more readily than Dr. Mac Hale adapt himself to the circumstances of time, place, and persons, nor fascinate more effectively by his conversation and his manner; yet his disposition led him rather to avoid than to seek social entertainments.

His thirst for knowledge followed him through life, as well as his earnest wish to apply all the fruits of his study to the improvement of his people and the service of the Church of his country. While filling the Chair of Theology in Maynooth, his ardor for study knew no bounds. The higher he rose in the mastery of the sacred sciences, the wider was the intellectual horizon that opened out beneath him as he scaled the loftiest summits; the more, at the same time, was he impressed with the narrow limits of acquired knowledge, seeing how far beyond our ken stretch the undiscovered, untrodden worlds of supernatural and even natural truth.

While the college sessions lasted, his utmost efforts were bent toward making every point of theology set before his class as accessible, as interesting as possible, to all understand-

ings. We have already seen how admirably he succeeded in this. Those only who have taught this highest of all sciences to a numerous class of young men, earnest themselves in mastering its secrets, can know by experience how arduous and unceasing the labor of the professor is.

Even the most gifted, and the most skilled by long practice, have but little leisure between the successive lectures, for reading up or extensive research. So Dr. Mac Hale reserved for the days of the long vacation the excursions he wished to make into unfamiliar departments of knowledge.

Then he could have the library to himself, and could devote his days and his nights to study, without any thought of lectures on the morrow. He preferred this way of spending his holidays to going back to Tubbernavine or Ballina, —much as he loved his dear native place, the society of his family and friends, and the companionship of his bishop, the venerable Dr. Waldron, and of his brother-priests of the Diocese of Killala. In truth, bishop and priests looked on him with equal pride and affection. For the light which the young professor and publicist shed on the great national school and on the nation itself was reflected on the whole of Tirawley and the West.

At any rate, he felt and acknowledged afterwards that it was to the busily occupied leisure of the vacations thus spent in Maynooth, he was indebted for the accumulation of those stores of varied information of which so glorious a use was made in his long life of teaching and battle.

One letter only of the entire HIEROPHILOS series is dated, in August 1820, from the Island of Arran.[1] The priest then in charge of the group of islands bearing that name, and forming a part of the Diocese of Tuam, was the Rev. James Mac Hale, a devoted friend of the professor's, and whom we shall meet with more than once in our narrative.

From 1820 to 1825, this twofold apostleship of the professor and the publicist was fruitful in the best results. Although HIEROPHILOS, in the various letters which he

[1] Arran on the coast of Galway.

addressed to his antagonists in Dublin, to the English people, or to Mr. Canning, chose to veil his real name under the above signature, his identity did not long remain concealed. Still, it was never revealed by word or action of his.

He was more than once taunted with cowardice for attacking such men as the Protestant Archbishops of Tuam, Dublin, and Canterbury under the mask of an assumed name. But no one seriously heeded his following a custom which the foremost writers of every European country had adopted, without any departure from their personal dignity or any offence against morality or propriety.

In his last letter to BIBLIOPHILOS, Dr. Mac Hale thus replies to an invitation or challenge to appear before the public under his true name:—

"Now that my adversary, on retiring, has been pleased to express a desire of a more unreserved correspondence, if he means a private interview, I should gladly meet his wishes, if I thought it would lead to any satisfactory results. If he means, however, that I should give my name to the public, I beg leave to decline the proposal, though I purpose to give expression to no sentiment which I should be ashamed to avow. While I must consider his conjectures highly flattering, he may rest assured that, whatever be the station of HIEROPHILOS, he has written with the impression, that, where there is argument, it needs not the aid of the magic of a great title; and where there is none, no title can supply its deficiency. He feels that, in other contests, the actors may well exhibit themselves to the admiration or ridicule of the public; but that religious controversy is too sacred a subject for vanity to presume to thrust her little figure into the foreground."[1]

Of course every bishop and priest in Ireland, as well as Catholic laymen of any mark, knew well, all through these years, who HIEROPHILOS was. He was too much above vanity or self-seeking in doing service to God and his country with his pen, any more than by his labors in teaching the sacred sciences.

[1] Letters, i., p. 46. *Second Edition.*

But in the year 1825 an unexpected change came for the devoted professor and publicist. The health of Dr. Waldron, Bishop of Killala, had been such for several years before that date, that he could no longer attend the yearly meeting of the Prelates held in Dublin, and had, therefore, commissioned Dr. Mac Hale to represent him on these occasions. Toward the end of 1824, Dr. Waldron thought himself bound in conscience to ask the Propaganda to give him a coadjutor. This petition, with the name of the candidate, who was none other than Dr. Mac Hale, was sent to Rome at the end of January 1825, with the warm commendation not only of Dr. Waldron and his Metropolitan, the Most Rev. Oliver Kelly, but of all other persons who had a voice in the matter.

The Congregation of Propaganda could not help approving such a selection; for the fame of the Maynooth professor had reached Rome before the letters sent by Dr. Waldron and his Metropolitan. Leo XII., who was the zealous promoter of learning, and who was so well acquainted with the needs of the universal Church, and of the Church of Ireland in particular, at once confirmed the appointment of Dr. Mac Hale. The Bulls creating him Bishop of Maronia, and designating him as coadjutor to the Bishop of Killala, are both dated on March 8th, 1825.

His elevation to episcopal rank, though welcomed with genuine enthusiasm at Maynooth and throughout Ireland, made no change in the manner or occupation of the laborious professor. He continued to devote himself with unabated ardor to the teaching of his class for the remainder of the College term.

With the month of June came, at length, the time to separate himself from college and students and to receive episcopal consecration. In his farewell discourse to the Class of Theology, he lingers with filial tenderness over the reminiscences of his college life of eighteen years, the long springtide of his manhood.

"I will not conclude," he says, "without adverting to the college, a theme too important to be omitted on the present

occasion. It was long a subject of neglect or obloquy; lately it has extorted the praise of numbers who were not at all partial to its fame. . . . .

"There is, however, one peculiar advantage in our national establishment, . . . which ought to make it dear to the lovers of literary merit and of ecclesiastical freedom. By collecting all the youth of Ireland into one large theatre, they are placed in some measure before the public, and their future destinies will be under the equitable control of public opinion. What a stimulus to emulation!

"Heretofore scattered in smaller communities, their relative merits were not recognized; like objects seen through the fragments of a mirror, they presented different aspects, according to the medium through which they were viewed. Hence that sort of religious clanship, that ecclesiastical feudalism, which, in an unworthy contest for the ascendancy, not unfrequently forgets public interest; whereas, before a national tribunal all may be viewed from one common point of observation; and he that would have towered in a smaller community, would be taught to shrink into his natural dimensions. . . . .

". . . . Be the accidents or imperfections of the College what they may, yet the parent has this claim on your filial piety. . . . .

"After having long sojourned here with you, we shall also engage together in ecclesiastical labor. The College shall not have a sincerer worshipper, nor one more interested in its prosperity; and I can say with truth that there are no hours of my life to which I shall turn with a fairer retrospect than those which I have spent in cheering the literary labors or sharing the innocent relaxation of the children of the College. If I have had any talents, I was long unconscious of them, until, like the fabled nymph who accidentally saw her own likeness in the waters, I viewed some faint image of my own mind in the mirror of your approbation. The likeness, however, did not please me; and it then became my study by patient toil to improve it, till it should be presented to the public in a form worthy of the approbation of those

who had viewed the rough outlines with such partiality. . . . .

"As we are now on the eve of Pentecost, I shall pray that the Holy Ghost, Who descended on the Apostles, may diffuse His ample spirit over us, investing us with His choicest gifts, and making us the heirs of their zeal as well as of their ministry. There is a singular affinity between our destinies, as it will be my lot as well as yours to receive on this occasion the Sacrament of Holy Orders."

The consecration of the Bishop-elect of Maronia took place in Maynooth, in the College chapel, on the 5th of June, 1825, the consecrating prelate being the most Rev. Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Oliver Kelly, and Dr. Patrick Mac Nicholas, Bishop of Achonry. [1]

For the College of Maynooth,—for professors or students and the entire neighborhood,—for the Catholics of Dublin, and of all Ireland in truth, the day was a memorable one. The Bishop of Maronia was a national favorite. The students felt a keen joy in the elevation of one so beloved and admired. They did not wish their revered teacher and guide to go from among them, without pressing on his acceptance some testimonial of their grateful affection. So the Theology Class, the special object of his care, had a massive cup of silver, richly chased, prepared in Dublin for their offering. On it was the inscription: "Presented as a mark of affection and respect to the Right Rev. John Mac Hale, by the Theology Class of the Roman Catholic College, Maynooth, A. D. 1825."

Two of the new Bishop's old and venerated professors were among the crowd of priests who attended the imposing

[1] On the back of the Bull appointing John Mac Hale bishop of Maronia is the following certificate in the handwriting of Dr. Murray:—"Nos etc. testamur quod sub die quinta Junii An. 1825 in Sacello Collegii Sti Patritii apud Maynooth R. P. Joanni Mc Hale Electo Maroniensi munus consecrationis Episcopalis impertiti sumus servatis omnibus quæ in retroscriptis litteris Apostolicis præscripta sunt, assistentibus Rmis D. D. D. D. Oliverio Archiepo Tuamensi et Patritio Epo Accadensi, præsentibus Roberto Epo Tremitensi et Thoma Epo Milevitano, item Præside, Magistris, Sociisque præfati Collegii, aliisque permultis. In quorum fidem, etc.

✠ DANIEL ARCHIEPUS DUBLIN.
ET HIBERNIÆ PRIMAS.

consecration ceremonies, and enjoyed the touching festivities of the evening. These were Doctors De la Hogue and Anglade, to whom all there present looked up as the surviving parents of the College. The saintly Anglade, who was a professor of Theology in the University of Paris, when the Revolution of 1789 compelled him to fly from his country, had taught John Mac Hale Logic and Metaphysics in Maynooth, as well as Moral Theology. Delahogue, as we know, had been his guide in Dogmatic Theology. They both beheld their illustrious pupil's first labors in his episcopal career, Dr. De la Hogue dying on May 9, 1827, in his 88th year, and Dr. Anglade closing his sweet and gentle life on April 12, 1834. Do not the prayers and blessing of such Confessors of the Faith bring down choice graces on a soul they have helped to form to all goodness and greatness, on such a day as we are describing?

Another chosen soul had come from Dublin, on that day, to witness the consecration of one so regarded in public esteem: this was Mrs. Catherine Mac Auley, the foundress of the Sisters of Mercy.

The venerable Bishop of Killala, who bore to his coadjutor such a true, fatherly friendship, would fain have been one of the consecrating prelates. The burden of age with its infirmities forbade his leaving Ballina.

We must, however, mention here a touching testimony of affection and respect bestowed by the good bishop on the young and brilliant professor, just when the letters of HIEROPHILOS had attracted in the three kingdoms no little share of the public attention.

Dr. Mac Hale spent the vacation of 1822 in his native West. On the 22d of September, and just when he was about to return to college, the bishop formally conferred on him the parish of Crossmolina, adjoining Tubbernavine. Doubtless Dr. Waldron intended to have the appointment ratified by the Holy See, and his friend dispensed from the obligation of residence. And it is more than probable that Dr. Mac Hale only accepted on condition of being so dispensed. But he did accept and make on the occasion the

profession of Catholic faith required by the canons at the collation of a benefice.[1]

Certain it is that the conscientious professor soon resigned a pastoral charge the duties of which he could not fulfil in person. Nor did he ever enjoy any part of the revenues of the parish thus bestowed on him. He was, moreover, too desirous of prosecuting in Maynooth his twofold task of teaching and writing, while enlarging his own stock of knowledge, to give up the Chair of Dogmatic Theology and the opportunity of wielding his pen to such glorious purpose, for the pastoral duties of a parish-priest.

Crossmolina, meanwhile, either became or remained a mensal parish till conferred on Dr. Mac Hale as coadjutor of Killala.

[1] The following is a transcript of Dr. Waldron's letter conferring on Rev. John Mac Hale the parish of Crossmolina:—

PETRUS WALDRON Dei miseratione et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Episcopus Alladensis dilecto Nobis in Domino filio, Domino Joanni Mc Heal hujusce Diœcesis Presbterio, salutem.

Cum parochialis Ecclesia dicta de Crossmolina in præfata Diœcesi, cujus collatio, provisio, et quævis alia canonica dispositio ad Nos ratione Nostræ dignitatis Episcopalis ab antiquo spectare et pertinere dignoscitur, per obitum Rev. Dom. Patritii Burke ultimi ejusdem pacifici possessoris, nunc vacet et libera sit; eandem tibi dilecto Rev'do Dom'o Joanni Mc Heal rite examinato et in omnibus ad hoc munus approbato utpote capaci et idoneo contulimus et donavimus ac per præsentes cum oneribus suis juribus et pertinentiis, prout a dicto prædecessore tuo possidebantur, conferimus et donamus, quatenus in ea Parochia jurisdictione parochiali potiaris eandemque juxta sacros Ecclesiæ Canones sine ulla perturbatione aut obice ex parte cujuscumque, salvo tamen jure nostro, in omnibus exercere valeas. Quæ ut firma validaque sint has litteras chirographo Nostro sigilloque munitos et a Secretario Nostro signatas dedimus apud Ardnaree, in dicta Diœcesi, die 6ª mensis Septembris Anno Salutis Reparatæ millesimo octingentesimo vigesimo secundo—(1822).

✠ Petrus Epus Alladensis

(Loc. Sig.) De mandato Illmi et Revdmi Episcopi Alladensis
Andreas Mullowny, Secretarius.

Testes fuere:

Jacobus Mc Keal, Parochus de Kilcommon in Archidiœcesi Tuamensi.

Joanª Whyte, Presbyter Alladensis.

And on the back, in the handwriting of Dr. Waldron:

Collatio Parochiæ de Crossmolina facta D.D. Rdo J. Mac Hale die 6o 7bris, A. S. Repæ 1822.

Attestor Præfatum D.D. R. Joannem Mc Hale Professionem fidei Catholicæ juxta sacros Eccæ Canones emisisse eadem die qua supra.

Petrus Epus Alladª.

PART THIRD.

DR. MAC HALE'S APOSTOLIC WORK AS BISHOP.

Ballina. (Mount Nephin in the distance.)

(County Mayo.)

CHAPTER VIII.

APOSTOLATE IN TIRAWLEY.

"Land where the desolate weep
In sorrow no voice may console!
Our tears are but streams, making deep
The ocean of love in our soul."—RYAN.

THE labors of John Mac Hale in the apostleship of education were labors bestowed on the entire Irish priesthood, on promoting the best interests of the nation. He was henceforth, as bishop, to live and labor for his native West.

How sadly the West needed the utmost his love and zeal could do, we shall see presently; and he knew well how worthy of his deepest devotion were the remnants of his people, remnants soon to be thinned still more by famine, disease, wholesale evictions, and—emigration.

In his case, with an episcopal career before him covering more than fifty-six years, most truly may it be said, that "the veil which covered the future from his eyes was woven by the hand of Mercy." Aye, a most merciful dispensation of Providence is it, even towards Its most favored and most heroic laborers on earth, that they should, as each springtide dawns, plough the field and cast their grain in the furrows, trusting for the harvest to Him Who is Father over all.

The people of Tirawley, of all Mayo and Sligo, indeed, were proud of the man who had achieved so high a reputation in Maynooth. Through their priests they had demanded him as their bishop. They yearned to have him among them. And he, on his side, yearned for his native Tirawley, with its majestic mountains, its rich plains, its noble and numerous lakes and streams, and the sublime scenery of its coast. More than all he hungered for its people. He was one of them. He was well ac-

quainted with all the treasures of their bright intelligence, with their joyous, unconquered, and unconquerable spirit, surviving, like their own Round Towers, all the storms and vicissitudes of a thousand years. He prized above all the exhaustless stores of moral strength and generosity, of living faith and purity, which he knew to belong to their Irish hearts.

He had been long learning how to speak to them, to move every spring of their rich and sensitive nature. Even while becoming familiar with the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome and Palestine, while mastering those of England, France, and Germany, he had not lost sight of his own mother-tongue, of the sweet and poetic idiom which his venerable grandmother had taught him in childhood to love and cherish. On his short occasional visits to Tirawley, both at Addergoole and at Ballina, he had thrilled the people by addressing them in Gælic, after delighting his audience by his eloquent English discourses.

And so, as he turned his face homeward, leaving Maynooth all filled with the fragrance of his many virtues and the light of his teaching, his thoughts were busied about how he could best build up the ruins of religion in the West.

His mind was enriched with the hard-won and various knowledge gathered during all these long years of absence. He was impatient to impart to the poor and the rich alike all the intellectual wealth he had acquired. He wished to make these peasants of the West, who had sacrificed everything, suffered everything, rather than part with the faith of their fathers,—familiar, in their turn, with all its grandeurs, all its beauties, all its divinest consolations.

The apostleship of education, even in that highest sphere in which Dr. Mac Hale had hitherto labored, has many compensations together with many difficulties. But its joys are rather those of the intellect than of the heart. The soul of a priest who yearns to be occupied in the life-giving ministrations of his sacred office will find in breaking the bread of life to the poor a bliss to which nothing on this side of heaven can be likened.

This yearning was greatly increased in the heart of the Bishop of Maronia by the grace attached to the espiscopal consecration, the unction of the Holy Spirit. This seemed to lift him above himself on his long journey from Dublin to Ballina.

In Ballina also Dr. Waldron waited for his coming with the impatience of true friendship. The Bishop of Maronia instinctively felt that, in the diocesan work which lay before him, he would have in his venerable friend one ever ready to cheer, sustain, and sympathize with.

The good Bishop's residence in Ballina was but a lowly one, and not over spacious. Still, wishing to have ever near him the man who had been his choice, and to whom he looked up as the stay of his age, his help-mate in the discharge of his high office, he pressed him to make his poor house his own. He could only offer him one room; and that the Coadjutor accepted in the same spirit in which it was proffered.

Their lot, in truth, at that period, when all had to be rebuilt and restored among the Catholics of Ireland, was not different from that of the poor priests around them; all was poverty, if not privation,—absolute dependence on a people not only poor, but reduced to such a chronic condition of extreme indigence as to border on starvation. Still, the people were ever disposed to share with the faithful priests their last penny and their last meal.

In Ballina, where the Bishops of Killala had their residence, Dr. Mac Hale met with a warm welcome. He was the first home-educated prelate who had come among the people of the West since the days of Elizabeth, one of the first glorious fruits borne by the lordly and wide-spreading tree planted at Maynooth by the joint husbandry of Archbishops Troy and O'Reilly, of Thomas Hussey aud Edmund Burke. The priests of the diocese gathered from far and near to meet him. They knew him to be to the venerable Dr. Waldron as dear as a first-born son to a father; and they let their full hearts speak in the welcome they gave him. It was a day of joy for the people also. Was he not born and nursed beneath

the shadows of their mountains? Was he not bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh? The Clan Mac Hale mustered strong on the occasion. *Padrig More* was there with his stalwart sons and daughters and grandchildren,—a patriarchal family,—a happy and blessed circle, had Mary Mulkieran been spared to see that day, and to be the first to kneel at the feet of her son-bishop!

Dr. Waldron looked with more than a father's joy on the gathering, as well as on the man who was the object of their popular ovation. His aged eyes looked forward into the coming years and beheld, or seemed to behold, an era of freedom, peace, and prosperity for his beloved people and the West. How different was the condition of things in Ballina, in all Mayo aud Galway,—when, in the year 1761, he had received priestly orders at the hands of Mark Skerret, Archbishop of Tuam, in a private house, with few witnesses, while all the worst terrors of the Penal Laws hung over their heads like an atmosphere!

Episcopal revenues the Catholic Bishop of Killala had none to share with the man who had come to take from his bent frame and weary shoulders the burden of labor and responsibility. The provision made in the Catholic ages for the maintenance of the Bishop and the Cathedral Clergy, was, together with the medieval cathedral itself, in the hands of the Establishment. The new Coadjutor, as was the custom, was given for his support the first vacant parish, that of Crossmolina, adjoining his own native parish of Addergoole. He had now no reason for refusing the benefice, and gratefully accepted.

Was there not something patriarchal and domestic in all these arrangements?—the Coadjutor lodged beneath the humble roof of the Bishop, alongside the poor chapel of Ardnaree; the parishioners of Crossmolina gladdened at having the illustrious man, born at their very doors, now given them as their immediate pastor; and Tubbernavine placed within a few hours' drive, along Lake Cong, of the Bishop's home at Ballina.

Nor, as we shall see ere long, was the "Wayside Inn" to

remain unbrightened by the
whom the whole beautiful va
own. Ere, however, we dwe
long-looked for visits, let us
through his first apostolic lab

The summer and autumn
visiting the most remote port
ministering Confirmation. T
Coadjutor into close contact
prepared the way for the Ju
duce wonderful and adundant

The last Jubilee celebrated
been proclaimed soon after his
VI. It ushered in one of the
to the Church in modern times
France, just as the eighteent
VII., elected in Venice, under
flag, did not, even when perm
advisable to proclaim a Jubile
tion the Church enjoyed no re
himself was carried off a pris
vona to Fontainebleau. He d

Leo XII., who succeeded h
to the Christian world the g
ileges of a Jubilee. It was a
in 1775, Pius VI. had proclai
was under the Satanic spell o
Christian conspirators, and h
shaken by the first throes of t
From 1750 to 1825, the pu
Europe were mainly devoted
Christ and His Church, hold
and hatred all that our fore
vered, of overturning the ve
order and civilization created

Well might Leo XII. hesit
pilgrims from every land to
the Holy Apostles, or bid

Heaven by repentance, by public prayer and humiliation, and heroic acts of almsgiving, charity, and atonement.

In Ireland, chastened and elevated as were the souls of her children by ages of heroic confession of the faith, the Jubilee was hailed with extraordinary rapture. Not since the sixteenth century had the Catholics of the kingdom been free to perform the august solemnities of a Jubilee. So the year 1826 was held throughout the length and breadth of the land, as the Holy Year, in the fullest sense of the word.

Aye, these Celts of the Green Isle, the faithful spiritual children of St Patrick, as well as their Catholic brethren of British descent, gave up their whole souls to the work of preparing for the gift from on high. Their share of earthly blessings was that of Lazarus lying sorely stricken and famishing at the rich man's gate, with but few of the crumbs from his over-abundant table to keep off starvation,—while he left it to his dogs to pity the sufferer.

But in the world invisible there was ONE to whom Lazarus looked for his reward and his inheritance. In that Eternal Kingdom, this world's outcasts would be honored guests at the banquet of bliss ineffable, and recline on God's own bosom.

This, like their fathers before them, the inhabitants of Tirawley firmly believed. Bitter as were to them the realities of the present life, far more real were the bliss of the life to come, and the unfaltering faith in the divine promise which secured its possession.

So, all through the diocese of Killala, clergy and people made ready for the Holy Year and its Banquet Divine, the pledge of that of Eternity.

No one entered more ardently into the spirit which prompted the saintly Leo XII. to promulgate the Jubilee, than the Coadjutor-Bishop of Killala. He only distinguished himself from the priests who labored with him from parish to parish, by taking on himself whatever was most laborious in their common missionary toil.

In very truth, eloquent, impressive, replete with rich and timely instructions as were his pulpit discourses dur-

ing this first stage of his pastorate, what roused to the highest pitch the enthusiastic fervor of the people, was their young bishop's life of unsparing self-sacrifice and unaffected piety. Whether he preached in English or in the popular Gælic, no one could hear him without being convinced that his sole purpose was to bring the truth which glowed and burned within his own soul home to the heart of every person in his audience.

There is one extract from the opening Jubilee instruction in the pro-Cathedral of Ballina, which will give us an idea of his manner in expounding Catholic doctrine to a mixed congregation. For, as his great fame had come to the West before him, not a few among the Protestant community were curious to hear one whose literary reputation stood so high. The bishop had just read the Bull of Leo XII., proclaiming the Universal Jubilee.

"Is this," he says, "the voice of Peter which has just reached our ears? Has the supreme pastor, to whom Christ committed the care of His fold, condescended to speak to this little and distant portion of His flock?

"Yes,—Peter has spoken through the mouth of Leo; and it is to us a consolation that, after the lapse of fourteen hundred years, we can still repeat the language of the Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon, who, on hearing the letter that was addressed to them by the first and greatest of the Leos, unanimously exclaimed: 'Peter has spoken through the mouth of Leo, and his authority still lives in the person of his successor.'"

Every Catholic who could read and write in the congregation at Ballina, to whom this instruction was addressed, was familiar with the historic facts here alluded to. Dr. Milner's "End of Controversy," the works of the venerable Bishop Hayes, and Manning's "Poor Man's Catechism" had become household books all through the West of Ireland in 1825. The English tongue had made great progress among our people. And the Diocesan Catechism (Butler's) in use in our Sunday schools, gave solid scriptural authority on every single point of Catholic doctrine and practice. It

was a necessity for the young as well as the adult population to have an answer ever ready for those who impugned their faith. And the author, though only a little school boy in 1826 and the following years, perfectly recollects the pains taken in school and catechism class to impress on our memory and intelligence the reasons, among other things, for our allegiance to the See of Peter. So, such discourses as this, mixed as they were with practical instructions on all the Christian virtues and home duties, were not, as one might fancy, at all above the comprehension of a people naturally quick-witted and eager to be well informed on all religious matters.

Now follow the bishop as he develops the doctrine thus forcibly stated:—

"It is to us a consolation," he repeats, "that, notwithstanding the number of the flock of Peter which the wolf has snatched and scattered, we still recognize and hear the voice of the good shepherd, who, in the language of the Redeemer, knoweth his own sheep, and inviteth the rest to place themselves in the unity of the same fold under the guidance of one pastor." And then, considering the Church under another scriptural image: —

"What a source of joy and triumph that we constitute a portion of that sacred edifice, whose foundation was laid by divine wisdom upon a rock which has neither yielded to the decay of time nor to the violence of the tempest, but has stood, a striking attestation of the truth of Christ's promises, equally unshaken by the waves beating against its foundation, and by the winds that are rushing against its summit. There it stands, a majestic monument of the Almighty Power, mocking the successive tides of error breaking around its base.

"Bound, as many of us have been, in the chains of sin"—here is introduced the "Power of the Keys"—"and excluded thereby from the favor of the Almighty, how ought we not to rejoice, that Peter, to whom Christ gave the power of loosing sins, as well as the keys of the kingdom of heaven, when, in the person of his successor, he offers to strike off

the fetters in which we have been bound, and to unlock the portals of heaven, for our admission.

"Do I dwell on the prerogatives of the Roman Pontiff for the purpose of controversy?

"If by controversy is meant the desire of irritating, far be from me the unhallowed wish. No; from the chair of truth no sound but that of genuine charity should go forth. The Church is a place in which a truce ought to be given to the passions of mankind. No; but I mention them rather for the purpose of appeasing than of fomenting irritation, and of removing that ignorance under which many, and some of them Catholics, have labored.

"Often have I preached here, and yet I have not obtruded the subject of controversy. But, being about to commence a series of instructions on the recommendation of this letter (the Papal Brief), and to set on foot a practice which derives its sanction from Rome, what is more natural, and perhaps for some more necessary, than that I should explore the purity of the channel through which Christ's doctrine is transmitted, and show that it is immediately connected with that divine source which pours forth the living waters?

"This is the reason why I dwell upon this topic.

"To answer the secret inquiry of those who may ask: Who is this Leo? or, for what purpose does he address his instructions to this distant country? I say: He is the living representative of him whom Christ thus addressed after the glorious confession of His Divinity:—'Blessed art thou, Simon son of John, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father Who is in heaven. And I say to thee that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'[1] He is the successor of him to whom Christ, the Sovereign Truth, thus solemnly declared: 'And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.'[2]

[1] St. Matthew xvi. [2] Ibidem.

"He is the successor of him, the ardor of whose love Christ having tried by the repeated interrogatory of Peter, 'Dost thou love me?' rewarded it by the ample commission of feeding His whole flock: 'Feed My lambs, Feed My sheep,'—words which give Peter jurisdiction over the entire fold."[1]

These solid instructions, and still more the piety as genuine as it was universal of the people in every parish, had their effect even on the non-Catholic population. This, as well as the admirable fervor of the people, is described by the Bishop of Maronia himself in a brief memoir presented to the Holy See during his stay in Rome, in 1831 and 1832.

After a brief but complete description of the Diocese of Killala, its destitution of all that is most needful to foster religion, and maintain decently a limited number of clergymen, Dr. Mac Hale thus continues:—

"In this statement, saddening as it is, there is one thing which should afford us consolation, and which, in the midst of our hard labors, has often filled us with joy; and that is the pure and living faith of our people, the ardent zeal of our priests, and the devotion of all classes to the Apostolic See and the Sovereign Pontiff, a devotion which has ever risen superior to every trial.[2]

"This is what I had evidence of, especially during my visitation of the diocese in the Jubilee Year (1825–26); the piety of both priests and people manifesting itself so wonderfully, that it excited the admiration of Protestants and caused the conversion of very many of them.

"Assisted by some fifteen priests, I spent ten days in each parish, taken up from morning till night in dispensing the apostolic graces (of the Jubilee). Such was the ardor shown by the people to gain the fruits of this holy season, that the crowds which came from all sides could not be contained in the churches, and covered the adjoining fields. Our great anxiety during all these days was about the poor

[1] St. Matthew xvi. "Sermons and Discourses" by the late Most Rev. John Mac Hale, D. D. Preface, pp. vii.–ix.

[2] *Cuilibet tentationi cedere nescia,* in the Latin text.

people, who came from far and near to receive the sacraments without having tasted food, and who, we feared, might faint on the road.... These were the daily spectacles which filled us alternately with joy and sadness,—with joy at beholding the abundant harvest, with sadness because of the small number of the reapers."[1]

As the diocese of Killala contained twenty-four parishes, ten days spent in each parish, with an interval of rest of two or three days between each visitation, must have consumed over nine months out of the twelve.

If it was for the bishop a year of unspeakable bodily and mental toil, it was also one of unspeakable consolation. It brought him into close personal contact with every one of his priests and with almost every member of their flocks. If it was impossible for him to hear the confession of every man, woman, and child who desired to address themselves to their own "Father John," as they still fondly called him, they all had the comfort of hearing the words of light and earnest exhortation which he addressed daily to all in their respective parishes: within the lowly, thatched edifices they called their "chapels," when these were not overcrowded; in the open air, when the "chapel" was too small, and the weather permitted him to speak outside to the hungering multitudes.

Surely, these were scenes which might well remind one of Our Lord's missionary labors in Galilee and Judea.

But these missions during the Jubilee Year in Ireland, and the conscientious care with which a bishop in pastoral visitation has to examine the condition of each parish, were only a part of the labors which Dr. Mac Hale had to bear from his arrival in Killala till the close of 1826.

Besides his journey to Dublin in the beginning of that year to attend the annual meeting of the bishops, he was obliged, in the beginning of November, to appear before a Parliamentary Commission sitting at Maynooth, and appointed to inquire into the state of education in Ireland.

All through 1825 and 1826, extraordinary efforts were

[1] Mac Hale Manuscripts.

made in Ireland, both by the Bible Societies and by the dignified clergy of the Established Church, to organize and carry out a grand evangelizing campaign among the Catholic population. It was their purpose to reply to the Bull of Leo XII. proclaiming a Jubilee for the entire Catholic world, by setting on foot a crusade against Popery, by bringing home to the Irish popular masses what the "Gospellers" designated as "the Errors and Superstitions of Rome."

The Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Trench, whom HIEROPHILOS had already, in 1823, in one of the series of letters addressed to Mr. Canning, spoken of with respect mixed with regret, had, in a Pastoral Charge delivered in Killala, denounced what he termed "the damnable doctrines of the Catholic Church, etc." Besides, in the Province of Ulster, where Protestantism was strongest, the towns and villages were swarming with the bands of a kind of "Salvation Army," who denounced in street and highway "the idolatries" of the Church of Rome.

All this recrudescence of fanaticism deeply pained Dr. Mac Hale, anxious as he was to win for his people and religion the respect and esteem of Protestants, by setting before them the true teachings of the Catholic Church, and by making her chilren live up to these teachings. The uncalled for attack of Dr. Trench, coming as it did in Ballina, and outside of his own immediate diocese of Tuam, could not be allowed to remain without an answer.

Dr. Mac Hale heartily wished to be on friendly terms with a man who had shown, during the famine of 1821, such a kindly and charitable spirit. He could not help remembering that in the darkest hour of the popular distress in the West, both the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Kelly, and his Protestant neighbor, Dr. Trench, were seen side by side laboring to procure relief for the starving multitudes. Dr. Kelly recorded publicly his own grateful acknowledgment toward the Protestant prelate, by having a resolution of thanks to the latter passed by the Relief Board of Tuam, which he signed as chairman and gracefully presented to Dr. Trench.

The Catholic people of Tuam were not behind their Archbishop in testifying their sense of Dr. Trench's generosity. When the distress had passed away, and the next harvest brought plenty to the land,—all at once on a bright day in harvest-tide,—the peasants, without giving any notice of their intention, assembled from far and near, and cut down, stacked, and garnered the crops in Dr. Trench's corn-fields. The good prelate, touched to the heart, went among the reapers, and with tears in his eyes thanked them. He sent for refreshment for the toilers; but no persuasion could induce the grateful Celt to taste food or drink at the expense of his benefactor.

More than that:—they had early in the summer cut peat for the Archbishop and laid it out to dry. When the season came for housing it, the people met by tacit accord, and Dr. Trench was again surprised to see a long succession of carts wending their way into his farmyard, and willing hands piling up beneath his sheds the fuel which they had gathered.

He had proof enough that the warm Irish heart never forgets a kindness. Why should he, then, undo, by unwise, impolitic, and uncharitable denunciations of the religious belief and practices of these sensitive Celtic populations, all the good effected by his own former devotedness?

If the Maynooth professor, in 1823, deemed it incumbent on himself, as a Connaught priest, to vindicate his creed against the aspersions of Dr. Trench, in spite of the gratitude felt for the latter in Galway and Mayo, it was still more incumbent on the Coajutor Bishop of Killala, in 1826, to protest warmly against an official arraignment of the Catholic doctrines and morality, uttered almost within his hearing from the pulpit of what had been the Catholic Cathedral of Killala.

"Should you feel somewhat mortified by this letter," Dr. Mac Hale says in concluding, "you will find its vindication in your Grace's wanton and intemperate aggression.

"It is really lamentable that those who ought to labor together for the public good, should waste their strength in theological contention. To what a miserable condition is

our country doomed, when they who *would* entirely devote themselves to promote its peace, and propagate good will among mankind, must be forced to repel attacks upon its religion,—attacks made by persons who ought to be peculiarly tender in provoking any attack upon their own!

"Who are the people that are keeping a body of strolling auxiliaries in pay, to prop up the tottering cause of the Establishment by pouring their vapid abuse on the Catholic Church?

"Take care, my Lord, lest these venal auxiliaries, like the Barbarians employed in the Roman service, should turn upon their masters, and seize the possessions of the Church which they are hired to defend.

"The necessity of employing them,—I am not inclined to superstition,—is really ominous.

"From the effects of your intemperance, your colleagues will, I trust, learn a wise forbearance; and, should your Grace ever repeat your triennial visitation, and be disposed to indulge in a feast of triumph against a religion to the service of which the church in which you spoke was once consecrated, doubtless the present sketch, which you will not easily forget, will make you apprehend *lest some mysterious hand should draw more fully the character and destiny of your Church on the walls of the Cathedral of Killala.*"[1]

These last words contain one of the many prophetic utterances of Dr. Mac Hale, whose far-seeing sagacity enabled him to forecast and predict events concealed from the ken of less unworldly or less enlightened men. Within the next decade the Protestant See of Killala was suppressed.

This letter to Dr. Trench was written in October, 1826. The Bishop of Maronia had to set out immediately for Dublin in order to appear before the Maynooth Commission. He was examined on November 3d. The very first questions put to him show how pre-occupied both the Commissioners and the entire Protestant public were by the controversies regarding the origin of the Church establishment in Ireland, and the canonical right of its bishops to the

[1] Letters, Vol. I., pp. 224, 225.

titles of their sees. Even then there was a strong disposition in the majority of Parliament to make it penal for all Catholic Bishops to call themselves after their sees.

"Pray, what is the origin of the title of bishop of Maronia?" is one of the first queries put to Dr. Mac Hale. "It was,"—the Prelate answers, "a see formerly possessed by Catholic bishops, until it came under the domination of the Turks. Now, of course, there is no bishop there. But when a coadjutor is appointed to any bishop, in consequence of infirmity or old age, he gets the title of such a see *in partibus infidelium* (in the countries of the unbelievers).

The next question betrays the wide attention bestowed, even in Parliamentary and Government circles, on the series of letters addressed by HIEROPHILOS, in 1824, to M. Canning. The Irish were painted, at the time, by the Bible Societies as steeped in crime and immorality; and for this awful condition of things the new apostles maintained that the circulation of the Bible would be a certain and sovereign remedy. This, as well as the existence of the evil itself, HIEROPHILOS had indignantly denied. The commissioners, by calling him to account for his words, only afforded him an opportunity of reaffirming more solemnly what he had before asserted. Here is the passage incriminated:—

"England boasts of her morality. If her morality were to be measured by the number of her Bibles, she would, undoubtedly, be the most moral nation upon earth. But, alas! we have frightful instances of the unfeeling indifference of her children to any moral responsibility, not only in those moments when, in the frenzy of passion, duty may be forgotten, but even in the moment of awful import, when the terror of approaching judgment ought to shake the most hardened insensibility. What avails, then, the profusion of Bibles, that are never read, or, if read, are turned into a subject of ridicule or profanity?"

"Do you now feel,"—the Commissioners asked Dr. Mac Hale, "that to be a just character of England? Or, do you consider that it was expedient that such a representation of

her character should be made to the students of Maynooth?"

"This is a twofold question," the Prelate answers. "With regard to the first part of it, I have no objection to write the entire of it again, because I think it a just character. With regard to the second part of the question, . . . I shall first say that I never made such representation to the students of Maynooth. Just as a fellow of Trinity College, in giving lectures, might write in a pamphlet or in a book some things which he would not consider expedient to express in his lectures in the class-hall, though these things might afterwards reach his pupils; even so I wrote this on my own responsibility, never intending, as a professor of Maynooth, to introduce it to the students."

"Do you think it a just representation of the character of England?"

"I do. It was written after the execution of the famous Thistlewood, who rejected the proffered services of the ministers of religion. There were other instances of similar insensibility to which I alluded; and, I dare say, it will be found, on a comparison of the criminal calendars of England and Ireland, that, in proportion to the population of the two countries, crime has multiplied to a much greater extent in England than in Ireland. I had also in view an observation of Dr. Milner, which he illustrates by particular references to the history of England and to the calendar—that crime seems to have multiplied in proportion to the ascendancy of Bible Societies."

"Do you yourself believe that proposition to be true?"

"I have no doubt of it. It is a matter susceptible of all the clearness of mathematical calculation."

It is evident that the Commissioners, by thus pressing Dr. Mac Hale, wished to give to his statements the odious character of a slander on the English people.

They did not, however, urge a further reply, when he affirmed that Dr. Milner's proposition was susceptible of mathematical demonstration. Another passage from HIEROPHILOS, if maintained during this examination, would go far to increase the odium against Dr. Mac Hale:—

"We find this passage: Having thus taken a patient view of the state of Ireland, and the condition of its inhabitants, I cannot dissemble my conviction that the great source of its misfortunes is the MALIGNANT character of its laws. Will you explain the meaning of the epithet *malignant* as applied to the laws of this country?"

"I look upon those penal laws as malignant which proscribe the Catholics, and require of Protestants, as a condition for obtaining office, to declare before God that the religion of Catholics is *damnable and idolatrous.*"

The answer is peremptory so far as it goes; but it does not satisfy the commissioners.

"You will observe (they say) that the character here passed upon the laws of the country is quite general. There is nothing in the passage to restrict it to the laws against Catholics."

"As the Commissioners wish to have my meaning, I chiefly referred there to those penal laws which have been passed in hatred of the Catholic religion."

"Was it not meant also to include the laws which uphold the Protestant Church Establishment?"

"No; unless negatively, that is, as far as the laws which proscribe Catholics are deemed essential to the safety of such establishment. In that passage I chiefly regarded those laws which have persecuted the Catholic religion, some of the venom of which still poisons the charities of life."

After spending upwards of twelve months in ministering daily to the spiritual need of these faithful and much-tried populations of Tirawley; after having had daily and hourly evidence of the Christian virtues of his people, of their uncommon capacity for all social improvement,—how could the Bishop of Maronia not feel his soul overflowing with bitterness at beholding the hopeles misery, the deep degration in which a race so gifted had been so long kept?

The wonder is that such a man, knowing all he did, and feeling as he must have felt, whether in standing face to face with the Parliamentary Commissioners, or in replying

to the attacks of Dr. Trench,—should be so self-contained, so moderate in answering the stupid and insulting questions of these ignorant members of Parliament, or in repelling the outrageous aspersions of the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam.

How often must he not have asked himself,—as he went from one desolate parish of the Diocese of Killala to another more desolate still,—if there ever should come for the Irish Celt an era of civil and religious liberty, of social justice and equality,—a time when the soil and surface of Ireland should cease to wear, like the countenance of her sons, the aspect of chronic exhaustion and starvation amid the abundance and magnificence of Nature.

Such questions would force themselves upon him during his journey to Dublin. The awful neglect of the western landlords, the starved soil and its starving tillers, the mad and ruinous extravagance of the proprietor class, and their pitiless exactions, as compared with the indescribable squalor of their wretched tenants:—all that would force itself, like a horrible vision, between the Bishop of Maronia and the Maynooth Commissioners, as they questioned him about the "malignity" of the laws enacted in England for the misgovernment of Ireland.

He lost no time, when his examination was concluded, in returning to the gigantic labors which still awaited him at home.

Yes,—while working with main and might to cheer and support his people in their most unequal struggle, while keeping them by word and example up to the level of their religious profession,—he would also work like a giant to help educate the nation and to emancipate it from its two-fold yoke of political servitude and enforced ignorance.

THE CATHEDRAL OF BALLINA.

We must not omit, in this review of Dr. Mac Hale's first episcopal labors in the diocese of Killala, to mention that it is to him that it is indebted for the foundation and completion of the beautiful Cathedral of Ballina, which rivals that

of Tuam. In both dioceses there was an absolute need of decent church edifices, as we shall see from the following brief account.

In the year 1825, the very year that he was consecrated bishop of Maronia, his friend and admirer, Archbishop Kelly of Tuam, was examined before a Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into the distracted state of Ireland. One of the questions asked of the Archbishop was: "what is the state of the chapels in the Archdiocese of Tuam?" The Archbishop replied, that they were "wretched." "There are" he went on to say, "about 106 places for Catholic worship; and of these, there are about 16 slated; all the rest are thatched. In many instances Mass is said in the open air; or else the people, several of whom come a distance of six miles, kneel in the open air, because they have no accommodation inside."

If such was the state of the poor church-edifices in the archdiocese of Tuam in 1825, it was, if anything, still more wretched in the suffragan diocese of Killala. Dr. Waldron had often thought of replacing the miserably small and squalid chapel at Ardnaree (Ballina) by a substantial and commodious structure, which might worthily bear the title of Cathedral. But the poverty of the people, and the calamities which had fallen upon the West of Ireland during his episcopate, had compelled him to defer and forego altogether his purpose.

With the arrival of Dr. Mac Hale as coadjutor, and in view of his wide popularity all through Connaught and throughout the entire kingdom, the project of building a cathedral was revived.

In a memoir presented by him to the Holy See in 1832, the Bishop of Maronia says, in speaking of the Catholic houses of worship in the Diocese of Killala: "There are in the diocese of Killala no churches, or almost none. Our churches were taken possession of or destroyed by the Protestants. Those which Catholics have since built, are mere cabins covered with thatch, which do not deserve the name of churches. For this reason the faithful are very

often obliged to hear Mass in the open air; nor have the priests any facility for preaching to them....

"In this absolute indigence of all the helps toward religion," he continues, "I have asked myself what I should do, when I was, though unworthy, raised to the coadjutorship of that Church by the favor of the Apostolic See. I applied myself, first of all, to rear a cathedral that might contribute to the majesty and splendor of religion in the town in which I reside; and that should also serve as a model and incite the clergy to undertake the building of like edifices in their respective parishes.

"To build the Cathedral I was compelled to seek for means on every side. Not only did I go myself through all the parishes of the diocese, but I, moreover, begged for alms outside the diocese, both in person and by letter. God happily crowned this undertaking; and I had the consolation, just before setting out on my pilgrimage to Rome (in 1831), to offer up the Holy Sacrifice in the temple, having for this delayed the fulfilment of my long-cherished design. Still, the Cathedral is, as yet, scarcely fit for the purposes of divine worship. Its walls are naked, its windows are unglazed; and the means of our people, after the contributions already made by them, and because of the tithes which they are rigorously compelled to pay each year to the Protestant parsons, are so exhausted that we are unable either to adorn the structure or even to complete it."[1]

This brief statement affords us a clear knowledge of the zealous and successful efforts made by the Coadjutor of Killala, amid his other numerous and exhausting labors, to realize the wishes of the venerable Dr. Waldron, and to gladden the venerable prelate's eyes by the sight of a new cathedral, not unworthy of the glorious medieval structures whose beautiful ruins studded his diocese.

The apostolic missions of 1825—'26, by rousing the fervor of the people from parish to parish, and by bringing them all into personal contact with Dr. Waldron's far-famed coadjutor, prepared the way for the appeal which the latter

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

intended to make to their generosity. The spectacle so often witnessed during this Jubilee year, of the overcrowding of the thatched chapels, and of the multitudes filling the adjoining fields during the Jubilee exercises, afforded the young bishop a further argument for asking Catholics to erect places of worship worthy of their faith and of their past traditions.

From 1826 to 1829 Dr. Mac Hale ceased not to collect by his appeals from parish to parish, and with the aid of bishops, priests, and influential laymen in other dioceses, a sum (£ 1800) sufficient to enable him to lay, in the early spring of 1827, the foundations and corner stone of the new Cathedral in Ardnaree, a suburb of Ballina.

The Most Rev. Oliver Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam, officiated on this occasion, assisted by Right Rev. Dr. McNicholas, Bishop of Achonry, and by Dr. Mac Hale. It was, as well may be imagined, a proud day for the people of Ballina, for the entire diocese of Killala, indeed. The Bishop of Maronia made everything connected with the progress of the structure his own special care.

The plans were drawn up by Mr. Madden, the architect of the new Tuam Cathedral, who was anxious that the gothic structure which arose on the banks of the Moy should not be much inferior to that which was to grace the ancient city of St. Jarlath.

As we have just seen, both Dr. Waldron and his coadjutor had the unspeakable consolation, ere the latter set out for Rome in the early autumn of 1831, to see the Cathedral covered in and so far advanced as to permit the divine sacrifice to be celebrated there. Naked as were the walls on that memorable occasion, and poor as were all the appointments of the unfinished sacred edifice,—it could shelter from the rain thousands of fervent and grateful worshipers. Bishops, priests, and people cherished the fond hope of making God's house beautiful in God's own time. Was it not the lively image of their religion and their nationality.

Even English Catholics were to help build up and adorn the Cathedral of Ballina. We shall presently see the gen-

erous author of "Mores Catholici," Kenelm Henry Digby, offering Dr. Mac Hale a sum of money sufficient to enable him to have a Roman sculptor execute a marble altar in harmony with the beautiful gothic Cathedral. And so, ère Dr. Waldron closed his long career, and ere Dr. Mac Hale was called away forever from the banks of his native Moy-the Cathedral of Ballina was, inside and outside, a house of worship which could gladden the souls of men and the eyes of angels. Twelve thousand pounds sterling had been ex pended on it, and the tower had attained the height of 100 feet.[1]

[1] A note among the *Mac Hale MSS.* states, in speaking of the generous contributors to the building fund: "The Gallaghers of that day, James Daly, and a Mr. Henry, all Ballina merchants, gave great assistance."

CHAPTER IX.

VISITS TO TUBBERNAVINE—HOME SCENES—THE LITERARY LABORS OF A BISHOP'S HOLIDAY TIME.

"Come! and gaze on our face once more;
Bring us the smiles of the olden days.
Come! and shine in your place once more;
And change the dark into golden days."—RYAN.

THE Parish of Crossmolina, which was given as a benefice to the Bishop of Maronia, adjoined the Parish of Addergoole, his own native parish. Crossmolina was placed in charge of the Rev. John Barrett, as administrator. We shall hear a good deal of this excellent priest further on in our narrative. He had been a pupil of Dr. Mac Hale in Maynooth, and was warmly attached to his old master. The frequent visits which the bishop made to his Crossmolina flock naturally led him to run down to Tubbernavine. During the Jubilee station at Addergoole, he and as many of the priests who labored with him as could be lodged in the paternal homestead, were made welcome by *Padrig Mor*. This, however, the family did not count as a visit for relaxation and rest. That came only when the Jubilee year was over, and the bishop had returned to Ballina after his examination before the Parliamentary Commission.

Fortunately his father's house was within little more than two hours ride from Ballina, so that the Coadjutor could easily be found when needed by priest and layman.

One great purpose which drew him to the comparative solitude of his father's home, at the season we mention, was the desire to prepare for the press the work "On the Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church," mostly written while at Maynooth, and which he found little leisure for touching during the first eighteen months following his consecration as bishop.

But let us hear his sister describing his visits to Tubbernavine, and his affectionate relations toward his family and kinsfolk. We shall then say a few words on his first great literary undertaking.

"He used to ride to see his father at *the old place at home* (we quote the words of Mrs. Higgins), a distance of twelve miles, and back again. Sometimes he drove from Ballina in a gig, and then spent some days with us. He would on these occasions have all his immediate relatives around him,—his brothers and sisters, married and settled in the near neighborhood, together with their children.

"What a noble example of greatness and kindliness he then set us! With talents of a high order, cultivated with so much care, he forgot every accomplishment but the gift of making his family happy. His presence was all simplicity and sunshine. He became a child with the children.

"His great pleasure was to study their characters and capabilities. If they showed any signs of superior talent or cleverness, he would advise their parents to send them in good season to better schools. He compared with each other the boys' copy books, the girls' 'samplers,' sewing, and knitting. He seemed to take an equal interest in the work of each. And thus all were equally encouraged and stimulated. He was told that one little girl could sing and dance, and made her display her graces before the family circle.... Every child was questioned, examined, and drawn out with singular tact and courtesy, and with apparent delight to the Prelate himself.

I remember that, on one occasion, what most pleased him among the juvenile performances, was a fiddle made by one of the boys, and showing no little ingenuity, as the youngster had but very primitive tools and poor materials. But the inventive genius was there; and the Bishop praised it. Who should the little fellow be but the nephew afterwards known as the Very Reverend Thomas Mac Hale, D. D., of the Irish College, Paris, who was to be, for so many years, the devoted and trusted companion of the Archbishop of Tuam to the end of his life?

"While all these young people and children formed a joyous and happy circle around Padrig More and his worshipped son, the latter insisted on their all learning and speaking the Irish tongue.

"He used to make one of the girls [1] read aloud a chapter of the Irish version of "the Imitation of Christ," every evening, after the Rosary (a devotional practice which he had his household perform with him daily to the end of his life). Fancy the patience of this gifted prelate, to whom we all looked up with mingled reverence and admiration, listening there, by the side of his father, and surrounded by the entire family,—while the timid child blundered over the hard Irish words and their unfamiliar orthography. The Bishop never once interrupted her till she had finished the chapter. He then took the book himself and read the chapter over for her, dwelling on the passages which had puzzled her and explaining the hard words, etc. These readings were, she may say, the only lessons she ever received in the Irish tongue. She had picked it up from hearing it spoken around her, and then learned to read it fairly.

"She afterwards had the proud privilege of being her brother's instructress in music. This he set about learning, not from any vanity, but in order to play the Irish national airs, and to grasp their melody and spirit, while he was translating into Gaelic "Moore's Melodies."

"At first, he used to get her to play the airs he did not know well, so as to get each air well in his ear. . . . . But, as she could not always be at hand when he wanted her in the progress of his work, he asked her to give him lessons, so that he might be able to strike out himself the notes of each melody. It was to her both gratifying and delightful. She made him go through the elementary exercises of the piano, —all which he submitted to with the docility of a little child. Oh, what an apt pupil he was in that as in everything else! Before I had given him one dozen lessons, he could place the music-book on the piano, and play the air himself to satisfy his ear.

[1] This was his youngest sister, the Mrs. Higgins who now survives him.

"From that day, he used to play, in his leisure moments (which were few), a little both on the harp and on the piano." . . . .[1]

The reader will forgive us for bestowing a brief look, from the lofty flanks of Mount Nephin, overlooking the peacefully vale of Tubbernavine, on the not far-distant years when John, Bishop of Maronia, will be John, Archbishop of Tuam.

Meanwhile let us dwell a short space with the Bishop and Pastor in the restful atmosphere of his native home, and follow him in his excursions among the scenes of his boyhood, and the populations who clung to him with such affectionate reverence.

"When he was appointed coadjutor to the venerated Dr. Waldron," says Mrs. Higgins, "the people of Addergoole were delighted that their loved 'Father John,' still so fondly remembered by his old school-fellows and playmates, should have been given back to them. How proud they were to have him now as their own bishop, and he so clever, and so wonderful a scholar! And there were so many who boasted of their close and early companionship with one whose name was illustrious throughout the three Kingdoms."

Loving, as the Bishop of Maronia did, with the intensity of his deep and unselfish nature, both his native country and its people, these intervals of comparative repose were to him a bath of life.

He needed it all; and he profited heartily of these golden hours. Though his old friend and teacher in Irish history and folk-lore, Mr. Callaghan, had long been dead, the Bishop failed not to visit the cottage where he had spent so many delightful hours, seated at the man's feet and drinking deep draughts of the knowledge and love of race and country, which were to color so deeply his life and writings. The traditional scenes connected with the early history of Ireland, to which he had paid more than one visit in the days of his boyish enthusiasm, now possessed tenfold attrac-

[1] MSS. in the author's possession.

Hazlewood and Lough Gill.

(Sligo.)

tion for him in the full maturity of his manhood and his learning.

All the monuments and ruins of Tirawley were the more dear and venerable to him, that Providence had made him the father of both the people and province. To ascend the steep slopes of Mount Nephin, and from each of its twin-summits survey the broad expanse of his native West, was to him not only the occasion of healthful exercise after intense mental application, but the opportunity of gathering most valuable information.

All around the giant hills were places consecrated by the names of St. Patrick and his apostolic associates and successors. Standing on the top of the eastern or lower of the two summits, and looking down on the house in which he was born, John Mac Hale beheld the famous "Well of the Fenians," which gave its name to the place, while from the western crest of Nephin, some 300 feet higher, he could see across the intervening valley, and more than a thousand feet above the plain, the hallowed spring of Tobberpatrick, recalling the stay among these mountain-solitudes of the Apostle of Ireland. Far away to the south-east, rising like a watch-tower above the magnificent expanse of Clew Bay and the harbor of Westport, arose Croagh-Patrick, the summit consecrated by the Apostle's long and repeated vigils, and dear to the religious heart of the Celtic populations. There had been, in the days of St. Patrick and in the three following centuries, in every one of these interlocking vales, all over the fertile plains of Mayo and the adjacent counties, a peaceful, thrifty, intelligent Christian people, equally ardent in the pursuit of divine knowledge and in the practice of the divinest Christian virtues.

The site of the monastery and school of Bangor (not the famous Bangor of the north of Ireland), visible from Mount Nephin to the south-west, near the sea-shore, only reminded the Bishop that the whole of the country which lay stretched out beneath and around him was, in the seventh and eighth centuries, covered with a majestic growth of forest trees, insterspersed with pastures and plough-lands.

Churches innumerable,—built for the most part of wood, it is true,—had everywhere arisen, and beside the church, the school, where the youth of Ireland were free to learn all the secrets of sacred and worldly science.

It is this condition of things which inspired St. Columbkille, when he transcribed and embellished that incomparable copy of the Gospels which is known as the "Book of Kells." All its exquisite illustrations are taken from the scenes surrounding the many monastic schools founded in near Donegal and elsewhere by the Saint himself. Youthful figures, looking like angels amid the bloom of Eden, peeping out upon us from behind the leafy screen, or absorbed in the study of their open books,—students from across the Irish Sea, from Wales, and England, and Albion, and even from the neighboring Gaul,—all living together, beneath the groves of hospitable Ireland, the strangers welcome to share freely of all the abundance of a land then literally "teeming with milk and honey," while profiting, gratuitously, by the lessons of her host of masters.

John Mac Hale knew all this, thought of all this, as he looked down upon the desolation which now hung like a shroud over the incomparable panorama of mountain, hill, peaceful valleys, far-stretching plains, lakes and streams innumerable, which his native Tyrawley presented.

Should he be able to restore to that land somewhat of its lost loveliness, fertility, peace, and prosperity? Could he help to give back to the faith of Patrick and Columbkille its pristine freedom, honor, and glory? Could he contribute to bring back, if not the era of unity of faith and brotherly love between Celt and Saxon, at least one of justice and truth, of mutual knowledge and appreciation, of political harmony and cordial coöperation towards true social progress?

Certain it is that all these elevating thoughts and noble sentiments filled the soul of the Bishop of Maronia during the four first years of his episcopal labors in Tirawley.

They were, in truth, years of incredible toil.

To estimate the value of a literary work like that on the

"Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church," it must be remembered how few were the books in the English language which Irish Catholics had either been allowed or encouraged to produce during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Even though Catholic writers had been given full liberty to publish and circulate standard books in defence of their Church, or explanatory of its doctrines and practices,— there was no reading public among their coreligionists to purchase such books and enjoy them. The enforced and general illiteracy prevailing at the beginning of the century was only the result of the atrocious Penal Laws.

It was one of the systematic evils which such zealous churchmen as John Mac Hale labored so hard to remedy.

Moreover, the names of Newman, Wiseman, Manning, and Lingard were either unknown at that time, or their fame had scarcely begun to dawn. Lingard had, indeed, published some short controversial pamphlets which had found their way to Ireland. But the men who then were popularly known in Ireland as the expounders and defenders of the old faith, were Milner and Hayes,[1] Arthur O'Leary and Lanigan.

When, therefore, in 1828, the work "On the Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church" appeared, it was eagerly welcomed not only in Ireland, but in England, and on the continent, where it was translated into German. This was the greatest compliment that could be paid to the author and his book, since the Catholic literature of Germany was rich in master-pieces treating the same subject.

The object and scope of the work are best stated in the author's own words:—"To deduce the evidences of the Catholic Church from the primitive source of revelation, and illustrate the speculative truth of its doctrines, as well as their practical influence on the happiness of society, is the object of this volume. . . . .

"Though the Catholic Church be nothing less than

[1] Dr. Mac Hale always held the venerable Hayes in a special reverence, and warmly recommended his works to both priests and laymen.

Christianity continued, yet efforts have been recently made to separate objects which are united by a necessary and indissoluble alliance. . . . . To close the evidences of the Catholic Church at the period of its establishment, would be an imperfect labor, without showing that the same Divine Power by which it was erected has uniformly watched over its existence.

"The sectaries of every name shrink from the light of history. The advocate of the Catholic Church has no such dread, and therefore he courts a free and expanded investigation; he feels no desire to conceal the period that elapsed between the first century and the sixteenth. There is not a day in that interval, which, with Job, he would wish to have erased from the records of time, since every moment attests the continuity of the same Church and the uniformity of the same doctrine.

"I have therefore extended the evidences of religion beyond former examples, in order that the reader may perceive the identity between the Catholic Church of the *nineteenth* and the Catholic Church of the *first* century; as well as the identity between that Church and the primitive revelations, of which it has been the development and perfection.

"The Catholic who recites the Apostles' Creed to-day, believes in the same Catholic Church as he who repeated it in the age in which it was composed; and by following up the same unbroken chain of doctrine, he may trace the regular succession of truth to the origin of the human race.

"It would, however, be an unprofitable study to explore the origin and follow the progress of religion, without contemplating the benefits of which it has been productive. The advantages of some of the institutions of the Catholic Church are beyond the reach of controversy. . . .

"It has been my aim to show that, not only these institutions which are the themes of general eulogy, but others, which are objects of censure and abuse, have had an immense influence on the happiness of society.

"Among the tenets which are represented as most noxious

in their effects, is the supremacy of the Pope. In opposition to some of the most popular historians, I have undertaken to establish, that in the ages when it is supposed to have been most disastrous, the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff was favorable to the liberties as well as to the virtues of mankind.

"It is high time to rescue truth from the misrepresentations with which it has been covered. The tide of prejudice, which for three centuries has run against the Catholic religion, has nearly spent its force. The degree of public favor that has been extended to writers who have had the manliness to combat ancient and inveterable errors announces a sound revolution in the public taste; and the human mind, sick of the poison of religious calumny, which has hitherto been mingled with every popular production, pants at length for a purer and more impartial literature."[1]

Such is, as stated in the preface to his great work, the purpose of the author, and such the scope of his manual. For, a manual he hoped and intended it should be in the hands of priests and educated laymen,—a book to be taken up and read by all conscientious inquirers after religious truth.[2]

As such it is most full, thorough, and satisfactory. It was a work to be highly appreciated by such Popes as Gregory XVI., who had himself, before ascending the Papal throne, written another such manual on the triumphs of the Catholic Church.

It will scarcely be believed that Dr. Mac Hale, while thus devoting himself to the performance of his manifold and heavy duties as a coadjutor-bishop, entrusted with the active administration of a diocese,—and busied moreover in preparing and getting through the press a work of such importance as the above, and that, too, at a time and in a country where facilities for such an undertaking there were few indeed,—could still find or make leisure to take

[1] "*The Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church*, showing that the former are no less convincing than the latter are propitious to the happiness of Society." 3d Ed., 1885: Preface.

[2] See *Note* at the end of this chapter.

a large and efficient share in the labors then pushed on for Catholic Emancipation.

This measure was so near his heart, so necessary in his estimation toward the welfare and the very existence of the Catholic population of Ireland, that, during his missionary labors in 1825 and 1826, he filled with his own conviction and his own ardor the priests who worked with him, as well as the influential laymen with whom he came in close and frequent contact. The entire West of Ireland caught the sacred flame from Dr. Mac Hale's patriotic enthusiasm.

From the letters of HIEROPHILOS to the English people and then to Mr. Canning, we know how powerfully Dr. Mac Hale strove to remove inveterate religious and political prejudices, and to prepare the public mind in Great Britain, in and out of Parliament, to do justice to Ireland. His efforts were not relaxed when his new duties as bishop threw him among the popular masses in the West, and gave him over them an influence such as Moses could not wield over the Hebrew captives till he returned from exile armed with the resistless power of Jehovah.

One who lived under Dr. Mac Hale, and was brought up among the people of Connaught in the days we are describing, thus speaks of the Bishop of Maronia's share in the achievement of Emancipation:—

"Heart and soul went the young bishop into the struggle. In times past the Protestant landlords of Mayo supported the Protestant interest, and they found their Catholic tenantry ready and willing to lend them a helping hand. But a new order of things had arisen, and the people were now awakened to a sense of their degradation. Side by side with O'Connell were enlisted the abilities of Mac Hale. He denounced in unmeasured terms the severities of the Penal Code, which had affixed the stamp of inferiority on their brow.

"In the agitation of 1826 his spirit was, so to speak, omnipresent; he spoke to the people in private and in public, by night and by day, on the altar-steps and on the mountain side, on the highways and in places of public

resort; calling up the memories of the past, denouncing the wrongs of the present .... He called on the Government to remember how the Union was carried by Mr. Pitt on the distinct assurance and implied promise that Catholic Emancipation, which had been denied by the Irish Parliament, should be granted by the Parliament of the Empire."

NOTE.

The esteem in which Dr. Mac Hale's "Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church" has ever been held by the hierarchy and priesthood in Ireland, may be judged from the fact that, when the Catholic University of Dublin was first organized, it was decreed that this book should be placed as a manual in the hands of the students of Theology.

A further proof of the great reputation enjoyed by the work, even in Great Britain, is afforded by an editorial of the London TIMES (June 11, 1875): "When we look to Dr. Mac Hale's works, such a book as his *Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church* is a marvel for the production of a man who, a few years before, was 'toiling at a potato plot.' It shows great reading, a ready command of materials, some thought, and a style quite equal to that of many theological writers who have enjoyed much greater advantages.

As everybody knows, the great English journal had always been bitterly hostile to the Archbishop of Tuam. The praise the editor bestows on his great adversary may be taken as no exaggerated estimate of the man's true merits. The censure, the mistakes and misstatements (wilful or unwitting) with which his eulogy is mixed up, must be set to the account of inveterate prejudice, or the systematic depreciation of everything Irish and Catholic. When he speaks of John MacHale as born in a hovel, or working in a potato plot, or watching over the farm animals, the editor is simply drawing on his own imagination. The readers who have made themselves acquainted with the first chapters in this volume know that the house in which the Archbishop of Tuam was born, and which is still the home of one of his nephews, was no *hovel*, but a spacious, comfortable farmer's dwelling; that *Padrig Mor* MacHale's circumstances enabled him to employ servants and farm-laborers enough to watch his cattle, and cultivate his fields, without applying his young sons to such occupations. John MacHale, as we know, was sent to school at Laherdáne, as soon as he was able to go there with his elder brothers. When he had learned there all he could, he was sent to Patrick Stanton's classic school in Castlebar. From that, in due time, he went direct to Maynooth.

With these remarks, which only state the simple truth, we may take up the editorial of the TIMES.

"There are few of our readers," the article says, "who will not be tenderly disposed toward the venerable name which has for the last day or two been prominent in our Irish Correspondence. There was a time when St. Jarlath's was the thunder quarter of the skies, and when it was felt that the fervid denunciations thence issuing were the language of the people, and the expression of wrongs

which had at least a substantial foundation. When Ireland had some right to care for nothing but herself, she might thank Heaven for the Prophet who devoted himself to that one task and to its simple utterance."

Although our narrative has not yet brought us to St. Jarlath's, and to the functions of Seer, Prophet, Teacher, and Guide, which John MacHale was called on to fulfil there,—we already believe that the man, though only a coadjutor-bishop, was a true PROPHET in his warnings and words of wisdom,—and that the Ireland whose interests and salvation he advocated was not in his conception or purpose 'a selfish Ireland,' seeking an isolated existence, separate from Great Britain, but an Ireland existing as a member of the British Empire, and which it was England's best interest to make a healthy, sound, well-affected member of the body politic. The prosperous, happy, self-governing, self-supporting Ireland which Dr. MacHale dreamed of and labored to create, was to be as "unselfish" as the right hand is in helping the left to promote the welfare, to defend the life, to do the work of the united human body.

Just as the praise bestowed in this first portion of the TIMES editorial article is misleading,—so is the estimate contained further on in the same article. on the literary labors of the Archbishop of Tuam.

"If," the editor says, "we are to be asked, whether Dr. MacHale has added to the literature of his country and his Church, and left anything that will survive the common wreck, then we must reply, that this is hard to require from any one, most of all from a man who devoted himself so exclusively and so heroically to the demands of place and time....

"When we look to Dr. MacHale's works, such a book as his "Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church," is a MARVEL... It shows great reading, a ready command of materials, some thought, and a style quite equal to that of many theological writers who have enjoyed much greater advantages."

The unequal educational advantages with which Dr. MacHale had to contend, from the year 1795–96, when, still a child, he was sent to the hedge-school of Lahardáne, till 1814, when he became Lecturer of Dogmatic Theology in Maynooth, —till June 1825, in fact, when he left Maynooth, as bishop of Maronia, cannot by any fair-minded publicist be placed to the account of the Catholics of Ireland or their Church. The nineteenth century is at its last decade,—and the Catholic priesthood, the entire Catholic youth of Ireland, have still to complain of the same unjust inequality in the matter of education.

Maynooth College is still the only Catholic school on which the British Parliament has bestowed from the public treasury a most inadequate support. The few fellowships granted to University College, Stephen's Green,—are like the scanty ladlefuls of porridge vouchsafed to a starving family in a season of famine, as compared with the perpetual banquet enjoyed by Trinity College, by the Queen's Colleges, and the other Protestant endowed schools in Ireland.

If the "Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church," written for the most part by Dr. MacHale while professor of Theology in Maynooth, and completed amid the gigantic labors of 1826 and 1827, at Ballina, by the Coadjutor-Bishop of Killala, —did appear a MARVEL to Englishmen as well as Irishmen when it issued from the press, let the genius of the author be given credit for it. In Great Britain, no writer who has a love of historical truth, or a sense of fair play, will think of depreciat-

ing a great literary work, because it was written at Maynooth and Ballina, instead of being the production of Oxford or Cambridge.

Lingard had to acquire in the schools of continental Europe the learning which enabled him to write his "History of England." His great pupil, Cardinal Wiseman, after his first training at Ushaw, had to seek in the schools of Papal Rome the varied learning which afterwards delighted the manufacturers and workingmen of Manchester and Birmingham, as well as the lords and commoners of Great Britain.

Viewing the Coadjutor-Bishop of Killala, as he stands before us in 1828-29, toiling as indefatigably as the most zealous of his priests, the *marvel* of his writing such a book as the "Evidences," while overwhelmed with missionary labors and the diocesan administration, must be very much increased in our judgment, and with it the admiration of the writer's lofty purpose,—the vindicating the Church of his fathers, and the creating of a noble Catholic literature.

But in the editorial of the TIMES there is another passage, which we may appositely quote ere closing this chapter. The writer, however, still views the Archbishop through the discoloring and distorting mist of his own prejudices:—

"Dr. Mac Hale is a remarkable man; and not even his rustic obstinacy, his provincial narrow-mindedness, and his imperiousness, at once the cause and penalty of a rise from humble life, need abate our admiration for qualities which England, more than other countries, is bound to do full justice to. From the humblest parentage. . . . and the ordinary occupation of the Irish peasant lad, he becomes a student at Maynooth, a professor of Dogmatic Theology, a bishop, and an archbishop, with a rapidity which, under the Anglican Establishment, is only possible to the most brilliant abilities, the very best opportunities, good family, powerful friends, or high political connection. For this he had to acquire not only an immense amount of theological learning, but what was far more difficult in his case, and therefore more praiseworthy, a vigorous, a scholarlike style. It would be impossible to deny this to the man who has never spoken or written without being attended to with more or less interest, respect, and even pleasure. Few of our readers would ever have passed without perusal an extract from one of Dr. Mac Hale's manifestos."

Let us say here, in animadverting upon the above, that if there was "obstinacy" in Dr. Mac Hale's conduct through life, it was the obstinacy of a man who in defence of sacred principles and interests could not compromise with his conscience, or who, in pursuing a line of public policy, began by convincing himself that he was right, and then never turned to the right or to the left, no matter what others might say or think of his action. Time, the avenger of right as well as of truth, has shown Dr. Mac Hale's politico-ecclesiastical career to be that which approved itself both to the supreme authority in the Catholic Church and to the immense majority of his own countrymen. His "obstinacy," therefore, was that of all superior men, who see further than the crowd of politicians or would-be leaders, and who are inaccessible to motives of self-interest. "Rustic" he never was, in his manners, his speech, or his writings. "Narrow-minded" he could not be: he was a true Catholic in his belief and practice; charitable in thought, and word, and deed; liberal in the truest, broadest sense of the word, and most tolerant of the opinion of others, as he was most tenacious of opinions arrived at by long study and conviction. No Irish or British statesman ever formed or formulated a nobler or more catholic

policy for the mutual relations of the Sister Islands than are to be found in Dr. Mac Hale's published speeches and writings. Provincialism is the last thing he can be accused of.

As to the imputation .of "imperiousness," those who knew him best will bear witness to its utter baselessness. He would never, as a bishop, allow any dignitary to encroach on his own jurisdiction: but this was only defending rights which he could not barter away or allow to be infringed upon with impunity. Dignified and reserved he was in private and in public life; but ever kindly and gentle, never imperious, or arrogant, or exacting.

And it is inconceivable how the defects here attributed to Dr. Mac Hale by the TIMES could have been the cause of the peasant student's success or elevation, of lifting him from the class room benches to the Professor's chair, or from that to the dignity of bishop and archbishop, among a clergy extremely sensitive to the slights of the arrogant and imperious. But, if his care and labors as a bishop and archbishop necessarily and properly were extended to a province,no man had more at heart, or advocated through life more courageously and consistently, the great religious, economical, and political interests of the whole kingdom, of the whole empire.

He incurred the hostility, the censure of many, of influential journalists among others, because he was the enemy of "Provincialism" in religion, in economy, in politics.

Is not the policy which still sacrifices the educational, economical, and potitical interests of Ireland to those of Great Britain that worst form of "Provincialism" which John Mac Hale never ceased to combat and denounce?

As to his "rustic obstinacy, his provincial narrow-mindedness, and his imperiousness" being "*the penalty of his rise from humble life*" to the eminence he afterwards occupied, we confess to our not understanding the meaning of the TIMES. Perhaps what the editor says a little further on may throw a little light on this:—

"He worked for the Irish: for the Irish of his own race, for the Irish of his own province, for the Irish of his own creed and his own time; nay, rather for the Irish of his youth; for he has outlived the circumstances to which his writings and whole life were addressed."

It would be tedious repetition, to say,—what is manifest to any one acquainted with the writings of Archbishop Mac Hale and the whole tenor of his life, that in laboring for Ireland, and pleading her cause for upwards of sixty years, he was working and pleading for the truest and best imperial interests of Great Britain. That he could not serve England, and her vast empire, and all the races within it, as he wished and yearned to do, was no fault of his: the blind racial and religious prejudices of the England of his day prevented him from binding Ireland to England with chains stronger than adamant.

But it is true that he labored long and heroically "for the Irish, for the Irish of his own race, for the Irish of his own province, for the Irish of his own creed and time." The Irish in every clime, on every continent, know it, and will know it more and more as time goes on. Beyond the limits of his province, where, in spite of the successful intrigues of a policy already condemned by those who upheld it, his honored name has not received due reverence, the character and services of JOHN OF TUAM are beginning to be more and more understood, year after year. His

fame, and the love and veneration which his name inspires,—are daily increasing in that greater Ireland beyond the seas.

If it be "the penalty" of his rise from humble life to be, in the estimation of Irishmen all over the globe, the noblest, purest, holiest, embodiment of Irish patriotism, religion, and genius,—then John Mac Hale has been singularly fortunate in undergoing such penalty.

His name, his fame, his glorious personality, have outlived the circumstances to which his writings and whole life were addressed."

We are within a year of the centenary of his birth. It belongs not to us to say how Irishmen everywhere will celebrate it. But this we know, that during the next century for Irish bishops, Irish priests, Irish patriots, Irish politicians in the noble sense of the word, the utterances and acts of JOHN OF TUAM will be a bright, a safe, and an unfailing light.

CHAPTER X.

1830–1831.

BATTLING WITH FAMINE—THE PROPHET OF THE WEST WARNS AND PLEADS IN VAIN.

AGAIN, in the autumn of 1830, the harvest in Ireland had partially failed, and the people in many parts of the country were threatened with starvation. It was not that Irish produce, if consumed at home, would not suffice to ward off anything like famine. But whatever the Irish agriculturist or farm-tenant raised, belonged by right right first to the landlord, and then to the tithe-proctor, who represented the Protestant Establishment. When these had been satisfied,—and they took good care to have their own,—then the poor tillers of the soil could lay claim to what was left. This, in the best seasons,—amounted to barely enough to supply the wants of the laborers and their families, their meals of potatoes and butter-milk at best. Butter, eggs, fowls, sheep, and cattle,—all the live stock raised on the farm,—found their way to the English markets.

The potato crop itself was but a scanty one in 1830.

Through the autumn and the winter months the people, sustained by their priests, and still more by their own brave spirit, fought against want and hunger. The period of direst distress came in spring and summer, when they had to provide seed-potatoes and seed-corn, and then to wait patiently for the growth and ripening of the new crop.

It is weary waiting in a country where the mass of the population, though never so thrifty, can lay nothing by against the sudden extremity of need, and where throughout an entire neighborhood every cabin is without food and the means of buying it.

In the Spring of 1831 there was famine in the West. The

generosity of private individuals was quite unable to give food to the starving. The local authorities had no means at their disposal for relieving the wants of an entire population.

On April 29th, Dr. Mac Hale wrote an open letter to Earl Grey, the Prime Minister, then busily occupied in passing his Reform Bill.

"Important as the question of Reform is," the prelate writes, "the distress that now afflicts, and the famine that menaces, some portions of this country, are still more imperative topics. Reform itself might be adjourned with safety for a short time, whereas, should his Majesty's subjects become the victims of starvation, it is a loss which no ulterior measures can retrieve.

"It is my painful duty to communicate through you to his Majesty's Government, that already some persons have fallen victims to this calamity. Last week, having visited a distant parish of this diocese, I learned the sad news that contagious disease, the effect of hunger, prevailed to a great extent; that in one instance the father, mother, and three children were stretched on the same bed, without a morsel of food, without a penny to procure it, or a human being to go in quest of relief. . . . This was only administered by the chance visits of some charitable neighbors. The first intimation the sick husband had of the death of his companion was from the lips of her babe, which were besmeared with the blood, drawn, instead of milk, from the breast of the dead mother!

"I shall add no word of comment. . . It was a fever brought on by want of food and clothing and cleanliness, and by the other usual accompaniments of utter destitution."

No comment, assuredly, could increase the eloquent horror of a picture which reminds one of Dante's terrible description of Count Ugolino and his sons in the Tower of Hunger, at Pisa.

But this is only one typical case. "There are," the bishop continues, "in the union of Crossmolina, at this moment, 120 families who know not how they may be saved from a

similar fate. As early as last January, they had an appalling presentiment of the doom which awaited them. Some of them sent a petition to Parliament, stating that not only their cattle and oats, but even their last potato had been seized for rent; nay, that some of them were locked up on the Lord's day, and thus cut off from the consolations of religion by their merciless landlord.

"These families are, at this moment, without cattle, without corn, without a penny of money, or any chance of wages. I met some of them this very day, who (and respectable gentlemen confirmed the statement) were not able to purchase a day's provisions sold at a reduced price.

"Other places are nearly in a like condition."

The Tory Government, who had granted Emancipation, had been vainly appealed to, on the first alarming signs of distress, to adopt timely measures for its relief. Will the Liberals, who have just succeeded them, show themselves more accessible to the feelings of humanity?

"The starving people of Mayo shall not, I trust," the Bishop pleads, "receive the chilling consolation proffered by your predecessor in office last year, '*that the landlords* OUGHT *to look to their tenantry.*'

"If, my Lord, the word *ought* were sufficient to convey relief; if the repeated inculcation of the moral duties binding landlord and tenant were adequate to enforce their observance; we might be spared the necessity, I, of penning, or your lordship of perusing this painful communication.

"If all acted under the impression that the cries of the poor, who sow and reap the fields, and are defrauded of their labor, 'enter into the ears of the Lord of Hosts,' the legislator might be spared the toil of inquiring into the condition, or providing for the wants of the lower classes.

"A parliamentary exhortation to the landlords, 'to provide for their tenantry,' might have been well fitted for those feudal times when the tenant held toward his landlord the humiliating position of serf or subject, and the landlord was invested with the absolute disposal of his serf's destinies. When the crown was unable to control the

ruthless Baron, who sported with the lives of the miserable *villains* of the soil, then an appeal to his piety or his fear might come with a good grace from persons who could awe, by the terrors of religion or by the sword, the man whose brute might broke through the feeble restraints of law.

"But the tenants of the present time are free subjects, under a constitution in which landlords and tenants should have an equal share.... An exhortation to the landlords to look to their tenantry, while the law enables them utterly to abandon their dependents, is only a mockery of the public woe....

"But whilst they are permitted to pauperize the people, and then to throw the load of supporting their paupers on the charity of others, without putting a finger to lighten the burden, they should hear a lecture on the duty of landlords in the same tone of feeling that one reads the sublime theories of the far-famed Squire on the responsibility of a Governor."[1]

On reading these eloquent words, written nearly sixty years ago, and weighing the common sense arguments urged upon the British Prime Minister by the patriotic Bishop, one asks one's self whether the Tory Government of 1889 had improved in statesmanlike wisdom or in humanity on the Tory Government of 1830.

But will not the Reform Cabinet of Earl Grey be more accessible to the claims of justice, of charity, of the most elementary political economy? Let us hear Dr. Mac Hale.

"I am told, my Lord," he goes on to say, "that the Government is unwilling to make any grant of public money in the present crisis, lest it should be converted into a precedent for similar applications in the time to come. I cannot believe that such a motive could sway your resolves.

"What! refuse to rescue thousands from the jaws of death, lest they should be again afflicted with a like calamity? The Government has already relieved, with a large amount of taxes wrung from this country, and in more instances

[1] *Letters.* Vol I, pp 264 and following.

than one, the starving inhabitants of other nations. It will not, I trust, suffer the reproach to be cast upon it, that it has turned a deaf ear to the dying entreaties of its own people. And such will be the reproach incurred if before many days it does not interfere to relieve them.

"I shall not, however, dissemble that again and again the legislature will be importuned with similar appeals, until it lays the knife to the root of the evil, by a process of severe and unsparing legislation.

"There must be some deep-seated source from which such overflowings of calamity are constantly issuing, and which must be fearlessly approached, if the Government are anxious to dry up the fatal fountain."

He was no mere demagogue or superficial observer, who, in April, 1831, thus demanded, as the radical remedy for Ireland's periodical famines and appalling distress, "a process of severe and unsparing legislation," effecting a fundamental change in the monstrous system of land tenure in the Green Isle.

Will England listen to the young bishop's voice pleading in such earnest tones, and with such unanswerable arguments, for a change in the selfish imperial policy, which made Ireland a milch-cow, drained for the support of Englishmen, till the wretched animal gave blood instead of milk?

"Though there has been this year," the Bishop continues, "a partial failure in the crops, it is not to the scarcity of provisions alone that the present want is owing. No. While I am writing this letter, the town of Ballina, in which three hundred families are crying out for food, is busy with the bustle of corn traders, and the public roads are crowded with conveyances bearing away their exports. It may, then, excite your wonder, as it has lately caused that of a Government agent sent hither, that the people should be starving, while the markets were stocked with provisions.

"This is the very anomaly of which we complain. This is the master-spring, which, if not closed, will not fail to show itself in the repeated recurrence of similar calamities.

"What avails it to the poor man, whose crop and cattle are seized, if potatoes are sold for three or four pence a stone, where he cannot bring one article to market, or find either work or wages to purchase them?

"And, to exemplify still more forcibly this difficulty of procuring food, it was stated by two highly respectable gentlemen of the Central Committee of Castlebar, that an humble farmer *offered in vain seven cows* for one hundred weight (cwt.) of (oat) meal.

"Often are the cows of the poor farmer auctioned for ten shillings a head to pay rent; and then, when his potatoes are seized to supply the remainder, in a locality where there is neither manufactures nor trade, he is left without resource.

"The extinction of our linen trade is attested by the number of females whose cheerful and virtuous industry was once supported by the varied process of preparing flax, and who are now seen digging in the fields, for want of any domestic manufacture....[1]

"The presumption of there being no starvation, while corn was exported, is a fallacy which was refuted in the memorable year of 'twenty-two (1822). What is there to prevent the people from starving, if they have no law to keep at home as much as will appease hunger, and if the landed proprietors have no heart to feel for their misery?

"Yes; though the potato crop has partially failed, and may fail again, the oats, the standard by which landlord and tenant regulate their contracts, must, under circumstances of scarcity at home, be exported.

"Ask any poor man on what does he calculate for his rent: his ready reply is, the harvest of oats.

"What for the tithes? The oats.

[1] The Author, who left Ireland for Canada in May, 1832, in his twelfth year, remembers perfectly what Dr. Mac Hale here states. In the hamlets and villages around Westport and Castlebar, there was scarcely a cottage in which, a few years before 1831, the noise of the loom was not heard, and a womanly figure was not seen through the open door or window, busily plying the shuttle, and singing at her work. He remembers, too, how actively the growing and preparing of flax was pushed. All that had ceased ere he left Ireland forever.

"What for the county cess? The oats.

"What for the vestry cess?[1] The oats.

"In short, the oats is the ready source of all the vexatious train of demands that come upon the peasant.

"It happens, however, as during the last years, that the peasantry are eased from some of their lesser burdens, when they are unable to support them all. Thus, magistrates have kindly refused presentments, when they found the people unable to pay them their rents. Vestry cesses, too, have been watched with a becoming jealousy, as they were found to interfere with the paramount claims of the landlord.

"The poor man's crop is considerately guarded by the landlord for himself, who, after scaring away the petty vultures that hovered around the stack-yard, pounces upon the whole, and *calls rapacity protection.*"

By newspaper correspondents, by some English travellers in Ireland, by influential journals in Great Britain, as well as by Members of Parliament, and sometimes by ministers themselves, the number and quantity of yearly exports from Ireland were a standing argument against the possibility of a famine in that country, or even the reality of wide-spread distress.

In a land so fertile, they argued, none could feel want, or still less the extremity of hunger, save such as would not work. These deserved no pity.

Something like this we hear even at the present day.

The exports went to support abroad the Irish absentees, who paraded their extravagance or magnificence in the capitals of Europe, or came back to Ireland to purchase for landlord families the silks of Lyons, the furs of Siberia, or the choice vintages of Portugal and Spain, of France and Italy.

Hence the powerful arguments with which the Coadjutor-Bishop of Killala concludes his appeal and remonstrance.

[1] The vestry cess was a tax levied on all the inhabitants of a parish, Catholics as well as Protestants, for the erection, repair, or other expenses of a local church belonging to the Establishment.

"It is amusing," he says, "to hear political economists deduce from such exports proofs of our prosperity. In seasons like this, the greater the quantity of corn shipped off, the wider the destitution which is caused. The greater the quantity of exports, the greater the quantity of luxuries that are imported for their price. Hence the quantity of imports only furnishes evidence of the numbers of people who are consigned to hunger, in consequence of the necessaries of life which are exported and exchanged for mere luxuries.

".... Were it not better for the people of Ireland that all the vineyards of France and Portugal were blasted forever, and that all the teas of China had sunk in the late earthquake,—if these cannot be imported without the total draining off of that corn which afforded a vigorous nourishment to the older race of our peasantry?....

"The gilded saloons of London are not the appropriate lecture-halls for studying the wretchedness of an Irish cabin;.... faces sparkling with mirth are not the fittest mirror for reflecting the sunken eye and gaunt visage of despair; a taste palled with the satiety of feasts and revels cannot well judge of the acuteness of the pangs of hunger.... It requires a heart as well as eyes to be affected by the wants of others.

"If the rich voluptuary were the historian of the unpitied miseries of LAZARUS, we never should have been favored with the instructive gospel lesson. The unfeeling rich man is not, therefore, the fittest witness to the depth or extent of human calamity, since the glutton, who refused the crumbs from his table, would deny the existence of an evil which he could not avow without revealing his own cruelty."[1]

Could such an appeal fail to rouse the sympathy not only of the Government, but of the entire people of Great Britain?

Nothing ever written by John Mac Hale surpasses in simplicity, directness, and persuasive power these letters

[1] Ibidem, pp. 264-273, *passim.*

penned among the starving populations of his own beautiful, misgoverned, and desolate Tirawley.

But in describing with a truth which none could gainsay, and with a vividness derived from his own share in the sufferings of the people, the monstrous evil of those exportations of grain from a country where the producers were starving, Dr. Mac Hale aimed at obtaining more than mere temporary relief for the sufferers.

He was determined to do all one man in his position could do to help in effecting a radical change in the proprietary system productive of such monstrosities.

In the brief interval between this first letter to Earl Grey, and the 20th of May, on which his second letter is dated,—the Reform Bill had become a law; and thus, the Bishop flattered himself, the temper of Parliament, and that of the people of Great Britain, would be favorable to a change in the Irish land-laws.

The Bishop begins this second and more urgent appeal to Government, by again reverting to the exportation of corn on such a large scale, while the poor farmers are reduced to the direst extremities.

"To such extent," he says, "is the rage for exportation carried, that the tenantry are systematically left without seed for the future culture of the soil, until it is bought again at a usurious price; and some of the landlords have adopted the summary process of the Indian, who cuts down the tree to get at once at its produce.

"Is such a desolating system to be left without some legislative control?

"Are tenants not only to be abandoned to all the capricious exactions of a cruel landlord, but, what is worse, must the neighboring people continue to sustain the burden of that pauperism which they had no share in inflicting?

"In vain will it be advanced that the landlord has his rights, with which the law cannot interfere. The tenant also has his rights,—rights derived from a higher and holier source: '*The laborer is worthy of his hire.*'

"Were the proprietor to farm his own estate, he surely

would be liable to all the inflictions of a bad season. And were the present tenant to till the ground in the capacity of a hired laborer, he would be permitted to eat of the fruit of his labor; nor would his employer abandon him to starvation.

"Is the condition of the free tenant to be continued worse than that of the hired laborer, worse than that of the slave? Is a British subject to continue to live in a state of precarious existence, to which the negro would not be doomed by a West India planter?

"It is not, surely, under a Constitution which boasts the blessings of freedom,...that the poor people are to be thrown on the world, without house, without food, without money or the means to procure it by any employment; and this merely because they could not control the times and seasons, and multiply the harvest, or discover the art of making gold by the Philosopher's Stone.

"In the present state of our society, any landlord who is cursed with a cruel heart, and with a head incapable of calculating his real interests, is restrained by no law from indulging his wasting propensities....

"Were the instances of harsh treatment but few, I should not intrude these letters on the public attention. But, unfortunately, distress and hunger and squalid wretchedness form the general picture; yet the people are industrious, and the land, even in this bad season, has been sufficiently productive.

"It is to spare us the shame and the public the annoyance of these annual eleemosynary applications, that I respectfully and earnestly solicit the attention of the Government to the condition and prospects of the suffering poor."[1]

These last words give us the key to Dr. Mac Hale's entire life of labor. We shall see again and again how constantly he claims the privilege of being the advocate of the poor,—and they were the great mass of his flock, the great majority of his countrymen.

It had been well for Ireland, well for the British Govern-

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 273–277.

ment and for the best interests of the Empire, that the warnings of such an advocate had been heeded in time, and that the wise measures he suggested had been acceptable to both Ministers and Legislature.

Looking back over the sad alternatives of famine and emigration, of landlord cruelty and popular irritation, of coercion and ever increasing poverty and desolation, which have filled up the years between 1831 and 1889,—must we not regret deeply that the pleading voice of the Bishop of Maronia was not listened to, that his admirable suggestions were not adopted by the reforming Government of the day?

And yet, what he then suggested, would, if put in practice, have spared lives innumerable, kept millions of Irishmen at home, given a mighty impulse to agriculture and industry, anticipating the tardy, partial, and inefficacious legislation of the last twenty-five years of the present century.

"Let and lease the land at an equitable rent," he says to Lord Grey. "RELIEVE THEM FROM THE ARREARS ACCUMULATED IN BAD SEASONS. . . .

"On what principle of equity or justice can a landlord now demand for an article triple its real (marketable) value?

"If, in the covenant between landlord and tenant, the latter was allowed but a fair remuneration for his labor when cattle, and linen, and produce bore a certain price; is it not clear that he is allowed no remuneration, if he is still charged the same rent, whilst all the products of his industry have sunk more than three or fourfold in the value?

"The more familiar are these truths, the more they illustrate my position,—that, while things continue in such a state as that, *no industry can meet the rent with its arrears*, it is impossible that the people should not be at the mercy of the landed proprietors, and, by consequence, when these proprietors are merciless, that the people, even amidst plenty, should not be exposed to starvation."

Replying to the defence made by some landlords, that

"their property was so encumbered by annuities, mortgages, and marriage settlements, that they could not afford to lower their rents, or what is the same thing, allow their tenantry to keep and eat of the fruits of their labor,"—the Bishop says, that "this apology for cruelty and injustice is not near so extensive as it is assumed to be;—and that this pretence of a few "is taken up as a convenient defence of their own conduct by others."

"There are," he continues, "many considerable properties in this district free from any heavy charges. Yet I know the condition of the tenantry to be but little affected by an exemption from such claims. Nay, some landlords, who, in addition to a large unencumbered rental, possess a large share of funded property, are as oppressive as those whose estates are subject to encumbrances. Even during the last summer, there were among the wealthiest of that class—and there may be this year—individuals who refused a shilling toward mitigating the horrors of a general famine.

"Some law must wring from the reluctant gripe of such persons what a heart incapable of pity forbids them to bestow. . . .

"But supposing the settlements to which I have alluded, is it equitable that the few should not consent to retrench any of their superfluities, in order that the many should be left something of the necessaries of life?

"Must the people of whole villages starve, lest some foreign member of the proprietor's family should contract in the least the circle of his follies? or lest a dowager should pluck a feather from her head-dress, or a jewel from those ornaments which the grave decorum of age would suggest to lay aside?

"Are the dissipation and extravagance of the war times, like an original sin, to be entailed on the peasantry alone and their children, and to be expiated only by those who had no share in the guilt?

"These, my Lord, are serious considerations.

"In spite of all that pride and selfishness may suggest to the contrary, the *salus populi suprema lex esto* ("let the

salvation of the people be the supreme of laws,") will remain an incontrovertible proposition.

"Annuitants, mortgagees, and fund-holders have, doubtless, their rights, not so extensive, however, as to supersede the existence of the laboring classes.

"While regard is had to all other interests, those of the agriculturist alone should not be neglected. . . . Else we have not been rightly taught, that agriculture is the foundation of public prosperity. Else, the error of Ptolemy has misled the Ancients in political as well as astronomical science, in supposing THE LAND to be the basis of the social system, while the Moderns have discovered the FUNDS to be the immovable centre round which agriculture and its obedient interests must revolve."[1]

One might fancy one's self sitting in the House of Commons in 1888 or '89, and listening to some follower of Gladstone, propounding a scheme for adjusting the relations between landlord and tenant, and advocating, as a previous condition to all fair settlements,—the *cancelling of arrears of rent.*

Does it, then, take centuries of bitter experience to teach English statesmen and legislators the elementary principles of justice, of economic science, or even of common sense?

"The years 1817 and 1822 were such disastrous seasons," the Bishop says, in urging his plea, "that instead of being able to pay the rents, the tenants contracted additional debts by provisions furnished them in some instances by their landlords. The intermediate seasons were employed in paying up some of the arrears; so that, like the quarter's revenue with regard to the national debt, the poor tenant estimates the past half year, not by the quantity of wealth which it might have brought, but by the condition in which it placed him with regard to his arrears.

"Thus, every year, they hang over him, discouraging his hopes and depressing his energies.

"In a prosperous season he may strive more frequently to steep his cares in intoxicating beverage, unhappily,—de-

[1] *Ibid.*

spairing as he does of his lot; or he may renew his tattered raiment; or, what may be deemed a mighty effort of successful industry, he may try to replace the milch-cow that was seized and auctioned in the preceding season. But, as for any increase in his fortune, any additional comfort to his home, any accession to his household furniture, these are advantages to which he is forbidden to aspire.

"A genial season may, like 'the seventh year' in Judea, crown his labors with a double harvest; he, however, is not destined, like the Hebrew people, to enjoy a jubilee, which shall give him a release from the arrears of rack-rents, or any respite from his toils."

To the two enormous and inveterate evils of rack-rents, coupled with the forced exportation of farm-produce, and of arrears hopelessly accumulating, Dr. Mac Hale adds a third, —the lack of seed grain and seed potatoes, and the incredibly usurious interest exacted for this by landlords and their agents.

It is most instructive to hear, on this subject, a man who, like the Coadjutor-Bishop of Killala, was born and reared among the peasant class of Mayo, and whose life was then spent among them and devoted to the alleviation of their hard lot.

"In the course of last spring," he says, "the tenantry of Tirawley were, for the most part, without seed oats, having been forced to dispose of their entire crop the preceding winter, to meet rent and taxes. Many of them were then furnished by the landlords, or their agents or subagents, and sometimes by other corn factors, with seed at 10 shillings a cwt. (a hundred weight), on credit until the next autumn or winter.

"When that time came they were obliged to thresh and sell their oats at five shillings a cwt.; so that, whatever quantity they had got for seed, they were obliged to dispose of a double portion of their crop, which amounts to 100 per cent of usury! . . . .

"Again, this very spring, they were reduced to the same condition.

"In many cases the proprietors came to their relief; and in others the tenants have not even that dearly bought consolation. I call it *dear*, because next winter, should they survive this season, the value lent will be exacted, in many cases, with a vigorous usury amounting to a *hundred-fold.*"

This is an awful indictment against the landlords and their agents. How does the Bishop sustain it?

"Some proprietors are praised for expending some thousand pounds on their tenantry. If it be a gratuity, as the public is in some instances led to believe, the people owe much thankfulness. If it be all according to the following plan, the public will estimate the value of the obligation:—

"An absentee, who draws many thousands from Mayo, relieves the tenantry on his estates, and makes use of the agents for that purpose. The agents purchase corn and potatoes, assemble the tenantry, and put them through a long process of swearing regarding the nature and extent of their distress. They then give them corn at *ten shillings per cwt.*, on credit until winter, though the tenants were obliged to sell their own oats last winter at *five shillings*;—not, however, until they (the agents) exact another oath, that the tenants will not sow their seed in any other soil but their own, and that they shall pay the price on it, *whatever day it shall be demanded.*

"On hearing such a statement, I was naturally incredulous; until, in the presence of two gentlemen, I had questioned some four or five of the tenantry, who all affirmed that it was on such conditions they received the oats and potatoes! . . .

"Such is the wretchedness to which the tenantry all over the country are reduced, that they are glad to get seed and provisions on any terms; not from any want of forecast of the consequences,—they are well aware of them; but, amid the cravings of want, they become like the savage, reckless of the future, provided they are rescued from the present necessity.

"The consequence is, that no harvest can save the peasant from starvation, provided the landlord pushes his claims to the extent to which the law entitles him.

"No abundance can shield the poor from starvation, as long as they have to struggle against a load of rent disproportioned to the produce of the soil, accumulated by arrears, and aggravated still more by yearly accessions from usurious contracts.

"In the present awful crisis I feel infinitely obliged to the generous citizens of Dublin, who have come forward to our relief, though they have so many charities of their own. . . . I implore them, as they value human lives, to continue their pious labors.

"In the name of the distressed districts of the West, where men are seen digging out the slit potato-seeds recently put down, I must return my thanks to the people of England, adjuring them, in like manner, to persevere in their work of mercy.

"But while thus expressing my thanks for individual benevolence, I must state my conviction, that it is a reproach to any government that a hardy and industrious people should be thrown so often into the humiliating attitude of mendicants for food.

"Unless the Government interferes largely, no private benevolence can avert famine; unless some radical remedy be adopted, this moral malaria will continue its yearly ravages."

> In vain kind seasons swell the teeming grain,
> Soft showers distil, and suns grow warm in vain;
> With tears the swain his frustrate labor yields,
> And, famished, dies amidst his ripened fields.[1]

Yes,—it was all in vain!

No heed was paid to these touching appeals. The liberal government under Earl Grey, and the majoriy which it commanded in the House of Commons, were, after all, recruited from the landlord class. To hearken to the suggestions of the Coadjutor of Killala, or to grant to his starving people the aid demanded,—would be virtually to confess, not only that the Irish landlords had fulfilled none of the duties attached to their position, but also that "the Sister

[1] GOLDSMITH.

Island" had been governed by laws condemned by the first principles of political economy.

In the House of Lords, exclusively composed of the landlord class, and animated by the old-time prejudices and passions hostile to the Irish race,—sympathy for the starving Celts of Mayo, or a first awakening of conscience to the horrible and chronic injustice of which these were the victims, were sentiments as little known as pity in the breast of the cannibal.

Still Dr. Mac Hale did not despair of obtaining help for his suffering flock. Finding that the Government was deaf to his remonstrances, he set out for London, accompanied by some influential gentlemen from Mayo.

They had an audience with the Prime Minister. The extent of distress in the West was stated by them, and the Minister was urged to lose no time in granting generous aid. But ministers are skilled in making promises which they never intend to keep, and in raising hopes certain to end in disappointment.

Dr. Mac Hale eloquently pleaded for ulterior legislation, which should render a recurrence of such need impossible, and received in reply vague assurances of a desire to do all that was possible to be done for Ireland; which meant as little as possible, or nothing at all.

Whatever may have been the resentment or disappointment felt by Dr. Mac Hale and his associates, certain it is that the former did not allow any such feelings to appear in the two letters addressed to Earl Grey after his return to Ireland. He had made up his mind that, if the Government continued to be guilty of criminal neglect, he, at least, should continue in discharging his duty to his country.

Again he wrote to the Prime Minister from Ballina, on July 9th, 1831.

"In the late interview which we had the honor of having with your Lordship," he begins, "it was suggested that, however pressing was the existing famine, the object of our mission would be frustrated unless some legislative

measures were adopted, in seasons of plenty, to guard against the recurrence of the distress.

"Never did I feel the necessity of adopting such a suggestion so much as since my return to this unhappy land. I had some anticipation of the scenes I should witness, and strove to arm myself with sufficient resolution to encounter them.

"But the reality far surpasses my most gloomy forebodings.

"It is some days since I arrived here; and, lest I should be imposed on by exaggerating reports, I was resolved, so far as opportunities would allow me, to bring the state of the poor within my own personal observation. I went into their wretched cabins, and found instances of many families who, during several alternate days, had not tasted a morsel of food. The testimony of their neighbors was ready to confirm their distressing tale: a more eloquent tale could be read in their pallid and emaciated countenances. . . . .

"During the three next weeks, when famine will be rapidly rising to its climax, the demands upon the Government must be on a far more extended scale. All the past benevolence of the public would be abortive, unless the people are supplied with provisions during this distressful interval. It is like a gulf between the present and the coming year, in which thousands must perish, unless conducted through by the assistance of the Government."

This may have been deemed unwarrantable importunity in Government circles. But the fearless Bishop had a duty to fulfil, and he must not, in doing so, be deterred by the fear of censure.

"Your Lordship," he continues, "may judge of my inability to devote the least attention to ulterior measures, when I assure you, that it was with difficulty I could snatch from the pressure of distress and the clamors of mendicants a brief interval to pen this melancholy document.

"Yes, the state of society is now completely unhinged. Domestic industry is neglected. The public roads are

covered with thousands toiling, from morning until night, for a wretched pittance of six or seven pence worth of meal for an entire family. While the men are thus working, the women and children are constantly lining the public ways, and thronging round the depots of the local committees,—harassing the feelings of the distributors by their complaints, and invading the public ear, as they return in the evening, by blessings or imprecations, according to their good or bad fortune. . . . . It was only yesterday evening I met a group of these unfortunates, many of whom, after watching a whole day, returned home bitterly disappointed.

"There was one, in particular, whose moans and utter debility drew my attention,—a feeble woman, with a child on her breast; who had come to get a meal for a family of seven children. She had left them in the morning without having broken her own fast or theirs. And she was now tottering back home, a distance of three miles, with her little meal-bag empty, and wildly asking those around her 'how she could meet the cries of her famishing children?'

"Had I not given her the means of relief, I doubt, from her appearance, whether she would not have perished on the way."

It is remarkable that, all through these years,—indeed all through his long life of patriotic struggle,—Dr. Mac Hale never allowed a sentence to fall from his lips or his pen, accusing or condemning the English people,—much as he blamed the British Government for insensibility to the wrongs and sufferings of Ireland.

"To that generous (English) people," he says on the present occasion, "I must express our obligations; I shall do many of them the justice to say, that it is owing to their ignorance of our state, they do not exert themselves as much to prevent famine by a system of sound legislation, as they do by their purse to mitigate its horrors."

Then comes, from the soul of the man, frightened as he is at the awful consequences of the demoralization produced by this enforced and general mendicancy, an appeal which

must have been read in England with deep sympathy.

"I should fear to contemplate once more such scenes as the above. I should fear it for the sake of the people, of the Government, and, above all for the sake of the best interests of morality and religion.

"The invasion of a hostile power is not more dreadful in its consequences, than that of famine, *especially amidst plenty*.... The inhabitants of entire districts literally loosened from the soil, and flocking like vultures wherever the hope of food may lead them; numbers of the aged and infirm starving in their homes; .... the lofty spirit that could not brook the aid of alms, now so weakened, or utterly destroyed, as to make of a proud and high-minded peasantry a mass of mendicants; .... a sullen and indignant hatred conceived toward their petty oppressors, for having stripped them first of their substance, and next of their shame; .... a spirit of political cabal, unknown to their more simple-minded and better-to-do predecessors; such are a few of the consequences of a famine in a fertile land. This is a foe which, if suffered again to ravage Ireland, will utterly demoralize the people. The wreck of their virtues still remains, and can, in the hands of an able statesman, form the foundation of one of the noblest social edifices to be seen in any country.[1]

The warning was prophetic, but, like all prophetic warnings, lost on the public rulers, and only remembered when the evil consequences foretold were let loose like the forces of a cyclone, and beyond the control of the mightiest and the wisest.

What wreck and ruin were to be wrought in the national character and the brightening fortunes of Ireland by the famine of 1845-46, and the long train of calamities which followed, down to the close of the century! And had John Mac Hale's prophetic and inspired voice been heard and heeded by those in power, how different had been for Ireland the sixty last years!

Neither the bodily health nor the moral energies of the

[1] Letter xl., pp. 285 290, vol. I.

Bishop of Maronia could withstand the enormous and incessant strain of such labors, such scenes, such a hopeless struggle with the misery around him and with the hard-heartedness of the Irish Executive and the British Rulers.

The month of August had begun. The crops were ripening and promised well. Should Providence only grant a continuance of the fine weather, a plentiful harvest would be sure to reward the hopes of the farming population, and to dispel all fears of general distress for the coming twelve months.

The Bishop of Maronia, utterly prostrated by his manifold labors, was ordered a change of climate; and, as the affairs of the diocese called him to Rome, he only waited to see his poor people tasting the first fruits of the harvest, in order to bid them farewell for a season.

If in Ballina, in Killala, in Crossmolina, as well as through Glen-Nephin and its neighborhood, the pople, rich and poor, had welcomed, six years before, with unspeakable delight their "own Father John" returning to them as their bishop, what was not their worship of the man, the prelate, and the patriot, after these six years spent among them and entirely devoted to their every interest, spiritual and temporal?

No words can describe the enthusiastic love with which he was regarded not only in Mayo, but in Sligo, Galway, and Roscommon, as well.

The last weeks, however, which he spent in Ballina, after his return from London, were, like the last hours before dawn, the darkest for the starving peasantry.

"Red-tapeism" in supplying and administering the scanty relief obtained from Government made such relief still more inadequate to the dreadful need.

Undeterred by the little heed paid to his former letters, Dr. Mac Hale resolved, ere he left Ireland, to remonstrate once more with the Minister.

His importunity might, possibly, stimulate the authorities to do something for the famishing peasantry, even at the eleventh hour. At any rate, he owed it to his conscience

to appeal once more to public opinion, and to expose the criminal neglect of Government in not providing at once against a recurrence of such awful distress.

"Are the people of any other country, similarly circumstanced, doomed to the horrors of periodical starvation?" Such is the question which he forces on the Prime Minister, on Parliament, on the people of Great Britain.

"Had the late famine," he says, "sprung solely from those deep natural causes over which human foresight has no control, these letters should have ceased with the calamity in which they originated. . . . But in Ireland, in Ireland alone, is the evil dissociated from the influence of natural causes. Witness, the last awful visitation.

"Did it not come upon many with such celerity that, if relief had been longer delayed, thousands must have perished? Were not some of the landlords, who were latterly among the most importunate in soliciting relief, among those who denied the existence of distress? [1]

"I shall not deny that the potato crop was short. But, whilst our oats were exported in large quantities from the distressed districts, it is still incontestable, that, far from laboring under a scarcity of food, *ours was a famine in the midst of plenty.*

"Nay, were not the provisions (dealt out by the relief committees) with which our people were fed *mostly the growth of their own soil* (sent back from England), and supplied after the double expense of freight and insurance?

"If, then, the distress sprung more from political than

[1] During the trial before the Judicial Commission, on Nov. 8, 1888,—one witness appeared for the TIMES, whose testimony and conduct show how little Irish landlords have improved since the famine of 1831. The following is a cablegram from London to the New York SUN :—

London, Nov. 8.—The report of to-day's proceedings would be incomplete without mention of Witness Cotterill, a typical landlord from county Galway, who in cross-examination admitted that he bought his property in 1871, promptly raised rents all round, confiscated tenant's improvements, and refused remission of rent even in the stressful times, until a year or two ago, when the Land Commissioners stepped in and compulsorily reduced them 30 to 40 per cent. Cotterill gave the finishing touch to the picture by admitting that he assisted in distributing relief to the starving peasantry, but himself never subscribed one penny to the fund.

from natural causes, it is the duty of a wise statesman to take precautions against its return.

"Some ascribe all the evil to the Government; others, to the people. Like other complicated effects, it might be shared, though not in equal proportions, by both. When I reflect on the effects of good government on far less generous natures, I must confess that many of the people's vices are traceable to the influence of bad laws.

"If Government, then, has such an influence on the prosperity of a country and the character of its people, it is a mockery to contemplate any improvement in either without a serious reference to the Government and the Legislature.

"Give me the will, the sincere and efficient will, on the part of the Government, to improve Ireland, and we ask no more. The sincere volition of a mighty agent cannot remain dormant and inactive. If Ireland remains yet a wilderness, it is because the Government never effectually willed its cultivation.

"Let but Government will it, and lo! Canada is traversed by canals for the circulation of its trade, while the Shannon, undisturbed by machinery and commerce, is suffered to roll in silence its unprofitable waters through the land, an emblem, as it were, of the dull and sullen repose of its inhabitants."

This is statesmanlike. The case is simply and clearly put to the intelligence of all, rulers as well as people. What follows is no less admirably stated:

"Before I point to the single measure by which every honest man will determine the sincerity of the Government to improve Ireland, it is only just that I should satisfy those who set down all the misfortunes of the people to the account of a perverseness of disposition which all the influence of philosophy cannot cure.

"After a patient hearing of the different plaintiffs against the people, the most serious counts that are pressed by their accusers are: a disposition to early marriages, as well as a propensity to vegetate on a root so easily grown, that this

very facility destroys the springs of industry and the spirit of enterprise, which are quickened by artificial wants and enjoyments.

"These are the radical defects which, it is said, vitiate our people, and which, as long as they continue, must defy the efforts of the most benevolent legislature.

"As to early marriages and a superabundant population, let me say that the half-million acres of waste lands in Mayo alone might check the fears of Malthus himself as to the fears of an overflow. . . . We shall endeavor to dissuade the poor people from marrying early, when we find in the superior morality of those who inveigh so bitterly against the custom a reason for commending such a remedy. But the sorrows of this world are but little in the eyes of our flocks in comparison with their virtue. That virtue they guard against danger by flying, at an early age, into the sanctuary of marriage.

"As to the immoderate use of the potato, I pledge myself to discourage its exclusive use. But it would be useless to begin immediately. In September next, all the cornyards will be filled with armed keepers, guarding the oats from being tasted by the tenantry. . . . .

"Let, therefore, the people henceforth feed on bread, and export the potatoes to pay rents, and tithes, and taxes. If the English are not satisfied with the potatoes, the Irish, by being obliged to keep them, will be spared the necessity of imploring foreign aid against domestic distress. I cannot believe, with Henri Quatre of France, that every peasant in Mayo will have a pullet for his pot. With another, an English king, I cannot believe that every cottage would be made comfortable by the possession of a Bible. Still, while I am anxious to see the spirit of the Bible reign in every family, I must hope to see the day when its members shall eat in plenty and with thankfulness of the bread of their own growing."[1]

The Diocese of Killala was loth to be deprived of the presence and services of its coadjutor-bishop, even for a

[1] Letter xli., vol. I., pp. 291-298.

short season. The venerable Dr. Waldron, who was so proud of the man in whom he seemed to renew his own youth, made a great sacrifice in parting with him. But the separation was unavoidable. The clergy, in particular, regretted the necessity of this journey to Rome. But they, better than any other class, knew that the Coadjutor was only fulfilling an imperative duty.

Dr. Mac Hale stole away as quietly as he could.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BISHOP OF MARONIA'S PILGRIMAGE TO ROME.

He defends while in London the College of Maynooth and the Irish Priesthood—The stone of Destiny and its Traditions—His journey through France Savoy, and Italy—Warm reception in Rome.

ON his way through England Dr. Mac Hale was not allowed to enjoy a holiday free from care and labor. Petitions had just been presented to the House of Commons, praying for the withdrawal of the annual grant to Maynooth, and reflecting on the character of the Irish Catholic clergy. The petitioners urged their demands with all the greater hope of success, that the Government had lately given a death blow to the Kildare Street Society, by suppressing the usual liberal allowance made to it for educational purposes.

Those who always cherished the dream of converting the Irish Celts to Protestantism, the religion of the Bible, were not to be turned away from their purpose by momentary defeat. Their vast system of proselytism, deprived of Government aid, would be like the idle machinery of a great factory, whose proprietors were bankrupt.

In this sad plight, they resolved that the College of Maynooth, the nursery of the Irish priesthood, should receive from Parliament the same treatment as the Kildare Street Society.

The Bishop of Maronia wrote to the "Morning Chronicle," on September 5th. Englishmen, he thinks, will not be deceived by the parity wished to be established between the defunct Society and the Irish National College. The former "literally tantalized the people, by presenting them with a draught of knowledge, and again snatching it away; a society which was an instrument of proselytism and the covert ally of religious prosecution; a society set up as a

screen between the Protestant Establishment in Ireland and the public, in order to hide from that public the dereliction of duty of which most of the clergy were guilty, being pledged to keep schools in consideration of their benefices; a society which insulted the religion of the people, in return for the taxes given for its support."

Maynooth, on the contrary, was "an establishment for the education of those ministers of religion who alone possess the confidence of the people, keep a secure hold of their affections, kindly help them in all their wants, lighten by a sincere and cordial sympathy the afflictions they are unable to remove, and illustrate the most exalted heroism of charity in laying down their lives for their flocks, as the writer can attest in his own sad experience, while attempting to stay the progress of famine and disease.

"Is it because you put a stop to the progress of fanaticism, you must also check the efforts of men who are the promoters of public peace?"

As to the Irish clergy in general, one of the objections made to them was that they were not gentlemen by birth! that "they were selected from the humbler classes."

"I rejoice in the objection," Dr. Mac Hale writes. Was he not himself sprung from these humbler classes? And was he not, intellectually and morally, the peer of the noblest in the three kingdoms?

"Ireland," he continues, "has been for a series of years sinking fast from comparative prosperity, . . . her wealthy farmers, who once enjoyed comfort, being reduced to the condition of the lower classes, not only by exorbitant rents and jury taxes, but by the support of the paupers created by this oppressive system." The intermediate grades of society, as they exist in other countries, are destroyed in Ireland, and none are left but the two extremes,—the wealthy landlord class, and the toiling peasant class.

"It is made a subject of reproach that the clergy are selected from the latter, whose poverty is made a crime by those who have the chief share in creating it! . . . .

"But who are they who thus reproach the priesthood of

Ireland with being selected from the humbler classes?—They are, in general, the sons of haughty Churchmen, who fatten upon the misery they produce. . . . If the wealth, which is so ill-used by the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, were expended, according to the original intention of its donors, in supporting the poor, and spreading the blessings of education, ecclesiastics rendered insolent by unmerited wealth should not now be casting a reproach on the descendants of the plundered; nor should Maynooth be coming, like a yearly beggar, before the House of Commons, to solicit the continuance of its bounty. . . .

"But it is not true that the clergy are taken from those low classes with whom low vices are generally associated. They spring from that valuable portion of the people who, equally removed from the contagion of the extremes of society, support themselves by the cultivating their farms, preferring such virtuous industry to the arts by which many make fortunes. . . .

"Twenty or thirty pounds a year, the average cost of their education, is a proof that they belong to the better class of farmers. Their education at Maynooth is partly defrayed by the Government, it is true. But as it is no reproach to the son of a largely-pensioned gentleman, that he goes to Oxford or Cambridge on the Government money, why should it be one to the farmer's son that the Government pittance enables him to go to Maynooth?"

But there were other accusations brought against the members of the Irish priesthood.

"They were ignorant. . . . They were hostile to the institutions of the country."

As to their alleged ignorance in 1831, the Bishop could as triumphantly brush away the slander as it is silenced by facts in 1889.

"For a knowledge of their duty," he says, "I solemnly pledge myself, . . . that I shall find twenty Catholic curates in Ireland, whose annual stipend exceeds not thirty pounds, who, in the judgment of any impartial jury, will display more classical information, more mathematical science,

more extensive Biblical knowledge, a more profound acquaintance with moral theology as well as the canons and history of the Church, than the whole bench of Protestant bishops of that country put together."

Replying to the allegation that the Maynooth men were disloyal, and inferior in gentleness and a conciliatory temper to the old priests educated on the continent, Dr. Mac Hale reminds the English public, that before the existence of the College of Maynooth the priests educated abroad were taunted with "returning home disaffected toward the Government; and now, as these venerable men are fast disappearing, they are bepraised by their enemies, for the purpose of depreciating Maynooth!

"The truth is," he concludes, "that, whether the priests are educated in Rome, or Paris, or Maynooth, they are hated by a party whose sole cause of animosity is, that our priests are educated at all.

"What are the institutions to which the Catholic clergy are hostile? Enormous taxes for erecting (Protestant) churches where there are no Protestants to attend them; tithes, and vestry cesses, and grand-jury jobbing, with the long train of local tyranny and paltry litigation by which those exactions are imposed. . . . Such are the excrescences that have grown out of the system. And if these be miscalled 'the institutions of the country,' I hope the clergy of Ireland will always remain hostile to them."[1]

Such a vindication of his Alma Mater and of his brethren in the priesthood, we have reason to believe, made a favorable impression on the British public, and won the writer many warm friends among English Catholics, as we shall see further on.

While he was in London, he witnessed, on the 8th of September, the coronation of William IV., in Westminster Abbey. His impressions of the splendid pageant are given in a letter dated from Canterbury a few days later. "The Stone of Destiny," on which the ancient kings of Ireland were wont to be crowned, and which has found its way to

[1] Letter xliii., *passim.*

Great Britain, furnishes him, in connection with an ancient Celtic poem on the duties of Royalty, an opportunity of contrasting the empty ceremonial performed in Westminster Abbey with the sublime reality of a Royal Coronation, as performed in accordance with the Catholic liturgy.

The crowning of William IV. "was nothing more than a mere worldly pageant, ... calculated only to amuse the votaries of fashion.... Peers and high-born dames seemed to vie with each other in the splendor and variety of their ornaments; and yet, with all the effect lent to the scene by the 'majesty of the place,' its lengthened aisles, its lofty vaults, its magic fretwork, and its prismatic lights, there was wanting that which alone could inspire the soul with ecstasy. Religion was not there.... The temple was there, it is true. But it was the shell, of which the soul, which once gave it animation and glory, was departed. Were the spirit of its sainted founder to come on earth, he could not find, in its mutilated liturgy, a vestige of the holy sacrifice for the celebration of which it had been erected."

As to the traditions connected with "the Stone of Destiny," now in Westminster Abbey, one was that when the legitimate monarch of Ireland took his seat upon it, it sent forth a joyous sound to greet him. No such sound has ever greeted the ears of a British sovereign.

Dr. Mac Hale, however, gives the true and deep interpretation of this long silence. In the Catholic liturgy are the most beautiful and pregnant instructions to be delivered to the monarch at his coronation.

"Never should a monarch," the Bishop of Maronia says, "be seated on the throne of a kingdom amid an uninterrupted silence. Never should the diadem be placed on his head, without his being reminded of his solemn duties. Never should the sceptre of empire be placed in his hands, without the awful sound of justice and mercy, which he is bound to administer, issuing from the sanctuary in which he is seated, and going forth in pealing accents among the people.

"This was the sound which 'the Stone of Destiny' was wont to issue.

"It is only in the Catholic Church that a true idea of the obligations of Royalty may be found. How beautifully they are set forth in the admonition which the consecrating prelate gives to the monarch about to be crowned:

"'Thou shalt defend from all oppressions widows and orphans, the poor and the feeble.'

"'Thou shalt exhibit due reverence to the prelates; nor shalt thou trample on their ecclesiastical liberties.'"[1]

So, wherever he went, wherever he abode even for a few days, it seemed the mission of the Bishop of Maronia to instruct and edify. His path all through life was one long track of light.

Writing from "the Refuge" on the Simplon Pass, in the Alps, on October 9th, 1831, our traveller says: "On Tuesday, Sept. 13th, we left London, arrived in Paris the following Friday (16th), stayed their ten days (till Monday, 26th), and then came to Geneva on the following Friday; visited the beautiful scenery of the Lake and the curiosities of the neighborhood for four days.

"On Wednesday (5th Oct.) traversed the most beautiful valleys of the Alps on an excursion to Mont Blanc. On Thursday took a full view of the august sovereign of the mountains, which repels a familiar visit to its summit, and mounted a neighboring eminence of the same chain to obtain a view of the Mer de Glace, one of the greatest curiosities in the Alps. We then returned to our line of route for Rome, said Mass this morning in a fine church belonging to the Jesuits at Brig (in the Canton of Valais); and now, perched high up amid the snows, and with the noise of many waters in my ears, I snatch a few moments to write to you."[2]

His indefatigable industry and wise economy of time, even while traversing Europe in a stage-coach (*Diligence*), enabled him to write most interesting accounts of his travels at each stopping place. These letters, now as well known

[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] From an unpublished letter to Rev. James Mac Hale of Hollymount.—MAC HALE MSS.

as "Eustace's Classical Tour in Italy," have just passed through a second edition, after having been at first printed and reproduced in the leading journals of Great Britain and Ireland.

Describing the sublime Alpine nature around him from his resting-place on Mount Simplon, he says:—

"Here I am in a middle region between heaven and earth, and about me are the most awful pictures presented by both: Alps of which I cannot discern the summits, torrent-beds of which I cannot fathom the depth; forests of pine rising, slope above slope, until they are lost from my view; and overhead a cloudy canopy, which softens the dazzling whiteness of the snows and throws a mysterious shadow over scenes otherwise sufficiently gloomy and appalling."

Before following our pilgrim along the great Alpine road planned and executed by the genius of the First Napoleon, the reader will not be displeased to return a moment with us to the Vale of Chamounix, where the good Bishop will introduce us to a very interesting personage.

"Perhaps," Dr. Mac Hale says, "there was not in Europe a happier portion of the human race than the primitive inhabitants of the Vale of Chamounix previous to the visit of Pocock, whose name is still associated with one of the caverns on the verge of the 'Sea of Ice,' and at the foot of the Snowy Mountain.

"No doubt much advantage may be derived from the well regulated social intercourse by which the remotest districts may be considerably improved. But such intercourse has often its alloy. And better were it for districts and for countries to be left to the enjoyment of an artless simplicity, sufficiently provided with comforts, than by the sudden influx of foreign tastes to be made the victims of their concomitant vices.

"The primitive and patriarchal manners of the inhabitants of this valley have, it is said, been injured by the incessant intercourse with strangers. . . They are still a people who, for pastoral innocence and piety, may well be held up as patterns for the peasantry in any part of Europe.

"Having taken an early opportunity of visiting the parish clergyman, whose influence was attested by the regularity of his flock, I found his little 'study' quite in keeping with the simple piety of his character. The books on the table were the 'Imitation of Christ,' St. Chrysostom 'On the Priesthood,' and a copy of the Sacred Scriptures.

"The books were few; but nothing could be more judicious than the selection. His 'study' was not encumbered either by journals or periodicals. The subjects discussed in such ephemeral productions did not seem to possess much interest for this good and humble clergyman. . . I could not help wishing that it were the happy lot of the entire Catholic priesthood to be equally beyond the reach of the disturbing influences of the world." [1]

Eleven years and more had now elapsed since the writer, under the assumed name of HIEROPHILOS, had first entered the arena of polemics and passionate political discussion. How incessant the strife had been ever since, how wearing the manifold toil of head and hand and heart, of voice and pen,—the preceding chapters have told imperfectly. Yet they give us glimpses enough of that life of labor to enable us to appreciate the sense of relief and peace and rest which John Mac Hale experienced in the Vale of Chamounix, on mixing with its simple and pious people, and breathing the atmosphere which filled and surrounded the cottage of that village pastor.

But since then Savoy and the secluded vales around Mont Blanc have come under French rule. Their populations and priests have been subjected to the dechristianizing and demoralizing agencies of the Masonic Republic of Jules Ferry, Paul Bert, and Charles Floquet.

The pastor of Chamounix has been forced to call to his aid the knowledge imparted by the Catholic daily and periodical press, while studying even more deeply the Sacred Scriptures, and that Imitation of Christ which contains the quintessence of Christian sanctity, and the rules of the Golden-tongued Doctor on priestly life.

[1] Letter xlvi., vol. I., pp. 332, 333.

Pressing needs of another kind, and an intellectual warfare with no less momentous issues, had long made it imperative for the bishops and priests of Ireland to become familiar with the weapons and strategy used by their adversaries to decatholicize the populations of the Green Isle.

This will make us perceive how apposite are the reflections made by the Bishop of Maronia, on leaving the humble retreat of the good Rector of Chamounix.

"No alien missionary prowled among his flock, to make a prey of their simplicity, or to bribe them from the faith of their fathers. . . No ruins of demolished cottages were to be seen, strewn over his parish, attesting the unfeeling ferocity of proprietors who had sent their inmates flying from the dear scenes of their childhood, in order to let the grounds out for pasturage. . . .

"He had not beheld the victims of a political despotism now dragged to one tribunal to make oath that they possessed a franchise which their conscience told them they did not possess; and again to another, where they were forced to turn this fictitious franchise into an engine for the destruction or abridgment of their own liberties.

"These are reflections seldom made by those who are so ready to arraign the priesthood of Ireland for interfering in politics. Such men do not recollect, or they industriously keep out of sight, the anomalous state of society that has forced the Irish priests to take a part with their helpless and persecuted flocks, and to shield them from oppression.

"When these political evils are completely redressed; when, instead of a mockery of franchise, the Irish Catholics shall enjoy its reality; when religion shall be free, and education protected; when they shall have achieved their complete independence of an alien Church and an alien Legislature; then, and not till then, may an Irish Catholic clergyman enjoy the peace, and pursue the ascetic life, of the pastor of Chamounix." [1]

The image of suffering Ireland, deeply stamped upon the prelate's soul, followed him in his wanderings, forcing him

[1] *Ibidem*

to contrast every country he visited, every people among whom he sojourned for a day, with a land bled to death by landlord neglect and rapacity, and a people starving in the midst of plenty!

A letter dated from Milan on October 16, and written in red ink across the sheet sent from "the Refuge" on the Simplon Pass,—relates how our pilgrim crossed the mountain-barrier separating him from Italy.

"Lest you should have an apprehension (he says), from the gloomy picture I drew of the Alps, that I might have been lost in these regions, I deferred posting my letter until I should find myself on the other side of the mountains.

"One day's delay was followed by another, until I at length reached Milan....

"The toils and perils of cutting a road through the northern side of the Alps were surely great enough. They are not, however, to be compared to the difficulties met with on the southern side. Nothing but the undaunted mind of Napoleon could conquer them. The rocks that were pierced through frown upon the traveller as he proceeds; the torrents beneath and around him seem to foam and roar as if indignant to pass under the yoke of the bridges which span then. And yet the Simplon Road is finer than any (not excepting the Welsh Road) in the British dominions.

"On Monday we reached the last stage of the Alpine descent, called the Domo d'Ossola, a handsome little town, with a beautiful church, that gives one a foretaste of the splendors of Italian architecture. On Tuesday we traversed the far-famed Lago Maggiore, and visited the lovely Borromean Islands, with all their natural and artificial scenery.

"On the following morning, Wednesday, we ascended a hill overhanging the Lake, to take a view of the colossal statue of St. Charles Borromeo, erected at its foot. The statue is of bronze, 112 feet high. On the same day we crossed the Ticino, the frontier between Piedmont and Lombardy; and at 8 o'clock in the evening arrived at Milan.

"It is, I need not tell you, a city full of historical recollections. I have been tracing many of them; tho' to peruse

all its monumental records would cost more time and labor than I can spare. Of the Cathedral, its forest of pinnacles, its walls literally alive with statuary, and its vaulted roof of marble adorned with a minuteness as astonishing as the vastness of the structure itself, I shall not say a word. But what must be St. Peter's, if it surpasses the Cathedral of Milan!

"I mounted to the highest point of its lofty central steeple (over the crossing), and descended into the chapel, in which the remains of St. Charles Borromeo are inclosed in a crystal sarcophagus set in gold. Nay, more, I said Mass in that holy place yesterday and to-day. It was to me a day of sad memories, being the anniversary of poor Father James's interment."[1]

These letters to his friend and namesake were never intended for publication. They were written to be read in the home-circle, now so numerous, and to gratify as well the still more numerous inquirers among the clergy and laity, who followed the Bishop of Maronia's footsteps abroad with such deep interest.

Those who visited Italy in 1831–'32, if they had not the advantage of rapid railroad travelling, were more than compensated by the leisurely acquaintance which they were enabled to make with the country and the people. Dr. Mac Hale's previous studies had made him familiar with the history of Italy, its revolutions, the rise of its medieval cities, the birth and progress in them of letters and arts, and all the vicissitudes of municipal and political liberty.

His journey through Lombardy and the Emilia, through Tuscany and Umbria, to the City of the Popes, was one perpetual feast to his soul. Even in our day, to scholars who have studied most deeply all the books written about the Italian peninsula,—a leisurely journey through it, and a stay of some weeks in each of its ancient cities, are like the discovery of a new world, and the reveling among wonders unrevealed and unthought of till then.

[1] This was the Bishop's younger brother, cut off in the first flower of his priestly youth.

The published letters tell us of the delight which our pilgrim felt in Bologna, Florence, Sienna. While in the capital of Tuscany, he ascended the hill of Fiesole, impelled by his love of all that recalled the Catholic Ireland of the early ages to visit the tomb of St. Donatus (or Donagh), Bishop of Fiesole; one of those Irish apostles and scholars whose names, like a light inextinguishable, still shine from hill-top, mountain-side, and plain, all over Continental Europe.

Another sainted Irish bishop, St. Frediano, was the apostle of Lucca and its district, while, not far to the northwest, high up among the hills, Bobbio still reveres the memory of its founder, St. Columbanus.

He reached Rome at the end of the first week in November, a most lovely season in the Eternal City.

"My pilgrimage is at length accomplished," he writes on the 10th; "I have reached the shrine of the Apostles. One of the first and fondest wishes of my life is gratified."

At the head of the Irish College in Rome, restored in 1824, was an old friend and former professor in Maynooth, the Rev. Christopher Boylan, who greeted Dr. Mac Hale with a true Irish welcome. To the reigning Pontiff, Gregory XVI., the Coadjutor-Bishop of Killala was known by fame. Himself one of the most learned men in the Church, Gregory loved to honor learning in others. Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, then rector of the English College, owed much of the fame which he then enjoyed, and not a little of the honor afterward deservedly bestowed upon him, to the friendship in which the Pope held him, and of which his deep and varied scholarship was the origin.

The reputation of Dr. Mac Hale had preceded him in the Papal Court. From his first interview with the Holy Father began a friendship which no misrepresentations could ever weaken in the breast of the enlightened and great-souled Pontiff. But let us allow the Bishop himself to describe his first visit to St. Peter's and to the Pope.

"I was scarcely an hour arrived," he says, "when I hastened to St. Peters', to offer up my cold and imperfect

prayers in union with the incense of prayer and sacrifice that is daily ascending from that magnificent and holy temple to the throne of the Almighty.[1]

"The first of my visits, to manifest the homage of my dutiful reverence to the Holy Father, was a few days after my arrival. It was, to a Catholic bishop from Ireland, a visit fraught with consolation. Notwithstanding all the efforts which an impious policy had recourse to, to sever our connection with the Chair of Peter, efforts far more ingenious in their cruelty than those of the earlier persecutions that hunted the Christians into the Catacombs, I was privileged and happy to be presented to the good Father of the Faithful, and to receive at his feet the Apostolic Benediction.

"He is worthy of the elevation to which he has been raised. Benevolence! It is too weak a word. Affectionate charity beams in every feature of the good Pontiff. Nor is there wanting that visible indication of a stern and unbending intrepidity of character, which will not fail, whenever it may be necessary, to vindicate the dearest interests of religion."[2]

Even to our railroading, all-seeing, and most superficial generation, few books on Rome and Italy contain more attractive and solid instruction than we find in the letters written by the Bishop of Maronia. There were but few guide-books in 1831, to afford travellers information "made-easy," or scribblers on classic subjects a store-house of "commonplaces" from which to draw their cheap materials.

Dr. Mac Hale's letters from the peninsula are the fruit of personal observation and careful study. They had, moreover, one object, which should be mentioned here. They were destined to instruct the youth of Ireland on Roman, Italian, and other continental subjects, about which the current English literature gave nothing, almost, but misleading judgments. In Great Britain and Ireland, in

[1] Letter lvii., Vol. I., p. 390.
[2] *Ibidem.*, p. 397.

the United States, and in Canada, in Australia, and India, Catholics now living can remember, like the writer of these pages, how little there was in the native literature and journalism of the English-speaking world that was not unfavorable to Catholic sentiment and conviction.

The Bishop of Maronia, who had felt during his boyhood and college days this lamentable want of an English Catholic literature, had resolved, while still a professor in Maynooth, to do his part toward filling this void. His HIEROPHILOS letters were an effort in that direction; the "Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church" were another, one destined to produce more abundant and more lasting fruit. All his translations into the Gælic aimed at the same result, to create a noble Catholic literature for his countrymen, after their long night of enforced ignorance, and when the day of educational freedom was slowly dawning upon them. In truth, every one of his letters from the Continent, many of which were published in the "Freeman's Journal" of the day, was read and re-read with avidity in every hamlet throughout the land. The paper containing each successive letter was kept like a treasure, and passed from house to house all through the West, keeping alive among these faithful populations their devoted love to "Father John," making them proud of Rome and of that dear Old Faith which had covered all Christendom with the marvels of art and civilization.

Gregory XVI., who had written in "the Triumphs of the Catholic Church," one of the most notable books of the day, thoroughly appreciated the book which the Bishop of Maronia had published before leaving Ireland. Dr. Wiseman, in the lectures delivered a few years later in London on the doctrines of the Catholic Church, made another step forward on the road opened by the Coadjutor of Killala.

The Pope, who had closely questioned the latter about the scope and method of his work, and who had obtained from other Roman scholars versed in the English language, like Abbate (afterwards the illustrious Cardinal) de Luca, a most favorable judgment on it, asked Dr. Mac Hale to

preach a course of sermons for the English colony in Rome. These were delivered in the Church of *Gesù e Maria* in the Corso, and were translated into Italian by the Abbate de Luca.

Two of these discourses are especially remarkable: that on the "Reprobation of the Jews," and that on St. Patrick, delivered in the Irish Church of St. Isidore Agricola.

In the splendid privileges bestowed in the Old Law on God's chosen people, Dr. Mac Hale holds up to the Romans a mirror in which to view their own singular destiny under the Christian Dispensation. From the reprobation of the Jews, the inhabitants of the capital of Christendom, those of the entire peninsula, are to take warning that from those who receive most favors a more special return of gratitude is expected.

"The Almighty in His mercy chose the Israelites for His inheritance. In the desert He cherished them as the hen that spreads her wings over her tender brood; when they forgot their God, He sent prophets to reclaim them. When they had slain these, He still continued to send others in their stead. At length, as the last and greatest proof of His mercy, He sends His Son, Whose life was one continuous chain of mercy and benevolence.

"The benevolence, which should have awakened gratitude, only exasperated the hate of His enemies, who, impatient of a virtue so transcendent, resolved to extinguish His influence in His blood....

"Hardened and perverse people! Thus continuing to close their eyes against every ray of light, and their hearts against every appeal that could move them, they execute their murderous projects; and the blood of all the Prophets, to that of the Holy One Whom they had recently condemned, was avenged on their guilty heads....

"Titus captures their city; its walls are levelled to the ground; the voice of howling is heard in her streets; the glory of Lebanon is laid low; and its people, the unfortunate people, are scattered by the breath of the divine wrath....

"Let us not imagine that this reprobation was confined to the Jews.

"Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, where the Apostles and Evangelists wrote and preached, have passed under the dominion of the Koran; but Rome, selected as the chief citadel (of the faith) by the Vice-Gerent to whom Christ had given the first authority in His Kingdom, remains still the city on the mountain-top, which was to diffuse its light among the nations of the world.

"Though other dynasties were crushed by calamitous revolutions, never again to recover, the successors of St. Peter were seen to rise triumphant after every storm; and Rome, the seat of their pontificate, when it appeared forever fallen, again lifted its head with renovated glory from the dust.

"Alaric left the city a desert. It was repeopled, however, by the groups who had found shelter in the sanctuaries of the Apostles.

"Attila next threatens it with a like fate. But it was saved by the seasonable mediation of St. Leo.

"Again, in the next century, Totila, the fiercest and most inexorable of its foes, doomed it to utter destruction. And during forty days, the historian might write, in the words of the prophet: "Wild beasts rested there, and owls answered each other in the palaces of pleasure."

"The Turkish chief, who rolled the tide of conquest over Europe, boasted, when flushed with triumph, that he would convert the Vatican into a stable. But, like Antiochus, he was stopped in his sacrilegious attempt on the Temple of the Lord.

"Let us reflect that the Jews have been cut off, some of the Eastern Churches have fallen, and the Catholic religion, like the sun of heaven, is spreading joy and gladness among the inhabitants of another hemisphere. Already has it withdrawn its light from some of the nations of Europe, and may now be threatening to go down on the iniquity of others.

"We are still in a state of warfare, beset by spiritual foes,

who are anxious for our ruin. Let us, therefore, fervently implore the Almighty that we may not be consigned to darkness, but that he may cause that luminary of faith, which is verging to the west, to linger still over our horizon." [1]

To such among the Bishop of Maronia's hearers as cared to look beneath the surface of things in Rome, or who looked with apprehension to the working, in Italian society, of the anti-Christian principles, passions, and aims which even then periodically convulsed the peninsula, there was a prophetic warning in these last passages. The Divine Promises guarantee to the See of Peter, and to the Church of which it is the centre, indefectibility. But the Bishop of Rome, who is the living depositary of that central authority, is the Vicar of Christ and the Head of the Church, wherever he resides. The promises do not secure to Italy or even to the population of Rome the immovable possession of the Catholic faith.

The light, which still lingered on the horizon of Rome and of Italy, might set forever east of the Alps or east of the Atlantic.

The sermon on St. Patrick, delivered on March 17, 1832, in the church of St. Isidore, attached to the monastery of the Irish Franciscans,—was no less remarkable than the former. Both church and monastery are monuments of the sufferings endured by the Catholics of Ireland since the days of James I. down to our own. Kindled as the speaker's soul must have been by the holy and patriotic memories of the place, his discourse contains not one sentence, one word, which could give offence to his English hearers, whether Protestant or Catholic.

The Scripture text of Tobias, from which he preached, is singularly appropriate: "We are the children of the Saints, and look for that life which God will give to those who change not their faith from Him." After recounting how that faith was planted in Ireland by the labors of St. Patrick, he described the vicissitudes which it underwent.

[1] *Sermons and Discourses*, pp. 245-253.

"The Church of Ireland became one of the fairest and most flourishing portions of the extensive vineyard of Christ. Every province had its colleges and cloisters. . . . . Besides Clonard and other schools which arose in the centre of the kingdom, Armagh and Bangor in the North, Cashel and Lismore in the South, Clonfert and Mayo in the West at once became seminaries of learning, which not only educated the natives of Ireland, but soon attracted by their fame the youth of the Continent, who panted for science.

"Not only were these colleges gratuitously opened to strangers, they were also furnished with books and all else needed for their instruction. Nay,—far from relying on legendary lore, or the high-wrought praises of the national minstrelsy, in drawing this picture of the hospitality and learning of the Irish Church, I am only translating the sober testimony of Bede, who tells us that such was the confluence of strangers into Ireland, that Mayo was denominated, from the number of its Saxon monks, 'Mayo of the Saxons.'"

The Bishop then describes the services rendered Great Britain and continental Europe by the apostolic and civilizing labors of Irish Saints. In this he only outlines the magnificent picture afterwards painted by Montalembert and others, as well as by the Protestant Guizot, and thus concludes:—

"In short, from the most southern point of Europe to the Wall of Adrian, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Vistula, there is not one solitary district over which the massive fragments of Irish genius and Irish sanctity are not profusely scattered. And, though a stone should not be left upon a stone in our ill-starred Island to tell of the holy men by whom it was once trodden;—still, through the luminous pages of a Bede, a Bernard, a Muratori, a Mabillon, a Tillemont, and a Fleury, the scholar may yet view, as in so many mirrors, a strong though imperfect image of the ancient splendors of the Irish hierarchy."

There was in the brief mention of the close sisterly rela-

tions which the two islands maintained towards each other in the period of their early Christian fervor a something extremely pathetic. It was from the extreme western coast of Mayo, from the seashore near Killala, that St. Patrick had heard, in his vision of Ireland's spiritual desolation, the voices of children born and unborn beseeching him to come and save them. And lo! in the two centuries following the death of St. Patrick, the surface of Mayo, with its oak covered mountains, its teeming plains, and its shining lakes, was so thickly dotted with churches and schools,—and the hearts and homes of its people so open to all comers, that from England all who were athirst for sanctity and learning flocked to the fertile, lovely, and hospitable West,—till the Saxon monks and scholars seemed to have there found a paradise and a home.

If the old Catholic spirit could only revive, and brotherly love stretch forth from Great Britain the helping hands which would lift up and not oppress, build up the ruins made by destructive heresy, and heal by sweet Christian charity the deep and ever-bleeding wounds caused by political and racial hatred,—how Mayo, and all the West, and the Green Isle from shore to shore would put on life, and strength, and joy!

Cannot the Blessed souls around St. Patrick and St. Bede in heaven obtain by their united prayers, that this new moral and material springtide shall dawn at length on the desolate West?

The Bishop glances rapidly at the ravages caused among the Christian churches of Ireland by the Danish invasions, and comes to speak of the dark days of the Penal Laws.

"Do I allude to those scenes," he asks, "in order to stir up angry recollections? God forbid! From the lips of a minister of the Saviour of the world no accents but those of charity should fall. The Church should always be an asylum in which a truce should be given to the passions of mankind. I allude to them in the instructive spirit of the historian of Rome, in order that from the experience of the past people should draw a lesson for the future; that those

who are still anxious for the pure perpetuity of the faith, should imitate the holy disinterestedness of their fathers....

"The Irish people looked forward to that life which their faith clearly revealed to them; and in the brightness of that vision every other object disappeared.

"No courtly arts, no crooked intrigues, no cunnning schemes of a wily and tortuous diplomacy, were suffered to enter their councils.... No compromise with a hostile Government in the nomination of their chief pastors.[1].... No compromise in the education of their children.... No compromise on the part of the priesthood, in bartering the affections of their flocks for the gold of the Government....

"It was by keeping aloof from the contagious atmosphere of kings and courts, that the faith of Ireland burned with so much brilliancy."[2]

There is not a sentence here which is not full of pregnant warning to the Court of Rome, around which, in 1832, emissaries of the British Government were continually hovering, bent on obtaining concessions fatal to religion, just as in 1889, and all through the intervening years, the same intrigues have been pushed unwearily.

As we shall see, much of the energy of Dr. Mac Hale shall be spent in combating and counteracting this perpetual conspiracy against the purity of the faith in Ireland, and the independence of the Irish hierarchy and priesthood.

The discourses which he thus delivered beneath the eyes of Gregory XVI., as it were, gave such universal satisfaction to those who heard them, that the Reverend Antonino de Luca, a native of Sicily, and who died in 1883, after a most illustrious career, Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina,—translated the sermons into Italian.

Writing on the Pentecost Monday, in the ensuing summer, to his friend Rev. James Mac Hale, the Bishop says: "I hope to make you a present,—in order to induce you to learn Italian,—of some of my lucubrations since I came here, translated into that language." Some weeks later, in anoth-

[1] Allusion to the persevering efforts of the British Government to obtain the right of nominating the Irish Bishops and Beneficiaries.

er letter to the same, he writes: "I send Mr. Lavelle (Editor of the "Freeman's Journal") a copy of the sermons which I preached here last winter, one of which contains a panegyric of our Apostle, preached on his feast, all translated into the Italian language. The absentees (many of whom were present), and the persecutions of the Government, etc., were spoken of with as much freedom on the banks of the Tiber as on those of the Moy."

CHAPTER XII.

FIRST LETTERS OF DR. CULLEN TO DR. MAC HALE—THE BISHOP OF MARONIA'S SHARE IN HAVING DR. CULLEN APPOINTED RECTOR OF THE IRISH COLLEGE AT ROME—DIPLOMATIC INTRIGUES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT—VIVID PEN-PICTURES OF MONUMENTS, SCENES, AND EVENTS IN ROME AND THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

AT the time of Dr. Mac Hale's arrival in Rome, the Irish College, as we have said, had for rector the Rev. Dr. Boylan, who died in 1832, and while our pilgrim was still on the Continent. Dr. Boylan was succeeded by the Vice-Rector, the Rev. Paul Cullen, in whose appointment the Bishop of Maronia took a very active part. This, as we shall see, was warmly and gratefully acknowledged by Dr. Cullen in the very interesting letters he thenceforth addressed to Dr. Mac Hale, and which occupy an important place in this biography.

As the first letter in the series throws no little light on important political as well as ecclesiastical matters, we owe it to the reader to give it here, omitting only what is merely personal and uninteresting.

IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, 4th Sept., 1832.

"MY LORD:—I enclose two letters for your Lordship, one from Subiaco, which arrived here by the post, another for the Duchess of Anhalt, which the Rector of the Propaganda gave me, and which may be of use to you, if you pass through Vienna, where she resides.

"A long letter of Daniel O'Connell's has lately appeared in the Irish papers, regarding a provision for the Catholic clergy. It is one of the best things I have seen on the subject. Whilst he proves that it would be useful and just that

the clergy should have some provision (made for them) of a permanent nature, he shows also that it would be most pernicious both to the liberty and other interests of the country to allow Government to have an influence, direct or indirect, in matters appertaining to the Catholic Church, especially in the appointment of priests (to benefices) or bishops (to sees). To exclude Government influence and to provide for the Catholic clergy, he says, it would be necessary to sell the present Church property, and apply the amount of the sale to the acquiring a glebe house and lands of the value of about £60 per annum in each parish; and this for the ministers of every persuasion who may have therein a congregation of at least 500 persons. The Episcopalians should remain as they are, dependent upon Government; the Presbyterians should depend, as at present, upon their synods; and the Catholics merely upon their bishops, who, consequently, by naming any priest to a parish, would give him a legal right to the house and lands therein.

"Though the project is very good, there seems to be little probability of its being put in execution for the present, as Government appears inclined to oblige the people in every possible way to the payment of tithes.

"I have not seen anything else worth noticing in the last Irish papers.

"I believe that nothing particular has occurred in Rome since your Lordship's departure.

"The Pope has not done anything as yet about giving us the Greek College. Dr. Kelly (the new archbishop of Armagh) and Dr. Murray (archbishop of Dublin) highly approve of my applying for a better house, and recommend me not to desist if there be any prospect of success. Should your Lordship write shortly to His Holiness, recommend the matter to him, as such a recommendation may be of great use.

"Your Lordship will kindly excuse me for writing in such a hurried way. I have been busy since your Lordship's departure, preparing for O'CONNOR'S theses. He defended

them a few days ago with so much success that he completely eclipsed the (young) Jesuits' exhibition. He surpassed anything that could be expected.[1]... Assuring your Lordship of my sincerest sentiments of affection and gratitude for the kindness which you have shown me, I have the honor to be, etc.—

"PAUL CULLEN."

More important still is Dr. Cullen's letter of March 19th, 1833, written after his formal appointment of rector of the Irish College.

"Words," he says, "cannot sufficiently express the profound sentiments of gratitude which I feel for your kind exertions in promoting both my interests and those of this establishment. Indeed, your zeal and kindness exceeded all bounds, since you went so far as to expose yourself to great risk by undertaking, in a delicate state of health, an irksome journey to Dublin. My fervent prayers, and those of this small community, shall be continually offered up to heaven to obtain for you the just reward, for I know not how such exertions can be remunerated here below.... Your letter to the Pope was most grateful to him, and he answered it at least ten days ago. He inquired most anxiously for your health, and desired to have his compliments presented to you."

At the close of this same letter mention is made of several prelates belonging to the American Church—

"Dr. England has been here since Christmas. He has been very well received by the Propaganda, and succeeds in all his affairs. Two new bishops have been appointed in America, a Mr. Rézé, once a student of Propaganda, to Detroit in Michigan, and a Mr. Purcell, an Irishman, to

[1] The *O'Connor* here mentioned is the late lamented Dr. Michael O'Connor, first bishop of Pittsburg in 1843, who resigned his see in 1860, to become an humble member of the Society of Jesus, and died at Woodstock, Maryland, Oct. 18th, 1872, leaving behind him a reputation for genius and learning only surpassed by the fame of his many great virtues.

Dr. O'Connor, like more than one distinguished American prelate, was a schoolmate of His present Holiness, Leo XIII., who took his first degree in Theology in 1832.

Cincinnati. The Pope intends sending Dr. England to treat of an arrangement with the President of San Domingo about ecclesiastical affairs, which are there in great confusion."

We shall anticipate a little by quoting from Dr. Cullen's letter of March 6th, 1834, the following passage relating to British intrigues in Rome, tending always, of course, to establish official diplomatic relations between the Court of Rome and that of St. James:—

"We have an immense number of strangers here this season; and the winter has been remarkably fine. We have had very little rain and no cold or frost at all, so that the plants and trees have been in vegetation all the year. The days at present are as fine as could be expected in the month of May.

"Among the many strangers here at present is the Marquis of Anglesea, our late viceroy. His Excellency was presented to the Pope some time ago, and spoke in the highest terms of the Irish in general, and gave the greatest praise to the conduct of all the Irish bishops. He told His Holiness that, were it not for the influence of the bishops, it would be impossible for the Government to maintain itself in Ireland. He paid so many compliments to the Irish in general, that His Holiness was quite delighted with the interview.

"Anglesea is still in Rome; and it is supposed that he is endeavoring to induce the British Government to send an ambassador to Rome, and the Pope, a nuncio to England. I suppose nothing of the kind will be done; and so much the better for Ireland, as an English ambassador would lose no occasion of interfering in Irish ecclesiastical affairs. The consequences that would follow are well known."

We shall see in the following chapters, how persistently the British Government, through their own semi-official agents, through the officious representations of titled and untitled English Catholics, seconded, all too often, by Irish Catholic landlords, pursued and still pursue this darling scheme of obtaining the right to interfere in the nomination of Irish bishops.

The letters of Dr. Cullen will throw further light on this matter as we advance in our narrative.

The time of the Bishop of Maronia was not so entirely taken up with preparing his course of sermons in Rome, or in visiting and exploring the monuments still remaining there of classic antiquity, or in seeing with his own eyes the noble and numerous establishments of learning, piety, and charity there created by the Pontiffs, or in assisting with attentive mind and eager heart at all the splendid and edifying religious solemnities of the Capital of Christendom. He found leisure to write that series of letters which were afterwards read with such avidity by all Irish Catholics. It is well that we have in print, for the instruction of future generations, the pen-pictures, inspired by a classic taste and the love of Christian art, which these beautiful letters contain. Alas, the anti-Christian hatred of the present masters of Rome, if Providence does not put a sudden end to their rule, will soon leave not one recognizable feature of the Rome of the Popes.

One or two passages from these letters will show in what a spirit Dr. Mac Hale trod in the footsteps of past generations of pilgrims, as he visited the Seven Hills, or walked the streets of Rome, or pushed his excursions among the historic scenes of the surrounding provinces.

"Not far from the Vatican (he writes in describing the Church and Monastery of San Pietro in Montorio), on the Janiculum . . . is a monument which will not fail to tell the Irish travellers of what their ancestors suffered at the hands of the Stuarts. The small church of St. Peter, designed by Bramante, and which reminds you of the Temple of Vesta, on the banks of the Tiber, contains this melancholy monument. A slab of marble in the middle of the floor, bearing the names of O'NEILL and O'DONNELL, recalls to memory the flight of these noble chieftains on a pretended conspiracy, set on foot to enable the ungrateful James to partition among a horde of English and Scottish Calvinists the hereditary domains of the fugitive earls, together with six counties of the province of Ulster.

"Few, whatever may be their opinions or feelings on the justice of these ancient quarrels, or on the policy which dictated these cruel confiscations, could refuse a regret or a tear to the memory of the gallant Tyrone, who had so long and so bravely maintained the fortunes of his country against the armies of Elizabeth. . . .

"Here, bowed down by misfortune, and blind through age and infirmity, this gallant warrior closed his life, like another Belisarius, outlawed and attainted even by the suffrages of the Catholics whom he had saved from utter ruin, and who did not interpose one solitary vote for his protection.

"It is well that Christendom has a home for the fallen and broken-hearted. It is well that there should be one asylum from the ingratitude and perfidy of the world. That home has been and shall ever be found in the city of the successors of St. Peter.

"This church and monastery, belonging to the Franciscans, are, to some extent, under the protection of Spain. But the Church and Monastery of St. Isidore, on the Pincian, belong to the Irish Franciscans, and they are both a treasure-house, filled with manuscripts, paintings, and tombs, all recording the heroic men and sacred memories of Ireland's dark days.

"To the library of St. Isidore's," Dr. Mac Hale says, "my visits were frequent, as I found there a number of Irish manuscripts. Besides, I loved to contemplate the portraits of celebrated Irishmen which decorate its walls, those especially of two of the most illustrious men of their age and nation,—Luke Wadding, the learned author of the Annals of the Franciscans, and Florence O'Mul-Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, to whose zeal and labors we are indebted for the foundation of Louvain, and the education of many eminent men who have conferred honor on their country."[1]

Now let us see in what spirit the Bishop turns his footsteps to such neighboring centres of Christian civilization,

[1] Letter lviii., pp. 400-402

to such nurseries of sanctity and science, as Subiaco and Monte Cassino.

"There was one convent in particular," he says, "which I felt peculiar gratification in visiting,—that of St. Benedict, at Subiaco. Here, near the brink of the Anio, and under a line of frowning rocks, parallel to the stream, is situated the monastery of the holy and celebrated founder of the Benedictines. Near is another, dedicated to his sister, St. Scholastica. I spent some days in this holy retreat, enjoying the hospitality of the kind abbot.

"In the chapel, partly formed out of the cave in which the Saint lay concealed for three years, fed by an intimate friend, I offered up the sacrifice of the Mass. A beautiful marble statue of Benedict, representing him under the rock, together with the leaves bearing the impress of the serpent by which he was so tempted, ... still recalls the memory of his early combats and triumphs."

The following unpublished letter, addressed to Rev. Dr. Christopher Boylan, then rector of the Irish College in Rome, and who was then on his way to Ireland, will sum up the remaining travels of the Bishop in Italy, and until his departure from Rome.

NAPLES, May 13, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Before this reaches Ireland, you will, I trust, have safely arrived there. In a short time I hope to hear of your recovery. . . . As for me, I take a general and comprehensive view of my history since your departure. A minute scale would exclude the recent and more interesting part of my travels. The day after you set out, commencing with Albano, we visited Genezano, the Lake of Nerni, Monte Cavi, Grotta del Papa, Frascati, Tusculum, Monte Corona, Palestrina, Genzano, Subiaco, and Tivoli.

"We stopped the first night at the Franciscan Convent of Palazzuola, on the margin of Lake Albano. Our reception was kind and hospitable. The second night was spent with the Camaldoli Monks at Monte Corona. They live as hermits. If I could judge by their intelligent and kind

superior, their keeping silence only gives strength to their powers of conversation.

"Our next delightful stay of any length was with the Benedictines of Subiaco. They illustrate the learning and hospitality of their Order. You may judge of my feelings in celebrating Mass in the Holy Grotto of St. Benedict. I have promised that when I shall become a monk, I shall embrace his rule.

"We read Horace's Ode to the *Fons Brindusiæ*, at the spring itself, and next day, the Saturday before Palm Sunday, returned to Rome after contemplating the beauties of Tivoli.

"I can spare any allusions to the ceremonies of Holy Week. His Holiness went through them all in excellent health and spirits. I attended them all with the utmost punctuality. The cope I wore on Holy Thursday was that of Leo XII., by which you may perceive that I purchased His Holiness's vestments. The purple (the Cardinal or Roman purple) waxed pale before the splendor of my cope; and it probably inspired a secret dread that I was about to restore the ancient precedence of the episcopal rank before a more modern order.

"During Easter Week I had a delightful entertainment from the Rector and students of the Irish College at their vineyard. Mr. Myler, who is since gone, added much to the festivity.

"Such was the rush in Easter Week of strangers from Rome, that I had great difficulty in procuring a carriage to take me to Naples. Accompanied by Mr. Skelly and the Rev. Mr. Murray, who told me he had met you on the way, I set out on Friday morning, and arrived at midnight on Saturday. We stopped at the little town of Fondi, to see the Study-Hall from which St. Thomas (Aquinas) spread his knowledge and his fame throughout the Church. Gaëta, Terracina, and Capua are well worthy of their historical and poetical celebrity.

"But Naples, notwithstanding its noise—for it is the noisiest city in the world—has certainly not been exaggerated in the beauty of its bay and environs.

"On the evening of May 1st we ascended Vesuvius near half way up, and saw the sun going down, as Ossian would say, in his red glory in the West. Towards midnight we resumed our ascension, and on our arrival at the summit a vast surface of lava, since extinguished, glared before us. We next set out for the fiery crater over craggy cliffs of lava, through which the fire was felt and seen beneath, stood at some distance from the mouth, on the sheltery side, and looked with feelings of awe, if not of horror, on the volumes of murky fire mixed with burning balls which it cast forth to a tremendous height, and which fell back to a greater distance than where we were standing. Meanwhile two very sensible shocks of earthquake added not a little to our terror.

"The rising of the next morning's sun, for which we waited, alone convinced us that we were not in another world. I am resolved never again to visit the terrific sublimities of Vesuvius.

"On Saturday evening, the 5th of May, commenced the miracles of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. It is the anniversary of the translation of his relics to this city. I need not say how much my curiosity was excited. I was resolved to examine it with all the severity of a critic and the faith of a Christian. At twelve o'clock in the day, the head was carried with extraordinary pomp from its chapel in the Cathedral Church to that of St. Clare. The procession along the intervening streets, a considerable distance, had a most magnificent effect.

"Again, about five in the evening, the blood was carried, amid a procession equally striking and imposing. The head, encased in a golden bust and covered with a mitre set with the most precious brilliants, was laid on the Gospel side of the altar. The Cardinal-Archbishop, aged about ninety years, officiated on the occasion.

"The blood was placed at the Epistle side, being contained in a small bottle encased between two crystal plates, in the form of a remonstrance. The Archbishop took the (I will call it) remonstrance by a handle which had no con-

nection with the blood, contained as this was in the vase between the crystals; nor, indeed, could it be supposed (the only possible supposition) that the old man's hand could, even in case of contact, communicate any heat to the mysterious substance.

"He exhibited it to the by-standers; I was fortunately next; and so solid was the substance within, that, after two or three repeated turnings, the same space remained in the bottle, visibly unoccupied.

"About two minutes elapsed; it still remained solid; when, gradually, a redder border began to appear, showing that the liquefaction was beginning. And then, in less than two minutes more, it flowed as it was turned, in every direction through the entire vase.

"During the rest of the octave, the miracle was repeated in the Church of St. Januarius.

"On Sunday morning, I assisted, after saying Mass. The blood was in a state of liquefaction, even before it was placed in presence of the head. It was not, therefore, so striking as on the preceding occasion. On Monday morning we attended again. There were some Protestants present both from England and from Ireland. The blood was presented in a state that satisfied all that it was completely solid, nay, immovable, when the vase was turned. It remained so for a longer time than on Saturday.

"The Creed was recited by the priest who assisted, in which we joined. The liquefaction commenced. And so struck were all present, that some of the Protestants kissed the vase with the utmost reverence and devotion.

"I know not whether the scoffs of the impious and profane may not prevent them from following the impulse of their better feelings. As for me, though, I must confess, I do not believe every miracle reported by popular rumor in Italy and Naples, I entertain no doubt whatever of the miracle of St. Januarius. Nor can I conceive how any person who witnesses and examines it attentively can reject it, without a secret scepticism regarding all miraculous interference.

"I have been thus circumstantial, since, I am sure, you will consider this matter to be the most important which my letter could contain.

"On the other days we did not attend, but were told that the miraculous change was equally satisfactory. The week gave us an immensity of occupation, in viewing the curiosities of the city and its neighborhood."

In another letter to Rev. James Mac Hale, dated from Rome on Pentecost Monday, the Bishop writes: —

"I have just returned from Naples and Calabria. The quarantine occasioned by the fear of cholera detained at Naples, after its arrival from Leghorn, the steam-packet that usually goes to Sicily, else I should have had the pleasure of writing to you from Syracuse. I did not like to venture upon a voyage of nearly three hundred miles in an open boat, as more intrepid travellers did. Such recklessness could have been excusable in younger days, and on a shorter expedition, such as crossing to the Isles of Arran.[1]

"Disappointed by sea, I undertook a journey by land through the long tract of Calabria, which stretches up to Sicily, in order to cross the strait from Reggio to Messina. However, the weather was so intensely hot, and the accommodations at inns and for travelling so bad, that I should have risked the danger of a fever by proceeding the entire way.

"After having gone more than a hundred miles to the south of Naples, I returned by sea, coasting along and stopping at some of the most celebrated and classic cities of the Tuscan coast of the south of Italy (that is, the Mediterranean coast, as distinguished from that of the Adriatic).

"I do not regret this excursion, or the disappointment by sea, which occasioned it. Nothing but Sicily itself, the very land of poetry, could surpass the interest excited by the characters and costumes of the populations of Calabria. The country itself exhibits the most singular and striking features. The land alternately sinks into valleys terminat-

[1] The Rev. James Mac Hale was pastor of the Arran Isles when HIEROPHILOS visited him there. — See Letter.

ing in abrupt ravines, or rising into hills gently sloping so as to form conical summits, thus revealing the volcanic agencies out of which the present surface has arisen.

"Herculaneum and Pompeii were explored on our way, together with the ruins of Pæstum, which was old when Rome was in its infancy. Pompeii alone, with its temples, its streets, its shops, the letters still fresh which bear the designation of the houses; its ovens, its mills; in short, its varied assortment of all the industrial instruments then in use, make you fancy for a moment, that you are walking through a modern town. All this would, alone, well reward the toils of a journey.

". . . . From Castellamare's enchanted shore I addressed a long letter to his Lordship of Killala (Dr. Waldron), informing him that I had just come down from the lofty mountain (Monte Gargano) made famous by the apparition of St. Michael.

"I stopped a night in the far-famed Convent of Monte Cassino, and said Mass near the tombs of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica. On the following morning, I visited the spot, now a little chapel, where, visiting his holy sister (as related by Pope Gregory the Great), Benedict was detained all night in pious converse with her by a storm of lightning, thunder, and rain, which she had prayed for."

In the published letters there is a more detailed and interesting description of Monte Cassino, the most famous monastic establishment in the world.

"Over the porch the appropriate motto, *Quisquis es, ingredere hospes* ('Whoever thou art, enter as a guest'), invited the passing stranger. In front of the church is a fine court, surrounded by arcades, through the centre of which you ascend by a flight of steps, that conducts you to the portico. Around this are ranged, in several large niches, statues of some of the most illustrious popes and princes who were either members or benefactors of the Order. The remains of St. Benedict and his sister Scholastica repose under the high altar; thirteen oil lamps continually burn around this shrine. . . .

"The view of the neighboring valleys was delightful, with their amphitheatre of mountains, some of them capped with snow, emblematic, as it were, of the purity and coldness of the cloistered inmates of the Convent, amidst the trials of a voluptuous climate. As the evening fell, I heard with no ordinary emotion the piping of the shepherds collecting their flocks on the neighboring hills, which forcibly recalled all the images of pastoral simplicity and innocence with which our earlier years were familiarized. . . . The sounds conveyed to me a deeper and more mysterious emotion than could be awakened even by classic recollections. The source of this saddened feeling was the contrast between those shepherds and the peasantry of my own country, from whom such strains are but seldom heard, though nurtured in the midst of scenery and memories fraught with the most musical inspirations." [1]

Thus the image of his native Tirawley with its majestic mountains, its lovely lakes, and its half-starving population, forced itself everywhere on the patriotic Bishop's soul. As we have already seen, the land of the West was the cradle and nursery of Ireland's epic and ballad poetry; and her music still lived in the hearts of her people. But their flocks had long ago perished under the savage rule of the stranger, and the peasant, bent over a soil which was not his own, and in whose bounties he had no share, had long forgotten to sing the songs of his forefathers.

In the Royal Palace of Caserta Dr. Mac Hale found another memorial of Tirawley and of the heroic FION, who had given a name to the place in which he was born. "For me," he says, "the palace possessed a singular claim to veneration, in a fine picture of Ossian, represented blind, with the harp beside him. I was delighted that the fame of the son of Fion, and the emblem of our national music, were cherished on the southern shores of the Italian peninsula." [2]

On his return to Rome, after this rapid journey through the Kingdom of Naples, the Bishop of Maronia had the happiness of witnessing the procession of Corpus Christi round

[1] Letter lx., pp. 414, 415.

[2] *Ibidem.*

the Square of St. Peter's. It made a deep impression on the mind and heart of one so entirely filled with the spirit of his calling, and whose intelligence was trained to grasp and explain the divine harmonies of Catholic doctrine and Catholic worship.

On July 1st he was joined at the Irish College by the celebrated Abbé de Lamennais, and his two illustrious disciples, Lacordaire and Montalembert. La Mennais had come to Rome to explain the objectionable doctrines propounded in the second volume of his great work *Essai sur l'Indifference en matière de Religion.* He had come, however, rather to induce the Roman theologians and the Pope himself to accept his theories, than to correct whatever in them was erroneous. His pride could not brook the idea of confessing that he was wrong. Even while in Rome, he was planning his *Paroles d'un Croyant*, which were a declaration of war against the Holy See, the Church of Christ, and should have had for title *Paroles d'un Incroyant.* He soon went back to Paris, to throw himself into the front rank of revolutionists and unbelievers, and to die, as he had lived, a rebel, if not to his conscience, at least to that infallible authority in the Church, without which there can be no organic Christianity.

Lacordaire remained to become a son of St. Dominic and to lay the foundations of that apostleship of eloquence, in which he had no peer among living men. And Montalembert resumed his place in the French Upper Chamber, to be the eloquent defender there of every religious interest and every noble cause.

Dr. Mac Hale seems to have correctly judged the three men. "Fortunately for Monsieur de Lamennais," he writes, "he was accompanied by two young friends, who loved him much, but loved truth and religion more. Though not sinking under the weight of years, M. de Lamennais appeared to be sinking under the pressure of far more crushing influences; but his companions appeared the very impersonations of Catholicity and freedom. And I am much mistaken if France will not have to acknowledge

a deep debt of gratitude to the one and the other."[1]

"On the 1st of August," he continues, "I said Mass in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula, at the altar dedicated to the chains which were miraculously connected, without any mark of being welded together. I was much gratified in having an opportunity to handle and reverence those sacred emblems of the sufferings and triumphs of the Apostle. . . .

"Before the end of August, accounts of the dreadful ravages of the cholera in Ireland reached Rome. Among the strange documents connected with this calamity was a letter, said to be addressed by Dr. Whately, the Protestant archbishop of Dublin, to his clergy, and dissuading them from exposing their lives by attending the victims of the plague in their last moments.

"It struck me as a remarkable coincidence, that, after perusing this extraordinary document, one of the first spectacles which attracted my attention was that of some members of the Order of St. Camillus de Lellis, on their way to visit the sick in their last agony. It is scarcely credible, I reflected, that the document to which I have just alluded should come from the pen of any prelate confessing the Christian religion; or, if so, what wonder that a Church should wither and decay, of which the ministers could publish such cold and unfeeling recommendations?

"And yet here is a prelate who, it is seriously proposed, should form one of a body[2] to which the Catholics of Ireland entrust the education of their children.

"What a contrast!

"Here was a body, an army of soldiers, burning with such zeal and charity that they were ready, for their brethren, to brave all the horrors of pestilence and death. They, however, only formed a small portion of those champions of the Cross, who are reared and disciplined for this spiritual warfare in the nurseries of Rome.

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 418.

[2] Dr. Whately was, it may be truly said, the very soul of the National Board of Education in Ireland; and it is no less notorious, that he labored hard to make of the National system an engine of proselytism. In the success of this scheme he found no more invincible adversary than Dr. Mac Hale.

"If the faith of Rome is spoken of all over the world, its heroic charity and good works have been its companions. And well have the missionaries and martyrs of its faith and charity illustrated, in the words of its Divine Founder, that one cannot show greater love than to lay down his life for his brethren.

"On the 15th, the feast of the Assumption, the Holy Father favored me with an interview before leaving the Eternal City. In my own name, as well as in that of many of the bishops of Ireland, by whom I had been requested to draw the attention of His Holiness to the subject, I represented to him the disastrous effects which would follow if ever the Irish hierarchy should have the misfortune of being pensioned by the British Government.

"His Holiness left me quite at ease on the subject, assuring me that he sympathized in our disinterested views; and further adding, that the safety and freedom of the Irish bishops were in their own hands, since he never would give his sanction to that, or any other such diplomatic measure, which would be in opposition to the sentiments of the hierarchy of Ireland, so much endeared to him by its heroic attachment to the Catholic faith.

"The Holy Father made me a present of a magnificent gold chalice of exquisite workmanship, which I shall not fail to preserve with due veneration, and to hand down as a fresh pledge of the affection which he ceases not to manifest to his children from every region over which his spiritual solicitude extends."

The Holy Father thoroughly understood the enormous difficulties the clergy of Ireland had to contend with in erecting new churches, establishments of charity and education, while they were so heavily taxed for the support of the Protestant Established Church, whose ministers pos-

[1] *Ibidem*, pp. 418–420. This beautiful chalice was formally presented to the Cathedral of Tuam by the Archbishop, several years before his death, as appears from the following inscription: -

A Gregorio Papa XVI. anno 1832 *Joanni Mac Hale Episcopo-Coadjutori Alladensi donatum, ipse anno* 1868 *Ecclesiæ suæ metropolitanæ Tuamensi cleri et populi suffragia exorans, redonavit.*

sessed all the cathedrals, parochial churches, and edifices belonging to the Catholic ages.

"The Holy Father," writes the Bishop to Rev. James Mac Hale, on August 25th, "spoke in terms of affectionate praise of the fidelity of the people and clergy of Ireland; and I have no doubt but he was less influenced by personal regards, than by respect for the hierarchy of which I was the representative. The chalice will be a valuable memorial, worthy of a Roman Pontiff. I forget," he adds, "if I mentioned in my last letter that I have purchased the magnificent vestments, including cope, chasuble, dalmatic, and tunic, of Leo XII., an appropriate set off for the chalice and the beautiful altar, which is nearly finished."

This "beautiful altar," which Dr. Mac Hale was able to order in Rome, was chiefly due to the pious liberality of Kenelm H. Digby, the author of "Mores Catholici," whose works must ever continue to be the delight of all Christian scholars.

The following letter will speak for itself, and show how Kenelm Digby felt that he had a kindred soul in John Mac Hale:—

"MY LORD:—It was one and not the least of the sources of my regret on leaving Rome, that I was depriving myself of the honor of being presented to you, for which I had so excellent an opportunity offered me in my acquaintance with the Reverend Doctor Boylan, whose kindness to me I can never forget. During your residence in Rome there will be, no doubt, many opportunities offered for procuring objects of art, which might contribute to the adornment or service of your cathedral at Ballina, and it would be a great source of pleasure to me if I could furnish any means to assist your Lordship in taking advantage of them.

"It is but a small sum which I can offer; but even this trifle, at Rome, may procure something not unworthy of being sent so far. Therefore, if the turn of political events at home, which seems so rapid, should not disable me, and of that your lordship will be able to form a judgment at Rome, I can promise myself the pleasure of placing £200 at your disposal, and also of engaging to defray the expense

of carriage to Ireland of whatever objects you may think fit to procure. For this purpose I shall give directions to a banker in London, who corresponds with Torlonia, and who will inform me of the best method of having the money paid into your hands.

"I have the honor to remain, my Lord, with the greatest respect,

"Your most faithful servant,

"KENELM H. DIGBY.

"LYONS, Nov. 16th, 1831."

P. S.—I am informed by a physician who attends me here (having an indisposition which has confined me for a few days), that this city of Lyons is in such a state of distress, that the most serious fears are entertained lest something dreadful should result in the course of the winter. He speaks with contempt of the Cholera Morbus, and thinks, notwithstanding the report of the English papers, that it is not contagious, and that it attacks only persons of irregular habits of life." "K. H. D."

The venerable Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Oliver Kelly, had also ventured to build a cathedral in the Metropolis of Connaught, and he too had engaged the Roman sculptor Leonardi to make a Gothic altar in every way worthy of the contemplated edifice. To Dr. Mac Hale the Archbishop of Tuam wrote frequently during the former's stay in Rome, begging him to press Leonardi to complete his promised work. These letters, besides their forecasting the near death of the writer and the elevation of his correspondent to the See of St. Jarlath, contain very interesting scraps of news from Ireland itself.

"Nothing very important," he writes on Feb. 25th, 1832, "has occurred at the meeting of the Bishops at Maynooth. ....The savings of Mr. Montagu (the Bursar), some £ 6000, are to be expended on enlarging the buildings of the college.... Dr. Doyle did not attend. He was under examination before the Tithe Committees (of Parliament). The evidence has not yet come over; but I am told his was an

echo of all that he has already written on the subject. The opposition to the present Tithe System is spreading rapidly; and if the laws in that particular are not speedily and materially modified, I fear the tranquillity of the country cannot be preserved.

"The new Board of Education, so far as it has gone, works well to the extent of the means placed at its disposal, which, as yet, are very scanty. His Grace, Dr. Murray, who is a most efficient member, assures me that the dissenting members are very liberal. Praise is particularly due to Mr. Carlisle, the Presbyterian minister, who is a talented and liberal man. If the present Government holds its place, I have no doubt the Board will become permanently useful. But if the Tory party succeeds in ousting the Ministry, it can be easily seen that the Kildare Street folk will again resume power. We now begin to hope that the Reform Bill will pass the Lords without any extraordinary creation of Peers, as some of the old opponents are giving in their adhesion.

"Our part of the country is quiet. There have been some meetings to petition against Tithes, but all conducted in the most peaceable manner.

"I authorize your Lordship to make any arrangement with Leonardi as may seem proper and advantageous. We are anxious to have the altar over with all possible dispatch, as the church is now roofed and slated."

On March 22d, Dr. Kelly writes further: "The glazing on the Cathedral is being done, and we have employed a Mr. O'Connor, 80 Dame St., Dublin, to prepare a beautiful stained-glass eastern window, which will cost £240. . . .

"You will perceive by the public prints that the refusal to pay tithes in this country is becoming very general, and will continue until the tax is extinguished or abolished. . . . . There is a vague rumor, which cannot be traced to any good source, that Government have it in contemplation to provide for the Catholic clergy out of the Consolidated Fund. Should that ever occur, I hope, for the sake of relig-

ion, the Holy See will not be a party to anything connected with such a measure."

This project of pensioning the Catholic clergy in Ireland, one so persistently pursued by the Whig party, at least when they held power, was one means of doing away with the independence and influence of the Irish Church. This it was which prompted Dr. Mac Hale, in his farewell interview with Gregory XVI., to beseech His Holiness never to countenance such an attempt on the part of the British Government.

The reader will remark with curiosity good Archbishop Kelly's favorable opinion of the National Board of Education, and the praise bestowed by Dr. Murray on the "liberality" of the Dissenting Members of the Board, especially of the Rev. Mr. Carlisle.

Dr. Kelly returns to this subject in his letter of May 28th. "On your Lordship's return to Ireland," he says, "I hope you will have reason to be more reconciled to the new Board of Education, should it continue so long in existence, which is much doubted, in consequence of the powerful opposition it meets with from the High Tory party in both Houses of Parliament. . . . .

"The prospects for Ireland are gloomy. We shall have but a niggardly Reform Bill; and the tithes and local assessments continue to be exacted with the usual severity. All the industrious poor, who have any means left, are emigrating, and we shortly shall have nothing to behold but a population of paupers and idlers.

"I have seen Mr. Mac Hale (Father James of Holymount) a few days ago. He is in excellent health, and he informed me that Dr. Waldron and your friends in Killala were all well.

"The ravages of the cholera have been so alarming in and about Dublin, that the students of Maynooth have been sent home at Easter, and the trustees are not likely to meet at the usual time. This dreadful malady has had its victims in Galway. But Tuam and Mayo have as yet, thank God, escaped."

The Bishop of Maronia was needed in Ireland in more than one way. On August the 25th, he wrote to Rev. James Mac Hale. "On next Monday morning I am at length resolved to bid a long farewell to Rome. I thought my departure would have been earlier. But the weather was so intolerably warm that there was no travelling with safety. . . . . I take my route along the eastern coast of Italy, visiting Loretto, Ancona, Ferrara, etc., and making direct for Venice. From Venice I purpose passing through Germany and making that interesting country the subject of my particular inquiries and observations."

His only object in thus travelling was to study every country and people on his way, and ascertain how far their social and economical condition differed from that of unhappy Ireland. Come from what source it may, he felt that the burthen was on him of devoting his whole mind and heart and strength to redressing the wrongs of his people and improving the material prosperity of his native land.

The intelligence which reached him from home,—the grinding of the wretched impoverished populations by the landlords and the parsons, and the threat or enforcement of an Arms Bill or a Coërcion Law, to repress a discontent, an irritation, which nothing could quiet but large, liberal, efficient measures of relief and reform, — all this induced him to address, on the very eve of his departure from Rome, a letter to Earl Grey, which, in its enlightened statesmanship and eloquent statement of grievances and needed remedies, more than one reader will consider to be Dr. Mac Hale's master-piece.

Masterly and most eloquent it certainly is. It is dated August 27th, and has for its heading the memorable words of Cicero, taken from his treatise *de Republica* :—

"*Nec alia erit lex Romæ, alia Athenis; nec vero per senatum aut populum hac lege solvi possumus.* ('No! there must not be one law for Rome, and another law for Athens;—no, nor can any decree of the Senate or of the assembled People dispense us from the obligation of that law,'—*i. e.*, the law of placing the salvation of the people above all other considerations)."

"MY LORD," he writes, "many months have now elapsed since I had the pleasure, or rather the pain, of addressing you on the lamentable condition of large districts in Ireland. The scenes that have since occurred in rapid succession have demonstrated—if indeed demonstration was required,—that the evils of that unfortunate land are too deeply rooted to be the casual productions of times or seasons.

"No! they are the natural result of an inveterate system of misrule. . . .

"When in Ireland, I could not, in common with every individual who had a heart to feel, but take a lively interest in its sad condition. That interest has been heightened by the strange and humiliating contrast that is found between the excellence of our Constitution and the misery of our people. Whatever our notions may be regarding the governments of the Continent, there is not so wretched a peasantry to be found under any one of them as that of Ireland.

"Of the British Constitution,—apart from the more recent penal and bigoted statutes that do not belong to it,—I am a sincere and fervent admirer; and distance does not diminish my sense of its excellence. But if the rule of Junius be true, that you may infer the character of a government from the condition of its people,—and it is not an unfair test of legislation,—it would be well for those who cannot endure the nations of the Continent, to pause on contemplating Ireland, before they can boast of the unqualified superiority of their own.

"And yet many affect to feel the utmost surprise at the persevering discontent and distraction of that country.

"Their surprise, however, would be less, if they seriously reflected on the unjust inequality of her laws. But has not that injustice been cancelled by the great measure of Emancipation?

"No.

"Emancipation conferred but little benefit on the great body of the people. At best, it could only be regarded as the precursor of more extensive and substantial advantages. It opened the way, it is true, to a small number of Catholics

toward wealth and honors. But the mass of the population was left to groan under the accumulated load of oppression, which centuries of misgovernment heaped on their devoted heads.

"In short, the whole system by which Ireland has been governed was always partial. Nor did the same narrow and intolerant spirit cease to accompany the measure of Emancipation.

"No, my Lord, none of their sore, deep-seated, and extensive grievances were redressed.

"With the evidence of this state of things before their eyes, it is wondered that the people of Ireland still persevere in agitation. They have so persevered, because, as yet, the whole mass of its inhabitants have not been brought within the pale of one general, comprehensive measure of justice, such as a nation has the right to expect from a wise and paternal legislation.

"Let us suppose that the Protestants of Ireland amounted to *seven millions*, and the Catholics but to ONE; that those Protestants were the poorest class in the Empire, while the Catholics, possessed of superabundant wealth, could procure the religious services of the minister of their own choice;—that, notwithstanding, these poor Protestants were often stripped of their most necessary articles of furniture, to swell the enormous revenues, and minister to the luxury of a Catholic priesthood, *whose only requital for those comfortable blessings of this world* was to insult the givers by every offensive epithet ever invented by polemical hatred, and then to threaten them with the torments of the world to come.

"Let us suppose, further, that those few Catholics were empowered to erect large churches and steeples and organs for the accommodation of a few Catholic families, while the unfortunate poor Protestants, at whose expense they were built, must hear the word of God under the wind and rain of heaven;—

"And that, in fine, the Catholic proprietors and priesthood were receiving large sums of money, levied on the Protestant poor, *in order to seduce the children of the latter to adopt a religion which they loathed;—*

"What would be the impression made on the British House of Commons by the advocate of such a system?

"Would not the just indignation of every friend to freedom be kindled against its continuance?"

One, surely, would think that statesmen governed by a clear insight into the public interest and welfare of the Empire,—and among a people claiming to love freedom, justice, truth, and Christian charity,—such appeals as this would not be made in vain.

The Established Church in Ireland has, indeed, been abolished since then; the Tithes and Vestry assessments have disappeared; but in no other essential respect have the burdens which make the Catholics of Ireland poor, and keep them poor, been lightened. In no respect has the administration of the law, or the distribution of public offices to Catholics and Protestants alike, been improved since 1832. As to the prosperity of the country, it is, at this moment, as heartlessly, stupidly sacrificed to the monopolists of Great Britain, as it was under the reign of William III. and George I.

But the appeal of the Bishop of Maronia to the Prime Minister of England was unaccompanied by any feeling of bitterness. And, whatever may be thought and said to the contrary,—it was through life the invariable rule of John Mac Hale to import into his public letters and public discourses no element of sectarian or political passion.

As he knelt, before leaving Rome, at the shrine of the Apostles in the Vatican Basilica, he could not forget, while praying for his flock and his afflicted country, that these Parents of the Christian people, like their Divine Master, had, in dying, none save thoughts of love and blessing for their enemies and executioners.

They knew how to withstand the tyrant and persecutor; but they neither hated nor cursed him.

And so John Mac Hale left Rome, hastening homeward, where a new scourge, the cholera, was already hovering above his beloved West.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM ROME TO BALLINA.

IT was no idle curiosity that led the Bishop of Maronia, after leaving Rome, to visit the most interesting localities in Central and Northern Italy. Nor was it to indulge his classical or æsthetic tastes alone, that he loved to pause, on his way northward, in the principal cities famed in medieval or in modern story. He was, indeed, keenly alive to all the memories which every spot and every monument recalled, and wished to impress on his own mind the image and excellence of every masterpiece of art. But, what he aimed at, above all else, in his journeyings, was to feed his faith and piety at the ancient shrines of Italy. These were the ever-present witnesses of the deeds done by the first apostles of the Christian faith in Italy. The tomb of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna, recalled the fact that St. Peter had sent his disciples all over the peninsula to preach the faith and plant churches. Apollinaris did in Ravenna, then the great military sea-port and ship-yard of the Roman Empire, what Peter and Paul had done in Rome itself, converted multitudes, and watered with his blood the field which he had cultivated. And so, as he advanced along the seaboard of the Adriatic, the tombs of Martyrs everywhere brought the Bishop back to the first century of Christianity, and enabled him to touch with his own hands the very cradle of our holy religion.

His published letters afford evidence of the intense spiritual delight which he thus experienced at every stage of his pilgrimage. The following unpublished letter to Rev. James Mac Hale, presenting as it does a succinct account of the Bishop's impressions, will not be unwelcome to the reader.

TRENT, September 22, 1832.

"MY DEAR JAMES: I promised to write to you from Venice. However, I thought it more advisable to defer doing so, until I had reached this city, so much associated with the history of the Catholic Church.

"My route from Rome, as you may perceive, has been over new and untrodden ground. But through whatever region of Italy you pass, it exhibits varied and inexhaustible beauties. On Tuesday, the day after that mentioned in my last letter, I set out from the Eternal City, traversing almost the entire of the Pontifical territories along the Adriatic coast. The number of celebrated cities which I passed would, were I even to mention slightly whatever they contain of interest, fill up this entire letter.

"I shall only mention Loreto, Ancona, Ravenna, and Ferrara, with Rimini, a town whose name is familiar to every student of theology. Ancona well merits the importance attached to it. Ravenna and Ferrara, the former long the residence of emperors, exarchs, and kings, the lattter rendered illustrious by the glories of the D'Este family, who in the sixteenth century drew to their court the most famous Italian poets, are now sad monuments of the changes of fortune. They still, however, retain in the splendor of their public buildings something worthy of their former fame.

"As for Loreto, it required and obtained a longer visit. I arrived there on Saturday evening, September 1st, and on Sunday I said Mass in the identical house in which the Blessed Virgin was born and the Redeemer of the world assumed our human nature. In distant countries the miraculous translation of this house, although known, excites no lively interest, because it seldom comes under discussion.

"Some persons affect to think the legend too clumsy to deserve the trouble of controverting it. But, independently of many other circumstances which I have well considered, the very 'clumsiness' of the story gives it a title to credit, since a miracle so much out of the ordinary range of mir-

aculous events would have scarcely been imagined, and could not have gained such lasting assent, had it not rested on irrefragable attestations.

"The house is about forty feet long and thirteen wide, with one door on the northern side, besides another since opened on the opposite side, and a window to the western gable. The interior, with the exception of where the altar is raised, is left, with becoming taste, in its original naked simplicity. The exterior is encrusted with a covering of white marble, crowned with a ballustraded parapet, and its panels on each side are hollowed into niches, to receive statues of the Sybils and the Prophets who announced the Incarnation.

"Yet all this is contained under the dome raised over the intersection of the Cross, this being the form of the magnificent church consecrated to recording the translation of the House of Loretto.

"The crowds of pilgrims thronging in to celebrate the feast of the Nativity (Sept. 8th) were immense. Their bare heads and feet, and the hymns in honor of the Blessed Virgin, which they sung as they approached the Basilica, could not but make a deep impression on a Transalpine spectator.....

"After Rome and Loreto, Venice is the city, without even excepting Florence and Naples, which is most deserving of attention. It is alone and unparalleled in its history among all the cities of the earth, having been once the sovereign and being still the wonder of the seas. I passed a few days in Venice, not well knowing to which element, earth or ocean, I belonged. Small portions of the city are intersected by narrow streets; but if you wish to make a visiting excursion and see its different regions, you must be forever in the water-vehicles called gondolas, which take you all over the place.

"The pleasing songs of the gondoliers, as their barks glide along in the evening, are celebrated all over Europe. But whatever may be the cause, whether it be a fate similar to that which has influenced the music of our own country,

there seems to be at present nothing peculiarly charming in the serenades of these aquatic songsters.

"The square or piazza of St. Mark, though not the largest, is decidedly, on account of the gorgeous richness of the surrounding architecture, the finest in Europe, despite the irregularity a pedant might find in the arrangement of the buildings. The cathedral alone, with its bronze horses, a trophy which the Republic brought from Constantinople early in the thirteenth century, is a fine monument, in keeping with the ancient renown of the Commonwealth. It abounds in works of art. Canova is buried here; and Titian, the rival of Raphael, has enriched it with his choicest productions.

"I left Venice on Tuesday evening, passed through Padua and Vicenza, and through necessity stopped two days at Verona (such delays will account for my tardiness), to procure a vehicle to Trent. In Verona there is the Amphitheatre, second far to that of Rome in magnificence, equal to that of Pompeii, and superior to both in preservation. Verona has also, or is said to have, the tomb of Romeo and Juliet, immortalized by the tragic muse of Shakespeare.

"From Verona I soon entered the Tyrol, my road lying between two mountainous ridges, which exhibit the most delightful variety of outline, and overhang the course of the Adige. I have scarcely space for a word about Trent. The city is fine, though not large; the situation most picturesque. I have just come back from the church (Santa Maria) in which the assembled bishops of Christendom met in council. In the chancel, to the left of the high altar, is a painting, very vivid and appropriate, representing this august assembly.

"Affectionately yours,
"✠ JOHN MAC HALE."

"P. S.—with the exception of *Gallignani's Messenger* (if I may call that English), and that only at Venice, I have seen no English journals since I left Rome. I am, of course, much in the dark about the state of Irish politics, which, I

am sure, are raging rather fiercely at the approach of the elections. How are 'the Tithes' going on? None of the parsons, I hope, have been suffered to die of starvation? You may perhaps hear from me again before I reach London. I set out this evening in the public 'Diligence' to Innspruck, and from that to Munich. Your next send to London, to the care of RIGHT & Co., Covent Garden, and don't forget to fill it with all the news, political and domestic. Adieu."

On the 18th of November, Dr. Mac Hale wrote from Frankfort, to the editor of the "Edinburgh Review," an open letter, rebuking this organ of the Whigs for its glaring inconsistencies. In the preceding number, of October 1832, the Reviewer had travelled over all Europe and far away into the history of the past, to find proper matter for impugning the administration of the Papal States and restating the oft-refuted calumnies against the Church, the inquisition, and the monks. This was all the more unpardonable, as the "Review" had started under liberal colors, and professed to be the foremost advocate of political freedom and a large religious toleration.

"As your heroism prompts you," he says, "to be so generous as to go abroad in quest of instances of foreign servitude to denounce, had you no eyes to fix on those who, nearer home, were laboring to establish real freedom and to break more galling fetters? If you are so shocked by the laziness of the monks and the amount of ecclesiastical property in Spain, how did the three millions sterling annually wrung from the wretched peasantry of Ireland escape your notice, especially as these millions go to feed a body dying of actual plethora for want of any duties to perform? In all the history of sinecures in Catholic countries I challenge you to point out, either in ancient or in modern times, such an instance of oppression."

These arguments, so powerfully put by the young accepted apologist of the Irish people, were read by millions. They were reproduced by the Irish press, and read in the poorest cabins of Galway, Clare, Mayo, and Donegal, as well as in

the reading-rooms and clubs of every city in Ireland. They were read in England and Scotland as well. For the bitter invectives of both the Tory and the Whig journals impelled the comparatively few friends and the many enemies of Ireland in Great Britain to read, as a matter of curiosity, what could be said in opposition to their own cherished opinions.

The downfall of the Church by law established in Ireland was, it is true, to be delayed for more than thirty years after the date of this letter. Still, the passionate discussions occasioned by such attacks as Dr. Mac Hale's gave signs that a public opinion was springing up which was hostile to the perpetuation of this monstrous national wrong.

The liberal party in Great Britain were then loud in their praise of what their brethren in France were doing in favor of such liberty as was the ideal of the Masonic Lodges in Brussels and in Paris. These only asked for political power in order to crush Catholicism and to possess themselves of the undisputed control of public education.

Continuing his denunciation, the Bishop of Maronia thus describes liberal France: "They (the French Revolutionists) talk of freedom, while their acts are most tyrannical. The press is persecuted; the poor, inoffensive Trappists are banished; and education is utterly proscribed, unless administered by a board of sophists, who, conscious that there can be no tyranny exercised with impunity while the mind is free, labor to monopolize the human intellect, and to reduce man to the condition of a machine, that is, to move in blind obedience to all their caprices.

"And as for England, with what consistency can she talk to other countries of the duty of being just, while she denies justice to Ireland? Let her first introduce among her own subjects the ecclesiastical reform which she seeks so zealously to establish in Rome. It will be high time to turn her attention to the concerns of continental nations, when she will have freed her own people from the ecclesiastical despotism which neither the people of Italy nor that of Portugal would endure."

There is, toward the close of the letter, an eloquent passage, in which the Prelate rejects with scorn the sympathy and aid proffered to Ireland in her struggles by the false liberals and shallow philosophers of the Edinburgh Review school:—

"As for any aid you can lend Ireland, she will, I am sure, disclaim your services. She has abler and more efficient instruments to achieve her regeneration. To your *Review*, or to any other, she owes not the slightest obligation. With much about speculative freedom in its pages, your journal is really the abettor of the worst of tyrannies in upholding that utilitarian system which, by loosing law-givers from the force of anterior moral restraints, would leave the people at the mercy of the most sanguinary enactments.

"You boast of your Vattels and your Lockes, your Benthams, your Paleys, and your Bacons, until some of your half-informed readers, who have never perused the works of these authors, are impressed with the opinion that their maxims are the safeguards of freedom and happiness. If, however, we are to judge of a tree by its fruits, all the laws that have been enacted and are still perpetuated by the admirers of these writers are anything but a model of the mildness and justice which should characterize a Christian code of laws.

"Where but under the iron sway of Bentham's philosophy could the public prints ascribe the following sentence to a judge of the land: '*I know of no such monster as unjust law*'?[1] .... Here law and justice are at once identified, and the most unjust and cruel enactments bring the force of moral obligation. What a pity, the Catholics of Ireland during the last centuries, and the Christians during the first, did not become acquainted with this philosophy. It would have saved them the foolish expenditure of their property and blood, by teaching them that there was no such monstrosity as an unjust law!

"For me, I prefer the old theology of Thomas Aquinas—

[1] The *monstrosity*, of course, lies in the supposition that a law, no matter how contrary to justice or humanity in its enactments, ceases to be *unjust* by the mere fact of its being *a law*.

a name that is never introduced into the fashionable pages of your *Review*, but for ridicule,—to the maxims of sophists, who acknowledge no law superior to their own. *A tyrannical government is unjust, being ordained, not for the common good, but for the private good of the ruler; therefore the disturbance of this rule is not sedition, unless when the overthrow of tyranny is so inordinately pursued, that the multitude suffers more from the disturbance than from the existence of the government.*

"Probably you were not aware that such maxims of civil liberty are to be found amidst what is called the scholastic rubbish of the middle ages. The Scholastics have been held up by you as the foes of political freedom; and moderns have been credited with discovering principles which, separated from the alloy mixed up with them by moderns, may be drawn from the rich sources of Catholic jurisprudence.

"Why have I thus referred you to these fountains? To show you that the Irish Catholics, in the vindication of their just rights, have no need to draw from the turbid streams of French or Scotch philosophy. No: instead of the vile materialism of these schools, which necessarily make a man a despot or a slave, there is a vitality about the doctrine of A JUSTICE ANTERIOR TO LAW, which protects the rights of a community, by forcing upon governments the necessity of recognizing the same."

The cholera, which had at length desolated Mayo as well as the other counties of Ireland, disappeared with the first colds of autumn. This was one great source of comfort to the good Bishop. He had keenly regretted his absence from his flock in the hour of danger, even though he felt assured that his priests would be, in the extremity, more than ever devoted to their afflicted people. On his way through the Tyrol, Switzerland, and Germany, Dr. Mac Hale was most industrious in collecting all the information he could obtain about the condition of the agricultural populations, and the working of the various social institutions. He was treasuring up knowledge as a means

for enlightening public opinion in Great Britain, as a weapon to use in the long battle before him in favor of justice to the land of his birth.

At length, by mid-December, he found himself at home in Ballina,—at HOME, in the midst of his own native Tirawley and of the people to whom every tie of nature and religion bound him so strongly. We need not dwell on the *Cead mille failthe*,—the warm welcome which came from more than ten times a thousand Irish hearts, in every county through which he passed from Dublin to Mayo. There was, even in 1832, that quick intelligence among the populations of Ireland, which flashed news of every kind pertaining to their national interests from point to point throughout the land, with a rapidity which almost rivalled the electric telegraph of later years. And it is no exaggeration to say, that from the time, in August, 1831, the Bishop of Maronia left the shores of Ireland, till his return sixteen months afterward, his every movement, his every act and word, were followed with a most eager and loving interest. His own letters spoke but modestly of his frequent interviews with Gregory XVI. But there were others in Rome who took care to inform the Irish bishops and priests, as well as laymen, of the impression which the Coadjutor of Killala had made at the Quirinal, and of the affection conceived for him by the clear-sighted and magnanimous Pope.

There was not a priest's house in Ireland in which it was not known that Dr. Mac Hale had truly and eloquently stated the case of Ireland to the Head of the Church, and enlightened him as to the policy and designs of the British Government, no matter by whom administered. There was not a peasant's home in Tirawley, in Mayo, in the whole West, in which it was not known that the man whom they worshipped was received in Rome as the representative of Ireland's faith, as the embodiment of her patriotism, her claims, her hopes, her aspirations.

The people knew well what persistent attempts England had made all through the fifty years which preceded 1832,

to circumvent the Holy See and obtain for Government a controlling voice in the management of Irish ecclesiastical affairs. They knew also that Dr. Mac Hale had once more defeated all the hopes of the Government in that direction. Besides his successful championship of their dearest interests, had he not, in his published letters, made them all proud of their ancestral faith and their ancient race, by describing to them the hosts of great and saintly men, whose names in continental countries were revered as those of apostles and enlighteners, and whom Ireland had sent forth of old from her teeming bosom to be the civilizers of Europe?

There was more than that in the descriptions which he gave of Catholic countries. It had been the custom for Irish Protestants, as well as for English and Scotch travellers in Ireland, to hold up the very wretchedness and illiteracy of the peasant populations as the natural outgrowth of popery. The Irish people knew better. They knew that in the Catholic ages Ireland had been one vast academy of learning, and that the fair monuments of art with which the land was covered had been levelled by the apostles of the Reformation.

It was equally cruel, unjust, and absurd to reproach the Catholic Celt with the enforced illiteracy and the enforced poverty which were the direct and intended results of Protestant rule,—and to brag of superior civilization, when the ruins strewn on every side proclaimed the vandalism of the Reformers.

The literary, scientific, and artistic schools of Continental countries, as described by the Bishop of Maronia, filled the souls of his people with a noble pride, and with the hope of seeing ere long their native country blessed with liberty to cultivate anew letters, science, and art.

The Coadjutor-Bishop of Killala was, together with his noble rival in genius and patriotism, Dr. Doyle, the great figure who stood before the nation's eye, in the bright dawn of a new era, walking along the opened high-road to full freedom and prosperity.

They welcomed him, then, with a fervor which helped not a little to warm him up to the work now before him. Manifold and gigantic, it was a work which might well dishearten the strongest and bravest. Still, trusting firmly in Him for whose cause he was laboring, Dr. Mac Hale set about his task as if everything depended on his single exertions.

The harvest of 1832 had been but a poor one all over Ireland; in the West it had been almost a failure. And to the dreary prospect created by scanty crops had been added the horrors of the cholera. The cholera had, indeed, disappeared at the approach of the first frosts, leaving many a home desolate. But neither the havoc made among the poor by the pestilence, nor the appalling certainty of another famine, could prevent the exaction of tithes, nor the collecting of rack-rents, nor the pressing for the arrears of rent it was impossible to pay, nor the exportation from the country of grain, and cattle, and farm produce of every kind.

To sustain the people under this accumulation of ills, must tax to the utmost the powers of persuasion, the great influence of the Bishop over his immediate flock, and his own physical endurance, as he well knew from past experience.

And with the failure of the harvest, the rack-renting, the evictions, the seizures for tithes, had come the resistance of the oppressed people,—acts of passionate violence and cruel retaliation to avenge the heartless deeds of the landlord, the tithe-proctor, and the evicting brigades.

Poor Bishop! How was he to interpose effectively between the oppressors and the oppressed?

This was one part only of the work before him; and we are only foreshadowing dimly the struggle that awaited him during the winter of 1832–33 and all through the latter year.

Then there was the Education Question, which the enemies of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and the friends and supporters of these enemies in Parliament and in the Government, agitated all the more energetically that the country was more sorely distressed. The National System, like

every other educational scheme set on foot for the benefit of Ireland, from the beginning of the nineteenth century down to its last decade, was, openly or covertly, devised to decatholicize the youth of the country.

The Cloncurry-Stanley plan, which had its birth in 1831, was fully organized and put in operation the following year, and while Dr. Mac Hale was in Rome. The two archbishops of Dublin, Protestant and Catholic, Dr. Whateley and Dr. Murray, were appointed members of the National Board; and it were hard to say which of the two did more to make the system a living energizing force, working irremediable moral evil among the Irish youth.

As we have seen above, in the letters addressed to the Bishop of Maronia in Rome, from Dr. Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam, the former was known to be as opposed to the proposed National Schools, as he had been to those of the Kildare Street Society.

This life-long hostility to a system of education which found advocates, apologists, and active supporters in the highest rank of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland, was only one instance of that divinatory sense given to John Mac Hale, and which enabled him to detect, by an infallible instinct, whatever was dangerous to the faith and morals of his people, to the vital interests of the nation.

We shall see presently how well-grounded were his fears as regards the aim of the founders of the National System of education, and how surely he divined the purposes of such men as Archbishop Whateley. Suffice it to say here that to combat the National Board, to watch and denounce its proceedings, were a part of the work that lay before him at the dawn of the year 1833.

CHAPTER XIV.

1833–1834.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE IN THE WEST OF IRELAND —DR. MAC HALE, THE ADVOCATE OF REPEAL—THE DEFENDER OF THE POOR OF IRELAND.

IT will be pleasant, before following the Bishop of Maronia into the series of conflicts forced upon him by the sad condition of his grievously oppressed people, to consider the friendly relations which he kept up with distinguished Catholics. Brief as had been his stay in England, on his way to and from Italy, his acquaintance had been eagerly sought for by many of his coreligionists, who, whatever they might think of him as the advocate of Irish rights, felt for him a grateful admiration as the eloquent expounder and defender of Catholic doctrine.

The Earl of Shrewsbury had been his correspondent during the famine of 1831. In 1833, hearing that Dr. Mac Hale was about to publish a second edition of his "Evidences," he hastened to write him the following encouraging letter:—

ALTON TOWERS.

"MY LORD BISHOP:—I am delighted to hear it is your intention to republish your admirable work, still further improved by the additions and illustrations which your travels have enabled you to make to it. There can be no doubt that the main object is to get it into circulation amongst Protestants; and with this view, I think you would do well to have a Protestant publisher. They have much greater means of making their publications known.

"I sincerely wish you every success, and have no doubt, but that the merits of the work will be justly appreciated.

"Should you at any time be on your way to or from Ireland, it will always afford Lady Shrewsbury and myself much pleasure to see you here.

"I knew you would be delighted with Rome. It is impossible to be otherwise. And I beg to congratulate with you on your safe return home.

"Believe me, my Lord Bishop,

"Very truly and sincerely yours,

"SHREWSBURY."

Here is another letter from a Catholic gentleman of London, who, with his wife, was devoted to every good work in behalf of the poor. It is evident that the Bishop of Maronia had made this noble-hearted pair very happy by accepting their hospitality while in the English capital. Such friendship honors both the prelate and his hosts.

PORCHESTER TERRACE, BAYSWATER, Feb. 1st, 1833.

"MY LORD:—I expected long since to have heard of your arrival at Ballina; but, I presume from forgetfulness, you did not write, or, from a similar cause, the postman neglected his duty of delivering your letter. But be assured, your friends at Bayswater have often thought of you, and remembered with pleasure their enjoyment of your society. They look forward to a repetition of the honor your Lordship did them. . . .

"I now, my Lord, assume the right of provoking you to address me, or of summoning you to appear at Bayswater to show cause why you should not occupy the pulpit on Sunday, the 24th instant, at the Chapel in Spanish Place, to aid by the influence of your name and the force of your eloquence the claims of the destitute offspring of your country to public sympathy. St. Patrick's charity appeals to your benevolence. Its treasurer (Shylock like) claims his bond; but he must admit the conditional nature of your promise.

"A visit to London about this time was in your contemplation; its realization will give validity to your engagement, and the bond will then be discharged on the first

Sunday in Lent. The exception will be your absence, which will cause my regret, but not lessen my gratitude for your kind intentions.

"Many will be attracted to London by the 24th inst., not, unfortunately, on account of the sermon, but by a very different display, viz., the Queen's Drawing Room, advertised for the 25th. Think, my Lord, of the happy opportunity you may have of extracting from some of the votaries of fashion a few of the gems which are destined to glitter in the presence of Royalty; and how much more valuable they can be made to the schools in Tudor Place, than in the Court of St. James.

"I need scarcely assure you how welcome you will be in Porchester Terrace, and shall be much obliged by your writing (if convenient, by return of post), to inform me if we are to have the happiness of seeing you, and, in such case, the probable time, that your bed may be ready, and that I may apprize the committee of St. Patrick's Charity, on or about the 9th inst., whether they may expect you to plead the cause of the institution.

"Since you were with us, Mrs. Barnewall has so far succeeded in her Orphan Asylum plan, as to have established six orphans in Tudor Place, and she has obtained a sufficient number of annual subscribers to support them.

"You will be sorry to learn that the Rt. Rev. Dr. Gradwell has declined much in health, and is at present in a precarious state. His complaints appear to have turned to dropsy.

"I trust this will find your Lordship in good health, and that your part of Ireland is not in the state of excitement which the public press would have us believe the whole of Ireland is in.

"Mrs. Barnewall desires me to present to you her respectful regards, and uniting with me in every kind wish, I recommend her and myself to your pious prayers, and remain, my Lord, with much respect and regard,

"Very faithfully yours,

"HENRY BARNEWALL.

"THE RIGHT REV'D. DR. MAC HALE."

Yes, the English press was busy exaggerating the discontent and agitation prevailing in Ireland in the first months of 1833; but, as usual, no word was said of the many and sorely irritating causes.

It seemed a hopeless struggle for the Catholic population in Ireland and their religious guides,—this perpetual alternation of labor which brought no fruit to the toiler, of harvests garnered each autumn for merciless masters, leaving nothing to the poor serfs who produced them but hunger and starvation for the ensuing winter, spring, and summer, —and Coercion Bills, eviction, and extermination as the lot of the sufferers.

The wonder is, amid this uniformity of despair begotten of oppression, and of the uselessness of resistance to pitiless might, not that such men as the Bishop of Maronia protested, remonstrated, besought, and pleaded in behalf of their perishing flocks, but that they did not keep silence, and submit passively with their people to all the evils with which fate pursued them so relentlessly.

But in pastors and people there was a twofold force, which sustained them against this chronic extremity of wrong:—their belief that they suffered for conscience' sake, and their abiding faith in the vitality of the national cause.

We must not, however, pause to consider this subject at present, but admire how Dr. Mac Hale sought to cultivate a true brotherly, Christian feeling with Englishmen of all creeds and classes.

Among the English Catholics for whom Dr. Mac Hale felt a sincere affection was the Hon. and Rev. George Spencer, whose saintly life and touching death are still so well remembered by the people of the Three Kingdoms. When the time came for the consecration of the Cathedral of Tuam, the Archbishop sent Father Spencer a special invitation. To this the devoted missionary had to send an answer declining the honor.

"My dear Lord," he writes, "I returned from a journey which caused my absence from home for a fortnight, only the day before yesterday, or else I should not have allowed

your Grace's flattering letter to have continued so long unanswered. I should have found very great pleasure in taking advantage of such an opportunity as you offer me to make my first visit to Ireland, and an acquaintance with the body of her distinguished clergy. But I am now stationed by myself on my mission here,[1] and find that it is more than enough for my poor abilities, while constantly on the spot, to meet the difficulties which surround me on this new station; and I am obliged to limit myself to leaving home only when some great necessity urges, and of this I leave it to my bishop, Dr. Walsh, to judge. Your Grace has naturally chosen the festival of the Assumption as the season of your consecration. This, of course, is an additional hindrance in the way of my accepting your kind invitation."[2]

In 1838, when Father Spencer resolved to enlist the zeal of all Catholic countries in a union of prayers "for the conversion of England," Dr. Mac Hale was one of the first to whom he opened his heart on this new apostolic mission, so much in harmony with the angelic nature of the man, and one which he felt sure would appeal to all that was most noble in the Archbishop's sentiments. It is a most interesting recital, and may well serve as an interval of sweet repose in the agitating and often tragic narrative of these pages.

343 OXFORD STREET, LONDON, Nov. 3d, 1838.

"MY DEAR LORD:—Having just been reminded of your Grace's person, and of your former kindness to myself, by a visit from the Rev. Mr. Dwyer of Achill, whom I have just met in Dr. Walsh's lodging house here, and who presented a letter of recommendation from you, I am led to make no delay in writing to your Grace on an affair which has of late greatly interested me.

"I have lately been in France for two months on account of my health, a fortnight of which time I spent at Paris. The first evening of my arrival, I was presented to the

[1] Westbromwich, Birmingham.

[2] Mac Hale MSS.

Archbishop. Our conversation naturally turned on the state of religion in England; and I as naturally expressed the wish which I lose no occasion of expressing,—that the faithful should in every quarter pray for the conversion of our country; and particularly I spoke of the exceeding good it would do if the Catholics of France would unite in this charitable work. The Archbishop immediately took up the idea with admirable charity. After two days he was to meet an assembly of the clergy of Paris at St. Sulpice, to thank him at the conclusion of a retreat which he had given them. He appointed me to meet him there, and when their business was concluded, he introduced me to them, and publicly requested them to undertake these united prayers. I had explained to him that, for the last year and a half, I had myself with some more of my brethren made a practice of offering the Mass every Thursday, in honor of the Blessed Sacrament, as a reparation of honor for the outrages inflicted on that mystery in England and authorized by law, conceiving that this would be the most proper devotion to attend to, particularly in order to open to our country the door of grace, which these blasphemies must, of course, provoke Almighty God to close.

"The Archbishop, having explained this proposal, simply added: 'And why not?' The clergy all embraced the thought most zealously, and I found myself obliged, if my own inclinations had not been sufficiently bent that way, to do all I could to coöperate with their good will.

"Accordingly, having requested a circular letter of introduction from the Vicar-General, I visited above twenty of the principal religious houses of Paris. The Superiors all promised that this intention should be adopted in the communions and devotions, not only of their own communities on Thursdays and other days as well, but as far as in them lay, that their sister houses in France should join them. The General of the Lazarists and the Provincial of the Jesuits promised to recommmend it to their entire orders. Several prelates of France, besides the Archbishop of Paris, particularly the Archbishop of Besançon and the

Bishop of Nancy, undertook to recommend it to all their jurisdiction and influence, and many more bishops were written to by myself or by others.

"When I returned to Dieppe, where I had fixed my abode with Mr. Phillipps and his family, the *Curé* of the principal church was so pleased with the proposal, that he desired me to speak of it in the pulpit. Accordingly, I ventured on this occasion to make my first essay of a sermon in any language but English. It was delightful to witness the manner in which the people seemed to receive what I said. I have sent the sermon which I preached to Mr. Digby at Paris, to consult with judicious people, whether to print it as an appeal to the people of France in general.

"I have not time to explain myself more at present; but I leave it to your Grace to form a judgment of this matter, as it strikes you. What makes me write to you, is to request of you, if you should approve of it, to make known to the clergy aud the faithful under your charge how the great kingdom of France has engaged in the undertaking to gain from God the conversion of our country, and to invite them to do their part.

"I am led to lose no time in writing to you, by hearing from Mr. Dwyer, that the "Times" has found out what we were about in France, and has denounced Phillipps and me this morning. Well, let them make the worst of it; the more they publish it, the better that people may learn to know the weapons the Catholic Church uses in opposition to the calumnies of Protestant Mission Societies, like the Achill (Mission Society). Begging your Grace to excuse my haste, as Dr. Walsh is waiting for me me to go out with him,

"I am your obedient humble servant,

"GEORGE SPENCER.

"HIS GRACE, DR. MAC HALE, TUAM."

A few years later, when the Irish people were beginning to recover from the famine of 1841, although still writhing under a Coercion Law, the never-failing concomitant of famine in Ireland,—George Spencer resolved to enlist their

sympathies in the pious crusade he had undertaken for the conversion of England to the Catholic faith. As the following letter will tell,—it was to Dr. Mac Hale that he turned for coöperation and support in this undertaking.

"TURBOTSTOWN, CASTLE POLLARD, CO. WESTMEATH.
"FEAST OF ST. DOMINIC, Aug. 4, 1842.

"MY DEAR LORD:—As the newspapers have honored me with some notice, your Grace will perhaps have been informed that I am come into Ireland for a visit. My intention is to spend my time in this country till the end of our college vacation. I must be at home on the 3d of September. I come not to see things, as mountains, waterfalls, etc., but people; and as I intend reaching Galway and Mayo in the West, I hope I am not presuminig too far, if I take advantage of the invitation which your Grace was so good as to send me some years ago,—to attend the consecration of your Cathedral, and ask permission to visit you for a day now, if you are at home, when I pass that way.

"I do not come to Ireland merely to see it; nor do I intend to cease all this time from working for my vocation in England. The main object which I have before me is to invoke the prayers of the Irish people for England. You may have heard that four years ago I was occupied in this way in France, where my petition was most charitably answered. Ever since I have been using all occasions to interest Catholics thro' the world in this same work; but especially I have looked on Ireland as called and destined by Almighty God to be our chief helper; and as I reckon the Irish incapable of not opening their hearts to anything generous, especially when something religious is in the proposal, I have been sure that they would, as one man, come into the idea of revenging themselves on England for all her injuries and oppressions in this way, as soon as it was proposed to them.

"I thank God I have not been disappointed in what I have seen hitherto. I have been allowed to preach twice in Dublin on this subject, and I return thither to preach again next Sunday. Of course, in Ireland nothing of this kind

will go on, except under the direction of the clergy; and I would not wish to move the people to do anything, if I could do it, except with the sanction of the prelates.

"I desire to come and lay my wishes most humbly before your Grace, and entreat you to patronize this charitable work. I wish to lose no occasion of preaching publicly upon it; and hitherto, in Dublin, I have been solicited to preach very earnestly; and in most places, I suppose, any one who can draw a good congregation, and obtain some willing contributions in that way, is acceptable. I have, therefore, not scrupled to offer myself at Cork for Sunday the 14th and the Assumption; and I will not fear (as I believe I am following a good object) asking your Grace, whether in Tuam, where I propose being on Sunday, the 28th of this month, there is any charitable or pious object in which you are interested, and to which you would think it well to allow me to contribute in this way, by preaching in the Cathedral, or in any other Catholic church in the town.

"Oh! if your Grace would undertake this great cause, and yourself recommend to the Irish to pray for England, how great, I imagine to myself, would be the effect! and how gloriously would that prove that the zeal with which you often inveigh against England is not human, but DIVINE!

"However, I will not use arguments or solicitations, and shall be best pleased to abide by your judgment.

"Will you be so good as to give me an answer at your convenience, as, in case you are to be engaged or absent at that time, or do not find it convenient on some other account, to receive me, I may forecast to make other plans. I have cousins near Tuam, I think, to visit:—Mr. Spencer Lindsay and his family; and I know that Lord Lucan, my cousin, is now at Castlebar; I might also see him.

"I am your Grace's

"Obedient faithful servant in Christ,

"GEORGE SPENCER."

The Bishop of Maronia had returned from his pilgrimage to Rome and his study of continental peoples and institutions, more than ever convinced of the necessity of reform-

ing radically the land-laws in force in Ireland, of doing away with the odious burthens of the Established Church, —and, in order to effect these reforms, of having all Irishmen agitate and petition for the Repeal of the Union.

He felt the deep unalterable conviction, that an Irish Parliament, sitting in Ireland, composed of Irishmen representing truly the entire body of the people, Catholics as well as Protestants, could alone understand Irish wants, the deep and inveterate sources of Irish distress, and misery, and discontent,—and could remedy the same by making the relations between landlord and tenant repose on just and equitable laws.

Dr. Mac Hale was not the disciple of O'Connell in his views on Repeal and Reform. What he thought and wrote on these matters was the fruit of his own life-long study. We have already seen how powerfully he aided O'Connell in advocating and advancing the movement for Catholic Emancipation. O'Connell ever looked upon him as an ally, an auxiliary, but never as a follower or a dependent.

Nor did he wait for O'Connell's initiative, to raise the cry for Repeal, for the abolishing of the Established Church with its oppressive and monstrous system of tithes, vestry cesses, etc., for the creation of tenant-right, the development of Irish agriculture and Irish commerce, and for the introduction and promotion of every measure tending to the education and elevation, to the freedom and prosperity of the masses of his countrymen.

Dr. Mac Hale had been told in Rome how adverse English Catholics, those of the upper classes in particular, were to the Repeal of the Union. A bishop who could advocate such a measure was in the eyes of these Catholics hardly orthodox in religion, a radical and revolutionist in politics. This accounts for the hostility with which Dr. Mac Hale was pursued through life by these good people, and for their bitter denunciations of him as a "political prelate." But their misconception of his principles and aims, and their misrepresentations of his writings and public course, had no effect in modifying his opinions or in moving him from

that line of policy which, in his estimation, could alone secure the salvation of Ireland, the welfare of religion, and the integrity of the empire.

We have only to recall what he wrote to Lord Grey from Rome, on August 27th, 1832. His words were a salutary and timely warning to that statesman and his associates, and they contained also a tacit but unequivocal condemnation of what was to be the bane of O'Connell's policy,—his coalescing with either Whigs or Tories, for the purpose of obtaining honor and position for his followers.

"Emancipation," he says to the Prime Minister, "conferred but little benefit on the great body of the people. At best, it could only be regarded as the precursor of more extensive and substantial advantages. It opened the way, it is true, to a small number of Catholics to wealth and honors; but the mass of the population was left to groan under the accumulated load of oppression which centuries of misgovernment had heaped on their devoted heads.

"In short, the whole system by which Ireland has been governed was always partial; nor did the same narrow and intolerant spirit cease to accompany the measure of Emancipation.

"Seats in Parliament, and other places of distinction, were made accessible to a few, *while thousands of the peasantry were stript of the valuable privilege of the franchise*, of which they were in possession, merely for the guilt of having learned its value, and exercised it with independence."[1]

The words here underlined are a rebuke to O'Connell, who, "in order to gain Emancipation, had committed the terrible mistake of consenting to the abolition of the forty-shilling freeholder. This had taken away from the landlords one of the most effective reasons for sparing the tenant at will, and evictions were perpetrated on an unusually large scale. In short, the material condition of Ireland was worse in the years succeeding than it had been for several years before the Act of Emancipation."[2]

[1] *Letters*, Second Edition, vol. I., 422.

[2] T. P. O'Connor, M. P., "The Parnell Movement" ch. i., p. 7.

The Bishop of Maronia was one who, during his stay in Rome, was careful to say to Pope and Cardinals what he wrote to the English Premier, that the Catholic masses in Ireland had gained little or nothing from the passing of the Emancipation Act. With the English Catholics it was different. Their political disabilities being removed by the Act, they enjoyed the benefits of English law and a wise government. The Catholics of Ireland had never tasted of the liberties guaranteed by the Common Law of England. Emancipation, instead of lightening the burthens imposed by the Irish Land Laws, did but aggravate it.

"Can it be denied," he asks Lord Grey, "that in granting this reluctant boon, the Government kept in view the same narrow policy that was always pursued toward that unfortunate kingdom of Ireland? What did the people gain in the mean time by this boasted measure?"

Distress,—deep and dire,—reigned in the cabins of the Connaught peasantry during 1833, only to be deepened in the fall by a partial failure of the potato crop. Meanwhile, with this spreading distress went hand in hand distraining for rent, evictions, the gathering of tithes, and all the plagues with which, for more than a century and a half, the unhappy tillers of the soil were wont to be visited.

In November, Dr. Mac Hale, who had some little faith in Earl Grey's reform principles, addressed him boldly on the Repeal of the Act of Union, as the only radical cure for all the evils of Ireland. The letter raised a storm. But it should be mentioned here, because its principles and utterances constitute so many maxims for the National party in 1890.

"When on a late occasion," he says, "I called your attention to the starving inhabitants of Mayo, I did not hesitate candidly to declare that the distress was not entirely owing to the bad season, but that it was partly traceable to a long practised system of the most inexorable local rapacity. And I, accordingly, strove to impress upon your Lordship, that, without remedial legislative measures, which would strike at the root of the evil, our appeal to the British Min-

ister would be, to a great extent, abortive. We might excite sympathy for our distress during one or two seasons; —but.... the prolific cause of that distress would remain uneradicated.

"That cause—the truth cannot be dissembled—is not to be found in the sterility of our soil, or the badness of the seasons, or in the indolence of our inhabitants; but in that hateful code of laws, which enables unfeeling landlords, who may have nought of humanity but the form, to seize the entire produce of the tenants' labor, and to fling them, without food or raiment, on the mercy of society.

"Great alarm has been already felt," he continues, "on account of the shortness of the potato crop.... The Southern journals, with a laudable concern for the interests of the poor, recommend the keeping of the corn crop to meet the probable approaches of distress. Such a recommendation may be wise there. But as for us (in Mayo), you might as well look for dried grapes or figs among the peasantry, as search for any vestige of the oat-crop in their little corn yards, even if the potato crop did not extend beyond that season. No, my Lord, not only is the oat-crop generally seized for rent, but it is also converted by the landlords, or agents, or drivers,—for they shift the odium from one to another,—into a traffic of the most revolting usury...."

The courageous advocate of the cause of Ireland and of her starving populations is only stating his case and preparing to arraign England for the misgovernment of centuries.

"Let it not be imagined," he exclaims, "that I am meditating a mendicant mission to the English people.... I most solemnly declare that to whatever extent distress should rage, I shall never appeal to the sympathy of the British people for its mitigation. No, my Lord, it is unworthy the character of any nation—especially one so favored by nature as Ireland,—to be a periodical mendicant at the doors of another. The impression of receiving relief from England would be anything but serviceable to the interests of society. It would crush the spirit of our peasantry,

. . . . and prompt our country squires to manage with a more dexterous hand all the legal machinery, which they have already so effectually wielded, in 'grinding the faces of the poor'. . . .

"What we require is a practical vindication of Providence, that He may be no longer blasphemed, by imputing to seasons or to climates *what is the incontestable effect of bad legislation.*

"We want laws in accordance with the unchangeable principles of justice, which require that in every covenant the obligations and advantages be reciprocal, and which, while they secure to the proprietor the first rent of the soil, will not suffer him to defraud the tenant of the whole produce of his labor.

"We want laws to check the continual emigration of our wealth into other countries, to feed the drones of Ireland.

"Was there ever such an anomaly!—to be begging food from the very people who are fed into insolence with the superabundance of our produce!—to be depending on another nation, whose capital is swelled by the starvation of our own!

"Yes! I make the assertion advisedly. English capital is swelled by the luxurious extravagance of Irish absentees;

"The luxurious extravagance of Irish absentees is fed with the exports of the Irish people;

"The exports of the Irish people, unchecked by any law that would secure a portion to the growers, are regulated in their amount only by the will of the absentee landlord and the extortions of the home agent;—

"To satisfy these incessant twofold demands, the entire produce is often seized and exported; and hence it follows that English capital is accumulated with the price of Irish starvation.

"We will, then, appeal to your Lordship, or to the existing Prime Minister, to apply a remedy to what is not the effect of chance, to check by opposite laws that distress which bad laws occasion.

"It is not coercive measures, then, that can supply the

Irish peasantry with food, or avert the return of periodical starvation.

"No! Of the powerlessness of coercion to effect good Ireland can supply a long, lamentable experience. The humbler classes have been sufficiently coerced. Now it is in contemplation to make them amends by the coercion of their taskmasters. The former do not look for any such ungenerous revenge.... The latter will not bear the yoke with the same resignation.

"You may pass laws to have the hungry fed and the naked clothed.... Your laws will be of no avail without a development of the resources from which such necessary funds are to be drawn.

"You may coerce the absentees to remain in Ireland. Their hearts would recoil from enactments so much at variance with, I do not say the reality, but the boasted freedom of British law.

"In short, you may entangle yourself in a labyrinth of legislation, and still not find the clue by which you may arrive at the end for which such a cumbrous edifice of laws has been erected.

"In the best regulated and most prosperous States of antiquity the laws were few and simple, *because they were the production of men who knew the wants of the people*, and *were anxious to relieve them.*"

Here we come to the central argument for Repeal and Home Rule. The case has never been more clearly put:—

"Members of Parliament chosen in England and Scotland, who form the majority of the British Senate, have not sufficient knowledge of the wants of the Irish people, nor anxiety to relieve them.

"Your Lordship may recollect that *Patres Conscripti* was the appropriate name bestowed on the most venerable political assembly that ever yet fixed the attention of mankind. It was a name characteristic of the fatherly solicitude which legislators owe to the people as to children. No such name or relation can ever attach to legislators who are filled with the idea of the ascendancy of one portion, and the abasement

of another, of the subjects. Hence *Conscript Masters*, rather than *Conscript Fathers*, is the name which, at least as regards Ireland, the historian should bestow on the British Senate.

"Your Lordship cannot mistake the obvious tendency of these remarks.

"I have confidence in laws; but it is in such laws as proceed from men who are acquainted with the wants of those for whom they legislate, and who are fitted with a parental anxiety to promote their happiness."

"It is these alone that can enact laws for the benefit of the Irish poor; direct their labor into remunerative channels; develop the hidden resources of the country; and then call forth all those noble creations of art, of literature, of science, and of civilization, which, without coercive laws, will bring home the absentees. . . .

"Other measures may be partially beneficial; but none can be fully adequate to the nation's wants, save such as proceed from the nation's real representatives, which the Irish members *will* be in future;—not such as they were in the Irish Parliament, when the people had no share whatever in their election.

"Without the protection of laws issuing from such a source, the evils of Ireland cannot be effectually remedied. And, while the people shall cling, with characteristic heroic devotion, to the throne of the British monarch, they cannot be content with anything short of the vigilant, paternal, and presiding care of a National Legislature." [1]

We have quoted thus at length the argument for Home Rule,—for a Repeal of the Union,—urged so earnestly, so publicly in 1833 by Dr. Mac Hale, because it is, at bottom, the argument which Gladstone and Parnell, Archbishop Croke and Archbishop Walsh, use in 1890 in pleading for a national legislature to put an end to the ills of Ireland, and to give to the country and the people the liberty and the means to prosper.

The Bishop of Maronia enforces his reasoning by describing the monstrous acts of cruelty and oppression which

[1] LETTERS, Second Ed., vol. I., pp. 481 and following.

are daily occurring among the peasantry of Mayo, in consequence of the iniquitous and unnatural laws regulating the tenure of property, and giving to the landlords unrestrained power to "grind the faces of the poor."

"As for the Repeal of the Union," he says in concluding, "any aristocrat might as well rebuke backwards the current that is flowing from the West (the Gulf Stream), as hope to stay the strong and steady tide of opinion which is rapidly rising in favor of that measure. . . . The people's hopes are by no means visionary. From what they have already accomplished, they have a well grounded confidence in the extent of their moral power. Checked as they have been in their advances to science by a Satanic penal code, of which the effects will be long felt, they have made such a progress in 'arithmetical proportions' as to understand 'the Rule of Three'; and, accordingly, the youth of Ireland are now busily engaged in *working* this problem." [1]

As we have seen, there was famine in Ireland in the year 1833; but the prevailing distress among the peasantry did not abate one jot of the exactions of the landlords or those of the tithe-proctors. In many instances the cruelty of the landlords and parsons maddened the wretched people into resistance. There was resistance, there was bloodshed, there were midnight outrages. And then came a new Coercion Act.

This was the unvarying circle in which events in Ireland moved. The tiller of the soil was required to pay the proprietor more than the land could yield; the starving tenant, stripped of all the fruits of his labor, driven from home when he could not pay his impossible rent with its accumulated arrears; and then all the wild passions of human nature roused to resist and avenge unmerited wrong, unnatural injustice.

To the famine of 1833, as to that of 1831, and that of 1821–22, we can here apply what has just been written in 1889 of the great famine of 1846–47:—

"The policy which created the famine was the land-legis-

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 491.

lation of the British Parliament. The refusal of the British Legislature to interfere with rack-rents; the refusal to protect the improvements of the tenants; the facilities and inducements to wholesale evictions—these were the things that produced the famine of 1846; and such legislation, again, was the result of the government of Ireland by a legislature independent of Irish votes, Irish constituencies, Irish opinion.

"This must also be said, that the Act of Union, which produced the famine, and then aggravated it to the unsurpassable maximum, had also the effect of increasing the existing hatred between the English and the Irish nations; and the strangest and saddest thing about it is, that the increase of hatred was undeserved by the one nation and by the other. The hatred of England for Ireland was caused by Ireland's political opinions; and Ireland's political opinions were right. The hatred of Ireland for England was caused by England's political action, and England's political action was conscientiously taken, and, above all, was the outcome of a good, and not of an evil, heart.

"The chief cause of the hatred of England for Ireland was the agitation for the Repeal of the Union, followed by the abortive rebellion. Peel says so in his Memoirs. . . . .

"But what testimony could be so overwhelming, so tragic, in favor of Repeal of the Union as the Irish famine with all its attendant horrors of plague, emigration, eviction? And so the hatred of England for Ireland was hideously unjust. On the other hand, it is easy to understand how the Irish should have been embittered to frenzy when they saw the dominant nation, that claimed and had carried its superior right to govern, so performing its functions of government that roads throughout Ireland were impassable with the gaunt forms of the starving, or the corpses of the starved, and that every ship was freighted with thousands fleeing from their homes. . . . .

"It was the British Parliament and the British Ministers that worked the wholesale slaughter of Irishmen, and that

produced the murderous hatred of so many of the Irish race for England. In other words, the Act of Union is the great criminal. It is the government of Ireland by Englishmen and by English opinion, that has the double result of ruining Ireland and endangering England,—of producing much undeserved and preventable suffering to Irishmen, and much undeserved and preventable trouble and hatred to England." [1]

This twofold hatred, so lamentable in its effects, so unnatural in two Christian peoples, the members of the same empire, was the very thing which Dr. Mac Hale sought so strenuously to prevent in 1833 and the following years. The writer we have just quoted, and all who, with him, advocate at this moment the cause of Irish Nationality, do but repeat the arguments of the Bishop of Maronia in holding the Act of Uuion responsible for the depopulation and degradation of Ireland.

Scarcely less important than the above letter on the Repeal of the Union, is that written in the preceding spring to the Prime Minister. It was written on Ash Wednesday.

In this letter the young bishop takes on himself the office which he never afterward ceased to fill, up to his dying day, that of the Advocate and Defender of the Poor of Ireland. And the poor in that unhappy country were the immense majority of the nation, of set purpose and systematically reduced to the most abject and degrading poverty by the dominant English power, and kept with a grip of iron in that poverty, to be the pliant serfs of the lords of the soil; without recognized rights on the land of their birth, without even the right to draw from the fields they cultivated bread sufficient for their sustenance.

"It is a strange and melancholy coincidence," he says, "that on the same day we have commenced to humble ourselves in fasting and ashes, we receive the appalling intelligence of all the horrors that are to await us. .... The menaces of hostility to Ireland.... have fallen like a thunderbolt on the hearts of its inhabitants. At a time when the hopes of

[1] T. P. O Connor, M. P., "The Parnell Movement," ch. iv., pp. 77, 78.

the country were high, and its people were indulging in the anticipations of measures for their happiness, they suddenly find.... that one of the first acts of a reformed Parliament is to consign them to all the terrors of military law....

"Leaving gratitude and services aside, and confining myself to the question of justice and necessity, I must solemnly protest against the evidence for such a measure, especially so far as the large district with which I am connected is concerned.

"If the number of crimes and misdemeanors which crowd the calendar of England were to be summed up together, no doubt it might furnish a plausible argument to a minister of the crown for demanding powers beyond the law. Such a confused mass of enormities,[1] huddled together without reference to time and place, or any clue to trace them, prevents persons at a distance from forming a correct judgment on the subject. Their minds are naturally filled with phantoms magnified by fear or prejudice.... The County of Mayo in particular is mentioned as being in a state of dreadful disorganization.

"In the whole course of my life, I can solemnly declare it, I have never felt more suprise at any public statement, than at that which represented the County of Mayo as being in such a condition as to justify a minister of the crown in demanding to suspend there the Constitution....

"In the name of two hundred thousand of His Majesty's liege subjects, I ask what evidence has been laid before Parliament to justify the tremendous powers that His Majesty's ministers demand?

"It is not enough to say that some outrages have been committed: some outrages have happened and will happen to the end of time, and in the best regulated societies, not-

[1] The argument here pointed out by Dr. Mac Hale as employed by the Liberal Ministry in 1833, is identically the same so effectually used by the Tory Government of 1887-'88, in advocating the passage of the Salisbury-Balfour Crimes Act, as well as in justifying the horrible cruelties committed, month after month, in enforcing it. It was in vain to oppose to Secretary Balfour's criminal statistics figures and facts which gave the lie to his statements, Coercion went on its way like the Car of Juggernaut.

withstanding the combined influences of law and religion. But what are the outrages which, in number or in atrocity, exceed the ordinary calendar of crime in this large county? Where is the combination against law and the constituted authorities, that can warrant the extraordinary measures now contemplated?

"When documentary evidence was demanded in the Imperial Parliament, that evidence is reported to have been found *in the notoriety of the facts.*

"This is not true, at least with regard to Mayo; for seldom, as will appear from many respectably signed petitions, have the poor peasantry of this county been more amenable to the laws....

"To justify the suspension of the Constitution, and to deprive an entire county of the invaluable privilege of the *habeas corpus*, the only evidence adduced is that of the Marquis of Sligo. Yet, when there was question of arresting the career of famine, and subduing a foe which, with a fearful cruelty, would soon tear all the bonds of society asunder, the solitary testimony of the noble Marquis was utterly unheeded. In addition the Government required all the testimony which the suffering districts could supply. The gentry and clergy, both Protestant and Catholic, lent their concurrent testimony to the existence of the distress. And still, it cost us a long and expensive journey to London, to induce His Majesty's Government to save a famishing people....

"Surely it is not too much to ask that a people should not be punished on evidence which was deemed insufficient when there was question of rescuing them from immediate death.

"I have some acquaintance with the habits of the people. I have recently passed through a large portion of the county. I can declare with all sincerity, that never did the inhabitants exhibit a more peaceable disposition; nor could I discover the least vestige of insurrectionary movements.

"Yet, for isolated outrages, sprung from causes utterly unconnected with disaffection to the State, the people are

to be deprived of the sacred shield with which the British Constitution has covered them! And what enhances this tranquil condition of the country are the unexampled privations which the peasantry are suffering. Those who are pampered with the luxuries produced in Ireland may well deduce from our exports an argument in favor of our prosperity. Did they only live here and witness the condition of the peasantry, their theories would soon be discarded as so many fallacies; since this very year, in consequence of the depression of grain, thousands (I do not exaggerate) were obliged to sell what they wished to reserve for seed and for the food of their own families.

"Yet this noble peasantry, because they are becoming more sensitive to their own condition, and yearn for the reality of the blessings of a constitution which they only enjoyed in name, are objects of hatred to those who have always oppressed them. His Majesty's Ministers are imposed upon by false statements.... Of persons of this description (who deceive the Government and seek to continue the oppression of the people), it is not to be expected that any part of Ireland should be free; nor is the county of Mayo without its due proportion of them. Even virtues, seen through their organs, wear the color of crimes; and the free exercise of the elective franchise, which, without freedom, is a mockery and a contradiction, becomes in the estimation of some of these people treason against the majesty of the landlords.

"If it be the meaning of the law, or the spirit of the Constitution, that the landlords should command the votes of the tenantry, it would be a much more simple and summary process to invest the landlord at once with as many votes as he has qualified tenants. If, however, such a proposition must be received with merited ridicule, who is it, I respectfully ask, that violates not only conscience, but the spirit of the Constitution,—the tenant who votes as he wills, or the landlord who labors to extort a vote against the tenant's interest?

"It is by the solution of this single case that the guilt or the

innocence of the people of Mayo is to be decided... Should it be decided by any bench of magistrates that it is a high misdemeanor for the people of any county to vote against the known will of their landlords, to that misdemeanor numbers of the inhabitants of Mayo must plead guilty. They proved that they were free moral agents, possessed, as well as their task-masters, of an understanding and a will, and not mere physical machines to be impelled blindly.

"As for the violence which is said to have disgraced the election, we challenge inquiry into its origin. My object is to vindicate, not to cast censure. The invidious task of accusation I leave to others; mine is the more congenial and Christian duty of refuting the unmerited charges that have been heaped upon a large and unoffending class.

"Let, however, inquiry be made; and then it will be found who exercised most violence, and what freeholders were cast into confinement and fatigued with alternate promises and threats, until their resolution to vote for the candidate of their choice was at length overcome.

"It is also made a heavy charge that the popular candidate was favorable to Repeal. Why not, on the same principle, argue the necessity of suspending the Constitution in the peaceful counties of Meath and Roscommon?

"But waiving the policy or impolicy of discussing this measure,—for of its merits there can be no question,—it is not true that it was the Repeal of the Union which kindled the enthusiasm of Mayo. Within a very short period we had two other elections, each of which, without any reference to Repeal, was warmly contested.

"No, my Lord, the people of Mayo, like the people of Ireland, do not care if the Parliament were in the moon, provided they were well governed. But, besides the national grievances, in which they have a large share, there is a flood of bitterness and corruption long over-spreading this county, and all proceeding from the same stagnant pool of their parliamentary representation.

"... Lord Lorton, as well as many other statesmen equally conscientious and profound, can see nothing but 'separation'

in a repeal of the Union; and doubtless the noble Marquis of Sligo, from the long habit of associating order in his mind with his Lordship's influence in Mayo, imagines that the country would return to anarchy and barbarism, if he did not transmit its representation as an inheritance.

"Has not your Lordship, in the question of Reform, encountered the power of such fantasies over well-disposed minds? Were not you accused by many of a design to overthrow the Constitution, as was, before you, His Grace the Duke of Wellington, in granting Emancipation, and as O'Connell now is in demanding a repeal of the Union...?"[1]

Not content with protecting his people from the horrors of Coercion and military law, or with urging upon the British Government the wisdom and necessity of repealing the Act of Union, Dr. Mac Hale felt it to be an imperative duty to denounce publicly the monstrous iniquity of the Protestant Established Church in Ireland. This national grievance was scarcely less oppressive than the land-laws system: indeed, landlords and parsons made it impossible for the Irish peasant to live.

"The Catholics," writes the Bishop of Maronia, "have been for ages tired of the Established Church.[2] The burthen of its tithes seems to press sorely on the orthodox shoulders of the Protestant laity. There are, to be sure, a few old bigots among them who have been taught that the tithes were the essence of Christianity... But this absolute race are fast sinking into their graves. The young generation are, however, atoning for the blind and bigoted fatuity of their fathers... In short, there is no individual distinguished for reach of thought or integrity of purpose in the country, who, according to his temperament, does not indulge in feelings of merriment or indignation against the mockery of supporting an establishment in defiance of

[1] LETTERS.

[2] "The struggling peasant bore the whole burthen of the Established Church. Land, since the Reformation, had been granted to the proprietors subject to this charge; but early in the eighteenth century the landowners, in Parliament assembled, transferred the burthen to the tenantry. The peasant paid also a moiety of the poor rate."—T. P. O'CONNOR.

every reason for which an establishment should be upheld.

"If his Majesty's bishops confine their pretensions to the lordly titles, which it is surely in his Majesty's power to confer, we should as cheerfully recognize them as any portion of the secular aristocracy of the realm. . . . But to stand up in a country, and to possess all the pride and pomp and property of a peerage, without the hereditary obligations which are some pledge of its popularity; and, again, to arrogate the respect and veneration due to pastors from a people who look upon them as laymen, and for whose property they make no return except in unbounded contumely toward their persons, and the most unsparing calumnies on their creed, is an anomaly in legislation to which no country on earth can furnish a parallel.

"Waiving altogether the abstract and original right of tithes, it does not escape the obtusest understanding that, if they were formerly given as an equivalent for service, to build churches and to feed the poor, it does not follow that they should still be continued, when they have ceased to be converted to those laudable objects, and when the only return which the people can perceive is the cruellest exaction of his tithes during the parson's life, and after his death a legacy of a long and needy family to increase the public misery, and alas, not unfrequently to swell the amount of public scandal.

"Was there ever such a price known to be paid for the services of any officiating ministry?

"And yet, for what this gorgeous establishment? To teach a Bible which even the most ignorant layman[1] can understand as well as the Archbishop of Armagh; nay, of which the plain and obvious meaning is equally accessible to all!

"These things have not escaped the keen perception of our people. They have begun to extend their antipathies to the persons who come into the remotest contact with the collection of their tithes. Nay, we learn from a late instance that they have applied the law of Leviticus on this

[1] According to *Protestant* principles.

occasion, by refusing to bury in consecrated ground the descendant of a tithe-proctor in the third generation.

"But this indignant feeling against a system which is at variance with every principle of reciprocal justice is no longer confined to one or two classes of the community. All the Catholic and most of the Protestant laity are opposed to it; nor shall my sincerity be questioned when I assure your Lordship and the public, that the Catholic clergy will not waste much of their precious time in inculcating the payment of tithes to persons who neglect the churches and suffer the poor to starve.

"The Press, that most powerful engine, is already planted against the walls (of the Establishment). The blows are coming from every direction; the battlements are already shaking, and the long-defended Ilium is nodding to its fall."[1]

It is certain that these letters, with their unanswerable arguments, supported by an array of facts which no one could dispute, made a deep impression on Lord Grey. But he was powerless in presence of a Landlord Parliament, a bigoted and narrow-minded king, and a British public opinion as yet unenlightened on the true causes of Irish discontent.

[1] LETTERS, Second Ed., Vol. I., pp. 453—456.

CHAPTER XV.

DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP KELLY OF TUAM—DEATH OF DR. WALDRON OF KILLALA—BISHOP MAC HALE APPOINTED ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM—THE POPE CONFIRMS THE CHOICE OF A NATION.

IN the spring of 1834 two deaths occurred which occasioned a great change in the life we are describing. On April 18th, Oliver Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam, died at Albano, near Rome, and on the 20th of the following May, the venerable Peter Waldron, Bishop of Killala, went to his reward, at the age of 82.

Dr. Kelly who was only in his 57th year, had undertaken not only to found and equip a diocesan seminary at Tuam, but to build for himself and his successors a substantial stone residence instead of the thatched cottage in which he was living in Tuam. He had moreover been bold enough to attempt erecting a spacious cathedral. He succeeded in carrying out his threefold undertaking. Unhappily for himself, he insisted on making alterations in the original designs of the last-named edifice. The architect refusing to be a party to the change, the archbishop took it on himself to be both architect and builder, a task which caused him an increase of expense, endless trouble, and pecuniary anxieties, which deeply affected his health.

The reader has already been imformed of the completion of the superb Gothic edifice, which then surpassed everything of the kind in Ireland. The beautiful altar begun for Dr. Kelly by the Roman sculptor Leonardi was to be worthy of the magnificent temple.

But, ere Leonardi could finish his work, Dr. Kelly was obliged to seek in the mild climate of Italy the rest and health which his physicians hoped he should find there.

"Dr. Kelly arrived here toward the end of Feburary," wrote from Rome Dr. Cullen on June 21st, 1834. "He was in a very delicate state of health. The climate, for some time, appeared to produce most excellent effects. But about Palm Sunday his Lordship began to relapse; and during Holy Week he fell into such a state that no hopes could be any longer entertained of his recovery.

"Sir James Murray (physician to the Marquis of Anglesey, then in Rome), who was then in Rome, attended him during all his illness. When things had come to an extremity, his Grace, as a last experiment, determined to attempt a tour to Naples. It was with difficulty he travelled to Albano, where after a week's delay he expired.

"As I mentioned on a former occasion, the Pope and the Propaganda, wishing to honor the remains of the deceased, and to show their respect for a member of the Irish Church, ordered that solemn exequies should be performed in the Church of the Propaganda, where also the remains of the venerable prelate were interred....

"I suppose the election (of three candidates for the vacant See) must have taken place ere now; and I am in continual expectation of receiving an account of it, confidently anticipating that your Lordship's name will be on the list of candidates, and that you will be numbered among the worthiest of the long series of archbishops of Tuam."

How Dr. Cullen's wishes and anticipations were fulfilled, we shall now see. The venerable Dr. Waldron, being the senior suffragan of the Metropolitan See of Tuam, deemed it his duty, in spite of his 82 years, to be present at the solemn obsequies celebrated by the clergy of the archdiocese, as well as at the subsequent meeting convened to elect a Vicar-Capitular.

This meeting was held on the 13th of May, in the old chapel or pro-cathedral of Tuam, and the Very Rev. John Nolan was appointed Vicar-Capitular. This dignitary at once fixed the 4th of June following for the selection of three candidates, whose names were to be sent to the Propaganda in Rome.

Meanwhile Dr. Waldron returned to Ballina. The pious, gentle, scholarly old man, at the first tidings of Archbishop Kelly's death, had, like the majority of the Irish clergy, and like all cultivated Catholics, conceived the hope that his own coadjutor might succeed the lamented Metropolitan. Dr. Mac Hale now enjoyed a European fame for learning and eloquence. Among his own countrymen, among the clergy of Connaught especially, who approached him more nearly, his priestly virtues and personal dignity of character were known and prized more even than his patriotism and great intellectual gifts.

Besides, he was admired and respected in the Capital of the Christian World, where the Holy Father himself had conceived for the young bishop a warm affection, founded on the latter's great qualities and his services to religion.

Dr. Waldron would deeply regret the separation from himself which this probable promotion would cause. He was deeply attached to his coadjutor, on whom he devolved most of his own pastoral duties and responsibilities. As he journeyed back from Tuam to Ballina he heard everywhere the hope expressed that Dr. Mac Hale's name should head the list sent to Rome. The weather was not so genial in mid-May 1834, but that the aged Bishop of Killala caught a severe cold. Of this, however, he made little, and went through his daily routine of duties and occupations with the regularity of an ascetic, which was the chief feature of his long and laborious life.

It was Dr. Waldron's custom to wind the clock which stood at the stair-head, not far from his lordship's bed-room. This time he stood on a chair, lost his balance, and fell over the banister. For two days he lay in a state of insensibility. From the effects of the fall the illustrious prelate never rallied. He received the last sacraments of Holy Church, and . . . on the 20th of May, 1834, he breathed his last.

Dr. Mac Hale became at once by right Bishop of Killala.

His affliction, at this sudden and tragic occurrence, was deep and sincere. He had ever looked up to the venerable

bishop with the reverent affection of a good son for a saintly parent. And this feeling was shared by the entire clergy and people of the diocese.[1]

Only a few days remained, after the last solemn rites had been celebrated in honor of this good man, till the chapter and parish priests of Tuam met to make their selection. What had occurred in Ballina only brought Dr. Mac Hale more prominently before the public. If the wish that he should be Archbishop of Tuam was general and loudly expressed, there was, among the Tuam clergy, a strong party opposed to such a choice.

When the 4th of June came, the electors placed first on the list, with a majority of one vote, the name of Very Rev. Bernard Burke, of Westport, Dean of the Metropolitan Chapter, Dr. Mac Hale's only coming in the second place, and the Vicar Capitular's in the third.

From the first moment that the news of Dr. Kelly's death had reached both the authorities in Dublin Castle and the Melbourne Ministry in London, it became with them a matter of the first importance to prevent the appointment of Dr. Mac Hale to the Metropolitan See of Connaught.

Hence, on May 12th, the eve of the solemn funeral obsequies in Tuam, Lord Palmerston, then Secretary for Foreign affairs, wrote to his brother:—

"I am sending off a messenger suddenly to Florence and Rome, to try and get the Pope not to appoint any agitating prelate archbishop of Tuam."[2]

Prime Minister Lord Melbourne waited till the clergy of Tuam had sent the names of their chosen candidates to the Propaganda, and the public papers had made them known. Then he, too, addressed himself directly to Gregory XVI., asking that His Holiness "would not

[1] At the time, as well as in after years, Dr. Mac Hale openly and feelingly expressed his heartfelt gratitude to the venerable deceased. "The nine years I spent beneath the same roof with Dr. Waldron," he was wont to say, "were the happiest of my life."

[2] Ashlin, "*Life of Lord Palmerston.*"

appoint Mac Hale to the vacant See—anybody but him."[1]

We have seen, in a preceding chapter, that the Marquis of Anglesey had spent the winter and spring in Rome, and that he was, so far as he could be, very active in his endeavors to bring about a renewal of diplomatic relations between England and Rome. If the Pope, personally, gave no countenance to such intrigues, there is good reason to believe that there were other high personages in Rome whose interest was enlisted in promoting them.

The following letter from Monsignor (afterward Cardinal) Wiseman is explicit enough on that point, as well as on the success which the Rev. Thaddeus O'Malley, Lord Palmer-

[1] It is most important to give, on this matter, the full passage from "The Greville Memoirs":—

"After I had said what I had to say to Melbourne, he asked me what was thought of the Tithe Bill. I told him it was thought a very outrageous measure by the Tories, but that I thought it useless and that it did not go far enough. 'I know you do,' he said, 'but such as it is, it will very likely overturn the Government.' He then talked over the Irish Question, and owned that nothing could settle it; that *they* might perhaps boulster up the Irish Church a little longer than the other party could, that they, however, could not do more than this now, and it was only doubtful if they could do *this*.

"He talked the language of reason, and with a just sense of the insuperable difficulties which present themselves on all sides with respect to this question, but at the same time of their eventual (though as to time uncertain) solution. I told him that I had long been of opinion that the only practicable and sound course was to open a negotiation with Rome, and to endeavor to deal with the Catholics in Ireland and the ministers of the Catholic religion upon the same plan which had been, *mutatis mutandis*, adopted universally in Germany and almost all over the Continent, and that there was nothing which the Church of Rome desired so much as to cultivate a good understanding with us.

"He then told me a thing that surprised me, and which seemed to be at variance with this supposition—that an application had been made to the Pope very lately (through Seymour) expressive of the particular wish of the British Government, that he would not appoint Mac Hale to the vacant Catholic Bishopric, *anybody but him*, notwithstanding which the Pope had appointed Mac Hale; but on this occasion the Pope made a shrewd observation. His Holiness said that 'he had remarked for a long time past, that no piece of preferment of any value ever fell vacant in Ireland that he did not get an applicatiom from the British Government asking for the appointment.' Lord Melbourne supposed he was determined to show that he had the power of refusing and of opposing the wishes of the Government, and in reply to my question he admitted that the Pope had generally conferred the appointment according to the wishes of the Government.

ston's "messenger," obtained in opposing the appointment of Dr. Mac Hale to the See of Tuam.

"ROME, Aug. 25, 1834.

"MY DEAR LORD:—If I have delayed so long answering your kind letter, it has not been for want of due attention to the commission it honored me with; and I have gained one point, at least, by my seeming neglect, the being able to congratulate you upon your merited elevation to a situation where your means, if not your desires, of doing good to religion will be ampler and more conspicuous.

"Immediately upon the receipt of your Grace's favor, I spoke to Cardinal Pedicini on the subject, and was assured by his Eminence that no objection of the character you apprehended, nor, indeed, of any sort, had been proposed to the Congregation.

"I understood that when the Cardinals met such an objection was raised, the consequence whereof was that Mgr. Mai, in presenting the report of their decision, stated to His Holiness that in the mean time he had written or was writ-

"Can anything be more absurd or anomalous than such relations as these? The law prohibits any intercourse with Rome; and the Government, whose business it is to enforce the law, established a regular but underhand intercourse, through the medium of a diplomatic agent, whose character cannot be avowed, and the ministers of this Protestant kingdom are continually soliciting the Pope to confer appointments, the validity, even the existence of which they do not recognize, while the Pope, who is the chief object of our orthodox abhorrence and dread, good-humoredly complies with all or nearly all their requests." (Vol. iii., pp. 269-270).

It is but just to Gregory XVI. to say that, having been raised to the Pontificate in 1831, the words *for a long time past* put in his mouth could scarcely have been spoken of the doings of his reign. But as he had been Prefect of the Propaganda previous to his election, the "continual solicitations" of the British Government and their diplomatic agent were generally addressed to him. Mr. Greville, therefore, meant to say that the Papal Government "generally" granted the appointments solicited.

If the Bishops appointed to Irish Sees before 1834, when Gregory XVI. confirmed the election of Dr. Mac Hale to the See of Tuam, were thus *generally made in accordance with the wishes of the English Government*,—it explains many things in the life of the Archbishop of Tuam. If Pius IX. was "generally" induced to do what Gregory XVI. stoutly refused to do all through his reign, then a very clear light is thrown on the struggles and trials of Dr. Mac Hale in the latter half of his long life.

ing to Ireland to ascertain how far your political views might have rendered you obnoxious to the Government. The Pope instantly expressed his disapproval of this step, ordered him to declare the bishops' choice confirmed, and added that he knew you too well to fear anything, and that he never would allow it to be suspected that the English Government or its sentiments could have the slightest influence on the nomination of bishops.

"This was on the Sunday; on Wednesday a Cardinal waited on His Holiness to urge the same point, on the authority, I was told, of a letter from some Protestant gentleman in Ireland. The Pope, however, refused to listen to anything of the sort.

"This is the history of the transaction, as far as I have heard it; and I think it right to communicate it confidentially to your Grace, that you may know your footing and see your way in any other affairs here.

"You will have heard that our friend Dr. Cullen has been named coadjutor to Dr. England, a step which, I suppose, only places a transatlantic mitre instead of an Irish one on his modest brows.

"A Mr. McAvoy died at the Irish College, and Mr. O'Reilly[1] maintained a thesis with great ability, both within these few days.

"With great regard, I am, my dear Lord,

"Ever faithfully yours,

"N. WISEMAN.

"THE MOST REV. JOHN MAC HALE, D.D., TUAM."

The firmness and decision of Gregory XVI. evidently upset all the calculations of Lords Melbourne and Palmerston, while the unanimous choice of Dr. Mac Hale made by the bishops of the Tuam Province to be their metropolitan went far to counter-balance the majority of votes given to Dean Burke by his fellow parish priests.

But that the Cardinals, members of the Congregation of Propaganda, had been seriously influenced by the represen-

[1] This is the Very Rev. Edmund O'Reilly, D.D., Professor of Theology in Maynooth, and later a Jesuit and Provincial of the Order in Ireland.

tations of the British Government, is evident from Dr. Wiseman's letter. and is still more so from the joint action of the Cardinal Prefect and Mgr. Mai, Secretary of the Propaganda, which Gregory XVI. so promptly condemned and set aside, by ordering the choice of the Provincial bishops to be confirmed forthwith.

The Archbishop of Dublin, in the congratulatory letter which he wrote to Dr. Mac Hale on the 18th of August, 1834, gives us the pith of the letter thus sent to Ireland from the Propaganda, without the consent or knowledge of His Holiness.

"Accept my sincere congratulations," he says, "for the new mark of confidence bestowed on your Grace by our Holy Father, and which will be considered by all, a very few only excepted, as a new proof of the paternal solicitude of His Holiness for the interests of our Church.

"I was apprehensive that this event would be delayed a little longer, as it was only last week that I received a letter from the Cardinal Prefect, desiring me to inquire if there could be any possible ground for the charge made against the individual who had been so strongly recommended for the See of Tuam: '*illum a civili commotione non abhorrere, et ab iis consiliis quibus civilis potestas in discrimen vertatur.*'[1] In my answer, which I immediately despatched, I, of course, scouted the charge, and united my humble testimony to the unanimous suffrages of the Provincial Prelates.

"But I am delighted to find, by a second letter which I received from the Cardinal Prefect this day, that all anxiety on the subject had been removed long before my letter could have reached the Christian capital, and that consequently the translation of your Grace to the See of Tuam has actually taken place. This is peculiarly satisfactory. At the same time, I am glad that my letter is on its way."

Dr. Cullen, who happened to be in Ireland while these intrigues were carried on in Rome, gives, in a letter writ-

[1] *I. e.*, "(that) he, Dr. Mac Hale, was fond of political agitation, and of schemes which tended to imperil the civil power."

ten after his return thither, the clearest details on the nature of the charges alleged against the Bishop of Killala, and the manner in which they were received by Gregory XVI.

"When I visited His Holiness since my return," he writes, "he inquired most particularly for you, and gave me a long account of the efforts which were made to hinder your appointment. The account which Dr. England gave was quite accurate. I do not know, however, whether I mentioned that several speeches of your Grace were accused of being seditious. The Pope, on hearing that accusation, said he could not credit it, and ordered the papers in which the seditious speeches were contained to be given to him. He then got them translated, and on reading the translation said, 'that it was the plain truth, and had no trace at all of sedition.' He then made the appointment *proprio motu*, without referring the matter again to the Congregation. And he now applauds himself for having done so."

We give the very words of this unpublished letter. But, besides this unquestionable authority, we have also that of the Rev. Dr. O'Connor, afterwards Bishop of Pittsburg in Pennsylvania, whom Dr. Cullen had left in charge of the Irish College in Rome, during his absence in Ireland. It is dated February 28, 1835, and was therefore written before Dr. Cullen had left Ireland.

"My Lord," he says to Dr. Mac Hale, "your letter of the 2d inst. duly arrived, and I immediately applied for an audience from His Holiness, that I might give him the letter enclosed (to me). I delivered it the other day, and it gave him infinite pleasure. He read it while he was there, and to the statements regarding your election to the See of Tuam he added many an *e vero*, and would often add to the other things a hearty *va benissimo*. He was highly pleased, and did not fail to pride himself on the part he had taken in your election, manifesting his resolution to pursue the same course for the future, which he felt was imperative, particularly in that case, as he was personally acquainted with your Grace's merits.

"You can scarcely imagine the zeal with which he took the matter up at the time, and the pride he feels in having done so, which he manifested every time I saw him. I remember his saying on one occasion, that he could not see why people were opposed to your nomination: *the reasons adduced to him were rather for, than against you.* [1]

"It is unnecessary for me to give your Grace a more detailed account of the particulars of that affair, as Dr. England has already done it, and his information on that point was correct.

"I feel happy in having this opportunity to offer your Grace my congratulations, which, though they come rather late, you may rest assured would have been none the less warm from the beginning, Then, of course, I not only felt warmly on the subject in union with all other lovers of our country, both on account of your Grace's person and the public principles involved, but was extremely affected also, lest my insufficiency should prove the cause of what I must have considered a grievous calamity for our Church at large,—a calamity that might have been averted by the worthy individual whose place I held, had he only been on the spot.

". . . . Together with your Grace's letter, I presented to the Pope a translation of the account of your entry into Tuam. He was highly gratified, and desired me to present you his congratulations and compliments, and to say that he would shortly answer your letter himself."

But we have in the letter of notification addressed by the Pope to Dr. Mac Hale on the 31st of August, 1834, clear evidence of the motives which urged His Holiness to confirm the choice of the Provincial Bishops and of the clergy of Tuam.

"Venerable Brother," Gregory writes, ... "the distinguished fame of your learning, and your zeal in the defence of the Catholic religion, have induced us to raise you most willingly to the Archiepiscopal See of Tuam, the bishops of the province and the clergy asking us also to do the same.

[1] All the words in Italics are underlined in the original.

Wherefore we trust that in your whole manner of governing your diocese you shall manifest singular prudence, a gentle temper, and a sovereign care of peace and salutary quiet. For it becometh a bishop to seek solely the things which pertain to God, and to watch over the tranquillity and welfare of his people.

"With this merited confidence in you, we bestow on you the Apostolic benediction.

"Given in Rome, at St. Mary Major's, on the 31st day of August, 1834, of our Pontificate the fourth year.

"GREGORY PP. XVI."[1]

And thus did John Mac Hale become archbishop of Tuam. On May 20th the sudden death of Dr. Waldron made him Bishop of Killala. As we have just seen, the unanimous choice of the Bishops of Connaught and the suffrages of the clergy of Tuam designated him in June as the successor of Dr. Oliver Kelly. Early in August this choice was ratified by the Sovereign Pontiff, in spite of the hesitations of the Propaganda; and the Pontifical letter notifying Dr. Mac Hale of the fact was signed and sent to Ireland on August the 31st. But the letters of Cardinal Fransoni, apprising both the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Killala himself, had reached their destination on August the 18th.

People were in hourly expectation of this happy result. For before the end of June it leaked out that the British Government was vigorously opposing in Rome the elevation of the Bishop of Killala to the metropolitan see of his native province. This opposition alone would have made of his

[1] Venerabilis Frater, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Præclara doctrinæ tuæ fama, tuumque religionis Catholicæ propugnandæ studium impulerunt Nos ut Te ad archiepiscopalem Tuamensem Sedem, suadentibus etiam Provinciæ episcopis totoque clero, perlibenter promoveremus. Porro non dubitamus quin Tu in omni regiminis Tui ratione singularem prudentiam, moderationem animi, summamque pacis ac salutaris quietis curam præ Te feras. Decet enim episcopum quæ Dei sunt unice quærere, et populi sui tranquillitati et saluti invigilare. Qua Nos merito fiducia freti, apostolicam Tibi impertimur benedictionem.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem, die 31 Augusti 1834. Pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

GREGORIUS PP. XVI.

Venerabili Fratri Joanni Mac Hale Electo Archiepiscopo Tuamensi.

confirmation by the Pope a national question. Estimable as might be the other candidates designated by the votes of the clergy of Tuam, their merit could not be compared with that of a man whose fame was world-wide, and who had long been the acknowledged champion of religious freedom and political rights in Ireland.

So even the men who had voted against the Bishop of Killala now found themselves carried away by the resistless current of popular sentiment, and prayed fervently that he and none other should grace the episcopal chair of St. Jarlath. When, therefore, the letters of the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda arrived in Ireland a little after mid-August, the outburst of national feeling could no longer be restrained. In the West especially, and above all in his own Tirawléy, in Ballina, in Crossmolina, at Tubbernavine, and in Tuam no less, the people went wild with joy. Priests and laymen shook each other's hands in silence, as if congratulating themselves on a national victory. Every hill-top around Glen-Nephin blazed with bonfires, lit by as pure and spontaneous a love as ever moved the Irish heart.

It so happened that Dr. Mac Hale was at Tubbernavine, enjoying the hospitality of his venerable father, and surrounded by the members of Padrig Mor's patriarchal family, when on the afternoon of that memorable August the 18th the Reverend John Barrett, lately appointed administrator of Crossmolina, arrived, bearing the letter of notification.

During the afternoon the tidings were made known to the household and neighborhood. They spread with electric speed. The bonfires on Mount Nephin flashed the intelligence all over Mayo.

Padrig Mor Mac Hale, proud as he must have felt to see his worshipped son raised to the dignity of Metropolitan of Connaught, experienced an aged parent's deep regret to see that son removed far away from his own immediate neighborhood. The nine years passed by the latter in Ballina had been so full to the doting father of comfort unspeakable!

But Padrig Mor was on the present occasion the recip-

ient of sincere homage from the countryside far and near. The neighboring gentry, the priests, the farmers, all complimented the venerable patriarch of Tubbernavine on a promotion which was an honor to all the inhabitants of Tirawley.

The people were not content with their illuminations and bonfires; ballads were composed, celebrating the promotion as a triumph for Ireland, rehearsing the merits of the new archbishop, and glorifying Gregory XVI. for having resisted the intrigues of Palmerston and Melbourne.

These men of the West were quick to grasp the significance, if not to exaggerate the practical importance, of every act of the Court of Rome that bore on their own religious or national interests.

There had also been times, from 1642 till 1655, and afterwards, when in the desperate struggle for national life and religious liberty Irishmen watched along every headland and every bay of the western and southern coasts to see ships bearing the flag of Spain or that of the Pope, putting in with men and arms and money, to help Ireland in her desperate extremity.

Who can ever forget the noble and active sympathies of Urban VIII., almost on his death-bed, and of Innocent X., who took up after him the cause of Ireland, then, as now, considered even by many of her sons to be "the lost cause"?

In Tirawley, in Killala, in Ballina, in Sligo, that land of song and of undying memories, the ballads were still sung in valley and city, recalling the days when Owen Roe O'Neill with his exiled priests and warriors were expected along the coasts of Donegal and Tyrone, and when the Nuncio Rinuccini, with treasures and arms from Rome, was long looked for and at length arrived. Ireland, Catholic, Celtic Ireland, "the Dark Rosaleen" of our people's undying worship, was as grateful in August 1834 for the courageous action of Gregory XVI., as she had been two centuries before for the outspoken generosity of the Fifteenth Gregory and of his two immediate successors.

The fires which blazed on high around the native home

of John Mac Hale, and were reflected on the mirror-like bosom of Lake Cong, were a symbol of high patriotic hopes awakened, as well as a testimony of love to a worshipped pastor.

Oh, my dark Rosaleen,
  Do not sigh, do not weep!
The priests are on the ocean green,
  They march along the deep.
There's wine from the Royal Pope
  Upon the ocean green;
And England's self shall give you hope,
  My dark Rosaleen. [1]

Let us allow Tirawley and all Connaught to enjoy to the full the draught of "Wine from the Royal Pope." There is misery enough before them in the dark and long future. Let people, priests, and bishops be happy for a brief space in the sweet intoxication of their triumph. Not till June 1885 shall such a cup of overflowing national joy be held to their lips by another Pope,—a cup to be so soon dashed rudely to the ground. . . . .

[1] See Mrs. Atkinson's beautiful "Life of Mary Akenside," ch. I.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LAST DAYS IN THE DIOCESE OF KILLALA.

Waiting at Tubbernavine—Dr. Mac Hale's touching Description of his Birthplace and its People—Address of the Clergy of Killala presented at Tubbernavine—the Archbishop's Reply—The Archbishop's Parting with his Father.

THE patriotic and religious exultation of the people of Ballina and Tirawley was not unmixed with real grief. The victory achieved in Rome over the diplomatic treachery of the enemies of Ireland was indeed a national victory; and at this the people rejoiced. The honor bestowed on their bishop by the head of the Church in confirming the choice of bishops and priests, was an honor done to themselves in the person of one born among them, and who had for the last nine years been their devoted pastor. They were proud of him, proud to see him raised to the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the West. So their hearts went out in love to him and in devout gratitude to God, at the first tidings of his promotion, as the united streams from their mountains pour down in springtide their overflowing waters.

But if tears of joy were shed in the first moment of triumph, tears of grief soon followed. For the promotion of their bishop meant separation for ever from them.

Among the clergy of Killala this feeling of sadness was no less deep than among the laity. Ever since his coming among them in the summer of 1825, Dr. Mac Hale had only shown himself their superior by working in his priestly ministrations as hard as the youngest and most fervent priest, by performing, moreover, with a zeal and readiness which never tired, all the episcopal duties devolved on him by the septuagenarian bishop of the diocese, and by astonishing the most laborious among priests and people alike by

Sligo Abbey.

the completion and publication of his great book on the Evidences of Catholicism, as well as by his timely and courageous public letters, his journey to London to plead the cause of the starving peasantry, his punctual attendance in Dublin at all the meetings of the bishops, and his promptness to respond to every call made on him by them to preach on solemn occasions.

His capacity for work was only equalled by his willingness to undertake whatever was deemed of great public importance for religion and the country. Think only of what he undertook and accomplished during these years for the abolition of tithes, the cause of Repeal, and the cause as well of Catholic education!

But still more gratefully remembered both by priests and people was his unvaried gentleness, his amiability, his utter and absolute devotion to them. Never priest approached him but to conceive of his noble character, his goodness, sense of justice, fatherly patience and kindness,—an opinion soon changed to reverent love.

They said to each other, "we shall never have another like him." Was it prophetic of the sore troubles soon to befall the diocese of Killala? . . .

Meanwhile, troubled as Dr. Mac Hale had felt in heart and spirit by the sudden bereavement caused by the death of his beloved Dr. Waldron, and then by the rapid succession of events following the demise of his venerable friend, Archbishop Kelly, he felt the need,—amid the public excitement and the passionate discussions caused by the Government intrigues in Rome, and the conjectures formed as to their issue,—to rest body and heart awhile at Tubbernavine, near his dear father, and surrounded by relatives, friends, neighbors, and all the loved scenes of his boyhood.

From there he wrote, on July 4, 1834, just one month after the election of candidates at Tuam for the vacant metropolitan see, one of his most beautiful letters, in which we can read, between the lines, the instructive but unexpressed dread of being soon taken away from scenes so unspeakably dear to him.

"Independently of the beautiful scenery," he says, "by which it is encompassed, the spot from which I now write possesses for me those peculiar charms which are ever found associated with the place of one's birth. It is, I think, St. John Chrysostom who remarks, contrasting the truthful simplicity of youth with the false refinement of after-life, that if you present to a child his mother and a queen, he hesitates not in his preference of the one, however homely her costume, to the other, though arrayed in the richest attire of royalty.

"It is a feeling akin to that filial reverence which the Almighty has planted in our breasts toward our parents, that extends itself also to the place where we first came into being, and hallows all its early associations.

"This religious feeling is the germ of true patriotism, radiating from home as its centre, and taking in gradually all that is around, until it embraces the entire of one's country."

Then, as if the inspiration were strong upon him to make a mighty effort to preserve the ancient language, the literature and music of Ireland,—a task which he soon afterward set himself to accomplish,—he recalls, with the historic names marking the topography of Tubbernavine and Tirawley, the heroic struggles of the people.

"In this remote district," he continues, "secluded by its encircling woods, hills, and lakes, the olden legends and traditions of the land were preserved with a fond and religious fidelity. When the other provinces of Ireland, and a large portion of Connaught, were overrun and parcelled out among strangers, the territories of Tirawley were inherited by the descendants of the ancient Septs, until its far fields were at length invaded and violated by the ruthless followers of Cromwell.

"For its long immunity from the scourge of the despoiler, it paid at last the forfeit in the increased oppression to which its inhabitants were doomed. Whilst the descendants of the ancient settlers were mingled, in a community of blood and interest, with those of the Celtic race in other

Abbey of Moyne near Ballina.

parts of Ireland, the Catholics of Tirawley, like those of Tipperary, were doomed to be treated, by their more recent task-makers, as aliens in language, in country, in creed."

This is the social inferiority, the crying injustice which the future Archbishop of Tuam hoped to be instrumental in remedying. Who will not sympathize with so lofty and beneficent an aim?

"The retired position of Glen-Nephin," he goes on to say, "afforded a secure asylum to the songs and traditions of the olden time. . . . The name of Carolan, who frequented the district, was yet familiar with the older inhabitants of the Valley of Nephin; and in no portion of Ireland did his soul-inspiriting airs find more tuneful voices than were heard there, artlessly pouring them forth amid the solitudes of the listening mountains.[1]

"I know myself some who, though they could not at all

[1] During the brief intervals of comparative rest which Dr. Mac Hale spent, at this period, in Tubbernavine, it was customary for the famous "singers" of the neighborhood to come of an evening to his father's house, and there delight the prelate by singing in turn, and in the Irish tongue, all the most popular ditties of Tirawley. They knew how much the Bishop prized these songs, and they vied with each other in rendering them faithfully.

It was a striking picture to see Dr. Mac Hale seated, sometimes in the fire-light of his father's hearth, sometimes, in the fine summer weather, outside the door, the centre of an attentive and interested circle, drinking in the poetry and music which were the faithful echoes of the past. Every one of these melodies, with the events and sentiments they embodied, was treasured up in the Bishop's memory.

During the long, sad years spent in Tuam, he did not forget to foster among the people and his own immediate surrounding the same deep love of the ancient Irish Muse. The few harpers still living in the West, and the fiddlers of renown, were never unwelcome at St. Jarlath's episcopal residence. There was one man, a Piper of uncommon talent, who came to be known as "the Archbishop's Piper." He was an especial favorite, and lightened by his evening performances the last hours of many a day of crushing care and unremitting labor. He followed the Archbishop on his pastoral visitations through the diocese; and the strains which his bagpipes poured forth to the admiring and delighted country audiences might have won the applause of cities. He was a man of real genius. But Dr. Mac Hale, who had stored up in his own memory all the ballad-lore of Tirawley, would often take pleasure in teaching his Piper ditties he had never heard before. Phrase by phrase, he sang the melody, while the apt learner quickly mastered it.

In all this he was endeavoring to revive in the souls of his people the sweet and sacred memories of days gone by, days of struggle and suffering, but days not without their traditions of glory and hallowed victory.

read English, read compositions in the Irish language with great fluency. And even of those who had not learned to read, many could recite the Ossianic poems with amazing accuracy. While Macpherson was exhausting his ingenuity in constructing an elaborate system of literary fraud out of detached fragments of these ancient poems, there were thousands in Ireland, and especially in Glen-Nephin, who possessed these ancient treasures in all the genuine integrity. . . ."

Old Mr. Callahan, who was a living encyclopedia of Irish folk-lore and poetry, was no longer in the valley to gladden the heart of his former pupil and enthusiastic admirer by repeating the heroic epics in Gælic song, relating to Fion and his followers, and in particular to Coll, the warrior-son of the Chief, and who was a resident of Tirawley. But enough was left of the generation to which Patrick More Mac Hale belonged, to remember and recite the Ossianic compositions in their native tongue.

And so the summer waned in Glen-Nephin, while the Bishop of Killala loved to steal away to its "listening mountains" and to his beloved father's side, to recollect himself in the short interval between two phases of his busy life.

Crossmolina, which had been assigned to him in 1825 as his "mensal parish" by the Holy See, he conferred temporarily and conditionally on Rev. John Barrett, immediately on his becoming bishop of Killala. The Bishop knew well that, being a "mensal benefice," it had become vacant *in curia* by the very fact of his succeeding to the see of Killala. On being translated to Tuam, Dr. Mac Hale wrote to the Popaganda asking to have this benefice conferred permanently on Mr. Barrett. This application was refused, and the collation of the parish was reserved to Dr. Mac Hale's successor in the see of Ballina,—Mr. Barrett meanwhile remaining in charge as administrator.

However, Crossmolina continued to be, during the summer of 1834, the special object of the Bishop's care. It was dear to him, as it was, in a manner, a part of his own native

Roserk Abbey near Killala.

parish of Addergoole. The people of the little town and the adjoining country folk were devotedly attached to him. All these feelings were soon to be turned to bitterness by the unhappy misunderstandings which we shall relate in a future chapter.

It was, as related in the last chapter, at Tubbernavine, in mid-August, that the letter of notification from the Propaganda, together with a letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, was brought to the Bishop by the Rev. John Barrett, Administrator of the Parish of Crossmolina. Of course, the letter of Cardinal Fransoni removing as it did all doubt about the decision of the Holy See, the clergy of Killala at once prepared to act in accordance with it. They did not wait for the arrival of the Brief, to testify as best they might to the prelate whom they were about to lose their sense of his worth and of his faithful labors among them.

Having agreed upon the form of a farewell address to be presented to him, and on a suitable offering in testimony of their gratitude and admiration, a day was appointed for presenting them. The Archbishop-elect still spent as much of his time as possible at Tubbernavine. The quiet of his father's home, and its distance from the centres of population, besides relieving him from the numberless additional visits and interruptions consequent on his approaching departure, gave him leisure to order aright all that pertained to the diocese of Killala.

He did not, therefore, regret the accustomed delays of the Roman Chancery. They gave him time to consider carefully what he should have to say and to do on taking possession of the Metropolitan See.

At length the day arrived for receiving the address of the clergy of Killala. They assembled at Tubbernavine. Bound closely to them as Dr. Mac Hale was by all the ties of birth, education, near neighborhood, community of labor, patriotic aspirations, and religious purpose,—there was a singular and touching appropriateness in this meeting beneath the hospitable roof of Patrick More Mac Hale's Wayside Inn.

"We are utterly at a loss how to address you on your Grace's departure from among us,"—so the clergy find utterance for their very natural emotion.

"We know not whether to adopt the language of sorrow or that of congratulation.

"Were we only to reflect on the loss we sustain, our expressions would be those of unqualified sadness; nor could we easily reconcile our respective flocks to the deep sense of their bereavement. We are, however, consoled by the thought that, though removed, your removal is not to a great distance; and that it places you in a higher position, where your zeal and virtues will have a wider range, embracing even our own diocese.

"It is this consideration that softens somewhat the pang we feel at your departure, and makes us rejoice at your elevation.

"To your Grace's merits and services, which have already attracted and fixed the attention of the public, we shall forbear all allusion; they are national property, and are attested by this change, which demonstrates the value attached to them.

"But we cannot forget the other, nearer virtues, practised within our own diocese, and which we have all felt and witnessed.

"Your unwearied zeal in visiting the remotest districts, and imparting the light of your instructions to every portion of your flock; your constant solicitude for the wants of the poor, and your unceasing exertions to obtain sympathy for their condition; your paternal advice to your clergy, with whom you took a special delight to mix rather as a friend than as a superior, not lording it over them, but preventing all occasions for the exercise of authority by the efficacious examples of your own life, in which as in a mirror shone the laborious virtues you required; but, above all, your zeal for the House of God, which prompted the undertaking of many a painful journey to collect the alms of the faithful toward that magnificent Temple, the Cathedral of our Diocese. You officiated at its foundation; you watched

over its progress; and now devoted to divine worship, it will transmit your memory to the veneration of both clergy and people.

"We cannot but remember with feelings of pride the substantial tributes of affectionate respect presented to you by the students of Maynooth, [1] on the occasion of your elevation from the professor's chair to episcopal rank, a tribute without example, we believe, in the annals of the College. We should take shame to ourselves if we were outdone in generous feelings by the clergy of Ireland, connected as we feel ourselves to be with your Grace as the common children of your native diocese.

"Accept, then, this travelling carriage as a token of our sincere respect and affection. We only regret that it is not a more suitable vehicle for the approaching ovation.

"Though you are going from among us, the influence of your virtues shall ever remain; and be assured that you bear with you the hearts and affections of the clergy and the people of the diocese of Killala."

The scene was a touching one.—The great spiritual family from which Dr. Mac Hale was now to be separated was his own in the truest and most sacred sense. Natural and supernatural affection bound him to his brother-priests as well as to a people whom he loved as his brothers, and who looked up to him with the old-time clannish love and worship given to one who was both Father and Brother.

It was a trying scene in its intense earnestness.

"Dear and venerable brethren," he said in reply, "your simple and touching address, which speaks too evidently the language of the heart to be affected, utterly overpowers me.

"Although anticipating that such a separation as ours would be painful, I was not prepared for the feelings which it inspires. . . .

"When I look back upon the years I have spent in this

[1] This was a massive silver cup, bearing the inscription: "Presented to the Right Reverend Doctor John Mac Hale by the Theology Class of Maynooth, A. D. 1825.

diocese, and recollect the spontaneaus homage of the heart with which both clergy and people received me wherever I went, I cannot but feel the cruel pang of being torn from a place where the best affections, the purest virtues of Christianity are cultivated.

"Yes, yours is a fertile soil. The blessed seed has been sown broadcast in it, and fostered by the assiduous care of the clergy. The fruit is manifest in the virtues, the lives of the peasantry:—their fidelity to God, their respect for His ministers, their anxiety to live in perfect peace, their practice of all the virtues which make of home a temple, their meek and Christian patience under privations which the spirit of religion could alone enable them to endure.

"To my attention to the wants of the people you have kindly alluded. Alas, that I had nothing but the mere will to mitigate hardships which it so grieved me to witness.

"It is true that I have endeavored to recall their rulers to a due sense of their obligations.... Should the Almighty at length give to these 'hearts of flesh and bowels of mercy, instead of hearts of stone,'... no one would more sincerely rejoice over the change than myself.

"As to my zeal for the house of God, when I consider that some parishes in the diocese are almost without a chapel, I must deplore what I have left undone, rather than take credit for what I have achieved. But the unexampled poverty of the people may well be your apology and mine. The Cathedral, seriously thought of by my predecessors, could not be then begun, amid the general desolation and the utter wreck of our people's fortune.... A comparative improvement in their prospects emboldened us to make a beginning, and then to complete the temple of the Lord. But, besides the aid I received from a generous public, I was mainly assisted by your zeal and large offerings. Moreover, there are the faithful of Kilmore-Moy, whose contributions are beyond all praise, so that the Cathedral as it stands is a monument of the piety and generosity of the priests and people of the Diocese of Killala.

"You congratulate me on my elevation to the Metro-

politan See of this Province. . . . I ought, in common with a Gregory and an Ambrose, to tremble at the thought of the precipices which are inseparable from all eminence. They are dangerous in proportion to the elevation itself. However, if I only meet with such co-operation as you have given me, . . . I fear no difficulties.

"It is to me most consoling that my connection with you is not to be entirely severed. Whatever solicitude I may have to extend to the entire province, the clergy and faithful of Killala shall not be forgotten.

"Accept once more my heartfelt thanks for your beautiful offering. It is one more proof of what a generous good will can effect in spite of the most slender resources.

"I beg a share in your prayers and those of your respective flocks; they will enable me worthily to sustain the weight of my office.

"If you have felt any loss by my removal, I rejoice in the wise provision which empowers you, by a prudent selection, to repair it. To the worthy successor thus appointed I have the consolation of handing over a flock not only undiminished by the prowling wolf, but increased by the return of many stray sheep to the fold."

This answer, bearing the date of September 1st, is signed *John Killala, Elect of Tuam*, as first published in the Castlebar "Telegraph" of Wednesday, October 22d, 1834. As it was even then, as long before, and sixteen years afterward, seriously debated in Government and Parliamentary circles whether the Catholic archbishops and bishops ought not to be forbidden by law to assume the titles of their respective sees, the Bishop of Killala deemed it proper to assert openly and officially his right to the see of Killala, which he had not yet formally given up, as well as that to the See of Tuam conferred on him by the Sovereign Pontiff.

He was only consistent with himself in once more affirming thus solemnly the principle asserted before the Maynooth Commission, that he could not recognize the civil power as the source of spiritual jurisdiction.

When at length the time came to tear himself away from Tubbernavine, the scene was a touching one. Clergy, neighbors, friends, far and near, assembled to get his blessing, to bid him farewell, or to escort him on his way to Ballina. The members of his own family in particular, young and old, half rejoicing at his elevation, and half deploring the necessity which took him away from their midst, mustered around his venerable father. After blessing in turn parents and children, he turned, with a full heart, toward the door.

But there on the threshold knelt the bent figure of that father, in view of the expectant and reverent crowd outside, waiting for the blessing reserved for himself. With his left hand resting on the octogenarian's white hairs, the Archbishop elect raised his right hand and blessed his devoted parent.

There were few eyes without tears among the spectators as the Prelate lifted up his aged father from his kneeling position and clasped him to his heart.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM BALLINA TO TUAM—THE GATHERING OF THE TRIBES—A TRIUMPHAL PAGEANT.

"Come forth, come forth, Anointed one! nor blazon, nor honors bearing—
No 'ancient line' be thy seal or sign, the crown of Humanity wearing;—
Spring out, as lucent fountains spring, exulting from the ground;—
Arise, as Adam rose from God, with strength and knowledge crowned."

EVA MARY KELLY.

NOT before the second week in October had the apostolic letters translating John Mac Hale to the metropolitan see of Tuam arrived in Ballina, permitting him formally to resign the see of Killala, and to take his departure from his beloved diocesans. These delays had the effect of allowing the popular sentiment to gain volume and power, until the whole country was ready to rise like one man,—the people of Tirawley to accompany the Prelate who was their pride to the limits of the diocese,—the people of the diocese of Tuam to receive and escort him in triumph to his episcopal city.

Discourses had indeed been prepared, as is wont on such occasions. But no occasion that had hitherto occurred in the history of Ireland gave rise to such a glorious pageant as met the eyes and gladdened the souls of the men of Mayo and Galway on the memorable Monday, 13th of October, 1834, as well as on the two following days.

From every altar and pulpit in both dioceses it had been announced on the preceding Sunday, that the Archbishop-elect would leave Ballina early on the morrow. Even before dawn on Monday the country folk began to stream into town. The new Cathedral, vast though it was, was soon thronged to its utmost capacity, the worshippers overflowing into the adjacent streets. The Archbishop cele-

brated Mass early in a crowded church, and had to tear himself away from the pious importunity of the crowd, to break his fast and make his last preparations for departure.

Then came the most trying ordeal of the day. He had to return to the Cathedral, and from the pulpit address his heartfelt words of farewell to the flock which was to be his no more.

He spoke in English and Irish. But few words were necessary to stir to their depths that loving, faithful, grateful people. And few indeed were the words uttered amid the uncontrollable emotion of the audience. Inside and outside the sacred edifice the Irish heart spoke out its own language. With bowed heads and streaming eyes the people received their Bishop's last blessing in the beautiful temple which he had labored so hard to raise.

When from the humble episcopal residence the long procession of carriages and horsemen set out, it was pitiful to see the weeping crowds, pitiful to hear their loud exclamations of mingled blessing and regret. "Oh, when shall we see his like again?" was heard from the lips of men and women. Mothers held up their babes, as the carriage passed by, that the Prelate might bless them, while at his approach the multitudes to the right and left fell on their knees to receive a last benediction. The whole scene reminded one of the progress of some medieval saint,—a Bernard, a Francis of Assisi, — through some believing population moved to its depths by his words and works of preternatural power.

And truly the people of Tirawley believed their Bishop to be above and before everything else a man of God; and so believed their priests, who saw more of him in his hours of intimacy.

Moved they were, therefore, and to the inmost depths of their sensitive, loving Celtic natures.

The road followed by the mighty procession, estimated at one hundred thousand persons in all, from Ballina to Pontoon,—on the frontier of the diocese of Tuam, lay directly

from north to south between the River Moy and Lake Conn, till it struck the shore of this lake about a mile and a half from the bridge of Pontoon. Between these two points the escort of carriages and horsemen pursued their way through a rolling country, broken by hills of slight elevation, which afforded an occasional glimpse of the calm and broad expanse of Lake Conn. To the right of the road, and dominating with its conical mass and lofty spires the entire magnificent landscape, arose Mount Nephin, shrouded in the blue mists of the bright October weather, while white, fleecy clouds from time to time veiled the giant's brow.

On the lake there were boats which kept time with the slowly moving multitudes on land, and music arose from the waters, sending forth the sweetest airs of the national melodies. Slowly indeed did both horsemen and carriages advance through the waves of the eager thousands, opening up reluctantly to let their adored Prelate pass, and then closing behind him, their numbers increased at every step by fresh accessions.

It was, we have just said, a bright, cold, sunny day in autumn, which allowed not only the brown and blue declivities of Nephin to stand out clearly in the morning light, but brought out with equal distinctness the semi-circular sweep of the Ox Mountains to the south and east of Nephin. Ever and anon, as the hills between the road and Lake Conn no longer obstructed the view, Dr. Mac Hale and his escort, on looking toward Tubbernavine, could discern from the patches of scarlet that flecked the sides and summit of Knock Mara and the foothills of Mount Nephin beyond the valley, that the women of the villages far and near were out in force, and had ventured up with their brothers to where they could have a full view of the glorious prospect, and of the triumphal scene on land and water beneath. The scarlet cloaks of the Mayo women lighted up the moving masses in and around the procession, and flamed on the circular amphitheatre of gently sloping hills from Tubbernavine and Knock Mara to where the spurs of the Ox Mountains descend and throw a lofty wall of green and

purple across the plain, as a barrier to the junction of the two sister lakes.

As the procession emerged on the shore of Lake Conn, half a mile to the north of the Hill of Kilbelfad, the magnificence of the spectacle presented by the slopes beyond the broad waters broke upon the sight. The whole country seemed to have come out to bid good-bye to the illustrious son of Glen-Nephin, departing from their midst. Crossmolina, as well as his native parish of Addergoole, had sent, to cover the undulating shore-line, the green slopes, the hill-tops, men, women, and children, whose voices, as the cavalcade came into view, sounded across the waters, drowning the music of the bands which were now nearing Pontoon.

These shouts were answered from the opposite sides of the mountainous wall overlooking Lake Cullen.

Here, for some hours before noon, the populations from the nearest parts of the Archdiocese of Tuam had assembled to greet their Archbishop and escort him to Castlebar. There, too, the Delegation of Laymen from Castlebar, with that of the Metropolitan Chapter and Clergy, had come to receive and welcome their Prelate.

In the old feudal times, or when Cromwell purposed to make of Connaught the refuge, the prison-ground, and the burial place of Irish nationality, the narrow cleft through which the waters of Lake Cullin flow into Lake Conn had a pontoon or bridge of boats removable at will; hence the name which attaches to the present picturesque spot, with its permanent bridge.

The gap or isthmus in the Ox Mountain ridge, through which the waters communicate, is but a narrow one. The causeway connecting with the bridge is broad, and gently slopes down to the lakes on both sides, and up to the hills east and west, thus affording a meeting-place for an immense multitude, and to that point, as noon drew near, the crowds streamed from their places of observation in the neighborhood.

A trumpeter had been stationed on the loftiest eminence

Pontoon Bridge.

(Lough Conn.)

of the isthmus, to give notice of the near approach of the procession. A little after one o'clock, the bugle's notes rang out loud and clear, and were answered by a shout from the Castlebar and Tuam people, which awoke the echoes of the surrounding mountains. Again and again the shout arose, while the Tirawley people, fired with the enthusiasm of the scene and the occasion, shouted forth in return, till the voices of both multitudes mingled in one roar. This increased in volume and energy as the Archbishop's carriage appeared and advanced slowly to the bridge.

In the very middle stood the Vicar Capitular of Tuam, Dr. Nolan, the Chancellor of the Archdiocese, Rev. Martin Loftus, and a large delegation of their brother-priests. A death-like stillness fell upon the vast concourse of spectators, as Dr. Nolan, bare-headed and with reverent mien, advanced toward the Archbishop, holding up to him a large crucifix, with the simple and sublime words: *In hoc signo vinces* ("In this sign thou shalt be victorious"). It is almost literally the ancient legend engraved on the escutcheon of Mayo. It was the prophetic compendium of the long episcopal administration of John Mac Hale, Archbishop of Tuam, whose pastoral solicitude was henceforth to extend to both Mayo and Galway, to the whole Western Province, in fact.

The Archbishop, standing in his carriage, took the sacred emblem and reverently kissed it. Did he, could he then have any presentiment of the dreadful, though glorious, burthen that cross was to be to him? One thing is certain, that he knew and felt that in its virtue alone there was salvation, divine hope, life and strength for himself, his people, and his country.

It was a solemn scene, a scene eloquent of precious lessons for many a generation to come.

For one moment, while Archdeacon Nolan took back the cross, and the Clergy of Killala and Tuam stood face to face on that bridge, the people were silent, those nearest to the delegations having knelt as the cross was presented. But when they rose to their feet, there burst forth a mighty

cry from all these breasts, which seemed to break like a thunder-storm over the slumbering waters on either side.

And now the Castlebar Delegation approached the Prelate. How often along the neighboring Windy Gap road between Tubbernavine and Castlebar had not John Mac Hale travelled back and forth in his early school-days, while seeking knowledge in the lowly school of Patrick Stanton? And now here he was the "Anointed One," "the Chosen Chief," the Moses and Aaron of Ireland in the nineteenth century.

"We approach your Grace," the spokesman said, "with sentiments of profound respect, veneration and affection.

"We hail with inexpressible joy the accession to the see of the Archdiocese of a prelate so highly distinguished for apostolic zeal, great talents, and the highest literary attainments.

"We had early learned to appreciate your growing virtues, and with equal pride and pleasure had observed the progressive development of those powers with which nature had so bounteously gifted you. We marked with joy your genius in its dawn; and with ever-increasing delight we have beheld it reach its full meridian splendor....

"The joy which we feel at finding ourselves bound to you by new and closer ties of duty and affection, at finding great and distinguished merit justly rewarded, your virtues and talents placed in a more extensive sphere, is enhanced in a high degree by the belief that Power exerted an undue influence to debar your Grace from deserved elevation and to deprive us of the nearer enjoyment of that master-mind so formidable to bigotry and corruption, so powerful in the advocacy of justice, so zealous to enkindle sympathy for the poor, and so prompt to cast the shield of its protection over the injured and oppressed.

"Most humbly, most cordially, would we offer to the Holy See the expression of the gratitude which we so intensely feel for the favor it has conferred on us and on Ireland."[1]

[1] From the official report of the address published in the Castlebar *Telegraph* of October 22d, 1834.

This was the simple, fit, and natural expression of the sentiments of all Connaught. Surely, never was address presented before such an audience and amidst surroundings of such grandeur and loveliness.

"From the people of Castlebar," the Prelate replied, "I have long and uniformly experienced the most respectful attention. It is to their favorable prepossession I must, in a great measure, trace that glowing picture of merits and services of which I am unconscious. . . . However, as much of the efficiency of the pastoral office depends upon the confidence with which a good name inspires the flock, I rejoice, not on my own account, but for the sake of religion, at the good opinion which is gone before me. . . .

"To the rich and the poor, to the high and the humble, I am a debtor. It shall be my study, by impressing on all classes their reciprocal obligations, to bring about the peace and concord which can never exist but by adjusting to their proper places the varied interests of society. . . .

"The poor have always been and shall ever be the special objects of my care. If it be the bounden duty of the Christian pastor to watch over their welfare, this duty is more imperative in Ireland, where, to a degree unexampled in any other country, the poor have been bereft of protection.

"The Father of the Christian World is especially entitled to your confidence, not for the choice he has made of the humble individual who addresses you,—that is a matter of little importance,—but for the maxim that has hitherto guided, and shall continue to guide, his pontifical reign: the maxim of suffering no interference in the concerns of the Irish Church, beyond those canonical channels which he has solemnly prescribed.

"May the Almighty so enlighten us, that you may receive some portion at least of the blessings which you anticipate from the government of your archbishop." [1]

And now came the most painful part of the Archbishop's duty on that day, that of separating himself from that land of Tirawley, his birthplace, from his own people, in whose

[1] *Ibidem.*

heart's core his image was enshrined, and whom he loved with the three-fold love of a countryman, a priest, and a bishop.

When the cheers which had followed the last words of the above answer had subsided, the Archbishop turned round toward the priests and people of Killala. The multitude understood that he was about to bid them farewell, to bless them once more. So, spontaneously, they knelt, with heavy hearts and moistened eyes. A great silence fell, like an Alpine mist spreading suddenly and covering lake, valley, and mountains, upon the congregated tens of thousands. Every eye was fixed upon the standing figure of their Prelate, every ear bent to catch his words. He addressed himself, in their native Gælic tongue, both to the loved people whom he was leaving, and to those who were thenceforward to be the recipients of all his fatherly care. Deeply moved himself, his every word stirred to their depths the souls of all who heard him. The quick-witted Celt divines on such occasions what he cannot hear. So far as the multitude could see the speaker and follow his gestures, they seemed to catch the meaning of each sentence. The emotion of such as could hear him interpreted his words to those who could not. And thus the wave of electric sympathy spread instantaneously, causing all those living masses to beat as with one pulsation of thought and feeling. The Tirawley people wept, because such a bishop was taken from them; their brethren of Castlebar, to whom such loss was gain, wept also to see such just and genuine grief. But presently, remembering that this day's triumph was that of Ireland, all together joined in one mighty acclamation of joy and thanksgiving.

And so the episcopal carriage crossed the Bridge of Pontoon. JOHN OF TUAM was now in the field which he was to cultivate during forty-seven years.

The road soon brought the Castlebar processionists down to the shore of Lake Cullin, along which it wound for more than a mile, and then turned inland and southward to the town which impatiently awaited their coming. The

boats with their musicians hugged the shore as far as the little islands of Illangub and Illance, pouring forth sweet melody, which was heard at intervals, when the Castlebar people, whose turn it now was, began to cheer and shout. But not till the cavalcade with its moving columns of pedestrians were long out of earshot, did the Killala folks cease to watch their progress and to echo back the cheers that met the procession at every step.

"The carriages of the gentry fell in as it approached Castlebar, and so numerous was the cavalcade that it was almost impossible to get on. All was order, nevertheless, all was peace and decorum. The people only seemed to be intoxicated with joy. Immense bonfires blazed in the streets. The windows were filled with the beauty of the town, who received his Grace with every demonstration of gladness and respect." [1]

The Archbishop drove directly to the Parish Church (or "Chapel," as it was the rule to call every place of Catholic worship), and after a brief prayer of thanksgiving, proceeded to the principal hotel. The streets through which he passed were thronged with a delirious multitude. When he appeared at the window of the hotel, the acclamations were deafening and repeated again and again and again. It was a joy which could not be repressed.

At last there came a lull in the tempest; the parish-priest of Castlebar, who stood by the side of the Archbishop, made a sign to the people to kneel, while the Prelate with uplifted hands bestowed his blessing on the hushed multitude. It was a solemn and impressive sight. And then, happy, proud, light-hearted, unmindful of the fatigues of the day, and remembering only what it had of triumph and bright promise, the crowds dispersed, thousands of them to their homes miles away, and beguiling the long road and the chilly evening with speculations on the future and praise of the good and great man now more than ever their own.

But the fatigues of the day were not yet over for him.

[1] *Ibidem.*

At seven o'clock in the evening some two hundred of the most distinguished laymen and clergymen of Mayo and the adjoining counties sat down to a banquet in honor of Dr. Mac Hale. "Behind the President's chair was a very large and beautiful transparency, executed for the occasion by a self-taught local artist." It was in the form of a triptych. "In the centre stood the figure of St. Patrick arrayed in his episcopal robes. . . . On one side of the picture was a beautiful view of Croagh Patrick, whose majestic form is one of the grand features on the west coast of Ireland. On the other was a view of Mount Nephin, and at its foot a delightful prospect over the Valley of Tubbernavine, the birthplace of Dr. Mac Hale. . . .

"The chair was taken by Counsellor Walter Bourke, of Carrowkeele. The Vice-President was Counsellor James O'Dowd. . . . At the different tables were collected a large number of priests from the diocese of Tuam. Others from Killala and the remotest parts of Mayo were there to bid the revered Prelate an affectionate farewell."[1]

When the moment came for proposing the toast of the evening, the Chairman, Mr. Bourke, connected so intimately with the Archbishop, found great difficulty in speaking of his friend as he wished and as the occasion seemed to demand. "I am afraid," he said, "that I shall not be able to state in a manner worthy of the Prelate's deserts the many claims he has on your regard.... No one about me felt more gratification than I did, when I heard for the first time that my friend in youth was about to receive the high promotion which was to reward his talents and his zeal. But this pleasure, I am free to confess it, was not unmixed with pain. His elevation meant removal from the actual sphere of his labors; while it had been to me, amid the turmoil of my professional duties, a delightful anticipation to look forward to the years we should spend together in the retirement of our native valley, and the sweet intercourse his friendship would afford...."

The Archbishop was deeply moved. Among the mem-

[1] The *Telegraph*, Castlebar, Oct. 22, 1834.

bers of the Catholic gentry of Mayo and Galway, who had come to join in the triumph of one who was the most illustrious representative of their race and their creed, there were several who had been, like the chairman, Mr. Bourke, connected with him by the ties of early friendship and near neighborhood. Such, among others, was Mr. Henry Jordan, of Rosslevin, whose family delighted, when John Mac Hale was studying classics in Patrick Stanton's school at Castlebar, to welcome frequently to their home at Rosslevin House the bright and ardent student.

In truth, all these descendants of the families so tried by the penal laws were proud of one who had won such high distinction. They claimed him as one of their household glories.

When, therefore, he rose to respond to the Chairman's words of heartfelt eulogy, he put away from himself all claim to the praise and esteem of his fellow countrymen, save such as was founded on the faithful performance of duty.

"I am not indifferent to the value of a good reputation," he said. "I think, with the Wise Man of Scripture, that it is more precious than silver and gold. . . . Its possession may prove, indeed, as evanescent as a shadow. But there are other substantial goods which are equally so, while a good name, like the shadow of St. Peter, can work miracles.

"Why do I allude to this mysterious moral power, a sound public opinion? For the purpose of encouraging feeble and hesitating virtue. Let us all only have the firm will to do good, and were it only in our power to bestow on the needy a cup of cold water, the deed shall not pass unrewarded.

"What can I lay claim to but such good will? What have been my poor attempts to serve and benefit others? Power I have had none; wealth, none; patronage, none; none, in short, of those accompaniments of position, which draw around fortunate families a crowd of supporters. Yet have I witnessed, during the past day and this evening, a scene of which the proudest wordling might feel vain; I have received such homage as the mightiest would attempt

in vain to compel from their subjects. Reflecting on the magnificence of the pageant and lowliness of the individual who was the recipient of all this honor, the contrast, I confess it, filled me with a sense of humiliation.

"There were roads lined with the multitudes of every age and sex, anxious to testify their devotion; the adjacent hills covered with dense crowds who hailed us as we passed, and strewed our path with green branches, emblematic of joy and peace. We beheld the inhabitants of one diocese turning homeward in sadness and tears, while those of another vented their joy in shouts of welcome. The enthusiastic reception given me in Castlebar made on me such an impression, that I have almost become a convert to the belief in 'priestcraft,' or that I have, at least, become predisposed to side with those who fancy that we do wield some mysterious power.[1]

"Aye, the popular feelings so openly manifested must have sprung from the people's belief in our 'priestcraft.' Let me put out of sight all personal vanity, and say at once that this public homage was paid to religion and not to the individual.

"It was religion that shed its sacred spell upon the entire scene; prompting, directing, sustaining the manifestation we have witnessed. It was the conviction entertained by the faithful multitudes that they saw, or ought to see, in the person coming to them as their bishop, the friend of the poor, the guardian of the orphan and the widow, the comforter of the afflicted, the scourge of the wrong-doer, and the messenger of peace; it was the assurance of possessing in him one bound by his office to be the friend and mediator of the whole people, which called forth around me as I advanced that display of the purest and warmest affections which a power ruling only by coercion can neither create nor understand.

[1] One of the representatives of the County Mayo had, a very short time before, said, in a speech in Parliament, that to "priestcraft," as exercised by the Catholic clergy in Ireland, were to be traced all the ills of that unhappy country. This utterance is more than once alluded to in the discourses of the Archbishop, as well as in his letters to the Prime Minister.

"The people knew that they would have in their Bishop a counsellor whose voice would be for peace; who would reprove every evil-doer, uninfluenced by the smiles or the frowns of the powerful. This it was that caused that mighty outburst of sympathy....

"In advocating the claims of the poor, I do not pretend to have any duty save such as becomes incumbent on every bishop in virtue of his episcopal consecration. Nor do I think to have shown any practical sympathy with our poor sufferers, other than that which every person circumstanced as I was must have evinced.

"But I do claim to have had opportunities of witnessing such misery as is given to few to behold. No wonder that in describing them I should have expressed something of what I felt....The wealthy of the land may keep aloof from the spectacle of such wretchedness, lest it should touch their hearts. But I have been in the discharge of my duties a familiar visitor of the abodes of this wretchedness. On that account it may be thought that my sensibilities have been rendered morbid by the contact....

"To be sure, there are commissioners appointed to inquire the condition of the poor, as if the sufferings of the latter were not as evident as the noon-day sun! I do not believe these commissioners will effect much, since they do not generally seek for their information at the proper sources. Such sources of knowledge with regard to our poor can not be the information imparted by landed proprietors, rack-rentors, or the large class of persons filling situations under the rapacious Church establishment.... There is also in Ireland another large class, who consider the abject poverty of our native population to be the legitimate appendage of their own power. The splendor of their station would not stand out in full relief, were it not surrounded by a broad setting of squalid misery.

"When I reached the confines of both dioceses, my feelings were utterly overcome by the scene before me, as I cast my eyes on the multitudes which stood in dense array along the hills and woods on either side of the narrow strait

connecting the two lakes. . . . Who could wonder to see me moved, when the cross was presented to me on the centre of the bridge? Up to that moment and that spot, my feelings were kept in check. . . . But this passage meant for me the transition from one sphere to another. My mind became a prey to opposite feelings, just as the waters of the strait beneath me are often carried away by contrary currents. . . .

"Is it not a curious coincidence that the motto of the country of Mayo is *Salvation from the Cross?*. . . . I have no doubt that the spirit of religion symbolized by the Cross shall be visibly felt in achieving the happiness and regeneration of Mayo. . . .

"But I must conclude; and, in return for the reception which I have met this day,—a reception which none but an eye-witness can conceive of,—allow me to assure you that it shall be my endeavor, by cultivating the good will of all classes, by a respectful courtesy to the great, by a fatherly care of the poor, by an affectionate support of the clergy of the archdiocese, my fellow-laborers in the vineyard; in short, by endeavoring to discharge towards all the duties which I owe to them,—to secure a continuance of that cordial feeling by which my pastoral ministry has been ushered in.

"Before I sit down, allow me to propose to you the health of the gentleman who, with such credit to himself, presides over this evening's entertainment. I feel a peculiar pleasure in doing so, because he belongs to the first Catholic family of the diocese I have left, and because he has distinguished himself by that hereditary attachment to his religion and his country which is the most precious legacy handed down to him by his ancestors.

"That legacy, as well as his worldly fortune, if I know him well, shall pass not only unimpaired, but improved from his hands.

"It is not new to him to pay honor to the ministers of religion. It was the household tradition of his family, when other families, that now affect power, were unknown.

That paternal mansion was the temple of religion. And often did the clergy of Killala, as well as those of the archdiocese, receive beneath its roof the imposition of hands.

"Nay, more: we are told in the life of the venerable (Bishop) Kirwan, written by the equally venerable (Bishop) Lynch, that when the former fled from the see of Killala, nearly two centuries ago, he found shelter in the valley known, from the majestic mountain overhanging it, by the name of Glen-Nephin. Next to the pleasure of forming one of the lawful and apostolic archbishops whose line stretches from St. Jarlath to the illustrious prelate who was the last and perhaps the brightest link in that chain,—I feel a pride in being the successor of such men as the Kirwans and Lynches of Killala,—bishops who would have done honor to any age of the Church, and who shed a gleam of glory through the darkness of the persecuting period in which they lived. And next to the satisfaction of succeeding to such men, I am proud of having received my birth in the vale which sheltered them, and of knowing the descendants of that house which, like that of Obededom of old, must have been thrice blessed in giving shelter to the Ark of their Faith."

In the other discourses delivered during this evening, destined to be a landmark in the history of Mayo, of all Connaught indeed, we can only notice what can afford the reader a glimpse of the political passions and social struggles then agitating the West of Ireland.

"My object in being present on this occasion," said Dr. Browne, Bishop of Galway, "is to unite with the citizens of Castlebar in paying a tribute of respect to that great and good man, to testify my delight, my almost boundless joy, at seeing placed in the archiepiscopal throne of this province an individual so justly celebrated for his great literary acquirements, his vast theological research, and his unflinching zeal in the cause of our country.

"For my own part, I say with him, that my will is to serve the poor. I desire to assist them in their need, to assuage their sorrows, to lighten their distress, and to direct

their thoughts to Him Who declared that theirs is the kingdom of heaven. With the people we live; with the people we are ready to die.

"We discharge to the best of our power our religious obligations. We labor in our ministry. But we are also bound to attend to the best interests of society, and to protect our flocks from the inroads of oppression. I speak not the language of flattery, when I say that we are proud to have as our archbishop one who will lead us in the cause of our country."

One of the toasts proposed by the Chairman was "The Repeal of the Legislative Union." This would have been responded to by Sir William Brabazon, the popular member for Mayo, and a Repealer, although a Protestant. He was then suffering from a severe illness. But even on his sick-bed he manifested the deepest interest in the national cause and in wresting the representation of the county from the family of the Marquis of Sligo, who considered it an heir-loom.

Counsellor James O'Dowd, the vice-president, expressed the warm patriotic message which Sir William Brabazon had charged him to utter on this great occasion. Then addressing himself to the illustrious personage whom they had met to welcome and to honor, he said :—

"I must express, unimportant though I am, my own gratification at the happy circumstance which has brought us together. In whatever point of view we regard it, that must be deemed a most auspicious event which gives to the Catholic Church in Ireland an archbishop so eminently endowed, so adorned and imbued with all the virtues of the episcopal station. Public opinion as manifested to-day has afforded to us a pageant vast and imposing; I may add, sublime. And yet it is but a sample of what is felt throughout all Ireland, a fragmentary display of that universal gladness reflected from the Irish soul. Even the reluctant critic of the *Edinburg Review* now acknowledges that Dr. Mac Hale *is unquestionably a scholar*. There is another reason for our being pleased with the elevation of so illustrious

a man. It was sought by base political intrigues to blast his reputation in the Court of Rome, and thus to rob us, the Catholic laity of Ireland, of a prelate whom, highly as we esteem his patriotism as an Irishman, we value still more for his talents, priestly zeal, and learning, as the guardian of those opinions which, inherited from our fathers, we shall deem it our glory to hand down to our children. . . . But a great lesson has been taught to Ireland by the failure of these intrigues. We heartily acknowledge the fatherly regard of our Sovereign Pontiff, as evinced in his decision. It convinces us that, however village intrigues or factious malevolence may filch from merit any reward deserved in this country of favoritism and misgovernment, the men miscalculate sadly who fancy that the high regions of our holy religion may be contaminated by the foul vapors of misrepresentation."

Another significant toast was "The total extinction of Tithes." This subject had afforded Dr. Mac Hale a theme for several of his most powerful public letters.

At last came the turn of "the venerable and patriotic clergy of the diocese of Killala." This elicited from the Rev. Mr. Barrett the following eloquent and touching response :—

"To you (people of Castlebar) this day has been one of joy and triumph, because it has fulfilled the dearest wish of your hearts. But while Castlebar has a right to exult, Killala has cause for sadness. We have lost the private friend, the disinterested lover of his country, the scourge of tyranny, the champion of religion. This day's procession, —a scene perhaps unequalled by any other mentioned in the annals of the Irish Church, from the time of St. Patrick, — may supply some unfriendly spirits with an additional argument on the power of priestcraft. But priestcraft would be in their eyes a harmless thing, if unassociated with great popular movements. The 'craft' which they complain of is that of a people whom daily enlightenment enables to distinguish friend from foe, who refuse to their taskmasters a reluctant and traditional hom-

age, which they now offer at the shrine of patriotic virtue.

"Yes, the magnificent display of this day, even though it had its saddening aspect, had also its most consoling one. When His Grace bade a last farewell to his people assembled in the Cathedral of Ballina, and the great procession was beginning to move onward, you might hear the pitiful exclamations uttered by the crowd: 'Oh, where again shall we find the like of him?' And the tears they shed bespoke the depth of their sorrow.

"Were we, however, to indulge in the language of regret, without expressing our congratulations, we should in this separate ourselves from all good Irishmen, whose hearts are to-day thrilled with a just and patriotic rapture. Killala sends us here in order to bear our witness to transcendent merits, and to forget our bereavement amid your immense acclamations of welcome. Killala is both proud and happy to send to Tuam a prelate tried by the fierce flames of bigotry, and thrice chastened by the ordeal. We present him to you, together with the everlasting gratitude and blessings of our whole diocese."

Thus ended the first stage in that triumphant progress, a day never to be forgotten in Mayo. Well might the men who sate down with the Archbishop of Tuam at that memorable banquet, and who drank in the joy of that evening's eloquence after the intoxicating scenes of the day, look forward to a brighter future for their country. What should they not hope for of rational reforms, of religious equality, of just constitutional government, with men like John Mac Hale to give voice to the national sentiments, and to guide the people in the paths of public duty and private virtue?

CHAPTER XVIII.

IN TUAM AT LAST.

"Down the slopes where the rocks are gray;
Through the vales where the flowers are fair—
Where the sun-light flashed, where the shadow lay,
Like stories that cloud a face of care,
The river ran on—and on—and on,
Day and night, and night and day,
Going, and going, and never gone."

FATHER RYAN.

AFTER the excitement and fatigue of the journey from Ballina to Tuam, the Archbishop was anxious to spare the people on the morrow. October weather in the West of Ireland is treacherous weather; and if the robust sex could well stand a shower or two and a long day's journey, the good prelate knew that there were very many to whom wet raiment and long exposure to the inclement autumn skies would be a positive danger. He could not well go in a short October day from Castlebar to Tuam. He therefore arranged so as to spend the night at Roundfort (Hollymount), the residence of his devoted friend, the Rev. James Mac Hale, and thence depart betimes on the following day, so as to enter Tuam at a seasonable hour.

It was not possible, however, in the existing state of the popular mind, either to leave Castlebar without attracting public notice and drawing a crowd, or to proceed on his way to Hollymount without calling to meet him the populations of the surrounding parishes. His journey was truly a triumphant progress, in spite of all the pains taken to avoid all public demonstrations. The people's heart would not be gainsaid in its desire to show their archbishop respect, love, and gratitude.

Nor would they heed the weather, or weary with long

waiting. So we may not wonder if at the principal places along the road multitudes assembled, and bonfires blazed, and acclamations rent the air, and the Archbishop had to stop and say a few fatherly words to those who were now his flock, and to bestow on the kneeling crowds his priestly blessing.

Father James Mac Hale, so long honored by the friendship of his illustrious namesake, and now made supremely happy by having him for his archbishop, had invited the first gentlemen of the neighboring Ballinrobe and the adjacent country to meet their prelate at dinner. His reception at Hollymount, and the banquet at the pastoral residence in Roundfort, were just as enthusiastic as in Castlebar, —even though the multitudes assembled were far inferior in numbers. "A large party, consisting of the clergy and gentry of the neighborhood, were entertained at the dinner. Patriotism was the order of the night, and several excellent speeches were delivered." [1]

In Tuam, meanwhile, nothing was neglected to make of the solemn entrance of the Archbishop and his installation a pageant of such splendor as had not been beheld in those parts.

An eye-witness from Dublin thus describes the occurrences. About two o'clock a procession consisting of some one hundred vehicles, a vast number of horsemen, and the students of St. Jarlath's College on foot, left Tuam to meet His Grace, who had slept the previous night at Roundfort. .... The day was extremely cold, and broken by occasional showers; but, notwithstanding its severity, the procession rapidly increased as it moved along, and when it received the Archbishop at Castlegrove, it must have numbered some twenty thousand persons.

"His Grace arrived in a handsome Swiss carriage, accompanied by the Vicar Capitular, Dr. Nolan. The trappings of the horses were decorated with green ribbons and large tassels of the same color. There were also in attendance many clergymen of the dioceses of Killala and Galway.

[1] Castlebar *Telegraph* of Oct. 22, 1834.

"As soon as the carriage came in sight at Castlegrove, an enthuiastic cheer burst from the assembled multitude, and the people knelt upon the road as it passed along to receive his Grace's benediction. He appeared much affected by the demonstrations of joy with which he was received, and almost moved to tears, as he raised his hands in solemn earnestness and blessed his people.

"On leaving Castlegrove the procession was restored to its former order. The students of St. Jarlath were placed immediately in front of the Archbishop's carriage, which moved along at a slow and steady pace. On its approach the trees and hedges were stripped to decorate the carriages and the horses' heads; and in a short time the advancing multitude became like the moving forest of *Macbeth*. Every cross-road poured forth its numbers, until the procession,—in the beautiful language of his Grace,—resembled a flood, swelling as it rolled onwards by repeated accessions."[1]

From Tuam alone 20,000 persons had gone out, in the face of the inclement weather, to greet their chief pastor. The multitude from Kilcommon, Ballinrobe, and the country around Lough Carra and Lough Mask, was scarcely inferior in numbers. These joint streams increased continually in volume as they approached the city.

At Ballygaddy, where the parish of Tuam meets that of Killannon, the clergy of Tuam and the municipal authorities were in waiting. Archdeacon Nolan, alighting from the Archbishop's carriage, took the archiepiscopal cross from the clergyman who held it, and presented it to his Grace to kiss, in accordance with the ritual, and then asked him to bestow on the parishioners of Tuam his first pastoral benediction. All knelt forthwith, little heeding the damp grass of the field and roadside, while the blessing was pronounced.

Then the Mayor or "sovereign" of Tuam, (as this magistrate is called), read an address of welcome in the name of the citizens, and after a brief and suitable answer, while the cheers of the thousands present broke forth anew, the

[1] Correspondent of Dublin *Pilot* of October 20th, 1834.

procession moved forward. Evening was now at hand, and immense bon-fires lit up the descending gloom and warmed, like the genial welcome of Irish hospitality, the chilly October sky, while their blaze gave additional eloquence to the radiant and happy faces of the crowds.

Over the north bridge of Tuam a triumphal arch was erected, decorated with garlands of green and handsome flags and drapery. The approach to the city and the streets themselves seemed to be filled with a multitude as large as that which formed a cortege to the Archbishop. Both cheered alternately, and then shouted their joy together; for joy, delirious joy, here as in Castlebar and at Pontoon, overflowed all bounds and restraints. As the carriage advanced, the roar of all these voices increased in loudness and frantic enthusiasm. The women from the windows shouted, wept, waved their handkerchiefs, and knelt to get the Prelate's blessing, while in the street below the densely packed crowd could not kneel, but bent their uncovered heads, were silent awhile, and then cheered louder than ever.

Need it be said, there were tears on the cheeks of the pious Archbishop, and from his lips, with the words of blessing, went forth fervent prayers for the welfare, the happiness of that loved and loving race. . . .

At length they reach "the Chapel," the lowly edifice which had hitherto been the pro-cathedral of Tuam, for the beautiful edifice reared by Archbishop Kelly had not yet been opened for public worship. At the door was the Metropolitan Chapter with its dean. The Archbishop was taken by them to the sacristy, vested in his episcopal robes, and then solemnly presented by Archdeacon Nolan, the Administrator of the Diocese, to the clergy and people, who filled the sacred edifice to its utmost capacity. The Bull of translation was read; the Archbishop received the homage of the Dean and Canons; and the sublime notes of the *Te Deum* announced that John Mac Hale was installed Archbishop of Tuam.

So JOHN OF TUAM stands before us for many a year of

glorious labor, to be succeeded by the undying gratitude and veneration of all time.

Of course, there was a public banquet in the evening of that auspicious day. "John of Tuam," as he soon came to be called, and as he shall continue to be known for many a generation, was now at home. And the great family, who were to be for so many years the object of his loving care, even on that first day, listened only to their hearts, departed from established custom, and determined that both sexes should have a share in the feast spread out to the Archbishop by his espiscopal city. A room was annexed to the banqueting-hall, in order that the women of Tuam should hear the voice of their beloved pastor, and listen to all the inspiriting words to be there said in his praise and in furtherance of the cause of Ireland.

As in Castlebar, so in Tuam, the head of a local representative family, famed for its attachment to the ancestral faith and to the undying aspirations toward Ireland's independence, was chosen to preside at the banquet. This was John J. Bodkin, of Quarrymount, who had as his vice-president Pierce Blake, of Corofin House.

The chairman, in proposing the health of the Archbishop, said: "He comes to us with all his virtues on his head and his honors thick upon him. He has ever been and will continue ever to be the stern opponent of your oppressors, whether lay or ecclesiastical. He has extended the fostering hand of kindness to those who were in misery; the children of misfortune have ever found in him a friend. He has joined to the unbending disposition of the prelate the forgiving qualities of the angels. . . . I will add that this day is auspicious of blessings innumerable to our native land."

These are only a few thoughts selected from Mr. Bodkin's eulogy, and here given as imperfectly reported from the journals of the day. The speaker's every sentence was loudly cheered, the sentiments especially which we have here recorded. They only expressed the truth,—a part of the known truth. The storm of applause which broke forth when the Archbishop arose to answer continued for some

minutes, subsiding only when those present seemed fairly exhausted, and then beginning anew with increased vehemence. Calm being at length restored, the Prelate, visibly affected by these extraordinary demonstrations, said: "On a late occasion, I sincerely confessed myself too much overcome to find proper expressions for my feelings.... But how much more difficult is it for me now to convey to you my grateful acknowledgments? I am placed in a situation very different to any I have hitherto occupied. Men who could walk with confidence and security on a low level, may well feel unsteady and insecure when they move along a lofty eminence. Bodies which could fitly reflect a borrowed light, and move in dependence of a central sphere, might not have power to become in their turn the centre of a system, illumining the masses around them. A taper may shed what seems a brilliant light in a small room; it will only yield a feeble, flickering flame in the open atmosphere.

"For these reasons I feel conscious of my own littleness, fearing lest I should be found utterly unequal to what is expected of me in my higher and wider sphere of duty.

"When I cast my eyes on this great assemblage, composed as it is of the elite of the clergy and gentry, of all that is most conspicuous among us for wealth, intelligence, and position; when I perceive that there are here, listening to me, men to whom the Imperial Parliament has been compelled to yield attention, how should I not feel unable to fulfil the expectations they have formed?

"Then, remembering where it is that I stand; that I am now to occupy the field consecrated by the apostolic labors of your late illustrious Archbishop; beholding myself surrounded by the evidences of his pastoral zeal; within sight, especially, of the Cathedral, the offspring of his own mind, the monument ever sacred to his memory,—do you wonder that I feel diffident of treading worthily in his footsteps?

"The chairman has bestowed on me praise far above my deserts. Embellishing everything which it touches, his beautiful mind has the virtue of a crucible, refining and purging from its dross the dull metal it treats. What he has

said of talents and services of which I am unconscious; is to be attributed to the generosity of the speaker and to the overkind estimate formed of me by his hearers. What he has, however, expressed concerning my integrity of purpose is true; on that head I may not gainsay him.

"Some persons may have accused me of over-warmth in setting forth the grievances of our people. Had they possessed feeling hearts, and witnessed with me the sufferings which impelled me to write, they would be far from finding the exposure over-warm. In other parts of Ireland there were hearts to feel and eloquent tongues ready to express the local sufferings of the masses. In the West, in Tirawley in particular, the men best fitted to describe and expose such wrongs were wholly taken up by the labors of their holy ministry. It thus became my unpleasant task to bring to the knowledge of the public scenes of oppression till then undescribed, and of thus causing to be heard in higher quarters and by compassionate ears the cries of the agonizing poor, which had hitherto died away, unechoed, in the wilderness.

"In doing this I was only fulfilling my covenant with my God and my people.

"Mercy to the poor, which is the duty of all, is one specially incumbent on the ministers of religion. It has been said, that if Truth were to retire from this world, it should still find an asylum in the bosom of kings. With much more reason might it be said, that if Mercy were to withdraw from human society, indignant at seeing oppression predominant,—that Spirit of Mercy should still have a safe refuge in the Ark within the Sanctuary.

"It is on this account that, provoked beyond measure by prevailing injustice, I have been beyond measure patient. I felt the need of repressing and concealing my righteous indignation, lest our poor peasants should derive from its expression new motives for resenting their wrongs; lest the very exposure of these wrongs, when followed by no signs of redress, should rouse the sufferers to insubordination.

"Therefore, I repeat it, have I been forbearing beyond

measure. I have, indeed, known persons to smile at the mention of such forbearance, as if the word concealed an irony. In all seriousness, however, I take credit to myself for having been singularly moderate and reticent under the harrowing circumstances in which I was placed.

"As I have now to make an open confession, I must declare, that if by interfering to protect the poor, and by staying the heavy blows about to fall on them, I have committed a crime, it is a crime which I openly avow. But sorrow for it I have none. Nor have I any intention to satisfy for or repair the same. Like any unrepentant sinner, this guilt I shall, in all likelihood, bring with me, unexpiated, to the grave.

"It is in the Catholic Church that we must still look for that spirit of commiseration with the afflicted which had its spring in the heart of the Redeemer; in it can be found that Pool of Siloe, to which the Angel of Mercy descends to agitate the stagnant waters, and to impart the power of healing the children of misfortune.

"What is it, then, that conciliates to the ministers of religion this mighty force of the affections, which the advocates and satellites of coercion cannot understand? What is it that rendered the religious ceremonial with which I was received on the dividing line between both dioceses to surpass in grandeur the solemn rites of the most splendid Cathedral? What was it that attracted to that spot such throngs as the area of St. Peter's could not contain? What lent to the majesty of the scene, with only the canopy of heaven above us, a sublimity which far outstripped the soaring Dome of the Vatican? What was it,—as the clergy of Killala had predicted,—that made our progress toward Castlebar an ovation, which, like a flood let loose, increased and swelled as it swept along? What called forth the latent affections of the citizens of Tuam and Castlebar, and blended together in one mighty, unexampled assemblage persons divided by so many differences of opinion and sentiment and position?

"It is because we of the Catholic priesthood are effectu-

ally what our office supposes us to be,—mediators between the Government and the people, unswayed by what might be called the passions of either. To both we are attached by principle, both being mutually necessary to each other as well as needful to secure the interests of religion. And in keeping aloof from these passions, and standing on this high mediatorial ground, the Catholic clergy have earned the confidence and won the love of the people.

"We hear much of "Tithes," as indispensable for sustaining the dignified station of the recipients. Let those who measure their claims to reverence by length of purse and weight of gold only come to witness the spectacles we have beheld these days, and they will form a lower estimate of the power of money. Doubtless, wealth possesses no little power. But if all the money tithes could yield, and all the gold in the treasury, were at the disposal of one man, he could not command such a display of heartfelt sentiment, such an outpouring of popular affection, as we have witnessed.

"Who, then, would exchange this affection for the gold of the Treasury?

"There are some persons who seem very anxious to have a public provision made for the Catholic clergy. It will be time enough to legislate on such a measure when we call for it.

"What a deep and sudden concern is now felt to maintain suitably the dignity of the Catholic priesthood! I have no time, just at present, to develop my views on this subject. Although I am acquainted with the opinions of some of my brother-bishops with regard to it, I must confine myself to express my own.

"For the sake of the king, for the sake of the people, for the sake of religion and social order, I should deprecate such a debasing and demoralizing measure. I use these epithets advisedly, knowing from bitter experience, from the practical effects of such State-provisions in continental countries, where the Catholic priesthood is under such obligations to a Government of another creed, what is now at-

tempted to be put on us here in Ireland. I advise these would-be friends to let the Catholic clergy alone; let them turn their attention to the wants of the people.

"We do not want their millions. Let them rather provide our people with suitable houses of worship to protect them from the inclemency of the wintry season. While our flocks are thus left without suitable places of worship, we cannot help regarding with distrust every attempt to pension their pastors.

"If the religion of the parsons is so pure, why not try on their followers the experiment of a voluntary support?

"Let, then, the Tithes be extinguished, and the poor provided for. As for us, we recollect the fate of Naaman the Syrian. The plague had come to him with his money."

The Archbishop having proposed the health of the chairman, Mr. Bodkin, that gentleman, in his eloquent speech in reply, told some truths which the Irish Representatives of the day would have done well to heed.

"I did go to Parliament," he said, "with at least honesty of intention. I met in the land of the stranger the snares that were set for virtue. I there saw many who were as well meaning as myself. . . . It was the fashion of the English Members to show an utter contempt for this country; and many of the Irish, the moment they became acquainted with John Bull, affected to do the same. These men are the curse of Ireland."

Bitterly were the men of Galway to feel the truth of these words within not many years afterward.

Meanwhile, like men happily unconscious of the evil days to come, all present in the banqueting hall opened up every avenue of their souls to the joy of the present hour, and to the high hopes for religion and fatherland inspired by the man whom Providence had sent them. It was a feast such as Nehemias could have celebrated with his countrymen returned from captivity, in the breathing space afforded by the holy work of building up the walls of Jesusalem and by the increasing assaults of their enemies round about.

The next morning the Archbishop was early at his place

in the lowly pro-cathedral. The elite of his clergy, and his seminarians, filled the sanctuary. The all-too-narrow edifice was crowded with the faithful people of Tuam. It was a solemn ordination. Thus the first function of Dr. Mac Hale's administration was the conferring of Holy Orders,—the Bishop of Galway officiating.

PART FOURTH.

APOSTOLATE IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF TUAM.

1834–1881.

CHAPTER XIX.

At Work in the Archdiocese of Tuam.

THERE is, in a paper written on O'Connell by Mr. Gladstone, and published in the "Nineteenth Century" of January, 1889, a passage on the political career and character of the Liberator, which, in many respects, applies equally to the labors and character of O'Connell's most trusted and most honored friend, John, Archbishop of Tuam.

"It is with something of a sense of special duty," says the writer, "and likewise with a peculiar satisfaction, that I make this small effort at historical justice in the case of the Irish Liberator, as he is most justly called. In early life I shared the prejudice against him, which was established in me, not by conviction, but by tradition and education. . . . Those who know only the hearty good will of millions upon millions of the English people toward Ireland at this moment, can have but a faint conception of the fearfully wide range of mere prejudice against O'Connell half a century ago.

"It is a misnomer to call him a demagogue. If I may coin a word for this occasion, he was an ethnogogue. He was not the leader either of *plebs* or *populus* against *optimates*. He was the leader of a nation; and this nation, weak, outnumbered, and despised, he led, not always unsuccessfully, in its controversy with another nation, the strongest and perhaps the proudest in Europe.

". . . He was all along the missionary of an idea. The idea was THE RESTORATION OF THE PUBLIC LIFE OF THIS COUNTRY, which he believed, and too truly believed, to have been not only enfeebled, but exhausted and paralysed by the Act of Union. It lay in his heart's core from the

dawn of his opening manhood; from the commencement of his full political career it became the mainspring of his acts, his words, his movements,—the absolute mistress of his time, of his purse, and of whatever additions his credit could make to his pecuniary resources. He loved his country with all his heart, and with all his mind, and with all his soul, and with all his strength. . . .

"I am convinced that we ought also to accord to him the character of an excellent statesman. The world knows him chiefly in connection with the proposal to repeal the Act of Union with Ireland. Now I would venture to propound as the criterion of statesmanship properly so called, first, the capacity to embrace broad principles and to hold them fast; secondly, the faculty which can distinguish between means and ends, and can treat the first in entire subordination to the last. To both these criteria the life of O'Connell fully answers. He never for a moment changed his end; he never hesitated to change his means. His end was the restoration of the public life of Ireland; and he pursued it from his youth to his old age with unfaltering fidelity and courage."

The reader who has followed our narrative so far with any degree of attention, must be struck on perusing the above words of the greatest of living statesmen and parliamentary orators, how literally almost they apply in every particular to Dr. Mac Hale. Of his part in achieving the great measure which has given to O'Connell the name of Liberator, we need say nothing here. That he, too, was, in the truest sense of the word, an *ethnagogue*, the leader and guide of a whole nation, even during O'Connell's life time, history will affirm; that after O'Connell's death John of Tuam was, till his dying day, the light and hope of Irish patriots, Irishmen all over the world have again and again proclaimed. *The restoration of the public life of Ireland* was also the END which Dr. Mac Hale sought to further and attain, from the appearance of the first letter of HIEROPHILOS down to his latest public utterance and his last recorded episcopal act.

Of his statesmanlike views on every great topic connected with the welfare of Ireland during the sixty-one years he was before the public, his letters to the successive Prime Ministers will convince the most incredulous. His political, or rather "national," purpose never changed; and the means he sought and advised for its realization, in the face of discouragements of all kinds, in spite of the opposition of the men he most regarded and revered, are this day acknowledged to be the only means alike approved by true religion and by true statesmanship.

Of this we shall be convinced more and more with every succeeding chapter in this work.

Meanwhile, let us follow the new Archbishop of Tuam into the wide and difficult field of his apostolic labors, and see how he battles with the unforeseen calamities which come in rapid succession to overwhelm his people, as well as with the enemies of their religious faith and their existence as free men and prosperous men on their native soil.

It was an accusation brought against the Archbishop, urged against him even by false brethren in the Court of Rome, that, during the years of famine in particular, he allowed Protestant missionaries to pervert large numbers of his flock, and that at all times he was less careful of the spiritual welfare of his diocesans than of the pursuit of literary fame or public notoriety as a political agitator.

We shall have abundant evidence of quite the contrary at every step of our progress in the following pages. But remembering the fearful calamities which depopulated the West of Ireland all through the episcopal administration of Dr. Mac Hale, and the tremendous efforts made to profit by the utter distress of the starving populations to purchase with money and other bribes their adhesion to Protestantism, to replace the exterminated Catholics of Mayo and Galway by men of another race and creed, it will be of no little interest to read here, ere we follow John of Tuam on his path of heroic toil and conflict, the last letter he ever addressed to the public, and in his ninety-first year:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN.

"TUAM, July 9th, 1881.

"DEAR SIR:—It appears from the census taken on the 3d of April of the present year, that there are in the two counties of Galway and Mayo 470,390 Catholics, and only 12,052 members of the Disestablished Church, comprising landlords, Protestant ministers and public officials, with their respective families and followings, viz.: for every Protestant of that Church in the two counties, there are nearly forty Catholics.

"The entire of the diocese of Tuam is comprised in the two counties of Galway and Mayo, with the exception of two parishes in the county Roscommon, the Protestant population of which, according to the census of 1871, amounts to 191 souls.

"So much for the industrious traducers, at home and abroad, of the good fame of the clergy and people of the diocese of Tuam.

"I remain, dear Sir, your faithful servant,

"✠ JOHN ARCHBISPOP OF TUAM."

With this preliminary, we may follow our Prelate in the career of higher and wider responsibility imposed on him by the Holy See.

On taking possession of the See of St. Jarlath, Dr. Mac Hale well knew that he was not exchanging a field of incessant labor for one of comparative repose. On the contrary, he was perfectly aware that the change meant for him not only higher responsibility, but threefold toil.

The worry, the deep anxiety, the manifold grief, the annoyances of all sorts, as well as the occupations put upon him by the Killala troubles, of which we shall treat in the next chapter, will tell the reader that the archiepiscopal mitre was to the wearer a crown of thorns.

In the discharge of his own pastoral duties he was most exemplary and indefatigable. Everything that pertained to his episcopal and priestly ministrations was to him most truly a labor of love. It was not in his nature to spare him-

self. And even had he been ever so little disposed to indulge a love of literary ease amid his pastoral cares, the terrible necessities of the country, and the successive calamities which befell his people, were more than sufficient to transform the most sluggish and callous nature into activity and energy.

The conviction must have forced itself upon the new Archbishop of Tuam, that the struggle maintained by the Irish people was not merely one for equal civil and religious rights, but one for simple existence on their native soil.

As a bishop, his chief care was to preserve to his flock the faith inherited from their forefathers; that was the pearl beyond all price, which no force in the past had been able to wrest from the nation.

This was the divine treasure which the joint efforts of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland and the British Government still conspired, after centuries of unavailing persecution, to take away from the Catholic majority.

The Archbishop's first and chief solicitude was to save the faith of his flock, now more than ever threatened by the Government system of education and by the proselytizing societies set on foot, patronized in official quarters, and liberally supplied with money for the purpose of purchasing the souls of the wretched peasants of the West, who were in a chronic state of dire distress verging on starvation.

He therefore bent all his efforts towards combating not only the National Schools, which he instinctively felt to be fraught with danger to the youth of Ireland, but the monstrous injustice of the Church Establishment, the Tithe-laws and Landlord-laws, all devised to reduce *to degrading and irremediable poverty* the Catholic populations unsubdued by persecution, and to make of the wretched tiller of the soil the most abject slave that ever crouched under the lash or the frown of a master.

Good Heavens! the negro population of the Southern States were lapped in luxury; their wants in the present, their support in sickness and old age, were amply provided for, as compared with the lot of the Irish peasantry of

the Western and Southern counties. The landlord exacted rents out of all proportion with what the soil produced, and whether the land earned it or not, it had to be paid.

After the landlord's claim came that of the minister of the Established Church. Though there might not be in the parish of which he was by law the rector or vicar a single person belonging to his church or benefited by his ministrations, yet from every farmer's field he pitilessly carried away every tenth sheaf of corn; and when not a sheaf had been left by the rack-renting landlord, the poor man's cow, or his ass, or his pig, or, these failing, the last articles of furniture left in the hovel he called his home, was borne off by the Tithe-Proctor, aided by the constabulary or military!

So was the Protestant religion in Ireland "brought home" to the immense majority of the people!

Nor was this all. If in that parish where not a dozen persons could be collected on the Sunday around the minister's pulpit, the church in which he preached, the old Catholic church, taken ages before from those who had built it, needed repairs, the Catholic thousands, who worshipped in what was little better than a straw-thatched barn, were assessed for the repairing!.... If the rector and the local authorities judged that a new Protestant house of worship should be built, the expense fell on the Catholic thousands, albeit rack-rented by the landlord and plundered of their last beast, or of the very bed on which they lay, by the Tithe-Gatherer! And there were, besides all this, innumerable other burthens imposed by grand-juries, etc., on the backs of the poor....

It was hopeless misery, then; it was degrading poverty, depriving a Christian people for centuries of the comforts of a civilized home.... It had already come to this pitch of hopelessness ere John Mac Hale became archbishop of Tuam, in the autumn of 1834, that the peasantry of the greater part of the West and South of Ireland were reduced to the alternative of starving on their native soil or of emigrating to America.

It was in this sad predicament, that the National School Board in Dublin was created for the express and scarcely disguised purpose of Protestantizing the youth of Ireland. Then, too, the Protestant Bible Societies purchased lands, built churches and schools, and established proselytizing centres and agencies in Munster, Connaught, and the western counties of Ulster.

Dr. Mac Hale deemed it to be for him an imperative, a sacred duty, to enlighten public opinion in the three kingdoms and, so far as he could, all over Christendom, on this monstrous and manifold injustice practised in Ireland in the name of religion, and by a government which championed the cause of civil and religious liberty everywhere.

He found time, in the midst of his multiplied occupations, to address a public letter to the Duke of Wellington, on December 8, 1834, just when it was announced that the great soldier had once more become the head of a Tory Cabinet. He exposes the enormous wrong done to a whole nation by saddling it with a Church Establishment hostile to the religion of seven-eights of the people, and by compelling these seven-eights to support a clergy from whom they receive no service, and who are constantly laboring to deprive them of their ancestral faith.

"My Lord," he says, "the eternal laws of justice are against you. And, until right and wrong are found to be such changeable things as to shift their position like an army-corps in a camp, ... the opposition to tithes in Ireland shall remain beyond the reach of any adequate control.... Your efforts to uphold the Church Establishment in Ireland must prove abortive.... All the united authorities of the Sovereign and the Senate can never confer the conscientious obligations of law on enactments contrary to right reason and justice. Hence, the stubborn and unconquerable mutiny of the minds of the people of Ireland against these odious ACTS (laws I will not call them), which have ever forced them to pay tribute to the teachers of an adverse creed."

The Archbishop is not daunted by the fame of the great

general who had routed the Napoleonic hosts from Portugal and Spain, and broken forever the mighty Conqueror's sword at Waterloo. He had, as we have seen, powerfully aided O'Connell in wresting from the Wellington Ministry, in 1829, the Act of Emancipation. He now calls on him to abolish the Church Establishment, to do away with the iniquitous Tithe System, and to regulate the laws of Ireland and their administration on the principles of eternal justice.

"Your Grace," he says, "may be deluded with the notion that this opposition to tithes is only a temporary ebullition of feeling, and that the people may be brought to be reconciled to the re-imposition of the heavy burden.

"Never!

"They may be forced to submit; but. . . . it will only be a forced submission. The laws enforcing tithes may be endured. They cannot be obeyed. Hence, the import of that word—passive obedience,—so little understood, and the misunderstanding of which has thrown upon the Catholics such undeserved odium.

"Passive obedience is nothing else than a passive acquiescence in laws which are unjust, which one cannot correct, and which are still tolerated on account of the greater evil of public commotion that would result from resistance. Hence, the obedience yielded to them is termed passive, or permissive, as contrasted with that active, free, and spontaneous obedience of the heart which a reasonable being yields to wise and beneficent laws, and which such laws only can impose.

"In this latter and true sense of obedience, the laws regarding tithes to the Protestant Establishment were never obeyed, and never can be, inasmuch as they are destitute of all the elements of right and justice, of utility and public good, that constitute such an obligation.

"I have written this letter to convince you that the question is already disposed of, and that further controversy on its merits would be nugatory.

"I shall freely declare my own resolves. I have leased a

small farm, just sufficient to qualify me for the exercise of the franchise, in order to assist my countrymen in returning those, and those alone, who will be their friends instead of being what their representatives usually were—their bitterest enemies.

"I must, therefore, declare, that, after paying the landlord his rent, neither to parson, nor proctor, nor landlord, nor agent, will I consent to pay, in the shape of tithe or any other tax, a penny which shall go to the support of the greatest nuisance in this or in any other country."

Such was the magnanimity of the man.

His zeal in advocating the cause of his people, and in defending them against the organized injustice of British rule in Ireland, had nothing in it of the ambitious self-seeking of the demagogue. It was a zeal inspired not only by the purest patriotism, but by the holiest love of religion. Hence, the man's fearlessness, and his utter disregard of the rash judgments formed of his public acts either by timid friends or the avowed enemies of his creed and race.

The year 1835 was a trying year in the West of Ireland. The crops were scanty, threatening famine, and producing deep and wide distress. There were to be general elections, and with these came the usual tyrannical pressure brought to bear on the poor electors by the landlords. Men who were the avowed patrons of the Bible Societies, and denounced the damnable errors of popery, scrupled not to urge their tenants to swear falsely in registering themselves as voters, or to accept a bribe to vote against their conscience. So that election time was always a season, not only of scandalous disorder, but of moral peril for the Irish peasantry.

Besides,—a season of distress was the golden opportunity for the "Gospellers" to ply their infamous trade among the starving populations.

The new Archbishop of Tuam was not the man to slumber while the wolf was prowling in the night, or to look on idly or listlessly, while the petty tyrants of the county were tampering with the honor and the conscience of his spiritual

children, or to be silent when the hungry people cried out to the Government for bread, and Government only gave them a stone.

On May 6th, 1835, he issued his first pastoral letter to the clergy of the diocese of Tuam, laying down the law which all had to observe in the fulfilment of their duty and privilege as electors. It is a master-piece in its way.

"During elections," he says, "the minds of many of the faithful are so often loosened from the ordinary restraints of duty, that it is unfortunately looked upon as a time when bribery, perjury, drunkenness, and every species of corruption, are permitted to supplant the ordinary virtues of the people. . . .

"As for bribery, . . . your denunciations of so enormous a sin must be cogent in proportion to its atrocity. The freehold is not a property to be set up for sale. It is held in trust for the benefit of the people; and no man can have a right to traffic upon what is not solely his own, and by such a vile bargain to inflict injury upon the community.

"There can be no compromise of this truth.

"Let, therefore, the people be persuaded, that whoever receives a bribe directly or indirectly for his vote is to be excluded from the benefit of the sacraments, until he makes restitution of the money. . . .

"When once the hope of bribery, on the one hand, and the fear of un-Christian oppression on the other, are taken away, the people will go to the hustings as reasonable, intelligent, and free agents ought to go: with a consciousness that they are not the serfs of any man, but the trustees of religion; and that they owe no account but to God alone for the use they make of the elective franchise.

"It will be your duty to remove the ignorance, or cure the corruption of such voters as would fain persuade themselves that they, indeed, are released from the obligation of serving the community, from gratitude to some great family. . . .

"It would be bribery, it seems, in a poor man to receive a few pounds for his vote; and, forsooth, it would be other-

wise to receive some hundreds of pounds, or an equivalent situation for a son or for a friend, by the transfer of a lot of subservient freeholders.

"No class can have a right to meddle with the conscience of your flocks.

"The best chance of escape for them is to perform their duty so well as to secure the triumph of that franchise which the constitution gives them for their protection."

Such was the political morality inculcated by John Mac Hale. Of course, the inflexible severity with which he carried out these lofty principles made him no friends among the landlord class, and made him sometimes enemies among influential members of his own Church.

They, when the Archbishop thwarted their little games of bribery and corruption, would raise the cry about priests meddling with politics.

As real famine was spreading through Mayo and Galway during the summer of 1835, the Archbishop felt bound, in the beginning of June, to write a private letter to Lord John Russell, acquainting him with the reality and extent of the danger. The communication was courteously acknowledged. But nothing was done to prevent or relieve the distress.

On July 26th, Dr. Mac Hale had recourse to his usual method of shaming the Government into timely activity. He wrote an open letter to the Prime Minister. Hunger and starvation were abroad.

"The people, unable to contend with a foe to which the mightiest must yield, are already rooting up the unripe potato, and laying a broader foundation for a famine next year. . . .

"Again and again, the sympathies of the legislature were striven to be enlisted in their favor by the feeling appeals of Mr. Sharman Crawford and others. The Secretary is said as often to have promised the promptest attention to their wants. The sentiment was cheered; the people starved!"

And then the Archbishop states in words never to be

forgotten what was the sublime charity of these sufferers.

"The spectacle along the western coast .... exhibited almost an entire population literally and voluntarily renouncing the distinctions of ownership, and, like the primitive Christians, putting their little possessions into a common fund for the relief of the common misery. Many were known to retrench their scanty meals, in order to share them with their afflicted neighbors. It is to this heroic self-denial, rather than to any Government aid, that we are indebted for the preservation of the lives of the people."

Meanwhile the Tithe-Proctor also was abroad, more pitiless than ever, and gathering into the parson's granary every tenth sheaf from the peasant's desolated field and scanty harvest. There were scenes of violent resistance, ending in bloodshed, where the unarmed cottiers attempted to cope with the Proctor's military escort.

Meanwhile, also, Exeter Hall held its meetings and proclaimed that the season of the Irish people's dire extremity was the blessed opportunity of the "Gospellers."

"The wretched inhabitants of the West of Connaught," the Archbishop writes to the Prime Minister, "supplicated for bread, and those tender-hearted missioners tried to drown their cries in the louder and more protracted charges of idolatry. If the potato crop failed, or if the entire field was seized by heartless landlords, Popery was the pregnant source of the mischief!"

Of course, the Catholic priests resisted the bribery sought to be practised at the elections, the inhuman collection of rack-rents and tithes from a starving peasantry, and the shameful efforts made by the parsons to purchase by money, food, and raiment the outward adhesion of the famishing peasants to the tenets and worship of Protestantism. For this the priests were denounced as agitators and fire-brands.

But Dr. Mac Hale was not one to withhold his pen from branding the slanderers.

"It has lately become fashionable," he says, "to reproach the priesthood of Ireland with a tendency to agitation. Still, all this would be easily forgiven them, if they did not

expose the wretchedness of the people, or if they persuaded these to lie down in peace and starve. But to exhibit so many hundreds of them without a cow, horse, or any four-footed animal, so many families through the country without a night covering, at an average for one in twenty persons; to represent some of the gentry employing persons to scourge from their gates the unfortunate victims of their own rapacity, and others encumbering their mercenary relief with conditions of such cruel and complicated usury, as to render it a prospective curse, is one of the most treasonable acts of which the Catholic clergy could be guilty.

"At the recurrence of an election, when there is question of debauching the integrity of the people, the coffers are freely opened. No mattter what perjuries may stare the guilty dispensers of this mammon in the face, they are hardened enough to brave all such terrors.

"But famine threatens; no money appears! The only fear is the exposure of certain classes; and better far, it has been murmured, that such nuisances should be entirely swept away, than that persons unaccustomed to such treatment should be writhing under the indignant tongues of British Senators, or suffering from the equally bitter pen of British journalists."

He concludes this letter, which is more of an indignant remonstrance than of an appeal to the Government, by the following challenge to the Protestant Establishment:—

"We quarrel with no man on account of his creed. We complain of the political injustice with which religion has been forcibly connected. We complain that a vast property should be exclusively devoured by a few ecclesiastical vultures, while the many, for whose physical and moral nutriment it was intended, should, in every sense of the word, be bereft of its benefit.

"They talk of the revenues of the Catholic priests. Why do not they, if they have any reliance on their office, trust to the same resources?

"Some talk that the effect of reducing the Establishment would be 'to establish the Catholic religion in Ireland.'

What! *establish the Catholic religion in Ireland?* They might as well talk of resolving to plant the stars in the heavens, or of plucking them out of the firmament."

The summer and autumn were for the Archbishop a time of most bitter trial, renewing for his flock all the terrible sufferings witnessed in the diocese of Killala during the famine of 1831–32, and for himself the pangs of a parent who is called to relieve his dear ones in their dire need, and who is powerless to deal out anything like adequate help.

In September he was called to the principal scene of the proselytizers' labors in the Island of Achil. His terrible and repeated arraignment of the Established Church had aroused the wrath of Dr. Bloomfield, Bishop of London, who fancied he could, with the stroke of his pen, demolish John of Tuam.

But John of Tuam was not to be demolished; and Dr. Bloomfield soon found it out to his grief. He wrote to him from the scene of his pastoral visitation in Achil.

"The remoteness of this Island will, I trust, justify my tardiness in acknowledging your Lordship's attention. The interesting occupation, too, in which I have been engaged, guarding this distant portion of the flock from the poison of errors, confirming the many in the faith, and receiving back into the fold the few who were staying around its enclosure, will, no doubt, plead in my favor as an additional excuse.

"It is impossible that on a subject in which your sources of knowledge were scanty and imperfect, you could hazard such an assertion, as that the Protestant religion was spreading in Ireland. . . . What? the Protestant religion increasing! And what is the evidence to establish its progress? *Eight hundred and sixty parishes* without *fifty* Protestants; and not one solitary individual professing that faith to be found in a number of parishes amounting *to one hundred and fifty!* If from such data you deduce the spread of Protestantism, it must be that you attach to numbers the idea of negative quantities.

". . . . You may boast of your parsons as a proof of the

spread of Protestantism. I shall exhibit the people, compared to whom the parsons are but as a few drops in the vastness of the ocean. As for your churches, so far from being an evidence of the growth of the Protestant religion, their steeples, like the London Monument, are so many 'tall and lying bullies,' erected to create a delusive belief of the establishment of the Protestant religion in places where a vestige of it was never to be seen.

"There is something in the very soil and atmosphere of Ireland uncongenial to the growth of error.... Witness, for example, the recent abortive exertions of the Achil Missionary Society, that was to renovate the face of this island.... New houses arose, a spiritual colony was planted, moneys were expended without measure; and, though hunger, and nakedness, and famine were the constant allies of which imposture availed itself, still it could make no advances here. The contemptuous scorn with which the natives treated the fanatics, if adequately conveyed to your Lordship, would considerably sober your enthusiastic anticipations. 'The Achil Mission,' is already another tale of the numerous failures of fraud and fanaticism."

The Bishop of London, in his place in the House of Lords, in defending the erroneous wealth of the Established Church in Ireland, was unwise enough to say that "without the pomp with which it surrounds the ministers of religion, their instructions could not fall with any force among the humble classes of society."

This was giving to the Archbishop of Tuam a victorious weapon, of which he availed himself.

"What aid," he replies, "did they derive from the splendor of wealth, who achieved the most signal triumphs for the benefit of mankind?.... Is your Lordship aware that an humble Catholic curate in Ireland, with £30 a year, exercises more of that exalted influence which proceeds from that mysterious communion of mind, than does, with all his untold wealth, the Protestant Primate of all Ireland?"

The Archbishop then contrasts the influence of high

ecclesiastical rank and great wealth in a Protestant dignitary preaching in Westminster at the coronation of William IV., with that of poverty and humility in the person of a Capuchin monk preaching at Rome to the Pope and Cardinals.

"The one sermon," he says, "was delivered by a prelate of exalted rank and supercilious bearing, whose full and corpulent frame, unwasted by fasts or virgils, attested the sincerity of his belief in the superstition of such practices.

"This was Dr. Bloomfield, the Protestant Bishop of London.

"The other sermon was by a Capuchin, than whom nothing could more strongly contrast with the former figure.

"The feet almost bare . . . ; a coarse, dark, flowing garment was wrapped by a leathern girdle round his emaciated body; the sinews upon his attenuated wrists and fingers were seen to rise like reeds upon a column.

"The discourses were in keeping with the persons: The courtly Bishop delivered 'a cold, unimpassioned harangue, . . . addressed to an audience impatient for its conclusion. No single stroke depicting the beauty of chastity, or the terrors of judgment.'

"On the contrary, the other came forward as one whose 'conversation was in heaven.' . . . Each word was a warning sent from a superior spirit. And though there were present men whose lives were worthy of the pure and primitive times, the most pious could not but feel the influence of the holy man, when he announced the more terrible punishments that awaited the high and mighty delinquents who, in Church and State, forget the obligations of mercy to the poor.

"Do not henceforward, my Lord, accuse me of designs to subvert the Protestant Establishment. All our designs are innocuous, compared to your own acts. You charge me with characterizing the Establishment by the odious names of 'vampire,' 'bloodsucker,' and 'juggernaut.' I have never used these offensive terms. It is Dr. Bloomfield who has done so. And if it be true that 'they best can

paint who have known it best,' let those who dislike the picture charge him and not me with the correctness of the delineation.

"It is not our words or writings, then, but their own deeds, that are hastening the dissolution of the Establishment. Yes,—such deeds as those of Rathcormac are hurrying it on to its fate."

ARCHBISHOP MAC HALE'S RECEPTION IN WESTPORT.

The Very Reverend Bernard Burke, Parish Priest of Westport, had been the rival but unsuccessful candidate with Dr. Mac Hale for the dignity of metropolitan of Connaught. No sooner, however, had the Holy See confirmed the unanimous choice of the bishops of the Province, than Dean Burke was eager to show the new archbishop all respect and submission, and to give to the Prelate in Westport a public reception like that given by the people of Castlebar or Tuam.

But Dr. Mac Hale was too intent on the performance of the manifold duties which awaited him in Tuam, to turn aside to Westport for what appeared more of a public display than the glad welcome awarded to a bishop in visiting his diocese for the first time.

He had, perforce, to put off from week to week the visit solicited by priest and people till the end of December, 1834. But the enthusiastic multitudes who flocked from every side to greet him, and the evident fervor with which they gave him welcome, reminded the Archbishop of the scenes enacted in the preceding October, on his progress from Ballina to Castlebar and Tuam.

Only a few miles separated the beautiful town and glorious bay of Westport from Tubbernavine and Ballina. To the people John Mac Hale seemed one of their very own; and, besides, they had seen him, while coadjutor of Killala, more than once in their midst on great solemnities, thrilling them with his eloquent discourses.

The Archbishop's speech gives sufficient details of his triumphal entry into the town to dispense us from a separate description of the scene.

"From the enthusiasm I have just witnessed," he begins, "and which is the genuine offspring of your own hearts, I must confess my inability to suitably thank you. On many recent occasions I have had cause to express my gratitude for kindness thus shown me in public. These manifestations have attracted notice outside of Ireland and Great Britain. The journals of Florence and Paris and other continental cities reëcho the joy of our Catholic people at the events which have taken place in this diocese. But it is due to you and to myself to say, that the present occasion, though unattended with much of the pomp and circumstance witnessed elsewhere, has been to me the source of more heart felt delight and satisfaction than I have yet experienced.

"One thing, among others, may have contributed to my intense enjoyment; and it is this. Just fourteen hundred and three years have elapsed,[1] and be it borne in mind that the Catholic religion counts an uninterrupted possession in this land,—just 1403 years have elapsed since the arrival of that saint who, treading in the footprints of the Apostles, preached to our forefathers that religion which, we thank God, has kept its hold of the land up to the present day.

"It was from the place on which I am now standing that St. Patrick first announced the Gospel to the then inhabitants of the territory now constituting our archdiocese. In in his day, indeed, this territory was temporarily divided into a number of smaller diocesan jurisdictions, of which Aughagower was the chief.

"I feel, then, that we are on holy ground. You and I are treading on the plain hallowed by the footprints of the sainted dead. While passing through your streets, I am inclined to exclaim, 'we worshipped in the spot where his footsteps have trodden.'

"It should be to us a source of deep satisfaction, amid all the manifold misery and wretchedness to which Ireland is a prey, to be assured that we still inherit the best gift be-

[1] Some of the best biographers of St. Patrick date the beginning of his apostolic labors in Ireland from the year 431-32.

Clew Bay, from Westport.

stowed on our ancestors, the religion preached here by their Apostle.

"As I entered your town this day, I felt that our country was blessed with all the choicest natural gifts of the Creator. But I could not help seeing that man seemed to mar the kind intentions of Providence. The wild and majestic scenery which met my view on all sides forced me to admire the bounty of nature, while making me think sadly of its glorious possibilities.

"I have visited the fairest countries in Europe. I have seen the favorite resorts of the lovers of the sciences, the arts, and letters. Yet it is only truth to say that I have never beheld scenery more majestic, or a soil more fertile, than one meets with in approaching Westport.

"Before you, on the broad bosom of the Bay, Clare Island lifts its proud head on high. A range of verdant hills rise up on your right; and on your left towers the venerable Croagh Patrick; while the mariner who approaches your bay from the west beholds it gemmed all over with islands innumerable. If he has traversed the Mediterranean, Westport Bay will recall that of Naples. But it has special charms of its own. It is not so broad as that of Naples, but it has some striking points of resemblance to the splendid bay of Dublin, with which it is so often compared.

"In the three islands which stand off Naples and Westport, there is both a great analogy in position, and much difference in their historical associations. The islands near Naples are identified with the worst vices of imperial tyrants. Inisbofin and Inisturk are sacred to the memory of a Coleman and a Columba.

"There is also an obvious likeness between the lofty cones of Vesuvius and Croagh Patrick. There is this unlikeness however: that the truncated cone of the volcano, worn and wasted by its fires, is a monument of vengeful destruction; the untouched summit of the other is hallowed as the spot from which our Apostle invoked so many blessings on our native land. It is a monument to the beneficence of religion. And, I confess it, when, as I entered

your town amid shouts for O'Connell and a repeal of the Union, for the Pope, for the King, for the extinction of tithes and the independence of Mayo,—I was thrilled to the heart on hearing one poor man shout out, 'Three cheers for Croagh Patrick!'

"Gentlemen, there spoke the religious heart. There was in the soul of that poor man a poetical enthusiasm which those who look down on the laboring class may affect to sneer at, but which is foreign to the scoffer's barren nature.

"Croagh Patrick is truly a mountain dedicated to religion. To its acclivities our venerated Apostle retired, like another Elias or another Moses, to converse face to face with God; and thence to descend among the people, with countenance radiant with a divine splendor, and bearing a heavenly law to the inhabitants of the plain. He then bestowed on us a religion eternal like the hills above and around us, as lasting and indestructible as Croagh Patrick itself.

"I could not, therefore, help being delighted at the chance expression of that poor man. But how happens it that here, on the plain, at the very foot of yonder holy mountain, another man should be found to revile the religion of our people, and to asperse their moral character? I am loath to deal in personal allusions. Still are there occasions when it is a duty to speak plainly. A member of Parliament, it is said, from his place in the House of Commons, represented the inhabitants of the valleys around Croagh Patrick as a people without intelligence. He knew them, he said, to be the dupes of a superstitious creed, to be seduced by a system he termed priestcraft.

"Perhaps you *are* the dupes of priestcraft. Truth, it is said, is often spoken in jest; and so it is in malignity. The man who uttered the charge little imagined, most likely, that he unwittingly uttered a truism. For the word *craft*, in the original German, means *power*. And when the man who mis-represents Mayo in Parliament said that you were the dupes of priestcraft, he meant nothing more, perhaps, than that you were attached to the power of the priests.

"True—they wield a power justly obtained,—obtained by the exercise of every virtue of the Christian heart. And when the slanderer called you the followers of a superstitious creed, he only meant to say, that your priests were ever ready to use all its influence in putting down corruption, bribery, and perjury in every form and in every place where they could detect these monstrous practices.

"He ascribed the influence wielded by our priesthood to some sordid and selfish disposition. Even when the Redeemer cast forth impure spirits, there were men found to say that He did so, not by the power of God, but by that of Beelzebub.

"There is a legend connected with Croagh Patrick. It is a mountain surrounded with an atmosphere of holy and living memories. Even now, when I behold its majestic form in the morning light, I am moved to devotion, as when I was wont to look towards it in my youthful days. The legend is, that while the saint was communing with God on the summit, the impure spirits of Idolatry assailed him with continual interruptions. Ringing his bell to assemble them from every side, he bound them all together by some holy spell, and precipitated them into an abyss at the bottom of the mountain, where they still remain captive.

"Perhaps the virtue with which God clothed His Apostle may survive in some feeble degree in the last and most unworthy of his successors here, enabling him some day, by the exercise of his priestly craft, to hurl other impure and lying spirits from their elevation. . . . .

"I confess, I do not like to talk politics, if I could at all avoid the distasteful theme. But I do wish to speak common sense; and, moreover, I am bound to teach all under my care the duties which they owe to society, as well as those which they owe to religion. I have ever said, and must still continue to say, that every form of bribery is reprobated by the Catholic Church. I must ever continue to maintain that perjury in all its shapes shall be condemned and pursued by the Catholic clergy.

"Call that 'priestcraft,' if you will!

"I have always said, as I say now, that the selling of one's country, or one's conscience, for selfish interest, will ever be denounced by the pastors of the Catholic Church.

"And that, too, may, if our enemies choose, be styled 'priestcraft'!

"This may also be called politics. But if it be, it is of that sort of politics taught by the Apostle, and sure to be perpetuated by the bishops of the Catholic Church to the end of time.

"Will it be claimed by a certain class of Christians that they are free from the obligations imposed on them by religion? that a new line of demarcation has been discovered, clearly separating the portion of Christian doctrine which we are to inculcate, from that which we must abstain from enjoining in practice? Are we to tell the people to bear with the hardships and afflictions of this life with meekness and resignation, to adore with thankfulness the hand which chastises them; and must we remain silent and never raise our voices against the practice of fraud, perjury, and corruption?

"Oh, I presume that what we call the upper classes will deem these utterances as little better than blasphemy. Nevertheless, we shall, under all circumstances, teach the freeholders their full duty to God, to themselves, and to their country. If defeated, we shall feel no humiliation; if triumphant, we shall give way to none of the intoxication of victory. It is the part of Christians to preserve peace of soul, whether they succeed or fail in what is dearest to their hearts; conscious that we have done our part, we shall leave the issue to Providence. They tell us we shall meet with difficulties at every step. What situation or career in life is without its peculiar difficulties, without its own privations? Are we not to ask our people to do their duty, because its performance will be attended with difficulty?

"For my part, I shall enforce the obligations of religion, no matter what may be the consequences to individual persons.

"The influence of Banking Establishments is held up

among us as the great obstacle to the practice of civic virtue. This being so, I say, the sooner we get rid of these banks, the better! It is said that our banks afford facilities for trade, shelter the industries from the lash of the driver, give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked. Well, let them continue to do so. But when they presume to interfere with the consciences of our people, and to seek to coerce them, we must hold them up to the hatred of our people, as we should every other nuisance.

"Banks may lend to heads of families money to prevent their children from starving; the money they loan may help to obtain for the young a good and religious education; in return the banks receive a fair and lawful interest. For this are the banks chartered. But they are not to exact an usurious discount from a starving peasantry. . . . .

"Some one will say, that those who borrow money on such terms are bound to fulfil their agreement. So did Shylock lend to the Merchant of Venice. And no Shylock ever demanded his pound of flesh more persistently than do the banks of Ireland.

"I mention no establishments in particular; I scorn to point at individuals. But the system I reprobate as abominable. When these money-lenders come to reckon up their interest, do they stop at six, or ten, or twenty percent? No! They aim at possessing themselves of the borrower's *conscience.*

"Is this Christian-like? No, assuredly.

"Let, then, the bankers be content with their legal six percent.

"If, instead, they throw out at election time their feelers to ascertain at what vulnerable point they can assail the electors, and prevent these from doing their duty, then they may awaken such resistance and retaliation as may bring the offenders to their senses.

"I am not so familiar with business methods, as to be able to say whether or not a banking establishment is an advantage to a community. Of this you are the best judges. But I come from a town in the northern part of Mayo,

where a bank brought ruin, bankruptcy, and poverty upon many a fair and honorable trader; where it enabled the landlords for three and four and five years to squeeze rack-rents from their tenantry, the screwing powers of the bank being the engine employed in this process.

"For my own part, unless upon some great public occasion, which may demand the sacrifice of my personal feelings,—I never will consent to put my name on stamped paper for banking purposes. I shall rather reduce my establishment than encourage a system leading to ruinous extravagance. I look upon banks as places which people should never enter; as something like the catacombs, in which principles, character, freedom, and reputation are buried. . . .

"Let us remind these usurers that, if they go on coercing conscience, their banking system may be found like the colossus whose head was of gold, but whose feet were of clay. . . . The boulder from the hillside, detached by popular hands, may shatter the brittle mass. . . .

"The time is come when all who are not with the people must be accounted as being against them. You, at least, in the approaching contest, will show that you are worthy of freedom by your determined efforts to be free."[1]

During Dr. Mac Hale's episcopal and priestly labors in the diocese of Killala, he had seen starvation desolating the once populous and happy villages of Tirawley. During the winter months of his first year in Tuam his soul was stirred by the appearance among his people of the same appalling spectre of famine.

He did not wait until the distress had become general to appeal to the generosity of the fortunate among his diocesans, or even to solicit timely relief from the authorities in Ireland as well as from the Metropolitan Government. In Parliament Mr. Sharman Crawford more than once raised his eloquent voice to warn the ministers of the Crown of the alarming and spreading distress which prevailed in the West of Ireland.

[1] From the *Connaught Journal*, Westport, Jan. 1, 1835.

The ministers promised, and their supporters cheered. But nothing effective was done. Meanwhile hundreds perished of starvation.

Early in May, 1835, the Archbishop of Tuam wrote a letter to the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, to which a very civil answer was returned. But beyond this nothing was done to succor the famishing populations.

Then Dr. Mac Hale wrote a second letter, which he at once made public, hoping to shame the Government into some practical sense of humanity.

"Need I refer," he says, "to the various and appalling statements of actual starvation which .... have reached the public through letters addressed to the viceroy or petitions presented to Parliament? .... They pointed in the most definite terms to the scenes of distress, as well as to the numbers of the sufferers.... They invited the agents of the Government to come and witness the work of famine within those hovels where shame and hunger struggled, the latter forcing its victims to go out in quest of food, the former keeping them within doors and forbidding to expose their extremity to the public eye.

"Think you, my Lord, that the evil is at an end? No. I shudder at the forms of disease which it is soon likely to assume. The people, unable to contend with a foe to which the strongest must yield, are already rooting up the unripe stalks of the potato crop, and laying a broader foundation for a famine next year....

"There passed not a week, meanwhile, in which a number of enormous pensions was not paid to individuals of whose services the world is yet ignorant. And yet that valuable class by whose labor and industry these drones are supplied, are abandoned without any relief, many of them to the reality, and more to the chances of starvation! .... [1]

"The spectacle exhibited this season along the western coast was one which a Christian philosopher would have been proud to contemplate. It taught in living acts those lessons of real Christian charity which you would in vain

[1] Greville's pension in Jamaica; for instance, see "Memoirs." vol. III.

seek for in Oxford or in Cambridge:—an entire population literally and voluntarily renouncing the distinctions of ownership, and, like the primitive Christians, putting their little possessions into a common fund for the relief of the common misery. Many were known to retrench from their scanty meals in order to share them with their afflicted neighbors. To this heroic self-denial, rather than to any government aid, we owe the preservation of the lives of the people.

"Our best acknowledgments are due to the generous individuals who, by their contributions, helped to mitigate our distress. The seasonable supply of potatoes sent by the kind-hearted people of Wexford has called forth, as it merited, the lively gratitude of our sufferers."

So much for what the rulers of Ireland did in the hour of dire extremity, what was done by local charity, and what was achieved by the superhuman generosity of the famine-stricken poor themselves. It is a sad tale of official heartlessness,—one, unhappily, which was to be repeated, and with circumstances of still greater inhumanity, during Dr. Mac Hale's long experience.

After this indirect but most effective indictment of the men in power, the Archbishop turns indignantly to the prodigality with which the treasury supports the clergy of the Irish Establishment. People may ask whether these energetic and repeated denunciations of the Irish "Parsons" had any other effect on the public mind than to give the Archbishop of Tuam an unenviable fame among the higher classes in Ireland, and among all classes in Great Britain.

Certain it is that his letters, reciting as they did most eloquently and effectively the many demerits of this well-paid and not over-worked class, produced a powerful and ever-growing impression on the sound public opinion of both countries. He won the battle at length. The Establishment went down long before Dr. Mac Hale had arrived at the end of his long career.

His arraignment of the parsons, in this letter to the Prime Minister, is one of startling energy and logical force.

"Allow me once more," he says, "to contrast—for the contrast is too striking to be overlooked,—the singular manner in which the people and the parsons are treated.

"A million of money, a sum that requires some analysis of its mass in gold, to understand its amount, is lavished on a small band of functionaries, though their most earnest supporters could never yet explain one solitary benefit which they conferred on this devoted country.

"They have never manned the fleets of Britain; they have not filled her armies; their brows are not decked with the laurels won in her battles. What, then, is their usefulness, or what the suffering which wins them such sympathy? What are the priceless services which are awarded such incalculable remuneration?

"Why, they are the dispensers of a law of which the individual conscience is, according to the principles of genuine Protestantism, the best interpreter. They are the expounders of a Bible which requires no expounder, being a plain, intelligible book, which all can understand.

"Behold, then, the range of their ministrations. And I put it to Sir Robert Peel, and the other panegyrists of the Irish parsons, whether the people should be suffered to starve, and a body such as I have described be supported by so ample a provision? . . . .

"Amidst the variety of your senatorial avocations, your Lordship may have condescended to glance at the scenic exhibitions of Exeter Hall. They were quite in keeping with the policy which the apostles of mischief have always adopted towards Ireland in the hour of misfortune. The wretched inhabitants of the West of Connaught, exhausted with hunger, besought you for bread; and the tender-hearted missioners drowned the cries of the famishing in loud shouts charging them with idolatry.

"If the potato crop failed, or if the whole of its yield was seized for rent by the landlords, all was due to popery. . . .

"But this no popery cry is, at last, extinguished forever. . . . . Britons feel the value of Catholic Emancipation more than the Irish themselves. Till then they were the dupes of

every clerical hypocrite, who persuaded them that the Irish Papists were the only evil they had to fear. . . . Does the Englishman find that the dismal phantoms with which his mind had been filled have any existence in reality? Does he find that the Catholic representatives from Ireland have leagued themselves against his rights? . . . No such thing. He finds them foremost among the foes of every species of corruption. To their steady and unflinching alliance with his own members he is indebted for Parliamentary Reform. . . .

"Such truths the English know well. They are not ungrateful. Instead of helping to perpetuate in Ireland the most disastrous evil with which a nation was ever cursed, they will requite us by aiding us to achieve peace and order and freedom. . . .

"Let those fanatics rave about treatises on theology. Whilst we practically convince our Protestant brethren that we love our neighbors of every creed, is it to be imagined that we must consult these mountebanks as to what books we may recommend to our clergy? . . . .

"It is high time, then, that the laws of eternal justice, and the real and substantial interests of the people, should be preferred to that narrow policy which has hitherto sacrificed everything to the support of a mischievous establishment. The people can no longer be neglected with impunity. . . .

"They have intelligence enough to understand that it is not a fair requital for all their own services to the State, to pamper a useless body with wealth and splendor, while they are unfeelingly allowed to starve. This they have endured too often, and with a patience unexampled in the history of any other nation.

"It has lately become fashionable to reproach the Irish priesthood with a fondness for agitation. This, however, would be easily overlooked, if they ceased to expose the wretchedness of their people, or if they persuaded the latter to lie down and starve in peace. But to describe so many hundreds among the peasantry without a cow, a horse, or

any other four-footed animal; to describe so many families throughout the country as so destitute of essential comforts, that not one in twenty, at an average, possesses a covering for the night; and then to represent some of the landed gentry as employing persons to scourge from their gates the miserable victims of their own rapacity, or burthening their mercenary relief with conditions so cruel and of such manifold usury, as to render it a prospective curse,—this is accounted treason in the Catholic clergy.

"When election time comes round, and the integrity of the people has to be tampered with, the gentry freely open their coffers to effect their immoral purpose. . . But when famine threatens, no money appears. . . .

"Can the British public wonder that the political power of such a class has forever passed away? Can they wonder that such men find it no longer possible to lead their wretched serfs to the political market-place? . . .

"As it is, then, in the honest hands of the people that political power is lodged, it would be impolicy as well as injustice to sacrifice them to the landlords or the parsons.

"In conclusion, I may be allowed to make one or two reflections on the serious misapprehensions of some well-meaning Protestants.

"We have no feeling of hostility toward them on account of their religious opinions. We quarrel with no man on account of his creed. . . We complain . . . of the political injustice with which religion has been forcibly connected. We complain that a vast property should be exclusively devoured by a few ecclesiastical vultures, whilst the many, for whose physical and moral sustenance the property was intended, should, in every sense of the word, be bereft of its benefit.

"Let the Protestants propagate their religion as widely and as freely as they please; but let it be in a manner that will prove its purity to the world.

"They talk of the revenues of Catholic priests. Why do not they, if they have any reliance on their office, trust to the same resources? Some pretend that the effect of reduc-

ing the Establishment will be to establish the Catholic religion in Ireland. What? Establish the Catholic religion in Ireland? They might as well talk of planting the stars in the heavens... The Catholic religion is too deeply rooted in Ireland to need to be planted there anew, or to fear to be rooted out. It has been established, and fostered, and sustained by the finger of Him Whose power no government can frustrate, and Whose councils no legislature can control. If the Protestant Establishment is founded on a similar basis, why not trust to a like protection? Let it, like the Catholic Church, flourish by its own vigor, or perish by its corruption."

So, as we saw in the beginning of this chapter, it was the Restoration of the National Life for which he was contending in his remonstrances to ministers, as well as in all his labors and ministrations. And if he sought to restore the Old Faith to its ancient and perfect freedom, it was with no thought of proscribing or persecuting the belief of any citizen who differed from the majority.

Catholic Ireland has never been known, since the days of St. Patrick, to persecute for conscience' sake. In the future, persecution must be as foreign to her temper as in the past, having herself so long endured the flames of the fiery furnace.

CHAPTER XX.

THE "KILLALA TROUBLES."

State of the Diocese of Killala under Drs. Waldron and Mac Hale—Appointment of Father F. J. O'Finan, O. P., as Dr. Mac Hale's successor—Unwise course of the new Bishop of Killala—He quarrels with his clergy—Appeals to Rome—Dr. O'Finan sues one of his priests for libel before a secular court—Apostolic Visitor of the Diocese of Killala appointed—The Bishops of Connaught ask for the appointment of a Coadjutor to Dr. O'Finan—The latter called to Rome—End of the Scandal.

BEFORE we follow the new Archbishop of Tuam through the vicissitudes of the long and laborious career before him, we must return awhile to the diocese of Killala, which we left a prey to the mingled emotions of grief and joy, of grief at losing a prelate so deservedly beloved, of joy in seeing him advanced to a more exalted rank in the hierarchy, his elevation being considered by all as a triumph for the national cause.

Intensely loving as he did his native diocese, we shall presently see with what a conscientious disinterestedness Dr. Mac Hale sought to provide, in the person of his successor, a man of God, most able to promote the dearest interests of religion in Tirawley; but, unhappily, we shall also have to chronicle the frustration of all these endeavors and the utter disappointment of these hopes, brought about by the weakness and inexperience of a prelate circumvented by unscrupulous avarice and unholy ambition.

It is a sad but inevitable episode in the heroic life we are relating. Let the story we are here forced to tell be so told by the venerable personages who took an active part in the events, that historic truth and justice shall be vindicated, without any violation of that charity due to the errors of the departed.

Among the unpublished manuscripts of Dr. Mac Hale is

a brief report on the state of the diocese of Killala, addressed to Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, and presented to him in the summer of 1832, just as Dr. Mac Hale set out on his return journey to Ireland. We have already twice quoted from it. It will give the reader a bird's-eye-view of that portion of Mayo in which the Bishop of Maronia was born, and where his episcopal labors had been so fruitful from 1825 up to 1831.

We translate from the original Latin.

"Having fulfilled," the Bishop says, "with intense spiritual delight the duty of visiting the shrine of the Holy Apostles, I have thought it a most timely thing to do, before quitting Rome, to submit to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda a brief account of the state of the Diocese of Killala. This I now do, as well to show in this way my devotion and obedience toward the Apostolic See, as to make known to the common Father and Pastor of all Christians the condition of this remote Church.

"But in the general calamities which mark the present times, and in the misfortunes which affect religion, what saddens me most is that I see no matter of comfort, no hope to brighten the prospect before me, when I reflect on the extreme poverty and need of all things which characterize the faithful population of that diocese, as well as on the utter absence of all those institutions which shed lustre on religion, while enabling it to flourish. Wherefore, in this dearth of richer materials, I shall compress into a short space all I have to say; and, to proceed with order, I shall divide my brief statement into distinct heads.

1. "The Diocese of Killala, situated in the western part of Ireland and the province of Connaught, comprises an extent of sixty miles in length aud about twenty in width.

2. "This district formerly contained a large number of parishes. At present, however, their number has been reduced to twenty-four, with an average population of about eight hundred families for each, dwelling in hamlets, in many instances divided from each other by mountain

masses. The total Catholic population is, then, not far from one hundred thousand souls.

3. "To minister to the spiritual needs of all these families, that is, to celebrate Mass for them on Sundays and Feasts of obligation, and to administer the sacraments, we have but one priest, or at most two, in each parish; that is, one priest where there is a smaller number of families, and two where there is a greater; so that the total number of priests devoted to the care of souls does not exceed thirty-two.

4. "The cause of this small and insufficient number of clergymen comes from the absence of colleges for training them, and this disadvantage must itself be referred to the squalid poverty of the people. For, it is a well-known circumstance, that all our Church revenues and benefices are possessed by the Protestants. In our diocese they not only hold all ecclesiastical benefices, but they are the proprietors of the whole territory, so that, a thing which may scarcely be said of any other Church, there is not one single piece of landed property owned by a Catholic. The reason of this difference (between Protestants and Catholics) is, that the Catholics, who during the past persecutions and wars preserved their possessions intact, were entirely stripped of their property under William III. (of Orange).

5. "Such was the cruelty with which Catholics were, at that period, treated by Protestants, that the former continued thenceforward to live in the most extreme misery and need of all things. Hence, although the number of our priests be altogether insufficient for the work of the ministry, even these would not have enough to support them. Nevertheless, such is the zeal of our faithful people for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, that their liberality toward their pastors increases in proportion to the ability they find in these of imparting instruction, and to their devotion to duty.

"Poor as they assuredly are, they would not find it a burden to support a more nnmerous clergy.

6. "From this cruel and chronic state of poverty arises the fact, that there are in the diocese of Killala no churches,

or almost none. Our churches were taken possession of or destroyed by the Protestants. Those which Catholics have since built, are mere cabins covered with thatch, which do not deserve the name of churches. For this reason the faithful are very, very often obliged to hear Mass in the open air, nor have the priests the means of preaching to them.

7. "Where there is a lack of church-edifices for divine worship, and an absence of colleges for educating the clergy, one can scarcely hope to find flourishing monastic establishments. The only vestige of these within our diocese are the ruins scattered over its surface, which meet the eye everywhere.

"In this absolute indigence of all the helps toward religion, I have asked myself what I should do, when I was, though unworthy, raised to the coadjutorship of this Church by the favor of the Apostolic See. I applied myself, first of all, to rear a cathedral that might contribute to the majesty and splendor of religion in the town in which I reside; and that should also serve as a model and incite the clergy to undertake the building of like edifices in their respective parishes.

"To build the Cathedral, I was compelled to seek for means on every side; not only did I go myself through all the parishes of the diocese, but I moreover begged for alms outside the diocese both in person and by letter. God happily crowned this undertaking; and I had the consolation, just before setting out on my pilgrimage to Rome, to offer up the Holy Sacrifice in the temple which had kept me so long from fulfilling my long-cherished design. Still, the Cathedral is, as yet, scarcely fit for the purposes of divine worship: its walls are naked, its windows are unglazed, and the means of our people, after the contributions already made by them, and because of the tithes which they are rigorously compelled to pay annually to the Protestant ministers, are so exhausted, that we are unable to complete the structure and to adorn it.

"In this statement, saddening as it is, there is one thing

which should afford us consolation, and which in the midst of our hard labors has often filled us with joy, and that is the pure and living faith of our people, the ardent zeal of our priests, and that devotion of all classes to the Apostolic See and the Sovereign Pontiff, which has ever risen superior to every trial.[1] This is what I had evidence of, especially during my visitation of the diocese in the Jubilee year (1825–'26), the piety of both priests and people manifesting itself so wonderfully, that it excited the admiration of Protestants and caused the conversion of very many of them.

"Assisted by some fifteen priests, I spent ten days in each parish, taken up from morning till night in dispensing the apostolic graces (of the Jubilee). Such was the ardor shown by the people to gain the fruits of this holy season, that the crowds which came from all sides could not be contained in the churches, and covered the fields outside. Our great anxiety, during all these days, was about the poor people, who came fasting to receive the sacraments, and who, disappointed, had to go back home a long distance, without breaking their fast, and who, we feared, might faint on the road.... These were the daily spectacles which filled us alternately with sadness and joy, with joy at beholding the abundant harvest, with sadnesss, because of the small number of the reapers.

"We trust in God to grant us an increase in the number of our priests. If what I have it in my mind to do for this purpose does not weary the kind attention of your Eminence, I shall mention two things which I have greatly at heart. The first is, to establish a Diocesan Seminary, in which not only would our candidates for the priesthood go through a course of philosophy and theology, but our young laymen might also go through a course of literary studies. The second is, to found a monastery of Presentation Nuns, who would bring up the daughters of the laboring poor to piety and industry, thereby promoting exceedingly the increase of religion.

"As yet we lack the means for undertaking this twofold

[1] *Cuilibet tentationi cedere nescia*, in the Latin text.

foundation, and carrying it to a successful issue. Nevertheless, my trust is in Him who furnished me the means for building the Cathedral; He will also help me to carry out this twin project, conceived for the glory of His name and the increase of the Catholic faith.

"I should be most loath to ask help from the Congregation of Propaganda, overpowered as it must be with similar applications for aid. We are not unmindful of its benefactions toward the Church of Ireland, and of the solicitude displayed by it in keeping up the courage of the soldiers of the faith, who were stripped of all worldly goods because of their constancy in confessing the Catholic religion.

"From this simple statement of mine, your Eminence will have a clear perception of the extreme distress to which religion is reduced in the Church of Killala. Should the Sacred Congregation be able, for the good of religion, to make a grant to our diocese, we earnestly hope that this generosity shall bear abundant fruit in Christian learning and piety."

The idea of a diocesan seminary contemplated by the coadjutor-bishop has never been fully realized, though never quite abandoned, in spite of the sad depopulation which the diocese, together with the entire West of Ireland, has undergone, and in the face of the sadly diminished resources of bishops, priests, and people. There is a seminary school, like a living germ buried beneath the snows of a long arctic winter, awaiting the return of the sun and the beginning of spring-tide. The Sisters of the Presentation have not come to Ballina; but the Sisters of Mercy, the daughters of Catherine Mac Awley, are there busied in training to Christian virtue and industrious habits the children of the poor.

What precious and abundant elements of all moral goodness and greatness were scattered through the impoverished parishes of the diocese of Killala, and how well the united labors of bishop and priests could develop them, and prepare the promise of a glorious national harvest, the simple, pregnant, and moving relation of Dr. Mac Hale most eloquently sets forth.

What enthusiastic devotion to a bishop the union of superior virtue, learning, and pure patriotism could produce, we have seen in the sublime spectacle of Dr. Mac Hale's triumphant progress from Ballina to Tuam.

No sooner had he discharged the most pressing duties of his office and station at Tuam, than he had to fulfil one of no less urgent importance toward the diocese he had just left. The clergy of Killala had to select three priests whose names were to be sent to the Prefect of the Propaganda in Rome, and from these the Cardinals composing the Congregation of that name might select the person judged most worthy to fill the vacant See.

The Parish priests of Killala, who alone had an active voice in the election, met in Ballina on November the 12th, 1834, and proceeded, under the direction of Dr. Mac Hale, as metropolitan, to fulfil the canonical formalities prescribed. Three names were selected: those, namely, of Francis Joseph O'Finan, a distinguished member of the Dominican Order, Patrick Flannelly, and Bartholomew Costello, the last named being Vicar-capitular and Administrator of the diocese.

The name of Father O'Finan, who was born in the near neighborhood of Ballina, was warmly recommended to the electors by the Archbishop himself, who had formed the acquaintance of the venerable Dominican at Rome, in 1831–32. He was then in the 60th year of his age, had left Ireland in 1792, studied philosophy, theology, and canon law under the best masters of his Order, always famed for its scholarship, and in 1805 returned to Ireland and was appointed professor of theology, in the Diocesan Seminary of Waterford. In 1812, he was sent to teach in the Dominican College of Corpo Santo, Lisbon; and in 1816 he was elected prior of St. Clement's in Rome. In 1824, he became preceptor and confessor to the Duchess of Lucca, sister to the reigning Empress of Austria. He remained at the court of Lucca till 1831, when he was appointed socius to the Master-general of the Dominican Order.

In this high and honorable position Dr. Mac Hale found

Father O'Finan, when he first made his acquaintance. He was a man of unblemished life, of great and varied knowledge, of refined manners, courtly address, and dignified presence. Naturally, the coadjutor of Killala was drawn to one who, born within a few miles of his own native place, might well be looked upon as an honor to the diocese from which he had sprung.

When, therefore, his own translation to Tuam left the see of Killala vacant, Dr. Mac Hale might well think that he was rendering to the clergy and people of his native diocese the greatest possible service, by helping to give them for bishop a man who united, as he conscientiously believed, so many rare qualities as Father O'Finan.

No wonder, then, that, beloved and trusted as Dr. Mac Hale was by the clergy of Killala, they should, at his recommendation, bestow the majority of their votes on one who, although personally unknown to all of them, was nevertheless the choice of their late bishop, now their metropolitan.

The bishops of the Province of Tuam were also unanimous in recommending Dr. O'Finan as most worthy to succeed Dr. Mac Hale. In Rome the Dominican found a warm friend and patron in the venerable Cardinal Weld; and so both the Congregation of Propaganda and the Pope soon came to a decision, as we learn from the following letter from Dr. O'Finan himself to the Archbishop of Tuam.

"ROME, MINERVA, 16 Dec., 1834—

"MY DEAR LORD:—I have not words to express my gratitude for the kind and friendly part which your Grace has taken in what concerns me. The affair is now pending before the Sacred Congregation, and, whatever the result may be, your Grace may rest assured that I shall ever retain a grateful recollection of your friendship.

"Since I had the pleasure of receiving your kind favor, I have not taken a single step in this business, either for or against it; nor shall I, with God's blessing. Providence will decide. Conscious of my unfitness, I have never am-

bitioned ecclesiastical dignities; and, if I know my own heart, I would not cross the Square of the Minerva—and you are aware it is narrow—to be bishop of the first diocese in Europe. This, however, does not prevent me from being penetrated with a deep and due sense of gratitude to the clergy of my native diocese. Indeed, it is impossible that I should ever forget it.

"I have now to apologize to your Grace for not answering your first letter. There was a curious circumstance attending your appointment to the Metropoliton See, which I did not like to put on paper. Should Providence bring us once more together, either in the 'Eternal City' or in the Green Island, you shall hear it. One thing, however, I may say: Dr. Mac Hale is to all intents and purposes a *Papal Archbishop*, and let him act *accordingly*. I could wish to say more; but, perhaps, at the present moment, it would not be altogether *prudentiæ legibus consonum.*

"Adieu, my dear Lord. Wishing you from my soul every happiness, both temporal and eternal, I have the honor to be your Grace's most devoted friend and servant,

"FRANCIS JOSEPH O'FINAN, O. P."

We add to this letter one from Cardinal Weld, who, together with his relative, Lord Clifford, then residing with the Cardinal in Rome, took a very active interest in Dr. O'Finan. This interest was afterwards extended to Dean Lyons, contributing not a little, as we shall presently see, to encourage both Bishop and Dean in their unwise courses.

On May 2d, 1835, Cardinal Weld writes to the Archbishop of Tuam:—"I was duly favored with your Grace's letter in the beginning of last December, and happy was I to find that my excellent and respectable friend Dr. O'Finan was proposed for a station for which he is so highly qualified. Tho' he has been so well known here for some time, I do not think there was another member of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda so intimately acquainted with him as myself; and I flatter myself that my endeavors to promote his appointment were not useless, tho' I have no

doubt that your Grace's recommendation would have been quite sufficient to secure it.

"I cannot help congratulating your Grace, the hierarchy, and, indeed, the Catholics of Ireland in general, on the nomination of such a man to fill the episcopal throne; and I have no doubt that, if his health continues as good as it has been for some time past, he will be able to do much good. He is now preparing for his departure, and will probably leave Rome in the course of a very few weeks."[1]

We merely add to Cardinal Weld's opinion about the proximate cause of Dr. O'Finan's promotion the following passage from a letter of Dr. Cullen to the Archbishop of Tuam, dated from Rome on March the 1st, 1836:—

"There never was any letter written to the Propaganda about Dr. O'Finan's election, excepting yours and that of the bishops (of the Province of Tuam). It was to your letter the doctor owed his promotion, and he was told so in the Propaganda. It must have been some malicious person who persuaded him of the contrary."[2]

Doubtless the letter of the Archbishop to Cardinal Weld, of which mention is made by his Eminence, also asked the latter's influence in favor of the good Dominican. We are therefore justified in regarding the appointment of Dr. O'Finan to the see of Killala as due mainly, if not exclusively, to the powerful recommendation of Dr. Mac Hale.

In all this the Archbishop firmly believed he was doing the best of all good works,—securing for his native diocese a man of God and an accomplished bishop. Certain it is that Father O'Finan was one among many mentioned in ecclesiastical history who would have been judged by all who knew them most worthy of the episcopal dignity, had they never worn a mitre or taken in hand the government of a diocese.

As it was, this exemplary and accomplished priest had spent all his life, from the age of twenty upwards, in foreign countries, and knew little or nothing of the changed condi-

[1] MS. letter in the Mac Hale collection.

[2] *Ibidem.*

tion of things in Ireland since he had left it, in 1792, till his return to it in October, 1835.

So little, in truth, did he know about the needs and resources of his own native Killala, of the West of Ireland, or of the entire kingdom, that one of the projects which he had formed and cherished, on his way from Rome to Ballina, was the creation in the remotest part of Mayo of a great Catholic University bearing the name of St. Thomas Aquinas!

This fact will give us the measure of the good prelate's praiseworthy zeal for higher education; but it also affords a clear insight into his practical wisdom.

Another project which occupied him at Rome during the seven months he remained there after his consecration as Bishop of Killala, was to surround himself, in the new cathedral built and completed by Dr. Mac Hale at Ballina, with a chapter and canons such as existed in pre-Reformation times. Since the Reformation, however, and the intrusion into the see of Killala of a Church of England bishop, who occupied the Cathedral and possessed himself of all the ecclesiastical property belonging to the ancient see,—the lawful bishops of Killala led the life of hunted wolves, up to the very date almost of Dr. O'Finan's birth (1772). For them there was neither cathedral, nor episcopal residence, nor revenues. The diocesan chapter remained for centuries in abeyance.

When, therefore, the new Bishop of Killala proposed to the Propaganda to revive and restore the chapter to its full canonical existence, he was given no encouragement. He was determined, nevertheless, to gain his end by indirect means, and through the influence of Cardinal de Gregorio, obtained a Pontifical Bull appointing a dean of Killala and conferring that dignity on the Reverend John Patrick Lyons, a priest of that diocese.[1]

[1] "As to the Dean of Killala, I never read of his appointment until I received your Grace's letter. Dr. O'Finan recommended him, and the Bull for his appointment was expedited."—DR. CULLEN, letter of Dec. 3, 1835.

"Mr. Lyons was not named dean through the medium of Propaganda, as is usual. When Dr. O'Finan proposed to the Propaganda his design of forming a chap-

A second and a third letter from Dr. O'Finan will tell the result of the deliberations in Propaganda, and introduce us to a personage destined to have,—unwittingly, we believe,—a great influence on the future life of the writer of the letters.

"ROME, MINERVA, 3 Feb., 1835.

"MY DEAR LORD: The die is cast. On the 26th ultimo the Cardinals of Propaganda, in the general Congregation, were pleased to confirm my election, and yesterday I received an official note from Monsignor Mai, the Secretary, informing me that His Holiness had given it his supreme sanction on the preceding evening.

"One thing consoles me: in this whole transaction I have taken no part whatever, either directly or indirectly. I was, with the divine grace, too conscious of my own insufficiency to be guilty of such presumption. I now submit to the dispositions of Providence, and indulge the fond hope that God in His mercies will not abandon me in the discharge of my duties.

"My consecration will take place in Lent, I believe; and after Easter I hope to be able to set out for my native land. Permit me, my dear Lord, to request of you to give me every possible information regarding the diocese of Killala. This will be on the part of your Grace a great act not only of friendship, but also of *metropolitan* charity. *La prego, pure, Monsignore, di darmi tutti i lumi* about the domestic arrangements which I shall have to make on my arrival in Ballina. You are aware that on all these subjects I am completely in the dark. So I throw myself without reserve on your

ter, they said it would be more prudent for him to defer it till he should be better acquainted with the circumstances of his diocese, and the persons he was about to propose. However, he thought otherwise, and got the thing done by Cardinal de Gregorio."—DR. CULLEN, letter of Jan. 4, 1836.

"There is no decision about Mr. Lyons; but I think that he wlll be *undeaned*."—IDEM, March 1, 1836.

"I think the CHAPTER will be set aside altogether. I have discovered that the Brief erecting the chapter was never expedited. I now think it will never be sent at all. In the Propoganda they thought Card. de Gregorio had published the Brief; but he neglected it. So the chapter has been erected without any authority."—Dec. 27, 1836.

kindness and friendship, on which I place implicit reliance.

"Adieu, my dear Lord. With the sincerest esteem, I have the honor to be,

"Your Grace's faithful and attached friend,

"FRANCIS JOSEPH O'FINAN."

Happy had it been for the new Bishop of Killala, if he had waited for the advice thus sought, and relied on the friendship of his metropolitan, to whom alone he owed his elevation, and who had too much at heart the interests of religion in his native diocese, not to aid in every way, by friendly advice and coöperation, the prelate whom he had chosen from among all men to take up and continue his own apostleship in Ballina.

The second letter was written after Dr. O'Finan's consecration.

"ROME, MINERVA, April 25, 1835.

"MY DEAR LORD: Before I received your kind favor, the affair of the Westport Parish had been decided in Propaganda, pursuant to the rescript which your predecessor, Dr. Kelly, had obtained to that effect. However, I lost no time in consigning your Grace's letter, addressed to Cardinal Fransoni, the Prefect of Prapaganda, who promised me to put it into the hands of His Holiness. Besides, as your letter to me on this subject breathed the best and purest sentiments, which I knew would please him very much, I thought it but friendly to your Grace to give him a copy of it.

"If there be a fault on any side in this transaction, most certainly it rests with the Under-Secretary, who, on the application of your Grace for the parish of Westport, forgot to inform you that it had already been disposed of.

"*Après tout, entre nous,* as your Grace stands so high, and indeed, without flattering you, most deservedly so, I regret this occurrence, as, let us be ever so innocent, such things, from the wretched frailty of human nature, sometimes give rise to what the Italians call *diceric*. . . .

"Dr. Kelly is no more, peace to his soul! I hope his

successor will reëstablish peace and *good will* among the clergy in the Primatial See. Amen.

"FRANCIS JOSEPH O'FINAN."

The Parish of Westport, of which mention is made in this letter, was a mensal or Bishop's parish in the life-time of the last Archbishop of Tuam, Most Rev. Oliver Kelly. During the last years of his life, the parish had been "administered" for him by the very Rev. Bernard Burke, Dean of the Metropolitan Chapter. While Archbishop Kelly was in Rome, a few months before his death, in 1834, he had solicited and obtained from the Holy See a Brief conferring the parish of Westport on Dean Burke, during the latter's life. This was found among the deceased prelate's papers by the Dean, who had hastened to Rome on hearing of Dr. Kelly's death.

The Brief was not known to Archbishop Mac Hale, when, on entering upon the administration of the See of Tuam in the autumn of 1834, he wished to transfer Dean Burke to higher rank, as parish priest of Kilmeena, and petitioned the Holy See that the Parish of Westport should be constituted a mensal parish in his own favor, as it had been in favor of his predecessor. It was unfortunate, as Dr. O'Finan remarks, that the 'Under-Secretary of the Propaganda forgot to inform the Archbishop, on his applying for the parish, that it had been disposed of.'

It would thus seem that Dean Burke had not communicated to the new archbishop the fact of his possessing the Brief. And as he, the Dean, had been the foremost competitor of Dr. Mac Hale for the See of Tuam, the good faith of the latter in further pressing his claim for the mensal parish might give a color to the rumor that he was moved by some personal feeling in this matter.

As to "reëstablishing peace and good will among the clergy in the Primatial See" of Tuam, there existed no discord, save in the minds of the gossips of Rome, which demanded any such effort on the part of Dr. Mac Hale. The Archbishop's magnificent reception in Tuam we have

described already; the devotion to him of both clergy and people is a matter of history. We have just seen what an enthusiastic ovation both Dean Burke and the citizens of Westport had given the Archbishop, even before Dr. O'Finan had written the above letters. And were any further proof needed of the priestly feelings of reverence and obedience which Dean Burke entertained or professed to entertain for his superior, we have ample proof of the same in the letters written by him to Dr. Mac Hale and pressing him to visit Westport.

Once the latter was duly informed of the existence of the Pontifical Brief conferring on the Dean the Parish of Westport, he at once acquiesced; he was too unselfish, or had too much self-respect, ever to allow such matters to influence his motives or his intercourse with his priests.

The unfortunate recommendation made by Dean Burke of Rev. Mr. Lyons to Dr. O'Finan had such baneful consequences that, as a mere matter of history, it must be mentioned here.

We have it from a long letter of Mr. Lyons, now before us, dated "7 Hume Street, Dublin, Feb. '36," and addressed to the Archbishop of Tuam, that Dr. O'Finan had appointed him both dean and vicar-general of Killala, before the former had left Paris, probably before he had left Rome. "I now beg to assure your Grace," he says, "*in verbo Sacerdotis*, that I had, and have now more than ever, a repugnance to have aught to do with the government of the diocese of Killala. It accords as little with my feelings as it does with my interests and comfort, for it was my most anxious wish to spend the rest of my days in peaceful obscurity in Erris. And when it was announced to me, after Doctor O'Finan's arrival in France, that I had been recommended to the Holy See for the office of dean, and was moreover appointed vicar-general, it was my fixed determination to refuse both offices, if I could do so with propriety, and I persevered in that resolution, until I found his Lordship standing alone, deserted by those who ought to be the foremost to do him reverence."

We here only mention the fact of the double appointment of Mr. Lyons, as dean and as vicar-general, as having been made on the Gontinent, in direct opposition to the prudent advice given to the new Bishop of Killala at the Propaganda, to defer all such acts till he had become personally acquainted with his diocese, his clergy, and his people.[1] This hasty and most untimely appointment was made without waiting for the "light" which Dr. O'Finan had so earnestly sought from his "metropolitan" and "friend," immediately after his consecration as bishop of Killala.

Now, who recommended to his notice the Rev. Mr. Lyons? We have for this the weighty authority of that same metropolitan, friend, and benefactor. In a letter written to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, in the spring of 1837, Dr. Mac Hale, as we shall see at length further on, thus fixes the responsibility on Dean Burke:—

"The Dean of this Diocese (Tuam), the Rev. Bernard Burke, was the first to deceive the Bishop of Killala, by recommending to him Rev. Mr. Lyons. It saddens me to think that in this the Dean had not consulted the good of religion; for no one had expressed greater indignation than he had against Mr. Lyons's avarice, excessive violence, and litigious temper, when he saw, in his own town of Westport, the succession of lawsuits set on foot by the latter, and some twelve of his parishioners thrown into jail by their pastor. Assuredly Dean Burke never could have entertained the hope that a priest so given up to law proceedings could be the man to promote peaceful measures. So, what was to be expected, happened; the entire diocese of Killala was upset by his *protégé*, who leaves no stone unturned in his endeavors to disturb and destroy all order in the Province."[2]

[1] "When Dr. O Finan proposed to Propaganda his design of forming a chapter, they said it would be more prudent for him to defer it till he should be better acquainted with the circumstances of his diocese, *and the persons he was about to propose.* However, he thought otherwise, and got the matter done by Cardinal de Gregorio. This circumstance will make it easy to have Mr. Lyons' nomination set aside."—DR. CULLEN TO DR. MAC HALE, Letter of Jan. 4, 1836.

The Italics in this extract are our own.

[2] A Decano hujus diœceseos, Rev. Domino (Bernardo) Burke primum deceptus est Episcopus, cui Dominum Lyons commendavit. In quo piget dicere illum bono

No sooner had Dr. Mac Hale been promoted to the metropolitian see of Tuam, and the three names designated by the parish-priests of Killala been sent off to Rome, than the clergy of the latter diocese bethought them of asking for a much needed change in the matrimonial fees hitherto paid to their bishops. These had, up to that moment, much exceeded the proportion paid to the other bishops of Connaught, to the bishops throughout Ireland, indeed. If the Bishops of Killala were poor, their priests shared this poverty. And in demanding a reduction of what we shall term "the episcopal fees," the clergy of Killala were only asking to have their diocese, in this respect, brought within the rule enforced in the entire kingdom, and sanctioned by the Holy See. For, after obtaining the assent of the bishop to the proposed change, it was reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff to sanction it.

One of the first to move in this matter had been the Rev. J. P. Lyons, as we learn from the same letter of the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Hale from which we quoted a few pages back. But Mr. Lyons, when he advocated the reduction of the episcopal fees, had received no intimation of the dignities which awaited him.

Meanwhile, the clergy met at Ballina on August 3d, 1835, and at the time Dr. O'Finan was supposed to be on his way to Ireland. "It was unanimously resolved that previous to the arrival of the Bishop, who is expected immediately, there should be held a general meeting of the clergy of the diocese to consider the question of episcopal dues as they affect the clergy of Killala."

This general meeting was held on the 13th of the same month. A respectful address was drawn up to be presented to the new bishop, the man of their own choice, for whom, till

religionis non consuluisse, cum nemo fuerit qui tantam indignationem adversus avaritiam, iram immoderatam, et litigiosam indolem Rev. Domi Lyons exprimeret, præsertim cum in sua Parochia de Westport testis esset processuum contentiosorum quibus duodecim circiter ex suis parochianis Dominus Lyons in carcerem conjiciebat. Certe præsagire non potuit illum qui litibus totus erat occupatus, pacis consilia promoturum? Jam, quod erat expectandum, totam diœcesim penitus conturbavit et nihil non molitur ut ordinem totius provinciæ misceat et evertat.

then, they had entertained no feelings but those of veneration. For no whisper had gone abroad connecting with him the name of Mr. Lyons. His possible promotion to the rank even then conferred upon him could not enter the minds of his fellow-priests, who had not thought of giving him a single suffrage for the episcopal dignity.

Dr. O'Finan arrived in Dublin in the beginning of October. No sooner was this fact known in Ballina, than the Administrator of the diocese, the Rev. Bartholomew Costello, and the Rev. Patrick Flannelly, hastened to Dublin to receive their prelate with the honor he deserved. There they learned, for the first time, and from the Bishop's own lips, the appointment of Rev. Mr. Lyons to be dean and vicar-general.

Dr. O'Finan remained about a fortnight in the Capital, taking counsel with Mr. Lyons, and then, accompanied by him, set out for Ballina, without visiting on his way, as was expected, either his metropolitan, or any one of the bishops of the province, who had been unanimous in nominating him to his present position. They arrived in Ballina on October the 15th. A few days thereafter the majority of the parish priests waited on the Bishop with a strong but respectful protest against the appointment of Mr. Lyons as vicar-general, and a no less respectful memorial, requesting the Prelate to conform "the episcopal dues" in the diocese to the rule established in the rest of the province.

"We have firmly protested against Lyons," writes, on October 20th, the Rev. Thomas Ruane, "which has earned for us no better character from our bishop than 'a conventicle of Jansenists,' 'a factious, disaffected, ignorant body of priests?' We have never, before this unhappy hour, experienced the grinding despotism of a bishop of Killala. Although we have agreed to pay him the usual 'Banns' money' due to him from the period of your Grace's departure from this diocese until such time as we may have redress from a synod, to which we have appealed,—yet we are not to be thanked, but marked as 'legislators,' a faction that would wish to insult and embarrass our bishop.

"Remonstrance on any charge brought by him or his dean against any of us, is not to be tolerated. We are told that we 'stand in the presence of the Bishop,' 'to be therefore silent, or mark the consequences?. . .' We are soon to be called upon to substantiate the charges we have made against Mr. Lyons. Whether we are to be called collectively or separately, we know not. . . . I fear, it is to be separately; if so, we have little reason to expect a fair hearing."

Poor Bishop! Ignorant of the new and strange circumstances which surrounded him; ignorant, as well, of the character and temper of both priests and people; brought up abroad, amid the Jansenistic atmosphere of Lisbon, where Pombal had ruled, and heterodox teaching had played havoc with the minds and morals of the Portuguese clergy and people; imbued with the dread of "democracy," "liberalism," "revolutionism," etc., which pervaded Rome and all Italy,—he only saw a lawless band of radicals and Jansenists in the clergymen who respectfully remonstrated against having as their immediate superior and vicar-general a man of tainted reputation, and hated for his avarice, ambition, quarrelsomeness, and intriguing disposition, and who solicited in a perfectly canonical form the discontinuance of a pecuniary tax already abolished in every other diocese of Ireland.

It was a calamity that Dr. O'Finan had not visited the Archbishop of Tuam, and consulted with him and his brother-bishops of the province, before selecting Mr. Lyons for unmerited honor and authority. As it was, Bishop and Vicar-General set about removing from their parishes all the priests who had signed the remonstrance. It was as if they were determined to undo all that Dr. Mac Hale and his venerable predecessor had done in the diocese of Killala.

A letter of Most Rev. Dr. Burke, Bishop of Elphin (Sligo), dated October the 12th, 1835, three days before the arrival in Ballina of Dr. O'Finan, prepares us for the dreadful scenes of trouble and confusion so soon to be enacted in the diocese of Killala.

"I read in the *Freeman*," the Bishop writes, "that the *celebrated J. P. Lyons* was appointed dean of Killala. I could not bring myself to believe the truth of the statement; but it now appears to be a matter of fact, and what is more, *as to jurisdiction*, he is gazetted as vicar-general. He can now treat his parishioners of Kilmore-Erris as he pleases, and that *with impunity*,[1] unless they have courage to appeal to your Grace. I perfectly agree in opinion with you, that Dr. O'Finan is to be pitied; he has given offence to his best friends, to the clergy of the diocese, and to your Grace, to whom he stands preëminently indebted for his elevation. When his Lordship looks through his diocese, and shall have discovered his irreparable *blunder*, he will have poor consolation in the precarious friendship of J. P. Lyons, and the approbation of his *travelling companion*."

Another of the neighboring prelates, Dr. McNicholas, Bishop of Achonry, whose door at Ballaghaderreen Dr. O'Finan passed, without calling on his brother-bishop, thus writes five days later, that is, two days after the passage of Dr. O'Finan:—

"BROOKLAWN, Oct. 17, '35.

"MY DEAR LORD:—The first official act of our brother of Killala is, unfortunately, but little calculated to inspire favorable hopes of his future administration. Caution and delay generally characterize old age; but here we have the headlong and precipitate rashness of the most inexperienced youth. Surely, a man like him, not personally acquainted, I believe, with an individual clergyman in the diocese, should have waited until he had arrived on the spot, and then decided, either from his own observation, or by the advice of your Grace, who was most worthy of his confidence or deserving of promotion.

"I cannot guess by what channel the *new Dean* insinuated himself into his (Dr. O'Finan's) graces; but the result proves what an adept he is in the science of intrigue. The matter is still worse, if he is vicar-general, as reported.

[1] The *Italics* are left as in the original.

But if not, he shortly will be, unless prevented by the remonstrance of the clergy. Indeed, the clergy have reason to blame themselves for the election they have made (of Dr. O'Finan). It originated in selfishness; and it is no wonder it should terminate in disappointment and disgrace.

"I suppose the public dinner will now be abandoned, unless the clergy are too feeble-minded and timid, so as to be awed by the terror of Mr. Lyons' authority. They would prove themselves deserving of the insult they receive, if they stooped to such a terrible exhibition.

"The wary Dean was wise in his generation not to allow him (the Bishop) to pass through Tuam. I would be far from recommending your Grace to visit the Friar, as I do not think he merits that favor from you. But I would suggest that, if any other opportunity of meeting should occur, not to decline, in order that you might let him know what are the feelings not only of his clergy, but of the prelates of the province. With all the partiality of the good old Dr. Waldron, I believe he never contemplated making him (Lyons) dean or vicar-general. . . .

"I should not wonder if we were shortly to have a pastoral charge from the pen of the Dean.

"I remain, my dear Lord, ever affectionately,

"P. McNicholas."[1]

The Bishop of Killala, isolating himself from his brethren in the episcopate, and giving himself up to the guidance of his vicar-general, did meanwhile everything which prudence and tact, and the wisdom derived from the experience of Irish society, would have counselled him not to do. Into this long and fearful scandal we must not follow him. The autumn had passed, and winter had come; still the Bishop of Killala kept aloof from the bishops of the Province.

Another letter from Dr. McNicholas will inform us of a very important step about to be taken by them.

BROOKLAWN, Nov. 12th, '35.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I had no communication from Ballina

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

since I had the pleasure of writing to your Grace, and I therefore know nothing of the Friar's doings since his arrival, but what I may infer from your letter. I suppose Lyons is not only dean but vicar-general, administrator of Kilmore, aud fac-totum. But how can your Grace, though supported by the other bishops of the Province, prevent him from making these and similar arrangements in Killala? There is one arrangement which it is not in the chapter of possibilities for him to effect, namely, to have the mitre put on the head of his favorite, despite of the opposition of the bishops and of the clergy of the diocese.

"If the clergy of Killala have any particular grievances or acts of oppression to complain of, I conceive that the proper and legitimate mode of proceeding for them is to forward a memorial to that effect, either to your Grace in the first instance, or directly to the Sacred Congregation. There would be, then, in all probability, a reference to your Grace to adjudicate on the matter, or, at least, to report on it to Rome. If they forward their memorial to your Grace, I think you may then call on the other bishops to give their opinion. But I fear that if we engage in the business otherwise, we shall be charged with being partisans, and actuated by a spirit of opposition. The Dean is artful and cunning, and it requires much address to defeat him.

"I can, of course, form but a very imperfect opinion, as I am not acquainted with particulars as your Grace is. But if you consider that it would be advisable to have a meeting of the bishops, I shall be ready, God willing. I am invited by Dr. Denvir to assist at his consecration on the 22d inst.; but I will not go.

"I was much pleased with your letter on Stanley's pamphlet.

"Ever affectionately,

"P. McNicholas."

The next letter in date from the Bishop of Achonry is written after fuller information on the troubles of Killala.

"BROOKLAWN, Dec. 22d, '35.

"MY DEAR LORD:—As the poor old man appears to be a mere puppet in the hands of the *Dane*, I am not surprised at any act of his, however extravagant or unaccountable. But I must confess I was not prepared to hear that he would attempt to canvass the validity of the acts of his predecessor.

"I hope the Protest (of the clergy) may reach Rome before the Dean's appointment is officially made.

"I think Dublin is the most eligible place for convening the meeting of the bishops of the province, immediately after the termination of the other meetings. But what think you, before citing him regularly, of writing to him on the subject of the appeal made to you, and suggesting the expediency of settling the business amicably at home with his clergy, before bringing it before the bishops of the province? If he takes your advice, so much the better; but if not, and that he writes an angry reply, it will be putting himself in a wrong position, whilst you will prove that you are not anxious to interfere in the concerns of his diocese. The *Dane's* party are most industriously circulating that you are the instigator of all the resistance to their High Mightinesses.

"Examine minutely, in the meantime, what you and the provincial bishops *can do* on the occasion. I shall also turn over some leaves of the Canon Law. The statute in our Provincial Regulations is not explicit on the point, except inasmuch as it is explained in the usage of the province: *Aureum in quo includuntur debita Episcopalia.* I was often surprised why the pious Dr. Waldron, who was such an advocate for order and uniformity, did not follow the usage of the province. But I think that if the priests remonstrated he would yield to their wishes. Whilst they gave the fees he was too wise to refuse them. If we all agree in our interpretation of the Statute, our declaration will and must have great weight with the Sacred Congregation, if the case is referred to them.

". . . . If inclination or a sense of duty should induce you to visit your aged parent, I think you should have no delicacy to go (to Tubbernavine). It was the duty of Dr. O'Finan to write to you or visit you as his metropolitan, on coming to the country. I know that, on my coming to this diocese, I both wrote to Dr. Kelly and visited him in the first instance, and I considered it to be only what propriety required.

"Be cool and cautious on this occasion, no matter what provocation you may have received from the Friar.

"I think when we meet we shall give him and his Dean something to do.

"Ever affectionately,

"P. McNICHOLAS."

So scrupulous was the Archbishop of Tuam to avoid every occasion of interfering in the affairs of Killala, that, when his aged father lay at death's door in the old homestead at Tubbernavine, he hesitated whether or not he could prudently, and without giving cause for fresh accusations, venture so near Ballina and Crossmolina.

Evidently he consulted Dr. Mac Nicholas on this subject, and we have above the latter's answer.

It is not likely that one so high-minded and conscientious would court and encourage communications from the distressed and discontented in his native diocese, so lately his *very own.*

He was only too happy to follow the wise and Christian counsels of the Bishop of Achonry,—and before the yearly meeting at New Year's tide of the Irish hierarchy in May-nooth, and the proposed consultation afterwards of the Bishops of Connaught in Dublin, to make a last effort to induce Dr. O'Finan to come to a friendly understanding with his clergy.

The following letter, written as well for that purpose as for an invitation to meet the bishops of the province in Dublin, will enable us to form a right judgment on Dr. Mac Hale's action in the quarrel, and on the spirit which

guided every act of his in relation to the contestants. We translate from the Latin orignial.

"TUAM, January 5, 1836.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND RIGHT REVEREND LORD:—During the month of December last past, two appeals have reached me from members of the clergy of Killala,—one, bearing the signatures of the majority of the parish priests, in which they humbly beg the body of provincial bishops, that the share paid to the Bishop of Killala out of the moneys collected for dispensations of marriage banns, and which custom has sanctioned in that diocese, shall be made to conform to the rule in vigor in the entire province of Connaught, as enacted by the Provincial Statutes and confirmed by the Apostolic See. The other appeal, received by me yesterday, is from the Rev. John Barrett, who, as he relates, discharged the office of parish priest in Crossmolina for a number of years. He states in it, that, having been summoned by your Lordship to answer for the popular disturbances which have taken place in said parish,—and which he affirms not only that he has not incited or encouraged, but that he has repressed,—he has declined to appear before you in judgment, frightened as he is by the threats of ecclesiastical censures uttered previously against him by your Lordship.

"He alleges, as the principal cause of this reasonable fear on his part, the fact that the witnesses called to testify against him by your Lordship are persons who have taken an open part in this quarrel, and who are so carried away by the sense of injury done them (for they have themselves been among the chief actors in the disturbances complained of), that he sees no prospect of obtaining a just sentence.

"No occurrence could be so unpleasant to me as that there should arise between the clergy and the revered prelates of this province any quarrels or dissensions of a nature to compel me to interfere in any way. Much greater would be the grief and pain felt by me, if these troubles happened in the Church so lately bound to me by the closest ties, and

than whose clergy none in the world were then more distinguished for unquestioning obedience to their bishops, or more closely united to each other in the bond of peace.

"I do, therefore, hope that your Lordship will amicably settle all these domestic differences between yourself and your clergy, and that I shall not be called upon to bring this question of matrimonial fees before a meeting of the bishops, or to have to judge this matter of the disturbances at Crossmolina here in the metropolitan city of Tuam.

"Nevertheless, as the Apostolic See and the Sacred Canons of the Church require that we should sometimes receive appeals grounded on reasonable causes, and inasmuch as the Rev. John Barrett has hitherto never incurred any censure, and as he now most solemnly affirms that he has been and is still in just fear of an unrighteous censure, it is my duty to inform your Lordship that, sadly against my will, I must admit this gentleman's appeal.

"After this preamble concerning my office as judge, allow me, dearest Brother, to seize this opportunity to say, most lovingly and in all confidence, a few words on the deplorable state of affairs in the diocese of Killala, a condition which, undoubtedly without your knowledge, has made it a byeword and a jest to the enemies of our holy religion.

"For the dear love of that religion I beseech and implore you not to put aside rashly, and without making yourself a trial of them, good, learned, and pious priests, approved by the judgment of the venerable bishops who have preceded us, and whose memory should be ever blessed by us all, while you call to the work of the ministry, a thing which I grieve to state, if reports be true, priests whose ill conduct, condemned by the sacred canons and by the sentence of these same bishops, caused them to be justly removed from the service of the altar.

"I should say more on these matters, were it not that I hope to have the opportunity in a few days of conversing with your Lordship in the meeting of the bishops.

"The hierarchy are to have their general annual assembly in Dublin the week before Septuagesima Sunday, on account

of the near approach of Lent, and the discomfort it would be for the bishops to meet in any other place. I have resolved, when the general assembly is over, to call together in Dublin the bishops of this province, in order to confer among ourselves and settle peacefully and with one accord all questions that relate to discipline and concord.

"I beg your Lordship, then, to accept this as an invitation to meet the other bishops of the Province of Tuam on the Friday before Septuagesima, and to accept my best wishes for your health and happiness."

This proposal of the Archbishop and bishops to settle among themselves, in friendly conference, the existing difficulties did not suit the litigious temper of the Dean of Killala. It was his interest to make an amicable settlement impossible. So, in the long answers sent by both himself and his bishop to the above letter, and in the voluminous documents sent upon the same subject to the Popaganda, to Cardinal Weld, and to Lord Clifford, the friendly conference of the bishops of Connaught was represented as "an illegal synod or council of the provincial prelates, held outside of the province itself," in which the appeals of the disaffected clergy of Killala were heard and adjudicated upon, and both the Bishop and his vicar-general condemned without a hearing.

No more convincing proof could be given of the bad faith of their author or authors, than the wilful misconception of the Archbishop of Tuam's intentions, and the unscrupulous misrepresentation of every act of his, as well as of the original petition of the clergy of Killala, presented to their bishop on his first arrival in 1835. Here is this document: —

"MY LORD:—We, the parish priests of this diocese, beg leave to convey respectfully to your Lordship our sentiments upon a subject which has always been considered a grievance of no small magnitude. We allude to the distribution of the marriage money between the bishop and the clergy. While the clergy of the province are permitted to retain, according to existing statutes, the whole marriage

money (which may vary in different places) except five shillings and sixpence, which constitute the Bishop's portion, we have been paying ten shillings and sixpence for each marriage.

"This practice has been introduced into this diocese, as far as we could learn, more than thirty years ago, and continued since as the effect of circumstances too tedious to be mentioned in a memorial such as the present. We have requested the gentlemen deputed to present this memorial, to detail those circumstances to your Lordship.

"We beg leave to assure your Lordship, that at no period did the clergy of this diocese acquiesce contentedly in this arrangement, which has no precedent in the province, and that they were dissuaded only by circumstances of a peculiar complexion from pressing the reform which they always contemplated.

"We, therefore, earnestly and respectfully implore your Lordship to assimilate this part of the discipline of your diocese to that of the other dioceses of the province, and as, in duty bound, we shall ever pray."

To view in its proper light the above memorial or respectful prayer for redress, let us see the joint resolution of the provincial bishops on the same subject.

"At a meeting of the R. C. Prelates of the Province of Tuam convened in the Presbytery of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Marlborough Street, Dublin, His Grace the Archbishop presiding:

"The following resolution was moved by the Right Rev. Doctor Coen, and seconded by the Right Rev. Doctor McNicholas:

"'RESOLVED:

"'That having assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of discipline in this province, and of conferring with the Bishop of Killala on the lamentably distracted state of that diocese, with a view of proffering any aid in our power towards extinguishing these disorders, we have turned our attention to the question of episcopal

fees in that diocese, in order to ascertain their conformity with the provincial statutes sanctioned by the Holy See.

"'That it appears, the payment of half the marriage money to one bishop instead of the fourth part usually paid to the others, was always deemed a grievance by the clergy of that diocese, and that the laity, too, complained of being subjected to annual collections of oats by the parish priests, collections not required by the parish priests in the other dioceses of this province.

"'That at the last meeting of the bishops, held in Loughrea, at which our late revered metropolitan presided, he made the practice regarding the episcopal fees of Killala, as deviating from the general uniformity, a subject of complaint, and would have pressed it on the meeting, were it not for the absence of the bishop, who was principally concerned.

"'That, therefore, it is our deliberate opinion that, should the Bishop of Killala consent to conform to the general practice of the province, as to the marriage fees, should that conformity receive the sanction of the Holy See, it would tend much to dry up one of the sources of dissatisfaction.

"'DUBLIN, February 1st, 1836.

† JOHN MAC HALE,
† P. MCNICHOLAS,
† THOMAS COEN,
† PATRICK BURKE,
† GEO. J. P. BROWNE.'"

"The Bishop of Killala solemnly protests against the preceding resolution.

"Feby. 1st, 1836,

† FRANCIS JOSEPH O'FINAN, O. P."

At length, at the earnest solicitation of the Archbishop of Tuam and the provincial bishops, the Holy See appointed a commissioner, with the title of Apostolic Visitor, to inquire into the Killala troubles, and report thereon to the supreme authority in the Church. The Pope chose for

this delicate mission the Primate of all Ireland, the venerable Dr. Crolly of Armagh.

He accepted reluctantly, visited Killala, investigated both sides of the question, and reported without delay. But the Bishop and his vicar-general were determined to render his mission nugatory. Every step of his was watched, every act was canvassed, and before the Primate's report reached Rome, a voluminous counter-report was despatched by Mr. Lyons to the Propaganda, and to the patrons in Rome of the Bishop of Killala and his favorite.

Dr. Crolly wrote from Drogheda on July 6th, 1836, to inform the Archbishop of Tuam of the delicate commission intrusted to him by the Holy See. "I am delegated by the Sacred Congregation," he says, "to proceed to the diocese of Killala, and investigate the causes of the unpleasant dissensions which for some time past have existed between the clergy of that diocese and their bishop, ... and I am also deputed by the Sacred Congregation to make the necessary inquiries concerning the misunderstanding between your Grace and his Lordship."

He then asks the Archbishop if Monday, the 22d day of August, "would suit his convenience in meeting him (Dr. Crolly) in Ballina and there beginning the investigation."

"On my return here (Tuam)," Dr. Mac Hale writes in answer, 'I found a letter from the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda conveying the gratifying intelligence that your Grace was selected to proceed to Killala for the purpose of having peace restored to that distracted diocese. I need not say how delighted I am that the trust should be confided to one who has done so much already towards healing the disorders in Cavan and Galway.

"As far as reference is made to me in that document, I have only to observe that your Grace may command my cordial coöperation in any manner that may enable you to accomplish with greater facility and expedition the desirable object of your commission.

"As the case is in your Grace's hands, I shall abstain from any observations on its merits or demerits.

"You are anxious, no doubt, that the Commission should be accompanied with the greatest freedom, and inspire the utmost confidence. Allow me to remind your Grace of the care we took in Cavan of keeping ourselves distinguished from the solicitations of individual hospitality. This may be the more necessary where some of the laity are supposed to entertain different feelings.

"Praying the Almighty may give his blessings to your Grace's mission, I remain, etc. . . . ."

That Dr. Crolly's conduct was in strict conformity with the prudent advice of his brother-archbishop, we may gather from a letter written by him to the latter on December 15th, 1837.

"In course of my conduct," he says, "in every case connected with the visitation of the diocese of Killala, I have endeavored to act with the strictest impartiality, and that motive induced me to decline the proposal made to me by Mr. Cavendish. I certainly feel a sincere sympathy for him. But I cannot forget that the cause of religion in the diocese of Killala, where my enemies and the enemies of religion would rejoice if they could refer to one act of mine which would supply them with even a shadow of proof that I wished to injure their bishop, requires, as your Grace will easily perceive, that I must use more than ordinary caution in my conduct as far as it regards Dr. O'Finan. . . . . I am inclined to believe that my Report has been satisfactory to His Holiness, as the Cardinal Prefect has written to me a confidential letter respecting the British Colonies, in which he gives me great credit for prudence. . . . .

"I agree with your Grace in the opinion that we should take proper means of protecting our faithful flocks from any injury that might be inflicted on them by education under the direction of the Tory Government. . . . . I entertain the hope that Dr. O'Finan will be kept in Rome, and that a prudent prelate will be appointed in his place."[1]

This time the influence of the deservedly powerful Order of Dominicans was enlisted in favor of Dr. O'Finan. It

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

was but natural that they should support their brother-friar in his struggle. They were instructed to have the Archbishop of Armagh's Report set aside, as hasty and one-sided, and another visitor sent to Killala in his stead.

Gregory XVI., as we learn from the correspondence of Dr. Cullen, was much distressed by the Killala scandal, and instructed Dr. Crolly, the Primate, to report without delay. The contradictory and voluminous statements sent to the Propaganda seriously embarrassed the members of the Sacred Congregation, who were to judge of the merits of the case in the first instance.

The Propaganda is not a court of law; but, as representing the Holy See, it aims at being just. It is patient and slow in sifting evidence and arriving at conclusions.

It was resolved to hold a second investigation; but the utmost endeavors of the Master General of the Dominicans, of Cardinal Weld and Lord Clifford, could not obtain from the Propaganda or the Pope that Dr. Crolly, the former Visitor Apostolic, should be superseded.

He was, therefore, instructed to proceed a second time to Killala, and to investigate with the utmost care the facts in the case. A second time he reported, and, as before, his judgment was against the Bishop and the Vicar-General.

Meanwhile the local newspapers had taken up the quarrel.

The Rev. Patrick Flannelly, who was one of the leading men among the clergy of Killala, wrote an anonymous letter in a Castlebar paper, assailing with unjustifiable violence the conduct of his bishop. This was, apart from the violation of ecclesiastical discipline and of Christian charity, an act of gross injustice.

The Bishop, thereupon, carried the matter before the secular courts. This was worse still. For, as the whole cause of quarrel between bishop and clergy was then before the supreme tribunal of the Holy See, to appeal to a secular court, where judges and juries were known to be bitterly anti-Catholic,—seemed an inconceivable lack of

right sense in a bishop who would thus drag all the scandals of his diocese before an Orange tribunal.

The Archbishop of Tuam could not allow this great scandal to proceed without demanding of the Congregation of Propaganda to interpose its authority, and forbid the Bishop of Killala to go on with the suit.

Here is his letter:—

"When the task of dealing with the affairs of the diocese of Killala was committed to the Archbishop of Armagh, I firmly resolved not to write to your Eminence on that subject, until the judgment of the Apostolic See should have put an end to this untoward controversy. From this determination to remain silent I would not now depart, were it not that I feel myself forced to do so, by the peril accruing to the faith and piety of our people, at beholding with equal grief and astonishment, within these last days, the ecclesiastical differences between the bishop and his clergy carried before a secular and Protestant tribunal.

"Whatever subtle or specious arguments they may allege as an excuse for this proceeding, the Irish Catholic people will retain the intimate conviction that, to put aside the ordinary ecclesiastical judges, in order to bring this action before an exclusively Protestant court, was to greatly lower the dignity of our holy religion in this country.

"What has given rise to this action at law, is a libellous letter which appeared in one of the weekly journals of this province during the month of June last, and which violently attacked the administration of the Bishop of Killala. This letter was written by a Killala priest, who expressed his sorrow for his fault, and submitted himself to the judgment of the Bishop, for the purpose, as he said, of not giving any room for scandal by bringing a suit before a Protestant tribunal, while all were expecting the judgment of the Holy See.

"Why was this suit not tried in the county in which the libel was published, and where the Catholic religion is held in honor, instead of being transferred to another county, in which the Protestants are in the ascendancy, and are in the

habit of calumniating and reviling Catholicism? Why so carefully select these traditional slanderers of the faith of our fathers, and exclude from the jury-box every single Catholic? Why? the Catholics ask, unless it be that the Right Rev. Dr. O'Finan is convinced that he has forfeited the confidence and the love of all Catholics.

"This, I deeply regret to say, is what everybody repeats; nor is it possible to draw any other conclusion from his extraordinary conduct. For it is a startling novelty to see a Catholic bishop placing his suit in the hands of Protestants, and carefully excluding from the jury all Catholics.

"Both the Archbishop of Armagh and myself were *subpœnaed* to attend this suit. For the first time and for the last, I hope, I found myself compelled to appear before a secular court of justice. The time chosen for the trial increased both our discomfort and the public scandal. Nothing was better fitted to provoke the laughter of our Protestant enemies, and to fill our Catholics with grief, than to behold four bishops, with a great crowd of priests, spending their time at such a trial as never had been heard of before,—and spending it during Passion Week, when it is usual to be engaged in preaching to the people and ministering the sacraments!

"We endeavored by every means to prevent this trial. The Archbishop of Armagh wrote to the Bishop of Killala, urging him to leave his entire cause in the hands of the Holy See. So did the Right Rev. Dr. Burke, the Bishop of Sligo, where the trial was to be held, and who besought his brother-bishop not to inflict on his flock the scandal of such a law suit. I wrote to him myself, saying that he might leave his case more safely in the hands of His Holiness than in those of any secular judge or jury.

"The Catholic gentry of Sligo, men distinguished alike by their birth and piety, besought him not to pursue his action at law. The merchants and artisans of the city signed a petition to the same effect, deploring that the libel against the bishop and his dissensions with his clergy should be submitted to an anti-Catholic tribunal.

"The Bishop was deaf to all these remonstrances, persisted obstinately in bringing his case before a Protestant judge and jury, and thereby alienated the good will of both clergy and laity.

"Without dwelling on the truth or falsehood of the charges made by the author of the libel, it cannot be denied that he inflicted a grievous wrong on the bishop, by the harsh terms in which he spoke of him. But if the bishops of Ireland were to attempt vindicating their character, when assailed, by recourse to secular courts, no week would pass without chronicling some noisy trial of that sort. The Archbishop of Dublin himself, so distinguished for his piety and gentleness, has had to endure the bitter attacks of libellers. As to myself, no one among the Irish prelates is exposed to such violent and harsh assaults of every kind, and this was, on one occasion, carried to such an intolerable pitch of violence, that the entire clergy of my diocese besought me to seek redress from the courts, and to have my defamers punished as they deserved. I only shielded myself behind invincible patience and the verdict of my own conscience.

"Trusting to the confidence of our flock, which we endeavor to win by fulfilling to our best the duties of our office, we think there can be no better revenge taken on the enemies of religion, than to treat their baseless calumnies with silent contempt.

"As to the verdict in this case, it was favorable to the Bishop on some heads; on others, and very important counts, the verdict was against him. The life and morals of Rev. Mr. Lyons were not on trial. In the court, as well as before the Primate, Mr. Lyons avoided such a scrutiny, so that the sentence of the court has nothing to do with the report of the Primate or the testimony regarding Mr. Lyons' character and conduct.

"The verdict affirmed the truth of two charges: first, that this gentleman was made vicar-general with undue haste, and without having consulted the clergy, who were opposed to him, and were familiar with his character; the second, that the Bishop, after receiving a letter from the

Propaganda, urging him to dismiss his vicar-general, had nevertheless retained him in office.

"There was a great and general scandal caused by the instruction given to the Bishop's counsel to proclaim openly in court, that he, the Bishop, was not obliged to follow your Eminence's advice, but that he was free, without any regard to the directions of the Holy See, either to keep or to dismiss his vicar-general.

"Although the letter of the law might, in truth, favor the Bishop's sole right as to keeping or dismissing his vicar-general, it certainly is not the spirit of the law that the Bishop should be free to take no account of an advice from Rome, although only an advice.

"From the day that Dr. O'Finan entered his diocese up to the present time, it is now proved to the satisfaction of all that he never visited a single parish, never administered Confirmation, never preached to either clergy or people. Ill health was adduced as an excuse, a sufficient excuse certainly for not preaching, and one that everybody would expect, had not the Bishop's advocate tried to persuade people that preaching was no part of a bishop's duty.

"So long as this dispute was left to the Apostolic See, and that people expected its decision, both people and clergy entertained hopes of seeing peace restored. But they find it hard to bear with the painful condition of things brought about by the appeal to the sentence of a profane and anti-Catholic court.

"No sooner was the lawsuit ended in Sligo, the diocese of Elphin, than Mr. Lyons hastened to Castlebar, in this diocese of Tuam, where similar assizes are held, to give himself up entirely to lawsuits and contests to the total neglect of the souls confided to him, and while endeavoring to drag other unwary and restless spirits into his litigations.

"It is proven that since he returned from Rome, in the month of November (1836), he never spent three weeks in his parish; and, what is more deplorable still, our priests, unacquainted hitherto with the business and bustle of law-

courts, are compelled to attend these sessions to the detriment of their health, at great pecuniary expense, to the loss of their peace of mind, as well as of honor to their religion, and to the great scandal of their people.

"Quite recently their parishes were left without priests for more than three successive days, the faithful dying meanwhile without the Sacraments.

"This, your Eminence, is the sad state of things in the diocese, under a bishop who, trusting to the advice of one bad man (for his evil deeds are now manifest enough), is led headlong to his ruin by a counsellor who was formerly the disturber of a single parish, and has recently become the firebrand of a whole diocese; who formerly threw his parishioners into prison, and who now throws aside worthy parish-priests, in order to give their parishes to unworthy men, who bind themselves by a simoniacal contract to pay him yearly a large sum of money.

"For, according to the testimony of Rev. Mr. Murray, who was sent away from Maynooth for cause of insanity, it is proven that he signed a written instrument obliging him to pay yearly to Dean Lyons the sum of twenty pounds sterling. Another like instance is that of a drunken priest, who was unable to appear in our presence, and who was made the administrator of a parish on the same conditions.

"This abnormal avarice had already made him notorious in his own parish. But after a short time he infected many priests with the taint of his own simony.

"He paints me as his enemy, and has succeeded, I know not how, in making the Bishop believe that I am equally hostile to his Lordship. He looks upon all as his enemies who, knowing his character and conduct, are active in protecting the Church against his intrigues and unbounded audacity.

"Why should I be considered as inimical to Lyons, unless it be that I have a clear knowledge of his manner of life? Why does he now show the Primate to be his enemy, while his former letters about his Grace were filled with shameless adulation and excessive praise,—unless that he

afterwards discovered that the illustrious prelate had reported his evil deeds, and that he could not be shaken in the discharge of his duty?

"His lying effrontery can be judged from this, that he affirmed spontaneously on oath that he had of his own accord retired to his parish, given up his office, and was unwilling to stay in Ballina, whereas the letters of your Eminence prove that he had asked permission to continue to live in that town.

"It is not astonishing that they should have represented me as the author of the (libellous) letter. They judged me on their own dispositions. For, there are certain proofs that the calumnies with which the newspapers of this province are filled against me were written by Mr. Lyons, and signed by some of his friends. Thus the Rev. Mr. Murray already mentioned, stained as he was by insanity and simony, wrote a letter, while the Bishop was on his way to the diocese, in the same paper. . . filled with invectives against me. One of the priests of this diocese saw his name signed to the letter with Mr. Murray's own hand; and it is still there to be seen by all. Their own wickedness in writing and publishing defamatory letters leads them to suspect me, or rather to seem to suspect me of the same practices.

"What wonder, when they had made the Bishop believe that I had written to Rome against him,—although your Eminence confuted this false assertion in a letter, for which I heartily thank you; after reading in the court-room the letter in which your Eminence said how much the Bishop owed me, notwithstanding, at the suggestion of the same Bishop and his counsellor Lyons, it was asked me on oath whether I had witten against his Lordship to Rome. I readily swore that I never had so written, and that I was astonished at the baselessness and impudence of the slander. . . .

"There was a time when we hoped that the Bishop would open his eyes and see by what fraud and artifice he had been deceived in the beginning. Now, however, when these

intrigues are laid bare, and when the wicked life of the Dean has been manifestly revealed in the evidence of facts, the faithful people, seeing that the Bishop allows himself to be blindly and obstinately led by this man, lose all hope of having peace restored to the diocese and concord established among the clergy.

"These are hard words to utter; but I should fear for myself a still harder judgment, were I to keep silence on the scandals which daily go on increasing before my eyes.

"Dean Lyons, far from being able to appease the storm of passion which set men against each other, has on the contrary been, by his insolent behavior, the cause of changing a most peaceful condition of things into one of violent discord. His ill-timed promotion was the source from which arose and from which still spring all the evils of this diocese. What wonder that they continue to flow from it, since the Bishop reposes in him a confidence which seems to grow in proportion to the proofs given of the man's wickedness?

"The Bishop himself, therefore, is not wrongly judged when he is held accountable for these evils, since he neither will punish their author, nor cease to make them more intense by favoring this priest, in spite of the protestations of all good men.

"The Dean of this Diocese (Tuam), the Rev. Bernard Burke, was the first to deceive the Bishop of Killala, by recommending to him Rev. Mr. Lyons. It saddens me to think how little Dean Burke consulted the good of religion in so doing, when no one could have inveighed with more hearty indignation against Mr. Lyons' avarice, excessive violence, and litigious proclivities, especially when he saw, in his own parish of Wesport, the succession of lawsuits set on foot by his neighbor, and twelve of Mr. Lyons' own parishioners thrown into prison by their pastor.

"Assuredly, he could never hope that this priest, so given up to law proceedings, could be the man to promote peaceful designs. So, what was to be expected, happened: the entire diocese of Killala was upset by his protégé, and he

leaves no stone unturned to disturb and destroy all order in the province.

"He has carried his lying audacity so far as to make his bishop believe that I had conceived the design of uniting the diocese of Killala with that of Tuam, and after that to recommend some friend for the episcopal dignity!

"If I had not a soul far removed from all the affections of worldly friendship, or love of kindred, I never should have recommended the Most. Rev. Dr. O'Finan. I had been rewarded for disregarding all these affections, had the Prelate only endeavored to fulfil the hopes which both clergy and people then cherished of seeing religion prospering.

"Just at present, however, the diocese is so torn by violent dissensions, there is such an effervescence of antagonistic passions, there is such a violent partisan strife, that men who till now were noted for moderation are so carried away, that I affirm, with absolute conviction of the truth of what I say,—there remains no hope of saving religion there, unless the Apostolie See should appoint as bishop-coadjutor some man of prudence, piety, and firmness, who will not allow himself to be deceived by flatterers, or drawn by the influence of the powerful or the arts of the factions to favor one party or the other.

"There is no other efficacious remedy left.

"Even should such a coadjutor be appointed, it will take a whole decade to repair the evils caused by the present brief administration. . . . . This is not my opinion only, but the firm and unalterable conviction of nearly all who have in any place met to confer about the sad state of affairs in the diocese of Killala."[1]

This wise suggestion of the Archbishop of Tuam was finally adopted by the Holy See,—but only after every means of opposition had been exhausted in Rome, and all the resources of intrigue had been used by the friends of the Dominican Bishop, and by Lord Clifford, his protector.

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

On these intrigues, and on the subsequent tampering of the English semi-official representatives in Rome with the affairs of the Irish Church, the following letters throw no little light.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE KILLALA CONTROVERSY (Continued).

Dr. Cullen throws light on the intrigues in Rome in favor of the Bishop of Killala and Dean Lyons—Cardinal Welch and Lord Clifford support them—Dr. O'Higgins of Ardagh on Dean Lyons—The Indictment drawn up against the Dean by the Clergy of Killala sustained by Dr. Mac Hale's evidence—Dr. French of Kilmacduagh on Dr. O'Finan's course—Joint Letter to the Holy See of the Bishops of Connaught.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. CULLEN'S LETTERS FROM ROME.

DEC. 3, 1835:—"It was with great regret I heard of the course which Dr. O'Finan has adopted. He must have let himself be seriously misled. But I hope that a little experience will make him open his eyes, and understand the character of the persons into whose hands he has given himself. I have since spoken of the matter to the Propaganda and to His Holiness; and they would exceedingly regret that Dr. O'Finan should be made the means of exciting dissensions among the Irish clergy or prelates. who for some years have been so well linked together.... The Propaganda have heard nothing from Dr. O'Finan since his return to Ireland; so they do not know any more than what I have mentioned about his concerns. They hope, however, that he will open his eyes to the delusion under which he labors, and see the propriety of leaving matters as they were and as they ought to be."

DEC. 21, 1835: "I have been honored with your Grace's letter, written after the Killala investigation, and I also received a letter from Dr. Crolly on the same subject. It was indeed most providential that the investigation took place, as it will put an end to the attempts which have been made to lessen episcopal authority in your Grace's Prov.

ince. The Propaganda now have opened their eyes again, and they fully understand that your Grace, so far from hav- been severe on *Dean* Lyons, treated him with great reserve (forbearance?), and spoke too mildly of him in your reports. That man's complaints while in Rome, his smooth, insinuating talk, and his humble demeanor, made a great impression in his favor; and the Propaganda was beginning to be shaken in its resolutions, and was almost determined to change the course which it had so prudently adopted in the beginning. Now, I think, their eyes have been well opened, and nothing can impede justice from being done. As yet, it is not known what they will do; but they appear greatly displeased and mortified about the little favors which they conferred on Lyons, though these were conferred merely for the purpose of coaxing him to leave Rome.

"The Propaganda has requested of Dr. Crolly to go again to Killala, and finish his investigation. This will be a mortification to the intriguing party; for I am informed that they (the intriguers) *commissioned some friars in Rome, and even the highest persons in a Religious Order, to go to Cardinal Fransoni and request that a new* VISITATOR APOSTOLICUS *should be sent.*

"This application showed that their cause was bad; and the Cardinal, so far from listening to the request made to him, received it with signs of his displeasure, and declared that, instead of changing Dr. Crolly, he would request him to complete the trust he had been charged with, and had commenced with so much zeal and integrity. Dr. Crolly's return to Killala will then, I hope, put an end to the power of every faction; and the Propaganda will certainly act upon whatever he shall recommend.

"Dr. Higgins spoke on these matters to the Cardinal Prefect, and made him fully understand the case. I also mentioned the history of the Dean, though not very edifying, to His Holiness, who says that he is determined that some remedy must be applied to such abominable abuses."

"JANUARY 4th, 1836:—I write these few lines to inform you

that the petition of the priests of Killala has arrived, and that now I am able to say more on the matter. I think things will take a proper turn, and that which your Grace would desire. The charges[1] brought against Mr. Lyons are so serious, that the Propaganda is of opinion that they should be investigated immediately; and they determined to refer the matter to your Grace, in order to have your opinion upon it. I think nothing more proper could be done, as your Grace, having been bishop of the place, must be most accurately informed of the circumstances of the case, and more perfectly acquainted with Mr. Lyons' character than any one else."

It happened just as Dr. Cullen had surmised.—

A copy of the heads of accusation against the Rev. Mr. Lyons was sent to the Archbishop of Tuam by Cardinal Fransoni, with a request that his Grace would give his opinion as to the facts on which these charges were founded.

"I believe," the Archbishop declares in his answer, "that the parish-priests, in preferring these accusations, were not so carried away by partisan passion as to betray the cause of truth. That they are men foreign to such a disposition as that is proved by the fact, that they were unanimous and concordant when selecting the three names to be forwarded to the Holy See, and bestowed their suffrages, at my sole recommendation, on the person of the present bishop, who was a total stranger to them, and known only by the praise I had bestowed on his merits. . . .

[1] "In the first place, he (Dean Lyons) instituted a lawsuit against his own parishioners, and carried on the proceedings for a long time; he got up most serious quarrels with his brother-priests, to the great scandal of the faithful. He has the common reputation of being greedy of money-gains. He is in the habit of beating his parishioners and of cruelly ill-treating the members of his household. When in anger, and on slight provocation, he swears most irreverently, as was witnessed on more than one occasion. In the public law court, and in presence of the judge, he was forced to confess that he had on a Sunday, in the house of God, spit on the face of one of his parishioners. He refused to pay to an aged priest the yearly allowance assigned him by the bishop. This yearly stipend came from the revenues of the parish now administered by Rev. J. P. Lyons, and which this same aged priest had governed for several years; etc., etc., etc." Translated from the *Exemplar Accusationum* sent from the Propaganda to the Archbishop of Tuam.

"As to the public lawsuit brought by Mr. Lyons against his own parishioners, that I may write in proper order about these accusations, this lawsuit is a fact of public notoriety, which took place in the light of day, not without great scandal and no little injury to his own reputation. Some of these parishioners he caused to be cast into prison, others he so exasperated that they abandoned the Catholic faith.

"One of these, during the lawsuit carried on here publicly in this City of Dublin, when asked if he had always been at heart a Catholic, made answer, that he had believed the Catholic religion to be the only true one, but that the cruel treatment of Rev. Mr. Lyons had driven him to go to the Protestant Church.

"He so pushed his quarrels with his own brothers, that in a public suit, while one of his brothers solemnly affirmed one thing on oath, he, Mr. Lyons, the priest, to the astonishment of all present, swore solemnly the contrary.

"While I was making a visitation of the parish, I received a letter from that brother, filled with the most bitter complaints against the priest; and, although living both of them in the same village, they had, for several years, held no intercourse whatever with each other.

"This priest is esteemed to be so greedy of sordid gain, that his reputation has given rise to various lawsuits in this same city of Dublin.

"To pass over many other facts, I have found in the course of my visitation, that he left many women after the birth of their children without the benefit of being churched; some of them even had been put off till after the birth of a second child, and this privation was inflicted on them because they could not pay him the usual pecuniary fee. At one time I found no less than one hundred and twenty honest married women bitterly mourning that they should be thus deprived of the Church's blessing. And when, as in duty bound, I bade him perform the prescribed ceremony, this priest complained loudly of my thereby cutting off his revenues.

"At first he alleged as a reason for refusing the rite, that these women did not know their catechism. This, on examining the women myself, I found to be a false pretext.

"As to his cruel treatment of his own domestics, I have no knowledge. But as to his alleged outbursts of anger, I have learned, in the course of my visitations, both from priests and from laymen, that he more than once seriously struck his parishioners because they had been backward in paying him his dues. As to his having spat in the face of one of his parishioners on a Sunday and in the open church, it is a fact proved beyond question by public testimony.

"As to the aged priest whose yearly pension he refused to pay, I hold a letter from Rev. Mr. Lyons, promising to pay to this priest, broken down by age, the yearly sum of twenty pounds sterling, He refused to pay it for a long time. The old priest affirmed that Mr. Lyons owed him five years' arrears. The latter denied this. I referred the matter to the decision of two priests, who told me that, although the old priest's claim was well established, Mr. Lyons could with great difficulty be brought to pay him anything. At length I determined that twenty pounds sterling should be paid down for all arrears, and this Mr. Lyons paid at my solicitation. Whatever may be thought of the ground on which this pension was paid to the old priest, it was settled by my venerable predecessor that it should be so paid. He was removed from his parish and from the ministry on account of scandals, and the Bishop, through feelings of humanity, assigned him this yearly stipend. I am ashamed to say that this same old priest has been lately restored to the priestly functions, to the serious scandal of the faithful. . . . He has been only quite lately restored, and both priests and people complain that this has been done in order to exempt Mr. Lyons from paying in future the stipulated pension, thus setting his own greed above the good of religion.

"As to other churches erected in the Diocese of Killala. I know not if Mr. Lyons has contributed anything. But I do know that he gave not one penny towards the erection

of the magnificent Cathedral, the foundations of which I laid about nine years ago, and which the liberal offerings of both priests and faithful enabled me to roof in before I left the diocese.

"He has acquired a large extent of landed property by dispossessing the poor farmers, one of whom, during my visitation of the locality, fell on his knees in my presence and prayed that the anger of God should fall on the man who had fraudulently obtained his land.

"It will not seem wonderful, now that he has returned to that (Cathedral) parish, if he should bestow a sum of money toward the completion of that edifice. It has already cost about £9000, and all the priests, even the poorest, he alone excepted, have contributed to the building fund.

"As to the matter of obedience to his bishop, your Eminence will allow me not to dwell at length upon it. His relations toward me as bishop have ceased. I therefore wish that his respect for episcopal authority should be estimated on a different measure to that which marked his actions in my regard. The venerable old Bishop, who entertained for both clergy and people the greatest affection, could never leave his house during all the time I was his coadjutor. Consequently he had not a clear knowledge of the evils which either required correction or impelled the scandalized faithful to vent their complaints publicly. And as I was not clothed with full authority to repress these evils, I made it my study to maintain peace between the bishop and both clergy and people. And, if I except the single parish of Mr. Lyons, no serious complaints came to me from any quarter. During my absence in Rome, the complaints of his parishioners, which had been so often suppressed by the hope held out to them of a remedy, now found a public vent. Then it was that he himself instituted law-proceedings, which inflicted so deep a wound on his own reputation.

"He was wont to say in his discourses from the altar that he knew his duty as well as any bishop. He was in the habit of saying among his brother-priests, who are

ready to prove it on oath,—that a bishop is only the first among his peers.

"But, not to keep your Eminence too long on this point, allow me to quote here some passages from letters of his written to a priest, and lest I should not translate accurately, I give the English text herewith. After specifying certain conditions which he hoped to obtain from the new bishop, he continues thus:—'Finally I shall expect the bishop to follow the example of the other bishops of Ireland with regard to the dispensations of marriage banns and the forbidden degrees (of kindred and affinity). But above all I expect that the Bishop will be guided by the advice of a council to be elected by the votes of their brother-priests, so that he shall govern us as a good brother, not with the arbitrary rule and iron rod of a tyrant.'

"In this letter he moves the question of the dispensation of banns, for the purpose of having these taxes reduced to the level followed in the whole province and in all Ireland. He afterward wrote a quite different letter, to dissuade his fellow-priests from pushing the question about the dispensation fees. . . .

"Now, raised in dignity and clothed with authority, he gives up the presbyterian opinions which he was wont to express before. But whether he wields the power entrusted to him as vicar-general and representative of his bishop so as to be the father rather than the tyrant, let the excited attitude of the clergy and people of the diocese of Killala say."[1]

To these conclusions of Dr. Mac Hale, the following letter of the Bishop of Ardagh, Dr. Higgins, gives the high sanction of a prelate impartial and thoroughly acquainted with all the facts of the controversy.

IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, December 20th, 1836.

MY DEAR LORD:—A few days before the receipt of your Grace's letter, which reached me at the end of last week, I was asked my opinion by the Cardinal Prefect as to the

[1] From the original Latin in the MAC HALE MSS.

relative merits of the parties now, unhappily, contending in the diocese of Killala. I answered, that; as the case was under investigation, I would prefer withholding any expression of my knowledge or belief of those concerned until the result was known; but that then I would freely declare the honest conviction which I had carried with me from Ireland. I thought that this reserve would be only showing a due deference to the ulterior decisions of our worthy primate (Dr. Crolly), in whose hands the matter had been placed by the Holy See. In compliance, however, with the reiterated and urgent request of the Cardinal, I delivered my conscientious opinion to the following effect:—

"I told him that I had had frequent opportunities of talking on the matter with the prelates and other clerical dignitaries of Connaught, who all felt convinced that the Rev. Mr. Lyons was the mainspring of the whole mischief; —that he was believed to be a *talented*, *unprincipled*, *ambitious*, *intriguing*, and *persevering* man;—that he had unfortunately acquired an unaccountable ascendancy over a certain weak-minded personage (Dr. O'Finan);—that, whether justly or unjustly, he had *de facto* deprived several poor families in his own parish of their holdings, and had thus earned for himself the deep-rooted hatred of the people at large;—that he was shunned, feared, and detested by the better portion and the great majority of the clergy of his own diocese;—that he was supposed to wreak his vengeance on any among them who opposed his views; and I instanced the case of Mr. B[arret]t, whose unjust treatment had, I said, excited universal feelings of surprise, indignation, and disgust in Killala.

"I added: that in those opinions, so generally entertained, I had myself no reason not to concur; but that, should Dr. Crolly take a different view of the case, I would feel at once bound in conscience to adopt his Grace's sentiments. I also said that the Bishop (of Killala) himself must become more fraternal with his brother-prelates, more adverse to clerical litigation, more natural and missioner-

like in his views of governing; and, above all, that he must totally withdraw his confidence from Mr. Lyons, before he can in the least forward the cause of religion, peace, charity, or justice in his diocese.

"In conclusion, I expressed a hope that I had been mistaken in my views; but that, in speaking out as I had done, I only echoed the sentiments of many venerable characters who were acquainted with the case, and whose integrity I could never bring myself to doubt.

"His Eminence replied, that my *exposé*, which he was delighted to hear, was quite in conformity with the statement of the Primate, who, he said, had written to him some days previously. He appeared most desirous to free himself from the mistake of having had any share in the promotion of Lyons or the Bishop; and seemed prepared to act with vigor. I assured his Eminence that there was no bishop in Ireland who would not willingly place his honor, his character, and his property at the discretion of our venerated Primate; and I expressed a hope that Rome would act on his Grace's suggestions to the fullest extent.

"Though this might seem officious on my part, as Dr. Crolly needs no one's praise, still I do not regret having had a second opportunity of giving my honest opinion in his favor,—all the more so as the General of the Dominicans begged of the Cardinal Prefect some time ago to supersede his Grace's commission, by sending some one else as investigator, insinuating, or rather asserting, in the name of L. & Co., that justice had not been done. But the imprudent *Frataccio* received such a reply as will teach him better manners hereafter."[1]

There is, however, ere we proceed in our narrative, one circumstance connected with the Killala troubles which we are bound to mention here,—that is, the intrigues carried on in Rome by a powerful English layman in favor of Dr. O'Finan and his vicar-general. We here meet with the name of Lord Clifford for the first time, as that of one opposed to Dr. Mac Hale. We shall have to chronicle

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

more than one unjustifiable act of this nobleman toward the Archbishop of Tuam, as well as the full, humble, and too tardy apology dictated by Lord Clifford's spiritual adviser, and sent to the Prelate so often and so bitterly misrepresented by his coreligionists in England.

But tardy apologies are but a sorry reparation for the injury done, through a long course of years, to the character of a public man, and to the sacred cause of religion and patriotism. As, however, the conduct of Lord Clifford in the Killala controversy will throw light on more than one event related in the following chapters, we must here quote as our authority the words of the Very Rev. Dr. Cullen. The *P. S.* in the following letter is placed, as in the original, at the top of the first page :—

" P. S.—I have been told that Dr. O'Finan, in his letter to Cardinal Weld, says that I have been engaged as agent for the priests of Killala. I never wrote to any of them, except to Mr. Costello, and I then avoided saying a word that could be in the least offensive in that letter. Perhaps he refers to the letters I have written to your Grace.

" ROME, April 4th, 1836.

" MY LORD :—I have the honor of receiving yours of St. Patrick's day a short time since, but deferred answering it until now, in the hope of seeing something done before I should write. The Cardinal Prefect, the Secretary, and all the *Ministers* of the Propaganda, are most anxious to have affairs brought to a conclusion ; and all agree that it is necessary to put a stop to Dr. O'Finan's proceedings.

" They are, however, doubtful about the steps to be taken. Dr. O'Finan has written a long letter to the Cardinal Prefect, and has sent an immense number of documents to Cardinal Weld. Since the arrival of these papers, it has been resolved to bring the matter before the General Congregation of Cardinals. They will hold their meeting about the 1st of May. . . . .There is no doubt but that the Cardinals will oblige the Bishop to dismiss his vicar-general.

Cardinal Fransoni is already pleged to that by his letter to Dr. O'Finan. There is every probability that Mr. L(yons) will *be undeaned.* About Mr. Barrett's affair, I think it will also be settled according to your recommendation. The parish will be restored and the censures declared null.

"On studying the question at issue more profoundly, I believe Mr. Barrett had a right to appeal *a comminata censura* ("from a threatened censure.") However, the matter will be regularly decided by the Cardinals.

"Dr. O'Finan has also brought the matter of the appointments made by you in Killala, after you had received intelligence of your appointment, before the Cardinal. I believe everything here (on this point) will go well, too.

Benedict XIV. (*de Synodo Diœcesana*, l. xiii., c 16) treats of the translation of bishops, and says, that as soon as the bishop of one diocese is transferred to another diocese "in public consistory," the bishop's connexion with the former Church immediately ceases. But as your appointment was not made in consistory, Benedict XIV.'s doctrine is not to the point. All those who are engaged in the Propaganda consider that the appointments in Ireland are not complete till the Pontifical Bulls are issued. This opinion shows that the nominations made by you are valid, and that you had a right to receive the revenues of Killala until you had received the Bull by which you were transferred to Tuam....

"All the documents sent by you are printed, as well as Dr. O'Finan's letter. This last document will have some effect on some good cardinals. He talks a great deal about "liberalism," "democracy," "agitation," "popular assemblies," the "necessity of maintaining bishops in the exercise of their jurisdiction," "revolutions," a "revolutionary spirit," etc., etc. And as you know how much people in this country dread those words, you may easily imagine that some persons will be frightened when they hear that all those evils are impending over the Church in Ireland.

"However, I think the Cardinal Prefect will illuminate them on the matter. . . . "[1]

[1] *Ibidem.*

The next letter is still more important; we put the short paragraph about Lord Clifford at the very beginning, as it is in the manuscript:—

"P. S.—I forgot to mention that Lord Clifford encourages Dr. O'Finan to come to Rome to give an account of his affairs and to defend himself *in person.*

IRISH COLLEGE, May 29th, 1836.

"MY LORD:—I received in due time your Grace's different communications; and I suppose you have already received an answer to the letter you sent to the Pope. His Holiness gave order to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to write to you immediately and to inform you of what had been done in the Killala business, and to assure you that things would be finally arranged as soon as possible.

"You are already aware that the Cardinal wrote to Dr. O'Finan recommending him to dismiss Mr. Lyons; they have since written, ordering him to absolve Mr. Barrett, or rather informing him that the censures inflicted were null. The Cardinal intends writing, in the third place, to the Bishop, counselling him to reinstate Mr. Barrett, and thus prevent a step which, otherwise, the Propaganda might be obliged to come to.

"All the papers connected with the Killala affair were printed and prepared to be submitted to a general Congregation. But this did not take place; and the consideration of the affairs has been adjourned *sine die.* A few weeks at least will elapse before anything can be done. The reason of this delay was the quantity of documents which arrived just on the eve of the Congregation.

"Dr. O'Finan sent a folio volume of materials, and Mr. Lyons a long defense of himself and his conduct, to Cardinal Weld and LORD CLIFFORD; and his Eminence (Cardinal Weld) interfered, and had matters deferred until Dr. O'Finan's papers should be examined and printed. . . . .

"Mr. Lyons wrote a long letter to the Cardinal Prefect. He says that he obeyed the order or recommendation given

to the Bishop with the greatest alacrity, and retired immediately to his parish. He denies the truth of all the accusations made against him; he makes himself out the most injured man in the world, and at the same the most humble and the most virtuous. . . . .

"Perhaps it was fortunate that the Cardinals did not meet in congregation on the Killala affairs. I am sure, Dr. O'Finan's letters would have made a deep impression on many of the old Cardinals, who are easily terrified at the names of Liberalism, Reform, Schism, and all the other big words which Dr. O'Finan applied most abundantly to the conduct of his opponents.

"Lord Clifford wrote to Dr. O'Finan in answer to his communications, and, I believe, wrote in such a way as to make the Doctor believe that every one here was in his favor. But the Doctor will be sadly annoyed at the difference which passes between Lord Clifford's letters and those of the Propaganda.

"Lord Clifford has been kept quite in the dark regarding what has been done; and I hope the Propaganda will continue to keep him so. Every little English Lord would wish to have a hand in managing Irish affairs, of which they know nothing. *What would become of the Church of Ireland, if Government had anything to do with it?*" [1]

Although Lord Clifford, even when backed by the venerable Cardinal Weld's high character and eminent position in the Church, failed to make the wrong cause in the Killala troubles appear to be the right,—he did not therefore cease to meddle in ecclesiastical affairs. When he returned to England he found in the published letters of the Archbishop of Tuam, and in the active public part taken by that prelate in the great politico-religious questions which occupied men's attention in Great Britain and Ireland, new matter on which to occupy his meddlesome temper and anti-Irish zeal. As Dr. Mac Hale had baffled him in his strenuous efforts to secure the triumph of Dr. O'Finan and Dean Lyons, so, with the animosity with which a little soul

[1] The *Italics* are in the original.—MAC HALE MSS.

always pursues a successful adversary, Lord Clifford ceased not to view Dr. Mac Hale's increasing labors with ever-increasing displeasure. Early in 1842, the good nobleman's wrath against the Archbishop of Tuam burst through all the restraints of prudence, and found its way into the public press. These writings were especially intended to form or reform public opinion in Rome, where Dr. O'Finan still lived in enforced retirement. And in this crusade against John of Tuam Lord Clifford found a willing supporter in ex-Dean Lyons of Killala.

The following letters of Dr. Cullen will edify the reader on this petty warfare, which it is important and interesting to notice here, as it illustrates the methods by which members of the English Catholic nobility are wont to serve the cause of their ancestral religion in England, by misrepresenting or vilifying the men whom Ireland delights to honor as the champions of her religious and civil rights.

"ROME, June 5th, 1836.

"MY LORD:—I wrote a few lines to your Grace last week, informing you of what had been hitherto done in the Killala affairs. The third letter to Dr. O'Finan, and the letter to your Grace which I referred to, have, I believe, never been sent; they have been delayed in consequence of the great number of papers which have since arrived. But I believe you will shortly hear of a final determination, which will be in accordance with what you suggested in one of your last letters to me.

"His Holiness will authorize very probably some prelate to proceed to the spot, and take the necessary measures to put a stop to the scandals which are every day occurring. This was the only way which now could be adopted, as Mr. Lyons and Dr. O'Finan appeal against your proceedings, and protest that they will submit to the decision of any one else.[1]

[1] It was a vain promise. Persons conscious of being in the wrong, or *litigious* persons, generally submit only when the decision is in their favor. In the present instance they appealed from the decision, or 'conclusions' rather, of Dr. Crolly, the Apostolic Visitor, because he did not conclude in their favor.

"The Cardinal Prefect would have been most anxious to settle the matter.... I suppose they will have recourse immediately to the means suggested by your Grace, and which I have already mentioned.... I suppose also that some one of the archbishops will be selected.

"Your humble and devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN."

"ROME, IRISH COLLEGE, July 8th, 1836.

"MY LORD:—.... Dr. Crolly, Archbishop of Armagh, has been deputed to examine the state of the controversy between Dr. O'Finan and his clergy.... He was selected as being a person who could not be supposed to have any connection with either party, and also as one who had given great satisfaction in his mission to Galway in union with the late Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, his predecessor....

"Dean Lyons arrived in Rome about a fortnight ago, and thought he would be able to carry everything before him. But his hopes have been disappointed. The Cardinal Prefect has been very civil to him, but told him that nothing could now be done in Rome, as the entire affair had been placed in the hands of Dr. Crolly. The Dean insisted on getting at least a copy of the charges made against him. But this also was refused, on the ground that they were contained in private and confidential letters, and that the Propaganda was not a *forum contentiosum* to discuss criminal accusations *hinc inde*.

"He (Dean L.) complains loudly of this refusal; but he received for reply, that he has a fair opportunity of justifying himself before the Archbishop, and on the spot where the charges were made. Since the Dean's arrival in Rome, he has become most temperate in his language, and has abandoned all the accusations against others, by which he before attempted to defend himself. This is owing to a good advice[1] which a friend of his gave him on his arrival,

[1] "Mr. Lyons is here since last Saturday. I do not know whether he has yet seen the Prefect; he had not yesterday. But in fact, I do not well see what the S. Congreg. can now do in his regard, *after the step* they have already taken. I entreated him, if he should obtain a hearing, to confine himself to what would be

who told him that his violent language and his charges against others had injured his cause very much, and made the ecclesiastical authorities form a bad idea of his character. I believe this change of language will now have no effect, though I am sure he is making the greatest efforts and using every sort of influence to obtain from the Propaganda at least a letter stating that they did not condemn him (find him guilty) of the charges brought against him.

"The Cardinal says he cannot give such a letter. So, I believe, after all the Dean must return *infectis rebus.* Dr. Murray was questioned on the affairs of Killala, but replied that he knew them only by report; that he was not at all acquainted with the charges brought against the Dean or by him against the clergy; and that the only way to decide the matter would be to refer it to some bishop in Ireland. You see that his advice has been acted on.

"I am glad you sent to the Propaganda a refutation of Dr. O'Finan's letter. Though there was no weight attached to his assertions, still it is always desirable to see them placed in their true light.

"PAUL CULLEN."

"IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, Oct. 15th, 1836.

"MY LORD:—.... I hope before this reaches you, that the investigation will be over, and that things will be in a fair way of being settled. Dean Lyons left Rome about a fortnight ago. He will scarcely have arrived in Ireland for the investigation; but the Propaganda wrote to Dr. Crolly not to delay any further.

"The Dean got, it appears, great protection from several persons in Rome. He must have got, I have heard, powerful recommendations from some persons in Ireland, but I cannot know from whom.

"He complained bitterly as having been treated with too much harshness; but he confined himself to his own defense,

necessary for his own vindication; but on no account to present charges against others."—*Most Rev. Dr. Murray to Dr. Mac Hale*, Rome, June 23, 1836.

as he found it was not advantageous to attack any one else. He would not leave Rome without a letter from the Cardinal Prefect. He wished it should be a declaration of his innocence, and a certificate that he was fit to be administrator of the Bishop's parish. This, naturally, could not be given. With difficulty he consented to take another letter, in which the Cardinal stated that all he (the Cardinal) had done or written was solely directed to restore peace in the diocese of Killala, and should not be considered as a sentence on the Dean. This letter, I believe, amounts to almost nothing. But the Dean would not go away without some document from Rome. I do not think he obtained anything else."

"PAUL CULLEN."

"IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, Dec. 27th, 1836.

"MY LORD:—.... The Cardinal Prefect has received Dr. Crolly's report; and it has made a most excellent impression, and completely removed all the evil effects which had been produced by Mr. Lyons' lamentable stories of oppression and bad treatment.

"Dr. O'Finan wrote to the General of the Dominicans to exert himself to get another Visitor Apostolic sent in place of Dr. Crolly. The Cardinal rejected such a proposition with disdain. He also wrote to Dr. Crolly, begging him to conclude the visitation. Dr. Crolly's report is, I believe, printed; and, as soon as he concludes the visitation, the matter will be brought before a general Congregation. This is to please Dr. O'Finan, who heretofore protested against the letters of the Cardinal Prefect, because they were not written in the name of the general Congregation (of Propaganda)....

"They are all now ashamed of the favors they conferred on Mr. Lyons; but they did so to induce him to go home to assist at the investigation. These honors are considered of small importance in Rome. But still it was an unfortunate thing to have given them. I entreated the Cardinal Prefect to wait until Dr. Crolly's answer should arrive. *Cardi-*

nal Weld, poor good man, pressed his Eminence to do as he did, and his influence prevailed.

"They both now say *mea culpa.*

"Every one is displeased with Dr. O'Finan, and I am sure something will be done to mortify him.

"PAUL CULLEN."

We add to the letters of Dr. Cullen two letters from the venerable Dr. Ffrench, Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, who was like Dr. O'Finan a member of the illustrious Order of St. Dominic. They, as well as the letter of Dr. Finan which follows, will enable the reader to judge impartially.

Dr. Ffrench in no wise dissented from the other bishops of Connaught in the judgment arrived at with regard to the course of the Bishop of Killala, He signed the joint resolution about the reduction of episcopal dues to one uniform standard, and signed as well the joint letters sent to Rome animadverting on the most unwise course pursued by Dr. O'Finan. The following brief letter, written immediately after the scandalous trial at the Sligo Assizes, will speak for itself.

"KENVARA, April 17th, 1837.

"MOST REV'D AND DEAR LORD:—I received your Grace's in due course, as also the document *this day* transmitted to me by Dr. Coen. I have signed it *cum toto corde;* and I send it this night to Dr. Browne for his signature. I hope the Court of Rome will speedily put a stop to the scandals by appointing a coadjutor to Killala; there is no other remedy for the evils of that unhappy diocese. It is in vain to expect a reformation in the government of Killala, without the removal of Dr. O'Finan from that diocese.

"I am fast recovering, thank God. I intend to go to Dublin about the 3d or 4th of May, to consult my medical friends there, after which I shall, upon my return, pay my just respects in person to your Grace.

"Praying the Almighty to preserve you, and protect

you from your enemies, I remain, dearest Lord, your ever affectionate brother in Christ,

"† EDMUND FFRENCH."

In a previous letter, of June 2d, 1836, Dr. Ffrench had written as follows on the same subject:—

"MOST REV. AND DEAR LORD:—I received your Grace's very kind communication on the 31st of May. I have to deplore, in common with all my revered con-provincials, the unfortunate state of religion, thus distracted by internal disputes, in Killala. Your Grace requires I should report to Rome (having been unavoidably absent from Dublin) individually my opinion of the case. I must confess, from my distance from Killala, from my total ignorance of the character of Mr. Lyons, and indeed of the clergy in general of that diocese, I should feel incompetent to make a statement of the unfortunate condition of that district personally to Rome.

"Oh, I deplore that *sickness* hindered me from joining in the remonstrance sent to the Holy See by your Grace and the other bishops of the province. Should your Grace require of me, however, to make a separate personal report to Rome, I must only do so from mere hearsay. This would not do, I know. I could only make it with effect by informing myself on the spot of all the circumstances, and by having an interview with the poor but positive Bishop.

"Should it be a condition of peace to the Church of Killala, I would for myself (but not for my successors) relinquish a part of the episcopal fees, for uniformity's sake. The people and clergy always paid six shillings, from time immemorial, to my predecessors, and that most willingly. It is exacted before marriage either by the clergy, or they send the parties to me; they have never yet disputed on the point.

"May I beg your Grace to forgive me, if I have written anything that would impress on your mind any unwillingness on my part to contribute to the healing of the wounds of the Church of Killala, or not joining you, by adding my

signature to the late remonstrance sent to Rome. Had I been present, I should have done it. . . . I feel also that, being of the same order as Dr. O'Finan, it might be suspected at Rome I refused signing. . . . This is not the case; and if the remonstrance could have been sent me for my signature, I would have signed it, though he (Dr. O'Finan) were my own father.

"I am perfectly free from prejudice and favor. I know no law but justice and obedience; and if I were *personally* cognizant of the state of the case, I would expose it to Rome. . . . . I wish it were possible to have a meeting of the bishops, Dr. O'Finan not excepted. . . . He has not communicated with me either by letter or otherwise, since his arrival in Ireland, nor, indeed, since I saw him about thirty-two years ago in Lisbon.

"With sentiments of sincere esteem and affection, I remain your Grace's ever attached friend,

"† EDMUND FFRENCH."[1]

What, however, we deem ourselves obliged in justice to do is to insert here the answer which Dr. O'Finan returned to the reverent and brotherly appeal of the Archbishop of Tuam, inviting him to settle all difficulties amicably with his clergy and with the advice of his brother-prelates.

"BALLINA, January 16th, 1836.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:—From your Grace's letter of January the 8th, handed to me on the 11th by the Rev. John Barrett, whom I have been lately obliged to suspend, I have learned that you propose to hold a synod[2] of the bishops of this province of Connaught in Dublin, in order to consider therein certain appeals relating to the affairs of my diocese of Killala, which have been carried to your tribunal as metropolitan.

"Allow me, my Lord, to ask you by what right a provincial synod (or council) is convened outside of the province? Allow me, moreover, if you please, to ask why you have not sent me certified copies of these appeals, that I might ex-

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

[2] There was no question of a *synod*, and he knew it right well.

amine them with all due care, before I betook myself to the synod? This omission, I doubt not, was not made by your Grace for the purpose of attacking me without warning in that assembly. I fear, nevertheless, that such a proceeding is scarcely in conformity with justice or with the laws of the Church. I am very much mistaken if that glory and model of archbishops, he of Milan, did not follow a far different rule of conduct in dealing with his suffragans.

"If the Provincial Statutes mentioned by your Grace in your letter were in vigor in this diocese of Killala, and were favorable to the appellants, a thing which I am not willing to grant, how happens it, I pray you, that they never have been observed up to the present time? You have resided, my Lord, for more than ten years in the diocese of Killala, either as coadjutor or as bishop, and yet, wonderful to say, this extraordinary light which has suddenly shone upon the appellants never once fell upon the eyes of either your body or your mind! Your saintly predecessor, Dr. Waldron, who, as every one knows, was not greedy of gain, nor allowed himself, in governing his diocese, to be carried away by partisan passions, nor proudly domineered over his clergy, he also during a long course of years, and until his death, was involved in the same darkness as your Lordship with regard to these Provincial Statutes. You exacted yourself, my Lord, the payment of the same sum of money for dispensation of banns, the same to the last farthing, unless I mistake, which I now demand.

"I have made no innovation, nor had I any thought of making any; I wanted, rather, to do as my predecessors had done. The parish priests of this diocese never, at any time, or in any circumstances, received higher dues for marriage than they do at present; nay, if report be true, your Grace can attest that some of them occasionally received less than at present. What right, then, have they to complain? Are they in a more distressed condition than formerly? than were their predecessors, who were like themselves workers in the vineyard of the Lord in this diocese.

"It certainly does not belong to parish priests to dispense with the calling of the banns of marriage, nor to enact laws regulating the dispensations in this matter. Both of these prerogatives regard the bishop, to whom it belongs to impose a sum of money for dispensing with such banns, or to remit the same, saving always the supreme right of the Apostolic See.

"This is unquestioned and well known. Whoso would take away this right from the bishop, would manifestly invade the episcopal authority This being so, I do not understand how you, my Lord, can encourage the contumacy of some of my subjects by admitting their appeal, which, as your Grace is perfectly aware, has for its support neither Canon Law nor the principles of justice.

"As to the diocese of Killala, I shall ever take care, with the help of God, that episcopal authority shall suffer no loss, and shall transmit to my successor all the rights of my see without abatement or injury, if it so please our Holy Father. As it is the office of the metropolitan archbishop to remove the shades of ignorance from the minds of his suffragans, allow me to ask your Grace if persons who fetter the jurisdiction of a bishop, or who possess themselves of the goods belonging to the episcopal manse, if the patrons of clients of this ilk do not *ipso facto* incur the excommunication reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff by the laws of the Church?

"This is the first time, if I mistake not, my Lord, that it has happened in our Irish Church, that some overbold parish priests, aided by mere administrators of parishes, have gone to such a pitch of audacity as to make themselves judges, and dare to make laws for their bishop, whom, after the manner of Calvinists, they would simply degrade into a mere moderator of their assemblies. The conspirators among the parish priests of Killala have formed themselves into another Pseudo Synod of Pistoja. The Pistoja priests, with the consent and even at the instance of their bishop, the ill-starred Ricci, claimed for themselves all the rights of bishops. Those of Killala, on the contrary,

attempted to do the same thing, against my will, and in spite of my utmost resistance. Besides, the Killala conspirators or their abettors, in public newspapers, edited by Protestants, not only here in Ballina, but in Castlebar (and here, my Lord, I appeal to you as the best of all witnesses), have not blushed to attack me calumniously, and to ruin my reputation. In this they follow closely the example of the disciples of Jansenius. For there are instances too numerous to be mentioned here of Jansenists who, in France, Belgium, and other countries, took a delight in abusing and traducing those who were the guardians and keepers of the faith and discipline of the Church.

"On these premises, is it surprising, my Lord, if I consider the priestly conspirators of Killala to be men tainted with the heresy of Calvin, or, which comes to the same, of Jansenism. Nevertheless, I judge no one. There is one who inquireth and judgeth.

"You, my Lord, trusting to the story of my detractors, accuse me, without any hearing, of rashness. This is a harsh word to use. I nevertheless attribute it to that zeal for the beauty of God's house which eats up your Grace. I must, however, beg leave to say that your zeal is not according to knowledge. You say wonderful things of that clergy of Killala, my Lord. Since the day they have made war on me they are all *good, pious, and learned.* Well, be it so! But how, then, did it come to pass that, when the Church of Killala had lost its bishop, among all these *good, pious, and learned* pastors NOT A SINGLE ONE, even according to your judgment, my Lord, was found worthy to be raised to the rank of bishop? In your judgment, which pronounced all the priests of Killala without a single exception as entirely unworthy of the honor of the episcopate, all the bishops ot the province unanimously agreed.

"I speak of a well known fact. I appeal for proof to your celebrated Synodical Letter addressed to the Holy See. In the name of God and man, then, are all these men, now united in hostility to their bishop, become *good, pious, and learned?* Ah, my Lord, I may well say with Solo-

mon: An abomination before the Lord, is a weight and a weight.'".[1]

To this letter, all the more damaging to its author that on every head of accusation it brings forward against the Archbishop, the solemn and final sentence of the Holy See soon afterward justified him and thereby condemned his accuser,—the best answer will be the following joint letter of the bishops of Connaught to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda.

"TUAM, April 20, 1837.

"MOST EMINENT AND MOST REVEREND LORD:—We, the undersigned, weighed down by intense grief and heavy care, have beheld, now for nearly two years, the bitter and deplorable dissensions with which the diocese of Killala is sadly torn, and the bond of peace between clergy and people well-nigh utterly destroyed.

"We shall not dwell on the enumeration and exposition of their quarrels, since they are already well known to your Eminence.

"Not only have they already inflicted a deep wound on religion and on the honor of the priestly order, in the aforesaid diocese; but, throughout the entire province, and indeed throughout the whole kingdom, they have filled all good men with sorrow, and have made of the ministers of the altar a laughing-stock for their enemies. But, great as have been the scandals hitherto caused by this unhappy strife, these have been lately crowned by a suit brought by the Bishop of Killala before our highest court of judicature. Of this suit the following is the origin:—

"Some months ago a letter was published in a newspaper here, treating of the troubles which distract the diocese of Killala, and laying the blame on the Bishop. The Bishop brought a suit for defamation against the editor of the paper.

[1] Translated from the Latin MSS. in the Mac Hale papers.

"The case was tried amid an extraordinary concourse of people, and the issue committed to a jury of twelve men, who were not only not Catholics, but known as most bitter enemies of the Catholic name. These were called upon to decide juridically on the whole matter in dispute between the Bishop of Killala and his clergy. In this court they treated of the nomination of the Dean and Vicar-General of Killala, of the suspension of Rev. Mr. Barrett and of his appeal (to the metropolitan), and of the portion due to the bishop of the marriage fees. There were read, in open court, the letters written by your Eminence to the Primate of all Ireland and to the Bishop of Killala about these divisions.

"They cited as witnesses for both parties not only a number of priests, but the bishops themselves, who were questioned on matters solely pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline, and subjected to the sneers and insults of the lawyers.

"During the proceedings a question arose about the manner in which the Bishop himself had fulfilled the duties of his charge, and it was proved that he neither preached the word of God, nor administered Confirmation, nor held the customary theological conferences of the clergy, nor had visited any part of his diocese, since he had come to govern it.

"It was also proved that a priest of the diocese of Killala was the author of a defamatory letter, and that many priests of the same diocese were his abettors. These and other facts, reflecting disgrace on religion and its ministers, were set forth and published before that court, and were circulated in the public papers from one end to the other of the British Empire; nor can we estimate the disgrace and shame that has been heaped on the sacred ministry by this trial.

"Alas, what a sad and shameful spectacle, to see a bishop and his priests arrayed against each other in a secular court of justice, and accusing each other of guilt!

"Several Catholic laymen, distinguished by their birth

and rank, in their anxiety to stop the scandal, went to the Bishop and besought him earnestly, but all in vain, to put a stop to the suit, and to bring the whole matter before an ecclesiastical tribunal.

"For a time we were in hopes that the illustrious Primate of all Ireland, clothed as he was with apostolic authority, would, by his great prudence and his skill in reconciling differences, bring this contest to an end. But after having, at the peril of his life, undergone great fatigue (in this vain endeavor), he now leaves us no prospect of bringing about a reconciliation between the parties in this quarrel.

"The enmity on both sides has become more intense, and the breach between them has been widened by the recent trial, so that this increased bitterness, instead of leaving any ground for reconciliation and peace, only portends more passionate hatred with all its worst consequences.

"Such being the condition of things, your Eminence, we are unanimously of opinion, that the only way out of those evils, the only means of bringing back peace and order to the diocese of Killala, is to give the Bishop a coadjutor. This coadjutor, in our judgment, should be chosen from another diocese by the Sacred Congregation, without, in this instance, consulting the Bishop and clergy of Killala. From the facts brought to light in the trial it is evident that the Bishop absolutely needs such a helpmate; and it is morally certain that the clergy would yield prompt obedience to such a man, thus chosen from another diocese, and therefore quite a stranger to the party-passions which divide them.

"We are sorry to be under the necessity of urging on your Eminence's acceptance this sole and extreme remedy; but we have deemed it our duty to lay before you this expression of our honest and conscientious conviction, impelled by our zeal for the salvation of souls, for the dignity of the holy ministry, and for the cause of peace and order within our province.

"We pray God to keep your Eminence long in health, and subscribe ourselves, with profound respect,

"Your most obedient servants,

† JOHN MAC HALE, *Archbishop of Tuam;*
† THOMAS COEN, *Bishop of Clonfert;*
† PATRICK MAC NICHOLAS, *Bishop of Achonry;*
† PATRICK BURKE, *Bishop of Elphin;*
† EDMUND FFRENCH, *Bishop of Killmacduagh;*
† GEO. J. P. BROWNE, *Bishop of Galway.*"

This letter may be said to have brought this long scandal to an end. The Bishop of Killala was summoned to Rome, deprived of the government of his diocese, and retained in a monastery of his order. The administration of his flock was confided temporarily by the Holy See to the Archbishop of Dublin. Finally the Rev. Thomas Feeny, a priest of the diocese of Tuam, was chosen, by the unanimous voice of the Connaught prelates and with the consent of Dr. Murray, as administrator of Killala.

In this matter, as in all the weighty controversies on education and on the ecclesiastical policy best suited to the needs of the Irish Church, the course suggested from the first by the Archbishop of Tuam, and strenuously opposed by the British intriguers in Rome as well as by his adversaries in Ireland,—was seen to be the right course and approved by the Holy See. It was sanctioned also by the nation. But the approval too often came only when much mischief had been done,—mischief sometimes wide-spread and irreparable.

It was but natural that the man who always stood in the fore-front of battle,—contending with immovable firmness for what he conscientiously deemed the vital interests of his Church and his race, should be held up by his opponents in Ireland, and by such men as Dr. O'Finan, Lord Clifford, and Dean Lyons in Rome, as the restless and dangerous agitator, who prevented England from governing Ireland in peace.

What such peace meant, we need not tell the reader.

The Archbishop of Tuam only looked in this, as in all else, to the judgment of the Master whom he served. The opinions and censure of all others never diverted him from the path of duty.

Time, the avenger, has amply justified him.

CHAPTER XXII.

PRIVATE LIFE AND PERSONAL CHARACTER.

> "May joy, or ease, or affluence, or content,
> And the calm conscience of a life well spent,
> Soothe every thought, inspirit every grace
> Glow in thy heart, and smile upon thy face!"
>
> POPE.

WE have passed through the first part of that long life of almost perpetual conflict for which Providence had destined JOHN OF TUAM, and to the necessities of which the circumstances of the age and country moulded his character and faculties. His lot had not been cast either in "ease or affluence." But the "life well spent" in devotion to the highest of all duties, in never-ending toil undertaken for his flock and for religion, did give the Archbishop serenity of soul arising from a consciousness of seeking the interests of the Master.

The perusal of his published letters, or of the speeches delivered by him on great occasions, or of the volume of sermons given to the public, or even of his classical book on the Evidences of Catholicity, do not afford the readers of another generation an insight into the habits of the man in his privacy, or in the usual discharge of his pastoral duties. The public acts of a great churchman, and the conduct of the controversies forced upon him, do not afford us a glimpse of the social virtues and qualities which mark his daily intercourse with all around him.

The decade opening with the year 1836 will furnish the Archbishop of Tuam with such a succession of gigantic trials, that we may well pause and here turn aside to contemplate him in his intimacy.

The habits of strict regularity contracted in Maynooth, as student and professor, as priest and publicist, had become

a second nature with Dr. Mac Hale. They had been formed under the influence of a deep and enlightened piety, and were never to be laid aside in after life, even when the calls of public duty and incessant outward occupations seemed to leave the Prelate no time even for the performance of any but the most indispensable acts of private devotion.

In his long life of devouring and never-ending activity, the Archbishop of Tuam accomplished much, far more even than what met the public eye. His writings, discourses, enormous correspondence, published and unpublished, were only a part of what he achieved. Nor, great as it is, and precious as it will be to generations yet unborn, is it the part of his life-work on which he, the Christian, the priest, the prelate, set the chief value.

Let us follow him into his privacy, and study him in the details of his daily duty, far away from the noise of the street, the glare and applause of public assemblies, or even the solemn pageantry of religious celebrations.

He set a priceless value on time; and with him, when not obliged to mix with the public, every hour and moment was strictly regulated. He was ever an eager student, an indefatigable worker, ever learning and ever anxious to turn to the benefit of religion and the good of his people all the treasures of knowledge which he so industriously gathered up.

He was an early riser. After dressing he devoted at least one half-hour to pious meditations or mental prayer. He carefully read, before retiring for the night, the special subject for the next morning's meditation. This, together with the daily Mass, was to him that bath of spiritual life, out of which his soul came refreshed, renewed, and strengthened for all the manifold duties and difficulties of the ensuing day. [1]

His meditation over, the Archbishop went to the Cathe-

[1] The book which he used for his daily meditation was, "*Meditazioni ad uso del Clero per tutti i giorni dell anno, tratte dai Vangeli delle Dominiche*;"—di Mgre. Angelo Ant. Scotti.

dral. He generally spent an hour or more in the confessional before Mass, devoting himself to such of the poor as sought his spiritual direction and consolation. On ordinary days he said Mass at a fixed hour, so that the people knew exactly when he would be in the confessional and when at the altar.

He loved the poor with all the love of his deep and strong nature; and they knew it, loved him in return with a love that was boundless. They were irresistibly drawn to him. His confessional, wherever he was, at home or on the mission, was sure to be surrounded with a throng of expectant poor, who came there for their souls' cure and comfort, not for pecuniary relief. That was sought for and bestowed elsewhere.

They watched for the Archbishop every morning at the Cathedral, and in stormy weather would show their anxiety to shield him from the rain or the snow, while he was crossing the open space between his residence and the sacristy. As he grew old, and especially during the last years of his life, when he had long passed the usual limit fixed for human life, the people, his loving and beloved poor people especialy, were wont to watch for his early appearance at the accustomed hour. In the cold, dark, and tempestuous winter mornings it was touching to see their anxiety for his safety and comfort.

The tall, stately figure was now bent beneath the weight of eighty years, and the steady, elastic step of former times had given way to a wavering and uncertain gait, under the force of the strong, cold wind, or the pelting of the rain. There was always some half-dozen of his old body-guard waiting at his door, to hold his umbrella, to give him their arms, to give him more than mere bodily aid, the warm greetings and blessings that came straight from their faithful, grateful Irish hearts.

Every day, while thus at home in Tuam, the Archbishop gave to his priests and people the example of this edifying punctuality in the performance of the priest's most sacred duty, as the judge of consciences, the guide of souls,

the minister of the divinest of sacraments, the Eucharist.

Dr. Mac Hale was a model confessor, patient, gentle, enlightened, studying to do for every one who came to him what he thought Christ Himself would do were He there in person. Dr. Mac Hale was patient and gentle toward all; but he was especially tender to the poor. And how these sorely tried populations of the West of Ireland needed all the divinest consolations of religion, throughout the long, long succession of calamities and suffering which fell upon them from 1834 to 1881, when their great Archbishop was taken to his rest!

His tenderness toward these lowly and much-tried ones had contributed, more even than his learning and his avowed patriotism, to make him the idol of the popular heart in the diocese of Killala. This reputation went before him to Tuam. There is a kind of freemasonry among the poor in Ireland, which communicates rapidly from one place to another the knowledge of who is, in a particular manner, the benefactor and friend of the suffering masses. Certain it is, that whenever the Archbishop went to even the remotest parishes on his Visitation or Confirmation tours, his confessional was sure to be besieged by a crowd of the neediest. Not that he ever gave them alms when they came for confession; but because they knew they would surely get from him what they needed even more than bread, and prized more than money,—sweet words of fatherly compassion, golden lessons of that unearthly wisdom which Christ, and such of His ministers as are Christlike, are privileged to impart,—the inspired words of comfort and exhortation, teaching the poor how to bear and to forbear.

And how they needed such lessons in Mayo and Galway, as the nineteenth century went on its course, wasting the people and the very land around them, even as consumption wastes and wrecks the beauties of the loveliest face and form!

His love of Christ's poor was with him a passion. It made him yearn unceasingly to bring heavenly light, heal-

ing, and strength to their souls. This was the mighty instinct which led him, as we shall see, to undertake, amid all his public labors and crushing cares, to write and print, for the instruction of the poor especially, devotional and other works in their own native dialect.

"When on visitation," writes his nephew and devoted companion, "he heard confessions for four or five hours every day; after which he examined the candidates for Confirmation. He was always most anxious that the children in his diocese should learn the Catechism in their mother-tongue, the Irish, and not in a foreign language (the English)."

For this purpose he carefully prepared a diocesan Catechism in the Gælic, as well as other little books of devotion in the same tongue. This thought also led him to undertake a version of the Bible in his native dialect; and the Pentateuch published in Irish proved how ardent and enlightened he was.

There was a most noble purpose at the bottom of these undertakings, while he was literally overwhelmed by his public duties and other indispensable labors.

"He never ceased to announce," continues his nephew, "that the children of the West should learn English for civil and commercial purposes. The Irish language, however, was, he maintained, the language of religion for his people. It is no burthen, he would repeat, to learn and speak two languages. 'Keep the Irish, which is your own,' he would say, 'and learn the English, which is the Saxon's language. You will be then more learned than the neighboring gentry, who, as a rule, speak but in one tongue.'—'Take care,' he would say, 'when summoned to appear before the civil courts, that you give your testimony in Irish, a language which you understand, and not in English; unless you are sure that you thoroughly understand the English. It has often happened that poor people, who have been heard to utter a word of English here or there, are forced by lawyers and magistrates to give evidence in a language which they do not really understand. What if these magistrates

and lawyers, who, perhaps, understand a few words of some foreign language, were required to give testimony in that language in a court of justice? Much better that the lawyers and magistrates should learn the Irish language, so as to enable the people to give their testimony in a language they understand.

"'This is what is customary in many countries. Take the Island of Jersey, now belonging to England. French being the language of the natives, the judges and lawyers must know French, so as to be able to examine the people in the law-courts, although the people as a body can speak a little English.'"[1]

In the same spirit, and in furtherance of the same patriotic and religious purpose, the Archbishop took especial care, whithersoever his duty called him, to instruct his flock in the language of their fathers, so that the doctrines of religion should take a firm hold of their intelligence, and that their piety should never be a blind, unintelligent, dead formalism. "He preached every Sunday morning after his Mass at 9 o'clock. On these occasions his instructions were, for the most part, in the Irish language, for the benefit of the poor. 'The rich,' he would say, 'have books of instruction in abundance at their command.'[2]

But he was unceasing, as well, in giving bodily alms. In Tuam he had a very numerous *clientèle;* and whenever he went into the streets he was sure to be beset by them. He gave to each so long as a penny was left in his purse. They knew, when he told them he had no more to give, that what he said was true, and ceased to importune him. Then came redoubled blessings from the disappointed.

He could not bear to have an unkind or ungentle word said to these poor, needy creatures. Their solicitations never wearied or annoyed him. It was only when general distress was prevalent, or famine was abroad, that he put forth all the resources of his great love for the poor. He

[1] Notes of Very Rev. Thomas Mac Hale, D.D., among the MAC HALE MSS.
[2] *Ibidem.*

then cut down his own expenses to what was absolutely necessary; and his generosity in this respect, much more than his eloquent appeals from the pulpit, seemed to inspire all classes of citizens.

Of this also we shall see more as we advance in our narrative.

But his greatest charities were done beneath the eye of God alone. There was, during the succession of trials that fell on Ireland after 1841, a class, a very numerous class, who could not bear to make their dire distress known to their dearest friends. And this class was not confined to the once wealthy or affluent. Among the peasantry there were many, very many in every locality, whose fathers had been better off than they, who had been, from generation to generation, growing poorer and ever poorer under the working of the infamous Irish land-system. When famine fell on a whole district, people of this class, after their last resource was gone, locked themselves up with their families and awaited heroically the approach of starvation and fever

These were the persons whom the Archbishop of Tuam used all his ingenuity in discovering, and to whom, with infinite delicacy, and without ever uncovering the hand which gave relief, he studied to convey timely succor.

His piety at the altar, whether in the most private or the most solemn celebrations, was unaffected and unvarying. It was impossible to see the Archbishop of Tuam in the confessional, or surrounded in the streets by the indigent and suffering, without feeling that there was a man of God. The man of God, the high-priest, was still more apparent at the altar, in the sanctuary, when he stood above the multitude of worshippers, between God and them, surrounded by his clergy, and seemingly forgetful of all but the Adorable Presence in which he was interceding and ministering.

His piety did not confine itself to the strict fulfilment of the daily functions and practices incumbent on all priests and prelates alike. All his life he made the recitation of the Rosary a household custom. As it kept the springs of

devotion to the Incarnate God ever full and fresh in his own soul, so did he know, by experience, that the beautiful Catholic custom fostered in the souls of the people a knowledge and love of Christ and His mysteries. It brings priest and people nearer to the Infinite Goodness. The members of his household, the witnesses of his actions of every day and hour, regarded him with a veneration almost amounting to worship. But, while his time, at home, was divided between God and the calls made on him by God's people, he managed to have his hours for study carefully set apart from unnecessary intrusion.

Both clergy and laity knew when to find him. They respected his privacy when engaged on his literary labors, or in the composition of the many public documents which he was called upon to prepare. But no one ever knocked at his door on urgent or serious business, without a courteous reception, a patient and intelligent hearing.

His hospitality toward his priests, as well as toward all the provincial prelates and clergy, was proverbial. No one knew better how to entertain, how to make every one of his guests feel as if he were the favored one. His keen insight into character enabled him to discover what was in each person with whom he conversed, so as to draw him out, and give him an opportunity of appearing well. His own varied information, his acquaintance with men and things, at home and abroad, furnished him with unfailing topics of interest for his most intimate friends as well as for strangers. So, wherever he was, and at his own table in particular, the conversation never flagged; and no person present ever went away thinking that he had been overlooked or neglected.

Although ever dignified in his bearing, and, at first sight, apparently distant and reserved, no one could sooner throw aside or overcome restraint in himself and others. Nor did he, as the conversation warmed, and the electric flashes of Irish wit and humor lit up the atmosphere of dining-room or drawing-room, sit there without feeling the genial glow or emitting bright sparks of his own.

When visiting his diocese, or giving Confirmation, the Archbishop made it a rule to decline the offers of hospitality tendered to him by the resident nobles or gentry, and to make his abode with the parish-priest, no matter how poor or uncomfortable the presbytery might be. He was heartily satisfied with what the priest's lowly roof afforded him. And never did he seem more happy, or pour out all the treasures of his knowledge and wit more joyously, than while thus sharing the lot of these humble shepherds of his flock. "If your presbytery is good enough for you the whole year round," he would say, "surely it ought to be good enough for me for a night or two."

In May, 1852, some most extraordinary scenes were witnessed at Oughterard, during a mission given there by the Lazarists or Vincentian Fathers, as they are called in Ireland. At the end of the mission the Archbishop of Tuam was invited by Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Galway, who was then infirm, to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. Two thousand seven hundred and thirty persons had been prepared for the rite. Of course, the poor little chapel could not contain the concourse. So the solemn ceremony took place in the open air, "under a continuous downpour of rain (say the Vincentian Annals), the Archbishop being under cover of an umbrella, which did not, however, save his mitre and cope from being ruined. Nevertheless, he said it was the most glorious day of his life. Next day he performed the ceremony of laying the first stone of a new chapel in a remote part of the parish, and preached in the open air to an assemblage of between three or four thousand people, who, electrified by his address, raised a shout of enthusiastic joy that resounded through the neighboring mountains and over the waters of Lough Corrib." [1]

"He treated his priests with an affection which was at once both fatherly and brotherly. Their interests, their reputation, their welfare, he considered to be something

[1] Extract kindly furnished by Rev. Father Mac Namara, C. M., Rector of the Irish College, Paris.

directly belonging to himself. No parent could be more careful of a son's concerns, than he was of all that touched the lowliest priest in his diocese; no parent could be more jealous of the good name of a son, than he was of the fame of his priests. They knew this, and trusted to his sacred regard for them, to his high sense of justice, and to his inviolable honor, to judge them justly, and to weigh their virtues and their faults in the balance of the sanctuary.

If any reproach could be justly made to his manner of dealing with such as deserved reproof, it was that he was too patient, or that he took too many precautions to shield the culprit from public blame. This came from his exceeding or—as some might think—his exaggerated reverence for the priestly character. When reliable information reached him about a clergyman's imprudence or misconduct, he endeavored to find an early and natural opportunity to meet the culprit while visiting a neighboring parish; he seldom, if ever, called such to Tuam. But wherever he met the delinquents, he treated them with all outward honor, invited them to his table, and in private led them to confide all to the Archbishop's justice and mercy. This seldom, if ever, failed to have the very best effect, to bring about an immediate change, while avoiding all occasion of scandalous publicity.[1]

But it was not a safe thing for outsiders to interfere with his priests. He knew how to defend them, when in the right, against every assailant, no matter how highly placed in Church or State.

He had imbibed in the atmosphere of his father's house and from the example of his parents great respect for the fasts of the Church. He was born and baptized on the very eve of the great Lenten season of abstinence and prayer. And among the neighboring "prophets" there was more than one who predicted that he should be, like John the Baptist, a man of prayer, addicted to all manner of austerities.

[1] "He frequently remarked to me that he never used a painful expression in conversation with a minister of God."—*Ibidem.*

Austere he most certainly was toward himself, no matter how indulgent and yielding to others. The fast of Lent he kept, till his latest year, with the rigor of the anchorites of old. No remonstrance availed to induce him to mitigate its severity. So inflexible was he, that Holy Week often found him so weakened in body, that he could scarcely go through the solemn and fatiguing functions of Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, and the three following days.

Of this unbending austerity there was no trace in his dealings with his own household and family.

His sister, who presided over both during the first years after his promotion to Tuam, has related how earnestly he applied himself to learn the principles and practice of music, in order the better to master the spirit of Moore's Melodies, and to transfer the same to the Gælic version he was making of them. After learning to play the airs on the piano, the Archbishop found courage and patience to learn to play on the harp. Another member of his family described to us, how the great Prelate, after his return from some council at Rome, some great meeting of the Irish bishops, or some exciting assemblage of the leading men in Ireland, would, when allowed a few days of comparative repose in Tuam, relax his mind and charm away the long evenings at his own fireside, by singing in Irish some of the national melodies, accompanying himself with the harp. We have now before us a lyric poem composed by himself, in praise of Grace O'Malley, the "Queen of the West," which, our informant says, he often heard the Archbishop singing, like the minstrels of other times, to the music of the harp.

It is not an unpleasing mental picture which we offer to the reader in that modest episcopal interior at Tuam, of this venerable Prelate, whose fame filled both hemispheres, pausing awhile from his battles with recreant statesmen and false patriots, forgetting the sorrows of the past and the portents of the present, to call up and sing the praises of the heroine who faced and braved Elizabeth's wrath in London. *Grania Waale*, as Grace O'Malley is still lovingly called by the men of the West, is no unworthy represent-

ative of what Ireland once was and what she might be,—if Irishmen could once more learn to launch their vessels on the deep.

Here are some of the stanzas:

GRANIA WAALE.

One night, as oppressed with soft slumbers I lay,
And dreamed of old Erin, oft thought of by day,
With the long wasting wars between Saxon and Gæl,—
Up rose the bright vision of famed Grania Waale.

Old Erin's green mantle around her was flung;
Adown her fair shoulders the rich tresses hung.
Her eyes like the sun of the young morning shone;
While her harp sent forth strains of the days that are gone.

Of Erin's fair daughters a circle was seen,
Each one with her distaff, surrounding the Queen;
Whose sweet vocal chorus was heard to prolong
The soul-stirring topics of harp and of song.

"To Erin what shame and what lasting disgrace,
That her sons should be crushed by a vile, foreign race,
Who have banished her priests, and polluted her fanes,
And turned to a desert her beautiful plains!"

CHORUS.

"Then down with the Saxon! Hurrah for the Gæl!
Hurrah for the clergy who bowed not to Baal!
In the land of our Fathers we ne'er will be slaves,
Nor pay tithes to the parsons or fatten their knaves."

The shrieks of the widow o'er mountain and vale
Convey to the hearer the heart-rending tale
Of her dear ones by Tithe-Eaters cruelly slain,
While on them her curses resound through the plain.

And keeping sad measure with the widow's loud moan,
The strings lose their tension, the harp loses its tone.
But anon, winding up all its grief-laden strings,
In rapture and triumph our GRANIA WAALE sings:

"The d rk reign of error hath come to its close;
A period is put to its crimes and its woes,
Not leaving a record its trophies to tell,
But the cairn of rude stones where the Tithe-Demon fell.

"With rapture the heart of young Erin shall glow;
From Minstrels the tide of sweet music shall flow;
The deep springs of strife and of discord shall cease;
And all shall unite in the blessed bonds of peace."

This was evidently written while the Tithe agitation was still going on, and while the massacre of Rathcormac and Ballinamuck, and the dreadful retribution called forth by Lord Lorton's cruel oppression, were firing men's souls to dare and do everything for liberty and life.

It is sure that the days of the tithing parson and his tithe-proctors were drawing to a close. But so long as the battle for simple existence on the soil lasted, who can blame John Mac Hale for popularizing such lays as this, or for singing them to sustain his own overtaxed and exhausted spirit?

The Archbishop's love of the national music and poetry, as well as his zeal to revive and spread among his people the culture of the ancient national language and literature, was one of the things which most endeared him to the people of the West. As we have told in a preceding chapter,[1] he was not always allowed to delight by his own vocal and instrumental performances his household and visitors of an evening. The most famous ballad-singers, harpers, fiddlers, and pipers found ever a warm welcome at St. Jarlath's. "The Archbishop's Piper" especially was a frequent visitor there. And it soon became known that, when the yearly pastoral visitation began, the Archbishop was sure to find his Piper before him in every locality, far or near. And right welcome was the latter made among the wildest glens of Connemara or among the islanders of Arranmore. The sound of the bagpipes and the strains of the legendary ditties were intoxicating draughts for souls who retained an undying love for the glorious traditions of the past, and an

[1] Chapter XVI.

inborn æsthetic sense, surviving all the hardships and privations of succeeding centuries.

It was one of the great aims of the Archbishop's life to fan these sparks of the national genius into a bright blaze; and the people knew it, and worshipped him all the more for it.

But let no one imagine that in thus cultivating in his own soul and in those of priests and people an enlightened love of all that was great and beautiful and ennobling in the past traditions and manners of his country, or in singing "Down with the Saxon, and up with the Gæl," the Archbishop of Tuam was fostering among the Catholics of Connaught anything like the ferocious hatred of one race, one religion, one class for another, which is still, as it has ever been characteristic of the Irish Orangemen or the High Tory ascendancy, represented by Arthur Balfour and his peers. Toward the Government which persisted in upholding in Ireland a domination founded on a denial of all the laws of natural justice, common sense, and Christianity, Dr. Mac Hale was hostile; but his hostility was confined within the limits prescribed by his own religion as well as by the Constitution. He was no lawless agitator, no revolutionist.

Toward the English people he entertained none but the kindliest feelings. He counted among them many warm friends and sincere admirers. His wish was to draw ever nearer the ties which ought to bind neighboring and kindred peoples to each other. But this, he knew and ever affirmed, could only be done by founding friendship and brotherhood on the basis of natural justice, of that constitutional equality, that Christian charity and toleration, which could alone satisfy, appease, conciliate, and unite.

He wrote as he felt, warmly and strongly, against the enormous and inveterate wrongs of which Irish Catholics had to complain, and which English ministers, whether Whigs or Tories, were so unwilling to redress, or even to acknowledge. But in his private conversation, in his intercourse with Englishmen of every class, he never departed from his wonted courtesy and gentleness. No bitter words

fell from his lips in speaking about the men who wronged his people most.

An incident occurred on one of his journeys which will illustrate our meaning.

The Archbishop, in company with his nephew, was ascending the Rhine from Cologne to Coblentz, on one of those river steamers so well known to travellers. "After speaking for a while in the Irish language, his invariable rule in travelling," says his companion, "the Archbishop sat down, and I walked about. The Archbishop had Bradshaw's Guide-Book in his hand, and began to wade through its pages. Thereupon I perceived a gentleman, a Protestant clergyman, as appeared from his dress, approaching the Archbishop and observing: 'Having overheard you and your companion speaking to each other, I know from your tongue you are not English; but seeing Bradshaw in your hand, I presume you can speak English.' The Archbishop replied: 'I am not an Englishman, but I talk English.' The conversation continued for some moments, when the Englishman remarked: 'How very well you speak English for one who is not an Englishman!' There the conversation drifted into politics, and on the relations between England and Ireland. The Englishman upon this remarked: 'Oh, there would be peace and happiness in Ireland, were it not for that firebrand, the Archbishop of Tuam.'

"The Archbishop smiled; and the boat having arrived near one of the small stations along the Rhine, the Englishman, who was going to land there, said: 'Permit me, Sir, to shake hands with you.' The Archbishop held out his hand, and his interlocutor left the steamer without knowing the name of the person of whom he had just spoken so harshly."[1]

But Englishmen who had formed his acquaintance, like all others who knew him in his intimacy, were well aware how little there was in his character of selfishness or vanity, or how little in his temper of harshness, rudeness, or

[1] *Ibidem.*

unkindliness. His English friends, like Charles Waterton, fairly worshipped the man.

One of the traits which marked his magnamimous character, was that, in dealing with his own clergy, when a promotion was to be made, a benefice bestowed, or a dignity conferred, the merits of the rival candidates being equal, the archbishop was likely to favor the priest who had differed from him in opinion or even opposed him openly. There happened two noteworthy instances of this: one, when such an opponent was advanced to the highest dignity in the metropolitan chapter, the other, when another well-known antagonist was appointed to a rural deanery.

This was not the weakness with which the restored Bourbons in France were deservedly reproached, that of forgetting one's friends, and reserving all one's favors to one's enemies.

Dr. Mac Hale proceeded on the wise rule, that, while he should be inflexible where there was question of faith or acknowledged principle, he should be most tolerant in all matters of opinion, and allow others the full freedom in these which he claimed for himself.

He never treated any one as an enemy. To the men, ecclesiastics or laymen, who were his open antagonists or his most bitter assailants, he showed in private intercourse neither resentment nor coldness. The unprincipled he simply avoided.

"This forgiving spirit was most remarkable," says one who observed him long and closely. "The most friendly relations existed between the Archbishop of Tuam and Dr. Cullen, from 1831, when they first met in Rome, and continued without interruption up to the translation of Dr. Cullen from Armagh to the see of Dublin. The vast number of letters in my possession from Dr. Cullen to the Archbishop, and covering an interval of thirty years, clearly establish the existence of these friendly relations. This friendship was not impaired by the publication in a Dublin Journal of several most offensive anonymous letters written by the Rev. James Maher, the uncle of Dr.

Cullen, against the policy of the Archbishop (of Tuam), and strongly favorable to Whiggish views and schemes in Ireland.

"On one occasion Mr. Maher talked to me in Rome of the forbearance and charity of the Archbishop, who, having met him one day in Dublin, and knowing him to be the author of these scurrilous letters, warmly shook him by the hand."[1]

This is one instance; here is another, and another still, related by the same trustworthy witness:—

"A priest who was well known wrote some unfriendly letters in a local paper over a fictitious name. The priest died, and his mother, having fallen into sad distress, became an object of the Archbishop's particular charities. Another priest, in imitation of the former, wrote some anonymous letters of the same unfriendly kind. In course of time the writer fell away from the path of priestly duty, thereby exposing himself to merited and just punishment from any prelate less forbearing than the Archbishop. He, however, instead of punishing the culprit, adopted a course which helped to screen his misconduct from the public eye during the remaining short period of his life."

Other striking examples of this magnanimous disposition we shall have to mention in the following chapters.

[1] Very Rev. Thomas Mac Hale, D.D., *ibidem.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE LONG BATTLE FOR CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

The National Schools sustained by Eighteen Prelates, opposed by Ten—Strange misrepresentations.

["In these godless colleges (and the remark applies with equal or greater force to primary education) history, science, languages (and arts) are to be taught, and out of the colleges they are to be instructed in the truths of religion, forsooth. But is this EDUCATION. . . . . Teach all these things, and what have you gained? What *may* you have gained? A generation of sciolists, proud of the knowledge of many facts, noisy, disputatious, puffed up with the wind of an unwholesome conceit, indocile, unbelieving, and impure. The highest culture of intellect, the most laborious accumulation of knowledge, may coexist with all the vices and disorders of the soul."—FREDERICK LUCAS.][1]

NO man among the contemporaries of John Mac Hale displayed more genius or made more sacrifices for the cause of Ireland, for the triumph of the true principles of Catholic education and political independence, than he who wrote the above lines. Though born in a sect widely separated from the Catholic Church, that ardent love of religious truth which God never fails to direct aright led Frederick Lucas to become a Catholic. No obstacle could for a moment make him hesitate in professing the faith at which he had arrived. And how nobly he vindicated and glorified it!

The same honesty of purpose and manliness of character led him to study the claims of Ireland, to overcome the

[1] See *Life of Frederick Lucas*, by his brother, Vol. I., pp. 183, 184.

early prejudices of race and education, and to become one of the most eloquent champions of all that Ireland holds most dear and sacred.

Such a man could not help being drawn to the Archbishop of Tuam by the same natural attraction which holds neighboring planets in their shining courses.

To keep Ireland Christian, Catholic, in spite of all the influence employed by the British Government to *decatholicize* her people, and to help her to fight a righteous battle for religious liberty and self-government, brought Frederick Lucas to Ireland, there to lend Dr. Mac Hale all the aid of his incomparable pen as a journalist, and of his eloquent tongue in and out of Parliament.

The battle cost Lucas his life; his worst enemies were recreant Irishmen, and Catholics, and .... the loss was an irreparable one to the cause of Ireland, and to Dr. Mac Hale above all. But the Archbishop's soul, like his body, was made of sterner stuff. His life of full nine decades was subjected to such superhuman and unceasing trials, that he was like a blade of carefully tempered steel, which the constant passing through the furnace and the hands of the fashioner never permits to lose its edge or power.

We have to deal in the coming chapters with the brave battle which the Archbishop of Tuam fought to the end of his life for that political independence of the clergy of Ireland, of her voters, and her representatives, without which he conceived the cause of his country to be hopeless. We have here only to consider his labors and triumphant struggles in behalf of education.

To form a just estimate of his merits and success in this respect, we must remind the reader that the National School System, against which he fought so unceasingly, from its very first establishment in 1831 till its final condemnation by the entire body of Irish bishops, was only the first part of the gigantic scheme of godless teaching devised for Ireland by the Government. Then came the Intermediate Schools, and the successive schemes of University instruction called the Queen's Colleges (1845), the

Queen's University, and the Royal University of Ireland.

The entire system of Godless schools and teaching was condemned by the National Synod of Thurles in 1851, the condemnation being ratified by the Holy See. Again, in 1869, the Government Schools of every grade, which were thus thrust upon the Catholics of Ireland, were declared dangerous to faith and morals.

In the light of these solemn and repeated condemnations we have to view both the deep prophetic sense of the Archbishop of Tuam, who divined from the beginning the designs of the British Government and the dangers to the national faith, and the short-sightedness and pusillanimity of such members of the Catholic clergy and laity as supported the Government and denounced the Archbishop of Tuam as an agitator and mischief-maker.

As we read in the letters which we are about to produce the unworthy intrigues and the slanderous imputations to which even clergymen sometimes have recourse in propping up a bad cause,—whatever we may think of the men who employ such means, we must only admire the prelate who, in battling for God and the truth, never descends to the use of base weapons.

The archbishops and bishops were, unhappily, divided on the subject of the National Schools. The Irish Catholics had been for centuries not only deprived of the ordinary means of education, but, as all know, schooling of any kind had been all through the eighteenth century made penal and a felony both for the teacher and for the parents. So, when a more liberal era dawned, it was no wonder that a portion at least of the Irish clergy should have been seduced into accepting the National Schools. Even those who distrusted the intentions of the Government might fancy that they could accept, for the children of their poor and starving people, the boon of secular instruction, while guarding against all danger for the faith and morals of the learners.

So, if there were many opposed to the system and its management, there were others, and equally numerous and

influential, who thought they could accept these schools as a first instalment of justice, and profit by them, by using all due precautions to ward off perils to the faith and morality of the pupils.

It is a fact of history, that from the end of the eighteenth century up to the year 1886, the archbishops of Dublin, no matter how saintly in their private life, how zealous in the discharge of their sacred office, had the misfortune of being under the influence of the vice-regal court in Dublin, and of being more or less inclined to favor Government measures distasteful to the majority of the Irish people and the Irish clergy. The name of "Castle Bishops" is one which attaches to all the Dublin prelates of the nineteenth century, with one glorious exception.

It was won by Archbishop Daniel Murray, in spite of a whole life of devotedness, and of innumerable establishments of charity and education created by his initiative, or supported by his unwearied zeal.

Unfortunately for himself and for Ireland, he gave the sanction of his name, his coöperation, his advocacy to the system of National Education. He was one of the first members of the Board of Commissioners, where he sate side by side with Richard Whately, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, who, as is now well known, [1] lent his presence and aid to the system for the express purpose of undermining and subverting the Catholic religion in Ireland. On this Board of Commissioners, therefore, officially deputed by the Imperial Government to control and direct primary education in Ireland, were only two Catholic members, Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, and Mr. Anthony Richard Blake, whose religious convictions were

[1] "The education supplied by the National Board is gradually undermining the vast fabric of the Catholic Church."—*Life of Dr. Whately* p. 244.

"I believe that mixed education is gradually enlightening the mass of the people, and that if we give it up, we (the Protestants) give up the only hope of weaning the Irish people from the abuses of Popery. But I cannot venture openly to profess this opinion. I cannot openly support the Education Board as an instrument of conversion. I have to fight its battles with one hand, and that my best, tied behind me."—*Ibidem*, p. 146.

neither very deep nor very firm. In a nation where Catholics then stood to Protestants as nine to one, this was a most unfair proportion. It did not represent *the nation* in any sense of the word. It only represented the aims of the Government and the power of the Protestant Ascendancy.

The expressed convictions of the Archbishop of Tuam on the national system, and mixed education in general, are well worthy of being recorded here.

In a letter to Lord John Russell, of February 12th, 1838, he says: "They (the members of the Legislature) seem to be under an impression, that it is competent for them, through the agency of Boards of their selection, to assume and exercise complete control over the education, even the religious education, of the people.

"That is an error which would be as fatal to the interests of the State, as it would be to the purity of the Catholic religion. It is but right to acquaint your Lordship that the Catholic bishops, and the Catholic bishops alone, have the right to regulate the choice of the books out of which the faithful are to draw the nutriment of piety and sound doctrine.

"I beg leave, therefore, to assure Lord Stanley and others who would wish to subject the Catholic Church to the influence of the Ministry of the day, that *to no authority on earth, save the Pope, shall I submit the books from which the children in my diocese are to derive their religious instruction.*"[1]

Again, writing to the same, March 12th, of the same year:—

"I have experienced no small share of obloquy for asserting those ordinary duties annexed to my sacred office, and which I cannot resign without a renunciation of the trust which the Prince of pastors confided to me. Over the books used for the religious instruction of my flock I have stated that I shall exercise, without regard to any Board, exclusive and absolute control. It may now be necessary to add that I shall never entrust their religious education

[1] LETTERS, First Ed., p. 393.

to any person professing a different faith, or whose faith is tainted by the religious training of any professing a different creed.

"No master shall have the control of such education, who will not be appointed with my express approval, or removed upon my representation."[1]

Again, on Febrnary 22d, 1838:—

"I am quite satisfied with the ancient, simple faith once delivered to the saints, and I am resolved never to entrust the religious education of any child in my diocese to any teacher, whether Protestant or Catholic, whose faith has been fashioned by such lectures as were and may still be delivered in the normal schools of the Board of National Education."[2]

Writing to O'Connell on the 27th of the same month, he says:—

"There is another subject, regarding the interests of our religion, on which you may do incalculable service. It is by procuring a grant for the separate education of Catholic children. This is the subject, and the only one, on which the Catholic bishops of Ireland have expressed their solemn and unanimous approval. It must come to this at last.... The present system is far from being popular; nay, many of the bishops are conscious it is full of danger. I know that separate education would not be relished at present by the Government. I know, too, that many, with an erroneous feeling of liberality, cherish the plan of mixed education.

"I like religion to be as free as air, which is the only true liberality; and the fate of the Archbishop of Cologne, the injustice of which you have so eloquently denounced, and which is the fruit of a plausible system of mixed education, can attest the benefits or evils of such a prospect."[3]

Finally, writing to the same on the following April 26th, regarding the new Tithe Bill, the Archbishop makes the following most remarkable declaration:—

"It cannot be denied that the bill falls far short of what

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 409. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 398. [3] *Ibid.*

the Ministry was pledged to. It does not reduce one of the supernumerary parsons, even where a single Protestant is not found; nor does it, out of the proposed reduction of twenty-five or thirty per cent, give any advantage to the occupying tenantry. As for the surplus to be applied to the purposes of education, I must frankly own, that if he (Lord John Russell) meant to apply it to the support of the National Education Board, it would be a curse rather than a blessing.

"Nothing can be more interesting to a statesman than the moral improvement of the people, especially to a Catholic filled with zeal for the purity of his religion. Now, one thing is certain, that an anti-Catholic Government is laboring to upset an essential principle, and to usurp the right of inculcating religious doctrine, through books and masters of their own exclusive selection.

"I could be silent forever on repeal, or even on the tithe system with all its baneful appendages; but when I see a government requiring a compromise and surrender of religion as the condition of its support, so much so, that I have known high ecclesiastics, otherwise pious, to own that they are silent from a fear of embarrassing the ministry, I cannot comprehend any reason for justifying such expediency.

"Now, the Ministry, if anxious to lay the foundations of concord as well as prosperity, must banish everything vicious from the sytem of education.

"The greater number of the present members of the Board are rank infidels. The books which they put into the hands of the children are calculated to unsettle their belief, or at least to diminish their reverence for the faith of their fathers; and by the entire system it is intended, as acknowledged by a competent authority (Mr. A. R. Blake), to place the religious education of Catholics in the hands of the Crown. . . .

"You know well the unconquerable attachment of all classes of our people to their faith. As long as I live, I shall not cease to expose and denounce any attempt to in-

terfere with that faith; and the more they try to silence me, the louder will be my remonstrance. For we must have complete religious freedom." [1]

These are not the noisy declamations of a demagogue, nor the irrational and fiery utterances of a religious fanatic. They are the expression of the conscientious conviction of a bishop, charged with the interests of immortal souls, as well as the wise warnings of a statesman, large-minded, far-seeing, and fearful only of the danger to religion and country from the spread of evil principles.

Thanks to the name and authority of Dr. Murray, and thanks as well to the eagerness of priests and people to profit by any available means of literary instruction, the system made such headway, that, as we find by the records of the general meeting of the Catholic archbishops and bishops, held in Dublin in February, 1840, eighteen of the prelates were favorable to the National Schools, and ten only were opposed to them.

The system had then practically triumphed in three of the ecclesiastical provinces of Ireland; in that of Tuam alone Dr. Mac Hale's influence had withstood all attempts to have the National Schools accepted by priests or people.

As we have seen, the view of the Archbishop of Tuam was that which, after all, was fated to be sanctioned by the most solemn decrees of the united archbishops and bishops, and stamped with the seal of the supreme approbation of Rome. On the 18th of August, 1869, [2] the assembled hierarchy, under the presidency of Cardinal Cullen, condemned the system of mixed education in all its forms, "as grievously and intrinsically dangerous to the faith and morals of Catholic youth." This condemnation was confirmed by Pius IX. that very same year.

But during the last months of 1839, and in 1840, the

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

[2] "What a triumph for you!" said to the Archbishop Dr. Browne, Bishop of Kilmore, at the end of the session. "This is the most glorious day of your life." But Dr. Mac Hale would allow no personal feeling to interfere with his satisfaction at what was the triumph of Christian principle, and the removal from Ireland of a great religious peril.

supporters and adversaries of the system had appealed to the Sovereign Pontiff for his judgment on the matter. Dr. Murray and the seventeen prelates who shared his views had with them the powerful influence of the British Government. Their emissaries in Rome spared neither money nor pains in upholding the cause advocated so skilfully by Dr. Murray and by the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, together with very nearly all their suffragans.

During 1839 Dr. Mac Hale and the bishops who shared his views, strong in their conviction of the intrinsic evil and danger of mixed education, as well as of the injustice of inflicting it, instead of a system of separate and denominational schools, on a people nine-tenths of whom were Catholics, appealed to Rome for a decision on the question.

As the system of mixed or secularized education was patronized by nearly all the governments of Europe, even by those who were nominally Catholic, a public and solemn doctrinal sentence on so momentous a question was, under the circumstances, one which might lead the Holy See into very serious embarrassments and international complications. The question was submitted *as one of discipline and government*, to the Congregation of Propaganda, rather than to the Congregation of the Inquisition, which is in the Church the supreme doctrinal tribunal, presided over by the Pope himself.

Even the Propaganda was anxious that, at least while the whole matter was under consideration, there should be as little said of it in public as possible.

Meanwhile, the Archbishops of Dublin, Armagh, and Cashel, who were strongly in favor of the Government system of education, although reluctant for one reason or another to have it judged formally by the Holy See, were the first to send to Rome two deputies. These were excellent Italian scholars, and were provided with abundant and well-selected documents, which were printed and laid before the Cardinals and officials of Propaganda. They had thus the great advantage of being the first to tell their story; and it was well and skilfully told. They were,

moreover, backed in Rome by the whole weight of the influence which the British Government knew so well how to bring to bear by its emissaries, or by the members of the English Catholic nobility, ever ready to side with the Government against the Irish bishops, or the national sentiment in Ireland.

Not before the first months of 1840 did the Rev. Martin Loftus, the deputy of the Archbishop of Tuam and of his suffragans and supporters, arrive in Rome. The whole of that year passed without the contestants obtaining a decision. Of this deliberate delay, and of the many complex reasons which influenced the judgment of the Court of Rome in the matter, the reader will be able to form some conception from the following letter of Dr. Cullen, Rector of the Irish College in Rome.

"ROME, IRISH COLLEGE, January 12th, 1840.

"MY LORD:— . . . . Regarding the education question no steps have been taken since the deputies of the Archbishop of Dublin have arrived, and none will be taken till those from your Grace's diocese arrive.

"It is now nearly a month since (through illness) I have been at the Propaganda. They are desirous that the question should be kept before the public as little as possible, or rather, they are anxious that it should be withdrawn from the eyes of the public, because it is a case in which the public have no voice. And it is also to be feared that when a dissentiment between bishops is widely known, episcopal authority may be thereby lessened. . . . .The Propaganda desire that the question should be treated with the greatest calmness possible, and that any little excitement that prevailed should subside, in order that the controversy may be carried on peaceably and without any breach of charity.

"It would, however, be most desirable that the matter were terminated some way or other, in order that people's minds should not be kept in suspense any longer. Will there be anything done at the next meeting of the bishops

(in February)? *Would it be possible*[1] *to come to some arrangement in which all the prelates would agree?*

"I am now almost convinced that they will come to no decision (here), *unless it can be proved evidently that the system* (of National Education) *will be necessarily productive of evil, and great evil, to religion*, even when the prelates and priests do their duty and watch its workings narrowly. If the defenders of the system show that the clergy, by doing their duty, can check any tendency to evil, and impede any bad consequences which they may threaten, I think they will succeed in averting a condemnation; because, it will be said, a great many things not good and not approvable in themselves may be let grow on when they do not necessarily produce evils, or when there is in the clergy a sufficient protection against any intended mischief.

"Besides, the affair is now so much before the public, and is looked to with so much interest by an entire nation, *and perhaps by several nations*, that the Pope cannot come to any decision without making it a very solemn one; and it is only in cases of great necessity that the Pope can be induced to take such a step.

"If it were possible to come to some amicable arrangement in Ireland, it would be an advantage at least in this respect, that peace and unity would be again restored, and perhaps some more favorable opportunity might occur of examining and discussing the merits of the system.... I know not whether they would let the matter drop here. But as far as I can judge, the Cardinals would be well pleased not to be obliged to proceed any further, as, I think, they fear that by any decision, *pro* or *con*, great discontent will be excited....

"We shall be anxious about the arrival of your deputies, so as to hear both sides of the case. Messieurs Maher (Meagher) and Ennis are excellent Italian scholars and

[1] The *Italics* and brackets are our own. It will be remarked that the idea of an "arrangement" came from Rome, though it did not conduce toward concord in Ireland. Dr. Cullen also forecasts very distinctly the issue of this contestation. The letter is a very remarkable one.

most active men. It is a pity there are no *Italians* in your province....

"I have the honor to be

"Your Grace's humble devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, *Archbishop of Tuam.*"

So Gregory XVI. was extremely anxious that the Irish prelates should settle this momentous matter among themselves. Therefore, when they met (Feb. 10–11th, 1840) a committee of six bishops were appointed, of whom three were in favor of the National School System and three opposed to it, to draw up a series of propositions to be submitted to the Viceroy, Lord Clarendon, and which, if approved of by him, would secure the unanimous coöperation of the Irish hierarchy.

Here is this unanimous proposal or "arrangement:"—

"At a general meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, held in Dublin, on the 14th of Feburary, 1840, the Most Rev. Dr. Crolly in the chair, the following arrangement was proposed and adopted:—

"'For the purpose of receiving the unanimous coöperation of the Roman Catholic prelates, in diffusing the advantages of national education, it was agreed on that the subsequent regulations be respectfully submitted to the consideration of his Excellency, the Lord-lieutenant:—

"'1st. That in every National School for the mixed education of Protestant and Roman Catholic children, the Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese, the parish-priest, or the Roman Catholic curate of the parish in which such school is situated, may be a patron of said school, in order that he may prevent the appointment of any teacher whose moral or religious conduct should be found objectionable, and if necessary, direct the dismissal of such teacher from so important a situation.

"'2d. That no book or tract whatsoever for the religious or moral instruction of the Roman Catholic pupils shall be admitted into a national school without the previous appro-

bation of the four Roman Catholic archbishops of Ireland.

"'3d. That in every national school where the pupils are all of the Roman Catholic persuasion, the Roman Catholic bishop of that diocese, or the Roman Catholic pastor in whose parish the school has been established, as patrons of said school, shall have power to appoint or dismiss the teachers, whether male or female; and that the said bishop or pastor shall have access to the school at all times for the purpose of giving religious or moral instruction to the scholars; such instruction being given by the clergy themselves or by the persons appointed by them for that purpose; and further, that every book used in the school for the religious and moral instruction of the Roman Catholic pupils shall be composed or selected by the Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese.

"'4th. That in future, for the satisfaction of the Roman Catholics, and for the greater security of their religion, the Lord-lieutenant be respectfully requested to select two lay Roman Catholic members of the Board of National Education from each of the four ecclesiastical provinces, and that, on the recommendation of the Roman Catholic bishops of each province, one of their body be appointed a member of the Board of Commissioners by his Excellency.

"'5th. That the Lecturer in the Model Schools, appointed to instruct the Roman Catholic teachers of National Schools in the principles of religion, morals, or of history (which is capable of being explained in an irreligious or offensive manner) should be a Roman Catholic, with satisfactory testimonials of religious and moral conduct signed by the Roman Catholic bishop under whose spiritual jurisdiction he had previously lived.

"'6th. That it would be very desirable to have a Model School in each of the four provinces, when the funds of the National Board of Education might be found sufficient for the purpose, as such an establishment would inspire the inhabitants of the province with greater confidence in the system of National Education.'

"W. CROLLY, D. D., Chairman."

To these demands, based on the most sacred rights of the bishops, as the divinely appointed guardians and teachers of the flock, Lord Clarendon replied, categorically refusing to yield on a single point.

It is now most instructive to peruse what the eighteen prelates favorable to the National Schools wrote to the Holy Father, before leaving Dublin, and after having received such a rebuff from the representative of the Queen.

Their joint letter is dated, "Dublin, February 18th, 1840." "Most Holy Father," they say, "we, the undersigned archbishops and bishops of Ireland, kneeling at the feet of Your Holiness, declare that we do now and ever shall profess toward Your Holiness and the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all Churches, the same fidelity, the same unchangeable and inviolable reverence yielded to the successors of St. Peter by our predecessors.

"Having met together, we deemed it to be our duty in the present conjecture, to inform Your Holiness about what has been done by us in the general assembly of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, held in Dublin on the 11th of this month, in relation to the national schools.

"Ever anxiously solicitous about the faith and morals of the people committed to our care, and greatly grieved by the letters written by the Rev. Thaddeus O'Malley and others on both sides, to the great scandal of the public, and circulated all over the world last year by the newspapers, regarding our[1] National System (of education), our first care has been to give this matter our deliberate considera-

[1] The reader will not fail to remark throughout this letter how undisguisedly the prelates who signed it become the apologists of "our" National System and all that pertains to it, and how little compunction or shame is felt by them in drawing up an odious indictment against the Archbishop of Tuam and the prelates who sided with him in his opposition to the system afterwards condemned so solemnly by the entire hierarchy of Ireland and by the Holy See itself.

It seems almost incredible that three Irish archbishops and fifteen bishops, their suffragans, should sanction by their signatures the placing of the half-apostate and utterly discreditable Thaddeus O'Malley on the same level of censure as John, Archbishop of Tuam.

But history and the Church did not wait till the death of the great patriot-prelate to do justice to the slander.

tion. For, what greatly added to our sorrow was, in particular, a letter emanating from the Archbishop of Tuam and other bishops unfavorable to the National System, and directed against the Very Rev. Walter Meyler, Dean and Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Dublin, whom they accused of fraud and even of schism, because he had written to all parish priests subject to our jurisdiction (those of Tuam alone excepted), to the parish priests of all Ireland, in fact, asking them to send him the number of pupils, and the creed professed by them, who belonged to the schools of which they were the patrons, or who were to be found in their respective parishes. It was the intention of Dr. Meyler to send his report to Your Holiness and to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, in order to make known more clearly the present condition of the system and its practical operation. Herewith is sent the letter (of the archbishops and bishops) referred to, together with the published answer of the Vicar-General.

"Letters written from Rome quite recently have also made known to us how pleased your Holiness and the Sacred Congregation would be, if we could settle in a friendly manner this vexed question among ourselves.

"To attain this laudable purpose, all and every one of the archbishop s and bishops present (and all, save five, were there) were asked whether we could tolerate a mixed system of education in which Catholics would be mixed up with Protestants.

"The unanimous answer was that such a system could be accepted under certain conditions and rules. A committee was therefore appointed, composed of six prelates, three of whom were favorable to the present system, and three unfavorable. This committee was charged with drawing up certain rules to be accepted by all the prelates, and which should be submitted to the Viceroy for his approbation.

"When this proposal was mooted, the Archbishop of Tuam and the bishops who were on his side declared it to be their conviction, that greater concessions would be made to the Catholic clergy and people, if the body of bish-

ops were only unanimous in demanding from the Lord-lieutenant full power to choose or dismiss the school teachers and to select the books used in the schools.

"Although the majority of the bishops entertained no hope of taking away these powers from the other patrons, and of having them conferred on the Catholic bishops and priests, nevertheless, for the sake of peace and concord, we consented to demand these powers from the Lord-lieutenant. He refused to accede to our petition, because the fundamental principle of the system is to thoroughly instruct the children of the poor, while taking care that no attempt shall be made to tamper with the faith of any one of them.[1]

"If his Excellency had granted us such ample powers, the Protestants from all sides would have cried out against him, for it is their continual complaint that Catholics have too much influence over the National Schools. As to the teachers, your Holiness already knows, first, that by far the greater number of the patrons are priests or Catholic laymen, and that to them, and not to the Government or the commissioners, it belongs to select or dismiss the teachers; second, that we have full power to take out of the hands or the sight of the pupils any book compiled (*depromptum*) from the Holy Sriptures, and to replace it by one approved by ourselves. Neither the trustees nor the Government claim any power with regard to the religious books used in the schools, but only with regard to such as are employed in imparting general secular knowledge.

"The condition, however, on which the Archbishop of Tuam most insisted was not a change in the rules, but an increase in the number of the commissioners or members of the Board, so that to this Board as already constituted there should be added one bishop and two Catholic laymen from each of the ecclesiastical provinces. To this proposal all the bishops assented, provided that it met the approval

[1] Does not this look, in the light of what subsequent events revealed, as if there was something like a collusion between Dr. Murray and his majority on the one side, and the Castle authorities on the other? Evidently the majority were pleased at Lord Clarendon's refusal. But the good cause was to triumph in Ireland as well as in Rome,—in God's own time.

of the Lord-lieutenant, who can alone appoint commissioners. He, however, did not deem it either necessary or advantageous to increase the number of commissioners. He feared that, instead of concord, there would arise divisions in the Board. Moreover, it is the custom of the commissioners to hold weekly meetings in Dublin, at which it would be utterly impossible for the bishops to assist, as their dioceses and places of residence are far removed from the Capital.

"Your Holiness will not wonder that the Lord-lieutenant should have deemed it useless to draw up new rules for the Model Schools, since we solemnly affirm that there are at present fifty-four Catholic teachers in training in them, with only four Protestant teachers, and we attest that there is in these schools, as professor of faith and morals (*Professorem fidei et morum*),[1] a learned and pious priest of the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul, who also teaches all the Catholic children their catechism, and prepares them for Communion, and that the Sisters of Charity fulfil the same duties toward the female pupils.

"As to the many great benefits conferred on Catholics by the National System, and as to the fact of its being most acceptable to the clergy, one may hence judge, that in 1200 National Schools there are nearly 600 priests who are patrons, while in most of them both pupils and teachers are Catholics.

"During the year last past both we ourselves and our priests have assiduously watched over the National Schools, and we have very great pleasure in again solemnly affirming that nothing has been detected in them in any way opposed to faith or morals. This must be admitted by the very bishops who are hostile to the present system; for in their diocese there are 250 priests who are patrons of the National Schools. How this should be so in spite of these bishops, is what we cannot conceive.

"If, then, we agreed with the Archbishop of Tuam, in asking the Lord-lieutenant to increase the number of commissioners, we did so, not because we had any fear of the

[1] We translate literally the Latin text.

National System as dangerous to the Catholic faith or sound morality,[1] but, as we have already said, for the love of peace and concord.

"Since, therefore, we regard it as certain that the Government will not grant the concessions asked for by the Archbishop of Tuam and his suffragans, and since, without any such concessions, it is most certain that the National System has conferred very many and very great benefits on our holy religion, we earnestly beseech Your Holiness that you will not close up to the poor of Ireland this fountain of instruction so necessay to them; and that no dissentiment may be caused on this momentous question between us and a government so kindly disposed (*tam benevolo*). Meanwhile, humbly asking for the Apostolic Benediction, and praying God long to preserve your Holiness to rule God's people, we remain, etc.,

(Signed:)

† WILLIAM CROLLY, *Abp. of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland.*
† DANIEL MURRAY, *Abp. of Dublin.*
† MICHAEL SLATTERY, *Abp. of Cashel.*
† JAMES BROWNE, *Bp. of Kilmore.*
† EDWARD KERNAN, *Bp. of Clogher.*
† PATRICK MAC GETTIGAN, *Bp. of Raphoe.*
† B. CROTTY, *Bp. of Cloyne.*
† JOHN RYAN, *Bp. of Limerick.*
† PATRICK KENNEDY, *Bp. of Killaloe.*
† WM. KINSELLA, *Bp. of Ossory.*
† FRANCIS HEALY, *Bp. of Kildare.*
† JOHN MURPHY, *Bp. of Cork.*
† MICHAEL BLAKE, *Bp. of Dromore.*
† CORNELIUS EGAN, *Bishop.*
† CORNELIUS DENVIR, *Bp. of Down and Connor.*
† NICHOLAS FORAN, *Bp. of Waterford.*
† PETER MCLAUGHLIN, *Bp. of Derry.*
† JOHN MCLAUGHLIN, *Coadjutor of Derry.*"

[1] It is not a little strange that a system should be pronounced without danger to

On this unqualified approbation of the eighteen bishops, and to their supplication not to have "the fountain of knowledge supplied by the National System cut off from the poor of Ireland," the Plenary or National Council of Maynooth, held in 1875, will afford a commentary.

"The prudent course followed by the Holy See with regard to the National System of Education, in abstaining from a definitive judgment on that subject, must be also followed by us at present. Nevertheless, we deem it to be our duty to declare once more, with the Council of Thurles, that a separate system of Catholic education for youth is to be in every way preferred to the other. This separate education can alone give full satisfaction to the rights and wishes of our people. This is evident not only from the repeated declarations of the Catholic body, reproving again and again the mixed system, and praying for a religious education in behalf of their children; but from the very conduct of those who, while extolling to the skies the system of merely secular instruction, nevertheless, in the choice of schools for their own children, almost invariably and everywhere select separate academies in preference to mixed schools."

And it must be remarked just here that this demand for "separate" or "denominational" education, and for a legislative grant to support it, was the very essential ground on which Dr. Mac Hale and the nine prelates who shared his convictions insisted as a basis for the "arrangement" of February 1840, which was mainly the work of the Primate, Dr. Crolly.

All through this long contestation the Archbishop of Tuam's views varied not. His very words almost are embodied in the decrees of the National Synods and the Instructions of the Roman Congregations,

What is in this matter of mixed education most peremptory, as well as most instructive, is the Instruction issued on this subject by the Holy Office on Jannary 17th, 1866.

the Catholic faith and sound morality on Feb. 18th, 1840, which is defined as "intrinsically" dangerous to both on Aug. 18, 1869.

This settles the doctrinal question, while going to the very bottom of the reason why mixed schools are "intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals."

The Cardinals composing the Sacred Congregation are examining the question: "Is it lawful for parents to send their children to such schools?"

"In examining this question," the Instruction says, "their Eminences were greatly moved both by the intrinsic danger of the parents doing so, and by what the bishops themselves exposed in their reports. Wherefore they have judged that all pains should be taken to persuade all fathers of families, that they can commit no worse crime against their children, their country, and the entire Catholic body, than to expose their offspring to this extreme peril.

"The ingenuousness and simplicity of childhood, unless watched over diligently, is open to the arts of wicked men, especially if children are so circumstanced as to be compelled to frequent these schools. The influence of the masters, which is so great over the minds of the young, naturally leads these to like whatever they see in their teachers and whatever they hear from them. For this reason, when the masters are indifferent in the matter of religion, or express heretical opinions, or a contempt for the Catholic religion, their poisoned words infect these tender souls, and extinguish there the flame and warmth of piety.

"Not less deadly than this pestiferous influence is the intercourse with heretics, whose corrupt morals, whose contempt of religious authority imbibed from their heterodox principles, deeply move the souls of the young; while the ridicule cast on the faith and precepts of the Catholic Church undermines and overthrows whatever firm attachment they may retain to their religion.

"These evils, so great in themselves, become still greater in the opinion of their Eminences, from the consideration of the prelates' reports,—namely, that these mixed schools were founded for the express purpose of blotting out the Catholic religion from the land; and that it was plain, for the attainment of this purpose, no industry, no fraud, no effort

would be spared by the powerful enemy to pervert the young generations entrusted to them.

"Nor should any one believe that this same pernicious influence was not to be found at work in such schools which only profess to teach matters purely secular and distinct from religion. For, besides the fact that there also the (Catholic) pupils are threatened with the dangers which come from the manners of and familiarity with their non-Catholic teachers and class-mates, every person who knows anything of the world must be aware, that in such schools non-Catholic professors have continual opportunities, in season and out of season, to lay snares for the simplicity of their young pupils; and the more skilfully concealed are these artifices, the more sure are they to succeed in their deadly aim.

"Hence there is no doubt whatever that these mixed schools are full of danger and mortal evil, not only when they teach what pertains to religion, but what is merely secular; not only when they deal with metaphysics, or ethics, but when they give lectures on mathematics, or on physics, or on history, or on literature, or on the languages and arts."[1]

To be able to form a correct and impartial judgment on this joint-letter of the eighteen prelates, and the mis-statements it contains, it should be remembered that Dr. Murray was absent, through illness, from the meeting of the bishops, on Wednesday, February 12, 1840, when the Primate, Dr. Crolly (Archbishop Mac Hale being in the chair), moved a resolution, seconded by Dr. Cantwell, that the committee of six prelates should be appointed to draw up the "arrangement," on which all should agree, and which was to be submitted both to the Lord-lieutenant and to the Holy See.

Thus the original proposal tending toward concord and unanimity on the National School question came from the Primate, whose name heads the list of 18 names appended to the document we have just read.

[1] Acta et Decreta Synodi Plenarii Episcp. Hibern. apud Maynooth.

As soon as the committee was formed, Dr. Mac Hale and the two bishops who were appointed with him to represent the opponents of the National System laid before the other bishops the following proposition :—

"The prelates selected by those who are opposed to the National System of Education to confer with the others who are favorable to it, deem it their duty distinctly to state their conviction that a separate education for the children of their flocks is that which is most conformable to the laws of God and the Church, and the best calculated to make them pious Catholics and faithful subjects; and they feel no doubt that a grant would be obtained for that purpose from the justice and wisdom of the Legislature, were the prelates unanimous in such a petition. They, therefore, offer this principle of accommodation, on which they were all unanimous in the year 1824, as appears by the petition they then sent to Parliament. It is not, therefore, without much anxiety for its results, that they could concur in any other."[1]

There is, certainly, a striking discrepancy in the wording of the statement made by the eighteen prelates to the Pope, with regard to the original proposal here quoted textually.

Dr. Mac Hale and his supporters ask for "separate education for the children of their flocks;"—and they "feel no doubt that a grant would be obtained for that purpose *from the justice and wisdom of the Legislature*, were the prelates unanimous in such a petition." The joint letter to the Pope says, on the contrary, that Dr. Mac Hale and his friends "declared it to be their conviction, that greater concessions would be made to the Catholic clergy and people, if the body of the bishops were only unanimous in demanding *from the Lord-lieutenant* full power to choose and dismiss the school-teachers, and to select the books used in the schools."

Reverting to the original proposal as above quoted in full, Dr. Mac Hale himself further enlightens us, in a public letter addressed to Dr. Murray, in March, 1840, both as to

[1] "Letters of Dr. Mac Hale," First Ed., letter xci., p. 524.

how it was received by the Primate and the friends c National System, and as to the entire proceedings o bishops and their committee, down to the rejection c proposed "arrangement" by the Lord-lieutenant.

"This proposition," he says, "not being likely to with the general concurrence of the prelates, the Pri undertook the task of drawing up an arrangement whi prosecuted with zeal and efficiency, aided by the heart öperation of the entire committee, who conducted important business with a spirit and temper worth bishops, breathing that love of unanimity for which had been selected. The arrangement was then submi to the assembly, and, after the disposal of the verbal ch alluded to, unanimously ADOPTED, for the purpose of b submitted to his Excellency's consideration.

"The Catholics of Ireland .... cannot, surely, sup that the assembled prelates would protract the discus of a vital question from Tuesday to the Monday follow (with only one day's interval ....), in order to adopt a f ish, or an unjust, or an intemperate arrangement. W they consider, besides, that this arrangement was adop for the purpose of being submitted to the two greatest thorities to whom they owed civil or religious obedience namely, the representative of her Majesty on the one ha and His Holiness on the other,—they must be impres with a still stronger idea of the wisdom of their delib ations, and the justice and moderation of their resolves.

"They cannot entertain the notion that their (the bishop sittings were a farce, their arrangement a decent mocke their waiting on the Viceroy a theatrical pageant to ama the simple-minded, while some commissioners behind t puppets might be giving secret counsel to his Excellen not to listen to the counterfeit prayers of some of the ep copal deputation. . . ."[1]

It is impossible to read this statement of a prelate wl was the very soul of truth and honor, and to compare with the joint letter of the eighteen, and not come to tl

[1] Ibidem.

conclusion that some, at least, of these were making of the sittings of the assembled hierarchy "a farce," of the "arrangement," so painfully elaborated by the Primate "a farce," and of the interview with Lord Clarendon "a theatrical pageant," while somebody behind the scenes was whispering to the Viceroy not to heed the petitions, because they were only the wild demands of a fractious minority.

And what was the impression produced in Rome by the solemn farce enacted in Dublin?

"Monsignor Cadolini (Secretary to the Propaganda),"—writes Dr. Loftus from Rome on March 12, "seems surprised that the other Bishops should consent to the propositions of unanimous agreement, and yet proceed as before, notwithstanding his Excellency's refusal to accede to the united remonstrance of the prelates. It seems a very unworthy kind of proceeding. The other bishops (the *eighteen*) seem either to trifle with their opponents, or to be pleasing them as they would children. The question of the 'unanimity of the bishops' is now explained to mean: that the other Bishops consented to the proposed regulations, not because they disapproved of the constitution or regulations of the Board, but because they wish to please *you* and secure unanmity. I think the Viceroy would not have given such an answer, if he had thought that all the bishops would withdraw upon his refusul. Nor should I be surprised if Mr. Blake, knowing the mind of some bishops, were the person who framed his Excellency's answer. I explained to Monsignor Cadolini how the Government were rewarding the friends of the system by promoting their relatives, and instanced the case of O'Malley's brother."[1]

Another incident further illustrates how far the heat of controversy on mixed religious and secular matters can lead to misconception and misrepresentation against one's opponent.

The Archbishop of Tuam, as usual, at the approach of Lent, in 1840, issued a pastoral letter to his clergy and peo-

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

ple. The annual meetings of the bishops in Dublin, and the question of National Education, as connected therewith, were uppermost in the public mind. The Archbishop thus speaks of both:—

"Our just expectations have, thank God, not been frustrated. At the late meeting of the prelates of Ireland overtures for the accommodation of this great controversy were made, into which we did not fail to enter, with the same pacific and charitable spirit in which they were proposed. The result is consolatory. After the subject had been discussed, with all the patience which its importancc required, an arrangement, such as could not fail to secure the integrity of faith and morals, as well as the full and free exercise of the episcopal authority, was unanimously adopted. But, as the public grants depended on the will of the Government, it was deemed necessary to submit the adopted arrangement to the Lord-lieutenant, with the view that, as the prayers of a few Presbyterians had already found favor in that quarter, the unanimous arrangement of all the Catholic bishops of Ireland would meet his Excellency's sanction."[1]

On this statement Dr. Murray writes on March 20th to Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Propaganda:—

"I deem it my duty to inform your Eminence of certain occurrences that have followed the meeting of the bishops of Ireland, lately held in Dublin. It was agreed, when we met, that our deliberations regarding the education of the Irish poor should be reported to the Holy See, but strictly kept out of the newspapers. However, the Archbishop of Tuam not only did not keep the promised secret, but soon afterwards published in the papers what was untrue, namely, that all the bishops had embraced his opinion against the System of National Education for the poor. Wherefore, to prevent any prejudice against a cause which had been submitted to the Holy See, it became necessary to make it publicly known that the eighteen bishops who, during the last year, were the advocates of the National

[1] *Letters*, First Ed., pp. 517, 518.

System, had not changed the opinion which they had manifested to the Holy See; that they had, indeed, endeavored to obtain certain changes in the system, not because they judged these to be necessary towards the security of our holy religion, but in order that, by obtaining these modifications, they might do away with the scruples which troubled the conscience of some of their brethren.

"No sooner did this public announcement appear, than the Archbishop of Tuam was filled with anger. Not only did he repeat the false statement above mentioned, but brought various charges against me in the public papers. These, although utterly devoid of all foundation in truth, are of a nature to defame me not only in the eyes of my own flock, of laymen and Protestants, but in the eyes of the whole British Empire.

"If ever I have acted unwisely in my endeavors to defend our holy faith, I have also ever been ready to submit to the judgment of the Holy See myself and every act of mine. But in ecclesiastical matters laymen and Protestants should not be my judges. In a newspaper which I send your Eminence (Dublin *Monitor* of March 19), you will find the letter of the Archbishop of Tuam and my answer to it, and the editorial comments on both.

"In my answer I have proved beyond contradiction that my narrative of what passed in the meeting of the bishops could not be disputed by any one. I did not, however, reply to the insults heaped upon me, hoping that very few persons, Catholics especially, would give them any credence. It will be the part of the Sacred Congregation to see whether it may be expedient to curb for the future the intemperate zeal of this prelate."[1]

The "letter" in the public papers here denounced so bitterly, so passionately, was Dr. Mac Hale's annual Lenten Pastoral for 1840. It will be an agreeable surprise to the reader to find in this document anything and everything but what should excite one eminent prelate in the Church

[1] The Dublin *Monitor* was the official organ of the National Board of Education, as favorable, therefore, to Dr. Murray, as it was bitterly hostile to Dr. Mac Hale.

of God to accuse his brother-bishop at the tribunal of the Holy See of such unseemly and unpriestly conduct as Dr. Murray charges him with, and which he demands that the Sacred Congregation shall visit with its censure.

After a most beautiful and appropriate exhortation to penitential deeds, to union in spirit with the sufferings of the Redeemer, and to works of charity and alms-deeds, the Archbishop of Tuam addresses himself to the great work of Christian education in his diocese.

"Above all," he says, "you will not fail to manifest a more than ordinary zeal and benevolence toward that class, at once the most helpless and the most valuable portion of society,—I mean the rising generation. A few years only elapse, and the adult pass away,[1] as the shifting tent of a shepherd; the void is quickly filled by the next succession; and on the impressions stamped on their tender and susceptible minds depend not only their own religious destiny, but the prospective interests of faith and morality for future generations, perhaps to the end of time.

"What an awful consideration for the pastors of the Church! It is enough to make the most zealous souls tremble. Well do they merit man's chief solicitude, to whom[2] guardian angels are allotted in Heaven, and for whom, on account of the untainted candor of their faith and the simplicity of their hearts, is destined, in a peculiar manner, the Kingdom of God.[3] On this chosen portion of the Church of God its enemies have been ever making their chiefest assaults; and it was for the protection of the same that the most heroic zeal and fortitude have been always displayed by its sainted pastors.

"For a series of years we have had to combat a variety of such assaults, in alternate succession of fraud and force, until, thanks to your piety, seconding our exertions, we have been enabled to plant throughout the diocese schools of pure, unmixed, and unadulterated Catholic education. These are but yet in their infancy, it is true;—you will not

[1] Isaias. [2] St. Matthew xviii. 10. [3] Ibid. xix. 14.

fail to bring to perfection those nurseries of piety and morality, which you have yourselves erected.

"There have not been wanting active emissaries of the enemies of our faith, who strove to render some discontented, because they were not sharing in the public funds granted for education. However, their false commiseration was easily seen through; and it was not difficult to perceive that, in their hypocritical pity for the poor, those interested agents were only lamenting their own loss of a profitable pecuniary speculation.

"It is unnecessary for us to state that we felt for your temporal necessities as much as faithful and affectionate pastors could feel; and that nothing but the dread of exposing that faith, compared to which gold is as dross, and the conviction, brought to our minds by subsequent acts of annoyance, that the dread was well founded,—could have induced us to counsel you to rely on your own resources, trusting in that God Who never abandons those that never change their faith from Him. * " [1]

Then comes the passage quoted above, and stating how the bishops, in their meeting at Dublin, had agreed to carry out the suggestion made from Rome of an "arrangement," or basis of common understanding, with regard to the National Schools. Dr. Mac Hale had concluded his statement by telling his people and clergy how the Viceroy had received the overtures of the hierarchy. "Four prelates," says he, "from the different ecclesiastical provinces of Ireland, waited on his Excellency, who, in a written reply, refused to accede to the proposed requisition. One paramount object, however, is gained,—*the unanimity of the hierarchy;* and that unanimity attests the wisdom, the justice, and the extreme moderation of the proposed but rejected arrangement."

It is the sentence which we here underline which gave such mortal offence to the Archbishop of Dublin, and which the latter in his denunciatory epistle to Cardinal Fransoni misrepresents in the following words:

[1] Tobias ii. 18.

[1] *Letters*, First Ed., pp. 516, 517.

"The Archbishop of Tuam... published in the papers what was untrue, namely, *that all the Bishops had embraced his opinion* against the system of National Education for the poor." [1]

That the Archbishop of Tuam had gone away from Dublin, after the annual meeting of the prelates, with the firm belief that these had all been unanimous and sincere in adopting the "arrangement" is manifest. And it was natural. The entire Pastoral Letter glows with the joy he felt at having his brother-bishops, one and all, declare themselves in favor of "separate education," and of demanding from the Legislature a grant for the support of such schools. Moreover, they had been unanimous in asking that they, the bishops, and the Catholic body in general, should be more fairly represented on the National Board.

Surely, the recorded "arrangement," presented to the Lord-lieutenant, and transmitted to the Holy See, solemnly affirmed such unanimity. But, though Dr. Mac Hale might consider it as "a coming over to *his* opinion," he nowhere mentions it or boasts of it in his Lenten Pastoral. This interpretation was given to his plain words by Dr. Murray.

More than that:—it was not true that the Archbishop of Tuam had sought the channel of the public newspapers (*per folia publica*) to announce his triumph to the world. He, as usual, printed his Lenten Pastoral, and, as usual, the Pastoral was reproduced in the public papers.

So pitiably were the most lawful acts of a bishop misunderstood and misrepresented in Rome, where it was so easy to put things in a false light! [2]

[1] Archiepiscopus Tuamensis. . . . per folia publica renuntiavit falso tamen, omnes Episcopos in ejus sententiam contra Institutum Nationale pro erudiendis Hiberniæ pauperibus abiisse."—MAC HALE MSS.: Letter of Dr. Loftus, of April 14. 1840. containing a copy of Dr. Murray's letter.

[2] "Is it not surprising with what modesty he (Dr. Murray) sends the *Monitor*, the Board paper, as showing how the public judge of your Grace's cruelty toward the *Saintly Bishop?* For, I assure you that the epithet of *saintly*, applied by Dr. Browne at Galway to Dr. Murray, is paraded on his authority in an extra supplemental *Ponenza* sent in by Mr. Ennis. I am to hand in to-morrow a short letter with your Lenten Pastoral, which has been maliciously misquoted."—Dr. Loftus, Letter of April 14, 1840.

Gregory XVI., the staunch and unpurchasable friend of Ireland and of the independence of her hierarchy, could not help feeling moved by the earnest prayer of the EIGHTEEN prelates at the end of their joint letter:—

"Since, therefore, we regard it as certain that the Government will not make the concessions asked for by the Archbishop of Tuam and his suffragans,[1] and since, without any such concession, it is most certain that the National System has conferred very many and very great benefits on our holy religion, we earnestly beseech Your Holiness not to close up to the poor of Ireland this fountain of instruction so necessary to them, and that no dissentiment may be caused, on this momentous question, between us and a Government so kindly disposed."[2]

What was the Pope to do in such a conjuncture? and what calm and equitable judgment were the Cardinals to arrive at, amid the conflicting statements of the two parties, when on one side was arrrayed an overwhelming majority of bishops, supported by the British Government and by the self-appointed representatives of the English Catholics?

Let us now see how the Archbishop of Tuam stated his case.

[1] Here is the preamble to the Proposal laid before the Viceroy as well as before the Holy See: "At a general meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, held in Dublin on the 14th of February, 1840, the Most Rev. Dr. Crolly in the chair, the following arrangement was proposed and adopted:—

"For the purpose of receiving the UNANIMOUS CO-OPERATION of the Roman Catholic prelates, in diffusing the advantages of national education, it was agreed on, etc."

[2] Sanctitatem Vestram enixe imploramus, ut hic fons doctrinæ pauperibus Hiberniæ tam necessarius, ab iis non præscindatur.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM BEFORE THE HOLY SEE.

1840–1841.

I.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM PRESENTS HIS CASE.

BEFORE the annual meeting of the hierarchy had taken place, and, consequently, before the angry controversy caused by the singular conduct of the *Eighteen Prelates*, above described, had arisen, the Archbishop of Tuam wrote to Gregory XVI. as follows, on January 24th, 1840.

"MOST HOLY FATHER: As we approach the auspicious anniversary of your elevation to the pontificate, I trust Your Holiness may not be displeased at receiving the felicitations of a son than whom no one can hail with greater delight the return of that most blessed day. It would not be gratitude on my part to allow this occasion to pass without offering my most heartfelt thanks to the Father of the faithful, who, from the height which enables him to survey the entire sheep-fold of Christ, did not overlook the diocese of Killala. The faithful of that diocese, filled with gratitude for the peace restored to them, thank you from the bottom of their hearts, and pray for your preservation that God Who, by the timely exercise of your authority, brought back a serene sky after long and dark clouds, and tranquillity after the storm.

"But far greater is the anxiety which we all feel on account of the new system of (national) education; for this system embraces the whole nation and affects the faith and morals of unborn generations. I must not take up the

time of Your Holiness by repeating what the bishops have already laid before you regarding the pernicious principles of this system, or the facts which illustrate these principles. This, if it be found necessary, I shall leave to the Deputy whom I send to the Holy See, in obedience to the commands of the Sacred Congregation, to do more fully and lucidly.

"The advocates of this system lay great stress on the fact, that in some provinces our Catholic youth are so numerous that one only sees a few Protestants in the schools. Although we do not think that all intercourse of this kind is without its dangers, still it is not in the less or greater number of non-Catholics with whom our children are brought into contact, that we consider the evils of this system to lie; but we trace these evils to the merely political and secular origin of the system itself, to the principles on which it is based, to the way it is constituted, and to the regulations by which it is directed,—all going to create a novel authority, unknown ere this to the Church, independent of her laws; an authority which not only aims to set aside the jurisdiction of the bishops, but which,—let your Holiness permit me to say it with deep sorrow,—according to a pamphlet issued by an ill-famed Catholic priest, subject to the Archbishop of Dublin, "*cannot recognize the authority of the Holy See.*" But we shall have a few words to say, later on, of this priest and the bold Jansenism of his principles.

"In the very constitution of this system of education, partly religious, as all acknowledge, there is no recognition of the authority of the Ordinaries, either with regard to the books used, or with regard to the teachers, or with regard to the funds destined to support the schools; on the contrary, the bishops are on set purpose excluded from having anything to do with these. A basis of "Common Christianity" is laid down for all. It is not left to the bishops, but to persons appointed by the secular authority, to determine what principles are common to all denominations, and which are proper to Catholics. To the persons

so appointed it appertains to determine the boundaries of the common fountain of Revealed Truth, and where it branches off into the streams belonging respectively to Catholics and heretics, as if the stream of Catholic teaching were not one and the same with the very well-spring of Christianity!

"This is the source from which we draw, and draw unceasingly our objections. Therefore it is, that we do not care to insist on examining the fruits the system has produced, inasmuch at it has only been at work a few years. But most important is it to ascertain whether the pregnant root of evil in it retains its full vigor and vitality. In one word, Most Holy Father, we are not much concerned about the doctrines taught to their own by outsiders; but we are unwilling to intrust the work of teaching ours to those who are not of the sheep-fold of the Supreme Pastor and fed by His doctrine.

"The faith must needs change with the lapse of time, if the shadow only of authority is kept up, while the substantial thing which sheds the shadow is changed, as your Holiness happily expresses it in your beautiful work, *Del Trionfo della Santa Sede:—*

"'*Dunque non sarebbe più la medesima, cangiata la natura del suo governo da cui dependono le essentiali mutuel relazioni d'ogni suo membro.*' 'Therefore it would be no longer the same, if the nature of its government were changed, since on it depend the mutual and essential relations of all the members.'

"This system aims to change all the relations of the members of the Church, up to its very head, and thus to strip by degrees the Church herself of the authority of the successor of Peter, which hath been the conservative cause until now of the entire form and substance and, therefore, of the authority of the Church and of her various parts.

"The very denomination of *National* savors of fraud and treachery: they would use it as a means to conceal in our country the number of Catholics and the spread of our religion. Not till after long delays and much hesitation did

the Commissioners of Education lay before Parliament a census of the Catholic and Protestant pupils frequenting the National Schools, fearful as they were that the overwhelming number of Catholics would arouse the hostility of Protestants against the system.

"Now they are endeavoring, by laying before the Apostolic See a full statement of the number of Catholic pupils, to show that the system is not so dangerous as it is said to be. The Commissioners have openly declared that they would never again report on this invidious subject of the relative numbers of Catholic and Protestant pupils, since it is not allowed to exhibit in their schools any distinctive or peculiar badge of doctrinal persuasion.

"But if no distinctive or peculiar sign of Catholic faith or practice is tolerated in their schools, either in the morning prayer, or in making the sign of the cross, from the beginning of class hours until their close, how are they able to boast of the great number of such Catholics who, so far as outward marks go, may not be distinguished from Protestants?

"It is a most unpleasant thing for Protestants to see that Catholics are so numerous. The term *National* helps to hide their numbers. In Italy, or in other countries where there is no diversity of religious belief, the word *national* would mean *Catholic*.

"It is quite otherwise in Ireland. There the term "National School" is intended as a kind of political concealment of the faith, while the denomination 'Catholic Schools' would ever be a cherished sign of the Catholic faith; it would be a public profession of our holy religion, and would make evident the immense and daily increasing number of Catholics as compared with the decrease of non-Catholics.

"Believe me, most holy Father, apart from the obvious evils belonging to the system itself, the very name of "National Schools" conceals treachery and fraud.

"I have already written about the above-mentioned work of Rev. Thaddæus O'Malley to the Cardinal Prefect of

the Propaganda, and sent him extracts from it. At present I shall only say of it, how sorry I am that there could be found in Ireland a priest who could dare to give utterance to principles so scandalous, so hurtful to the faith, so injurious to the acknowledged authority, to that of the Apostolic See especially. The author is a Dublin priest, attached to the metropolitan Church. What wonder that he has not retracted these scandalous writings, nor made any atonement for publishing them? These are the fruits which we must refer to the spirit of schism which is insensibly begotten by the National System and fostered by its patrons. As did the saints of old, so do now the faithful of this country: they dread all intercourse with heretics in the holy and religious work of the education of youth.

"Their fears recall the Allocution of Your Holiness on the deplorable fall of the Russian Bishops, and on the artifices employed to seduce from the faith the Catholics of that Empire. These artifices, so vividly described, and so like those at present employed in Ireland, I must not now dwell upon.

"From the depth of our souls we sympathize with Your Holiness in the intense grief caused by these sad apostasies. If, in obedience to the bidding of the Apostle, we are to shun heretics, if there be no mixing with them in the work of education, if we live apart from their intercourse, merely fulfilling toward them the duties prescribed by courtesy, by kindness, and by the other necessities of civil life,—neither Your Holiness, nor ourselves, nor our posterity shall have a reason to regret that the Irish people, forgetful of their ancestral faith and of the reverence due to the Chair of Peter, will have fallen away from that faith or from the Apostolic See.

"That Your Holiness may be long preserved to spread and strengthen that faith, I pray God most fervently." [1]

A fuller and more elaborate statement was, however, required to meet the case of the National Schools as drawn up by the most able writers the Eighteen Prelates and the

[1] Translated from the original Latin in the MAC HALE MSS.

in nominating to bishoprics. This last question, thanks to Your Holiness, has been settled forever by the supreme decision of the Apostolic See, to the great peace and honor of the Catholic religion. This same Mr. Blake also favored the opinion of those who wanted to pension the Catholic clergy.

"He has shown himself to be bitterly opposed to the Religious Orders; and he did not hesitate to assert in open Parliament that the power of the Pope in Ireland was altogether too great.

"This is the man who is, among Catholics, the standard-bearer of the National System.

"Now Your Holiness may judge whether the authority of the bishops is to be set aside for that of a man who is wont to sympathize with every kind of project hostile to the Catholic faith and to ecclesiastical authority, a man who, during his political career, by siding ever with his non-Catholic superiors, seems to have had no other object in view than to accumulate riches and honors.

"4. Although several bishops are in some wise favorable to this system, the Kildare Street Society, at the beginning, had in its favor a still larger number. And yet all acknowledge at the present moment, that the Kildare Street Society was deservedly suppressed.

"5. The opinion of the bishops was taken in their meetings on the subject of this National System. But letters were addressed to nearly all of them, containing queries vague, general, and even captious, to which answers were returned replete with expressions of due respect and confidence in the venerable Archbishop of Dublin. But these answers neither reflected on the poisonous works published by the Board, nor protested against the unlimited power assumed by its members over the school-teachers, and the entire school organization with its methods.

"6. These same bishops, whose individual opinions, expressed in their private letters, were hawked about the country as evidence in favor of the National Schools, were opposed to the opinion of those who wished to submit

to ignore the authority of the bishops in public education, from the answer made by the Lord-lieutenant to the Catholic hierarchy in the month of February last past. Knowing the wish of Your Holiness that we should agree among ourselves on this most important matter, we laid before his Excellency a plan, the acceptance of which by him would put an end to all dissentiments in future. The Lord-lieutenant replied that of all the conditions which we proposed as necessary towards unity not a single one should be granted to us.

"The Government could not tell us more clearly that the Board would not part with any of its powers, and that the bishops should not be allowed to exercise any authority over the education of youth.

"9. According to the regulations already enforced by the Board, if an archbishop or bishop, while visiting his diocese, should enter one of these National Schools, he could not question on the Catechism the Catholic pupils in virtue of his own divine authority, and only after obtaining permission from the lay school-master.

"10. Nor do they allow these regulations to be a mere dead letter, as is proved by their infamous treatment to some bishops who claimed to exercise their lawful authority. It would take a long time to tell the many and vain attempts made by them to set the priests against me, and the laymen against the priests. They wrote to laymen asking these to join themselves to them, whenever the priests had broken off all intercourse with them (the laymen). It is a wonder to me that Catholics should become a party to such conduct.

"11. Even though I should, on this point, have been over-scrupulous or over-jealous of my authority, that is no reason why Catholics and even bishops should have been justified in condemning me, or in meddling in the affairs of my diocese. What must follow, Most Holy Father, from such interference, if not the upsetting of the order so wisely established, and the blotting out of the boundaries fixed to each one of us bishops, and which the successors of St. Peter have guarded inviolate?

"12. At this moment, the Board is somewhat indulgent in enforcing its regulations. But these regulations are maintained in their harshness, and subversive as they are of episcopal authority, in order to be applied when occasion may require. We have a proof of this in the Report issued by the Board this very year. They do not blush there to declare openly that they are only waiting a little to obtain school trustees more in harmony with their purpose, in my diocese. Then they will establish their system everywhere in spite of me.

"If they did not hesitate to write in this strain while the question was laid for judgment before the Holy See, without paying the least heed either to the judicial inquiry going on in Rome or to the expected decision, it is easy to forecast how they would treat each of us bishops, if, isolated and deprived of the strong protection of the Apostolic See, we were compelled to contend for the safety of our ancestral faith with its professed enemies.

"13. Even though the system of mixed education might be deemed safe when considered abstractedly, it will, when reduced to practice, be always full of danger. For, on the National Board the enemies of our faith will be, as they are at present, in a majority, more watchful, more artful, more influential by their wealth, while the Catholic members will be, as at present, with one single exception, a mere mask to conceal the hostility of their associates; they will be chosen, not for their attachment to the faith, but for that easy good nature, to which the lying name of 'liberality' has been given, but which, in reality, only means that disposition of mind that is ready to betray the most sacred interests of the faith in order to secure the favors of the great.

"14. Hence the real peril to the faith comes not so much from the number of non-Catholic children—who are, in fact, very few in my province—as from a power derived from a non-Catholic Government, and which, wherever it is exercised, there plants the seeds of heresy. For inasmuch as by far the greater number of the members of this Board are

Protestants, what is to hinder that in the future, because of the enormous resources disposed of by the Government, the training masters, the teachers, both male and female, shall all be non-Catholics, to the certain peril of their pupils' faith?

"15. The smaller is the number of Protestants in this and in two other provinces, the more unfit and uncalled for is the system of mixed education devised alike for the Protestant and Catholic populations. It would be pretty much as if in some country in Italy a Board of Education should be established for the most part composed of Calvinists, Lutherans, and Deists, with a few Catholics only, the majority of whose votes should decide, without any regard to the authority of the bishops, on what books should be written for the use of the schools, on the selection and training of teachers, and on all the regulations to be followed in their educational establishments.

"16. In the Normal or Training School, the single Catholic professor employed could offer no security against perversion or religious indifference, even though he be a priest, since the non-Catholic professors are in an overwhelming majority, and are thus enabled to taint with their own unbelief the pupil-teachers whom they have to form. Should any one be recognized as a Catholic by his companions, he cannot much trust for protection to the priest, whose associates are heretics and the bitter enemies of his faith, and who could scarcely himself be distinguished from them in the streets of the city, either by his air, his bearing, or his whole manner.[1]

"17. Our Catholics, poor as they are, have sufficient means for giving their children a purely Catholic education. This is amply demonstrated by their liberal donations toward the building of their churches, as well as toward the peaceful extension of their civil and religious rights and liberties, after the cessation of the penal laws. While the struggle for Emancipation was going on, the Catholics of Ireland

[1] See on this head the Instructions of the Holy Office quoted further on, and to be found in the Appendix to the Acts of the National Synod of Maynooth, 1875.

contributed weekly about £2,000 sterling to advance the cause. And now they are most willing to help the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. In my province they have not yet been able to contribute very liberally; for they have to support their own schools. Indeed, instead of being injured by breaking off all connection with the National Board, we have now more schools than before. In some places we have 600 scholars, where before we had only 200 under the control of the Board.

"Our schools, for the most part, are intrusted to the Monks of the Third Order of St. Francis; and it is a wonder to see with what zeal parents are animated in sending their children to these schools, in which the souls of the young are not merely imbued with literary knowledge, but formed by the teaching and example of their masters to tender and simple piety.

"18. Far different from this formation is the training received in the National Schools. There the teachers assume a kind of independence and contempt with regard to our religion; it would seem to be a thing to be kept out of sight and not spoken of, as if it were a something blasphemous and forbidden. And should it happen, as it does, that some national schools have patrons and teachers who are a real danger to the faith and morals of the pupils, there are Catholics who bear with all this, rather than that the culprits should be driven to seek a vindication of their conduct by invoking the principles of English liberty. So the most threatening perils are timidly endured, lest lawsuits should spring up, and the peace and purse of the priest should have to suffer.

"19. No symbol of Catholic piety is allowed by the Board to appear in their schools. They gave orders to have the crucifix removed from schools in this diocese. In a school in the diocese of Galway they took care to erase from a tablet erected to the memory of the deceased founder the formula asking the faithful to pray for the repose of his soul—R. I. P. They show as much hatred toward all Catholic emblems as did the first reformers, although they en-

deavor to conceal their enmity under the fair show of rules drawn up in favor of all sects alike.

"20. Recent facts are there to prove how much the National Schools are disliked by the Catholic laity, not only of the most remote districts, but of the capital itself, the city ofDublin.

"Here is one fact. In a paper published by a prominent Dublin parish, they state that, among the various evils arising out of the Legislative Union, no provision is made by the Imperial Parliament for the education of Catholics, save with conditions so perilous to the faith of Catholics, that they rather beget hatred than inspire gratitude. This paper or document was published by an Irish society which meets in Dublin.

"This opinion is shared and expressed by many Irishmen.

"21. Such are the fraudulent artifices and bad faith which mark the conduct of the chief officers of the National Schools, that they stoop to deception. When we had, in this diocese, severed all connection with the Board, and the inscription 'National School' had been removed from each of them, one of their inspectors went to the school-masters and asked them to allow the sign-board with the inscription 'National School' to be hung up over the door for a single hour, while he was present, so that he might afterwards be able to report that the school was under the Board.

"What other fruit than fraud, deception, and lying can be expected from a system which purposely encourages such artifice and deception? If they only had the power, they would not be satisfied with deceiving; they would have recourse to violence and persecution. In fact, they do have recourse to them.

"Under threat of a suit in the courts they forced a parish in this diocese to hand over to them a school-house which is now closed, because no pupils can be got for it.

"Finally, so long as this system flourishes, we shall see cropping up new theological notions never heard of till now. Men who will hold fast to the sound principles of theology dear to their ancestors, will be laughed at as men

wedded to senile opinions. And this is so true, that both by writing and word of mouth people were wont to give vent to certain liberal opinions regarding theological tolerance and religious indifferentism, under the specious name of charity, which will horrify, a few years hence, the sensitive conscience of the faithful.

"Not so much in supporting the schools as in buying up with money bribes the great army of school officials, do they squander the funds given by the public treasury. Persons who thus depend for their salaries on non-Catholic superiors, and who look up to them both for their appointment and their dismissal, will not hesitate, be they Catholics or Protestants, to think as do their superiors. . . . .

"Wherefore, it is evident to all that the purpose of this organization is to blot out from the minds and from before the eyes of the young all distinctions whatever between creed and creed. This will be the work, this the endeavor of this army of school officials throughout Ireland, to help in carrying out the design of the authors and directors of this educational system, securing thereby the good *will* and favor of the latter.

"Sometimes the school-inspectors travel through the country with their wives. They hope to obtain hospitality in the priests' houses as a return for recommending the priests to the Board; and so it often happens, that both the inspector and his wife spend a whole week under the priest's roof. The fact is, the entire system aims at lessening the dignity both of the people and of their priest.

"There is no place that would not prefer to be left without a school, rather than to be subjected to these officials, who would leave no stone unturned to make the priest odious to his people, in order the better to poison the souls of the people.

"Against the mischievous action of this all-embracing organization, supported as it is in its unceasing activity by the money, the favor, and the power of the Government, what security can we find in the resistance of a few scattered Catholics, no matter how well-disposed? There is no

efficacious obstacle to be opposed to it but what the Church can wisely afford, namely, the ecclesiastical authority of every bishop in his diocese, which, directed by the successor of St. Peter, can carry on successfully the entire work of education.

"These are the considerations, Most Holy Father, which my duty compels me to submit to you. I lay them before Your Holiness with all humility. Whatever it may please you to decide on this most weighty matter, shall be for the preservation of the faith, inasmuch as all will acknowledge in your decree the faith and the voice of Peter.

"In listening to and obeying this voice of Peter, no one will show greater joy than he who, with the most heartfelt affection, kneels at the feet of Your Holiness, imploring your apostolic benediction,

"As your most obedient servant,

"And most devoted son,

"JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

The deputy in Rome of the Minority of Ten, the Rev. Martin Loftus, sure of the final trumph of the cause of Christian principles, disdained to use any of the unworthy acts to which Mr. Ennis and his associates did not scruple to have recourse. He followed implicitly the directions of the Archbishop of Tuam, and prepared most carefully, the statements to be presented to the Holy See in the name of the Ten.

Here is Rev. Mr. Loftus' first rebuttal of the misrepresentations of Mr. Ennis. It is addressed to the Secretary of Propaganda.

"Having had the honor to receive from your Grace the various papers laid before the Sacred Congregation by the Deputy of the Archbishop of Dublin, and having carefully examined the same, I find that he has introduced many documents which, in my judgment, have nothing to do with the subject matter. According to my humble opinion, the question itself being of the utmost importance, should be discussed separately. The mutual accusations or re-

criminations of the prelates, which the Dublin Deputy is so anxious to hold up before the eyes of the Sacred Congregation; the seeking to establish whether such or such a prelate has spoken or written too warmly, or without due reflection; and all such other matters, have nothing to do with the main question, and throw on it no light whatever. On this main question everything should be made to bear, while these side discussions only cause it to be lost sight of, and render the final decision a matter of greater difficulty to the judges.

"I shall confine myself to the sole question under consideration. But, inasmuch as the Dublin Deputy has permitted himself to make some animadversions on the Archbishop of Tuam, and as these require an explanation, I take the liberty of offering it to your Grace on a separate sheet.

"The Archbishop of Tuam addressed, as usual, a pastoral letter to his clergy and people at the approach of last Lent; I send you a translation of the same, in order that the Sacred Congregation may judge whether or not the Dublin Deputy was justified in saying of it so dogmatically: 'Can it be the Spirit of God who has dictated such sentiments?'

"The Deputy says that the writings of the Archbishop are 'not very edifying,' and that the writer allows himself to indulge 'in venomous personalities,' in 'bitter invectives,' in 'falsifying facts,' in 'slanderous assertions,' etc.

"Such accusations are of so serious a nature, that he who makes them should at least attempt to prove them. But in the papers sent in by him one seeks in vain for any such proof. Let us, nevertheless, examine two of these accusations in particular; and from these we may judge of the general value of his assertions.

"He accuses the Archbishop of having insinuated in his Pastoral Letter that the *Eighteen* Bishops favorable to the National System of Education, '*should be held to be as guilty as the late apostate bishops of Russia.*' A simple glance at the Pastoral itself will enable one to see that such an accusation is baseless. The Archbishop does not even allude

to the Eighteen Bishops; he speaks of himself and of those who think as he does. Here are his words:—'We mention these things, venerable brethren, that you may understand that, in our anxiety to conciliate, we have gone to the last verge to which our trembling anxiety for the faith of our flocks could authorize us to go. Had we gone further, we should fear the fate of the unhappy bishops of Russia, who have been a stumbling block to the people whom it was their duty to guide, and whose fall is pathetically deplored in a recent allocution of His Holiness, with which we most cordially sympathize.'

"Do these words in any way authorize the conclusion drawn from them by the Deputy?

"Here is another accusation of his, that, namely, the Archbishop 'has said that the prelates favorable to the National System had made no appeal to Rome; and that, in fact, Rome had no authority to give a decision on this question.'

"The Archbishop has never made use of such expressions. They are the words of the Deputy himself. And yet he remarks upon these, his own words: '*We hardly could believe our senses, when we read these expressions.*'

"Now here is the simple fact. The Vicar-General of Dublin published, in a letter, that 'the Archbishop of Tuam had *appealed* to Rome on this question.' The Archbishop, in his answer, said that there was no appeal and that there could be none. And he was right. For there can be no appeal save from an inferior to a superior court. But in Ireland there is no ecclesiastical court which can decide a contestation between two archbishops; and in such a matter there could come no *appeal* from Ireland. Archbishop Mac Hale has not appealed, but has had *recourse* to the Holy See; he has sought its help to put an end to a system which he believes to be full of danger to religion. So, from what court or what judgment had he appealed? And for using such a correct and obvious expression, this pious and learned prelate becomes, according to the Dublin Deputy, transformed into a heretic!

"Be it remarked, besides, that the letter containing the incriminated expressions is signed by nine other bishops. But the Deputy, in his great wish of holding up the Archbishop to odium, probably forgot the other prelates to whom the same censure applied.

"In fine, the Archbishop is said to be the cause '*of having the authority of the Holy See brought into contempt throughout the British Empire.*' But what act of his can justify such an imputation? Has he ever written a single word against the authority of Rome? Has he not, on the contrary, always and on every occasion, been the zealous defender of the rights of the Holy See? The sole motive for thus slandering the Archbishop is, that he has had recourse to Rome in this momentous cause, and that he has, by so doing, threatened the existence of the National System of Education. This is a strange motive; but it is that of the Dublin Deputy: 'The fate, he says, of the National Board hangs in the balance, the very existence thereof depending on the decision of Gregory XVI.'

"Therefore, because the very existence of the National System depends on this decision, the authority of the Holy See is thereby lessened and contemned? On the contrary, the Archbishop affirms that 'on the decision of the Holy See depends the existence of the Board.' So, in Ireland all respect is paid to the authority of the Holy See. For if the Holy Father decides that the system is one that should not be tolerated, his fatherly voice will be listened to, and that Board dangerous to the faith of our people will cease to exist.

"I know that such a decision would be displeasing to the Government; but where there is question of guarding the faith of an entire nation, the good pleasure of a non-Catholic Government cannot be regarded so scrupulously. Perhaps the decision would be equally displeasing to the Catholic defenders of the system, but even these, in their reverence, would bow their heads before the decision of Rome.

"This prelate, in all his writings, has defended the rights

of the Holy See; and I can moreover affirm that he has been the first in Ireland to attack Gallicanism. and to uphold the prerogatives of Rome in their full extent.

"Many other osbervations might be made on the papers communicated to me by your Grace; but what I have said will, I trust, be sufficient to show that the accusations so boldly put forward against the opponents of the National System have no foundation in reality, and that no attention should be paid to them; and that, besides, they are quite foreign to the actual question.

"That question is, to decide whether or not the books recommended by the system are bad books, and whether or not the system itself is not pregnant with the greatest danger.

"From that question I shall be careful not to stray. I shall not accuse, nor have I been sent here to accuse or to blacken the fame of anybody.

"But having remarked that Archbishop Murray, in his letter to the Cardinal Prefect, says that Dr. Mac Hale has indulged in many personalities towards him (Dr. Murray), I must beg as a favor to refer your Grace to a letter written to me by the Archbishop of Tuam, in which the latter proves how unfounded such an assertion is. In truth, it does seem strange to hear Dr. Murray complaining on this head, while in his published letter he indulges in the most abusive language against the Archbishop of Tuam, whose writings he accuses of 'unnecessary bitterness,' of 'utter falsehood in the arguments,' of 'mere angry declamation,' of 'sophistical reasoning,' of 'vague noisiness,' of 'unsupported assertions,' of 'maintaining things which have not for them a particle of truth,' etc., etc.; and all this while Dr. Murray eulogizes the Protestant archbishop of Dublin and the Presbyterian minister (Carlyle) as 'men of charity and peace,' as 'earnest and impartial workers.'

"In this manner does Dr. Murray praise men who are the consummate revilers of the Catholic faith, while he says of his brother-prelate: 'It is not possible that all you have stated regarding the Ave Maria has been done de-

liberately. He calls Dr. Mac Hale a 'Homer who sleeps with his eyes open,' attributing his opposition to the fact of his having been refused permission to open a school, and he tells him that his '*face should blush for shame at the course by him pursued till now*,' *etc., etc.*

"I humbly submit to the judgment of the Sacred Congregation, whether it be seemly for the prelate who indulged in the above insulting expressions to blame another for taking like liberties.

"The Dublin Deputy sends in the report of a Biblical Society, in which it is asserted that the number of schools in connection with that same society is increasing in the Province of Connaught. The Deputy, I am certain of it, does not believe such a lying report as this; or, if he does, he will not find in all Ireland another Catholic priest to believe as he does. In refutation of this report I humbly pray the Sacred Congregation to refer to the letter of Dr. Mac Hale, dated May 21st, of which I send herewith a copy.

"Dr. Murray accuses the opposing prelates of inconsistency in tolerating the National Schools, while they condemn the system itself. In explanation of their conduct, I pray your Grace to read the letters of Dr. Coen, Bishop of Clonfert, and of Dr. O'Higgins, Bishop of Ardagh, the former addressed to H. E. the Cardinal Prefect, the latter written to me.

"The Sacred Congregation is aware that in the archdiocese of Tuam the entire body of the clergy has broken off all intercourse with the National Board; and yet every village in that diocese has its own school.

"I ask to be allowed to place before your Eminences copy of a letter written to the Holy Father by the TEN opposing bishops in January, 1839, and another written in February, 1840, in which the prelates state some of their objections against the system, as well as the reasons for which they have tolerated its schools, until such time as the final decision of the Holy See is given, a decision big with the fate of religion in Ireland. These bishops demand now,

as they have demanded in the past, of the Holy See only to protect the faithful people of Ireland against the danger of permitting a non-Catholic Government to carry on the education of a Catholic nation. When Peter has once spoken, every voice shall be hushed." [1]

Not before the 16th of January, 1841, was the Pope's approbation given to the decision at which the Cardinals of Propaganda had arrived. Here is a translation of the letter containing the sentence, and addressed to each of the four Irish Archbishops:—

"MY LORD:—Your Grace is so fully aware of the very great importance of the discussions lately raised in Ireland regarding what is known as the system of National Education, that you should not be surprised if the answer of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda thereon has been so long delayed.

"For your Grace is fully in possession of the whole matter, and intimately acquainted with all the weighty reasons which demanded that the subject should be examined with the utmost deliberation.

"During the protracted consideration which the Propaganda, in accordance with the duties of its office, gave to this question, what greatly enhanced its solicitude was the thought that the matter involved the protecting of the Catholic religion; the advantages afforded for the instruction of childhood; the gratitude due to the British Government for the grant of a large sum of money towards supporting schools among the Irish people; the necessity of preserving concord among Catholic bishops; the duty of fostering the public peace; and finally, the fear that the school-funds, together with the whole authority over the schools, should pass into the hands of non-Catholic masters.

"Having, therefore, accurately weighed all the dangers and all the advantages of the system; having heard the arguments of the contending parties; and having, above all, received the gratifying intelligence that, for the ten

[1] In letter to Dr. Mac Hale of June 22, 1840.—Mac Hale MSS.

to endeavor to obtain from the Government, by degrees, a better order of things and more equitable conditions.

"The Sacred Congregation is also of opinion that it would be very useful that the school-houses should be vested exclusively in the bishops or the parish-priests. It is further of opinion that it would be of very great advantage, that the bishops should frequently confer together on this very important subject, in their provincial synods; but that, should anything unfavorable occur, the Apostolic See should be carefully made acquainted with it, that it may at once provide for the exigency.

"In fine, the Sacred Congregation desires that henceforward the bishops and other ecclesiastics should refrain from controversies on this subject carried on in the newspapers or other such publications, lest the honor of religion, their own characters, or Christian charity should thereby be injured, to the disedification of the people.

"These are the things which I had to make known to your Grace in the name of the Sacred Congregation, that they may be communicated by you to the Right Reverend Suffragan Bishops of your Metropolitan Province. As to what I have above made known to you, your Grace will easily understand that they are of such a nature that, if they are carefully attended to, the very momentous importance of the thing will meanwhile secure the interests of religion, the interests of peace, and those of your youth.

"I pray God meanwhile, etc."

The Rev. Mr. Loftus, writing to Dr. Mac Hale on January 18, two days after the decision had been given, thus comments on it:—

"To some persons it does not seem sufficiently vigorous. But I think, on minute consideration, that everything short of a formal condemnation of the books is effected. The safe training of the masters is provided for in No. 2. The system of a 'Common Christianity' is declared dangerous in No. 3. The books compiled for that system must be rejected, as the system itself is dangerous. A better order of things and more equitable terms are re-

quired and should be looked for, according to No. 4; and the same No. requires that the school-houses be kept *in Episcoporum et parochorum potestate et proprio jure.* No. 1, though it speaks in general terms, manifestly affects the books of the Board, as it alludes to books 'containing hurtful matter either against the Canon or the purity of the Sacred Scriptures, etc.'

"Your Grace will, I think, find in the document, if not all that our cause and argument were entitled to, at least so much as must bring the Board within more just limits. I think the Board will scarcely consent to adopt the modifications suggested in it. If not, Dr. Murray must, of course, retire; and I am sure, that on his retiring the Board would die, and let another and a better rise from its ashes."

The Rescript of the Propaganda containing the decision of the Holy See reached Ireland before the day appointed for the annual meeting of the bishops.

After transacting the important business which was the immediate purpose of their coming together, they asked the Archbishop of Tuam to draw up a fitting answer to His Holiness, which all signed ere they separated. 'Peter had indeed spoken through Gregory XVI.; and although the sentence was neither a final nor a dogmatic one,—no voice was raised in protestation or in opposition.'

"Most Holy Father," the joint letter said, "the Rescript of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, approved of by Your Holiness, and regarding the National System of Education, reached, a few days before our yearly meeting, the metropolitans of Ireland, and was immediately by them communicated to their suffragans.

"The Letter was most welcome to all, and by all most gratefully received; and all, both archbishops and bishops, with one voice and one heart, declared that we must not separate before we had addressed this letter to Your Holiness, to make known how deeply and cordially grateful we are for this new proof of your solicitude for the spiritual welfare of our Church, and to assure Your Holiness that it is our determination to work together heartily and unwear-

iedly to carry out to the best of our power the counsels you have given us.

"By so doing, and from the resolutions we have formed, we feel sure that Your Holiness will clearly see what perfect obedience and sovereign veneration we ever pay to the Apostolic See and to the successors of St. Peter.

"Kneeling before Your Holiness, we pray God to preserve you long in health, and beseech you to bestow on ourselves and the flocks committed to our care the Apostolic Benediction.

"DUBLIN, February 9, 1841."

Dr. Mac Hale was not the man to revive a controversy which the decision of the Holy See should have at once ended, or to give utterance in the newspapers to any word of satisfaction or discontent regarding the judgment of the supreme ecclesiastical authority or the wise admonitions with which it was accompanied.

Not so, the friends of the National System, as we may judge from the following letter of Dr. Cullen, who was in Ireland when the Rescript arrived.

"PROSPECT, BALLITORE, Feb. 15, 1841.

"MY LORD:—Ever since I had the honor of seeing your Grace in Dublin, I have been reflecting on the question of National Education; and, though it is taking a great liberty, still, trusting in your Grace's kindness, I venture to suggest that it would perhaps be better not to treat of that matter in your Pastoral Letter for the coming Lent. By abstaining from discussing that question, everybody will admire your forbearance, and you will have the evident merit of having attended literally to the instructions from Rome, a merit that cannot be claimed by the friends of the Board.

"And in this way you will bring, I am persuaded, more persons to take a right view of the National System, than can be done at all for the present by force of reason or argument.

"It would, I dare say, be better to let the matter rest

until you have treated of it in a provincial synod, and have again consulted His Holiness.

"I must beg your Grace to pardon me for thus venturing to interfere in this business. But I am so well aware of your kindness, that I have not hesitated to trespass on it.

"I have the honor to be, with the profoundest respect and veneration,

"Your Lordship's humble and obedient servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. Dr. MAC HALE."

This was good advice. Dr. Cullen knew better than any one in Ireland could what line of conduct would best please the Roman authorities, while conducing most surely to the best interests of religion in the Green Isle. He was also well acquainted with the never-ceasing and powerful currents of intrigue that were in motion among ecclesiastical circles in Dublin. It was best to allow Dr. Ennis and his friends to boast of their barren success, and to continue their system of misrepresentation.

Time and truth and a watchful Providence were on the side of Dr. Mac Hale.

When Dr. Cullen returned to Rome, he continued to write to the Archbishop of Tuam not to deviate from the same policy of silence, moderation, and expectancy.

"The Pope," he says in a letter of August 7th, 1841, "has frequently expressed great satisfaction in regard to all the Irish bishops, on account of the readiness with which they agreed to his instructions on the National System of Education.

"He appears to be peculiarly anxious that no public controversy should be excited again on the matter; but that, in any emergency, the bishops should treat of it in provincial synods, or refer the matter directly to Rome." [1]

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

II.

WHAT JOHN OF TUAM DID FOR HIS SCHOOLS.

The Archbishop of Tuam was too intensely practical, too much devoted, in heart and mind, to the dearest interests of his people, to rest satisfied with denouncing the National Schools and the operations of the National Board as full of danger to the faith and morality of the pupils. Once he had convinced himself that he could not in justice to Catholic families, or with any proper regard to his own authority as bishop, or to the authority of his parish-priests, accept the National Schools in his diocese, he set about erecting everywhere schools of his own.

It was an undertaking of enormous difficulty. The people were more than poor all through Connaught; in the dioceses of Tuam and Galway, that poverty was extreme; and the clergy shared the destitution of their flocks. Yet, at the voice of their archbishop, clergy and people began, without hesitation, with joy and alacrity even, to erect such school-houses of their own as their means permitted. What mattered it to children, whom the monstrous injustice of Irish Landlordism compelled to live in wretched hovels, if their own schools were in keeping with the poverty of their parents? At any rate, they had devoted masters and mistresses to teach them both the elements of literary knowledge and the first principles of Christian doctrine unadulterated with any mixture of error.

Though the twin-springs of sacred and profane knowledge sprang, for them, from beneath the wayside hedge, or from the foot of some sheltering crag, they could drink their fill of its pure waters.

Their school began with the morning prayers, which, once learned and loved by the child, was to be a life-long and cherished habit. So with the mid-day *Angelus;* so with evening prayers before school was dismissed. And then the priest, so honored and revered amid these faithful populations of the West, was free at every hour to visit the school-rooms, and to supplement by his explanations the

lessons of the school-master or mistress. The crucifix and the image of the Virgin-Mother and her Babe ever looked down on that beehive of young learners, telling them unceasingly of the great truth our modern world is so anxious to ignore or unlearn, that God became man to redeem us, and that he lived in poverty and toil to teach us all how to sanctify privation, suffering, and labor. And when priest or layman entered these Catholic schools, in town or country, the image of Christ crucified, and that of His Blessed Mother, had not to be hidden or taken away hurriedly out of sight, as if they were, what Protestants falsely represented them to be, objects of idolatrous worship, of which true Christians should be ashamed.

Dr. Mac Hale and his priests had not waited for the judgment of Rome to reject the yoke of the National Board. In the spring of 1840, he could write in the following strain to his clergy and people, from Arranmore, on the coast of Galway.

"Though in the course of our recent visitation through the diocese," he says, "it was our lot to share some of those perils by sea which the Apostle had encountered, we have been more than compensated by the consolation, deep and lasting, which that grateful labor has afforded. It has given us not only the opportunity of witnessing the salutary effects of those habits of temperance, ... now spreading throughout the land; but also of refuting some of the calumnies which the indefatigeble enemies of our religion are neither tired nor ashamed of promulgating.

"When we raised our warning voice against the hateful and pestilential novelty of the National Board, and when you, impressed with the force of our reasons, withdrew the children under your care from the contagion of the deadly errors solemnly circulated by that very Board, it was natural to expect that we should be assailed by unsparing vituperation.

"Accordingly, we were not only denounced as the foes of education, because we would not surrender its direction to the enemies of our creed, but we were also accused of

letting in worse errors.... It could scarcely have been imagined that persons with any pretensions to veracity should rely for the support of their cause on the notoriously lying reports of the 'Hibernian Bible Society.' Yet the advocates of the National Board have appealed to such testimony; and, mortified at the exclusion of their own pernicious system, have represented the province of Tuam as teeming with the pupils of the Hibernian Society's schools.[1]

"Having now traversed every district of this extensive diocese, we have it in our power unequivocally to state, and we owe it to your zeal and piety to manifest the truth, that never, so far as this diocese is concerned (and we have reason to believe the same of the others), has there been uttered a fouler calumny. In the greater number of the parishes of this diocese such a thing as an Hibernian school is not to be found. And where, as in the case of the few wretched National Schools, fraud and menaces were resorted to, to bring over Catholic children, their efforts have been completely abortive.

"With copious and authentic evidence now before us of the state of education in this diocese, we can assert without fear of refutation, that out of its immense Catholic population not twenty children frequent the schools of the Hibernian Society."

This was a crushing rejoinder to Dr. Ennis, and to the men who, in Dublin and in Rome, supported and encouraged him in his most unpriestly and unjustifiable system of misrepresentation, not to say downright falsehood. Dr. Mac Hale then names one or two localities where the Hibernian Society's emissaries had been most signally defeated.

"In Westport," he says, "on the suppression of the National Schools, some of the old bigots of that town thought to seduce a few children to some obscure schools

[1] This evidently alludes to the unjustifiable act of Dr. Ennis mentioned above, in Dr. Loftus's letter of June 22, 1840: "The Dublin Deputy sends in to the S. Congregation the Report of a Biblical Society, which affirms that the schools of that society are increasing in number in the Province of Connaught. The Deputy, I am convinced of it, does not believe these lying reports.

All these were under the Monks of the Third Order of St. Francis.

Then, under the inspiration of the same apostolic zeal, arose, for the Christian Brothers, the monastic schools of Tuam, Ballinrobe, and Westport.

Thus a generous provision was made for the more advanced instruction of boys. But that of the girls was not neglected. The Sisters of Mercy, whose foundress Dr. Mac Hale had personally known and deeply respected, were called to Tuam, Westport, Ballinrobe, Castlebar, Claremorris, Clifden, and Rusheen. Moreover, the Presentation Nuns had a convent and school of their own in Tuam.

During the calamitous years which elapsed from 1840 to 1854, when Archbishop Mac Hale celebrated a memorable provincial synod in Tuam, none of the manifold misfortunes that befell, in such rapid succession, the populations of Connaught, and none of the superhuman labors and overwhelming cares which the Archbishop had to face, could either check or dampen his zeal for Catholic education. The schools of his diocese, and the training of the young, continued to be the very soul of his life.

The synodal decrees on Primary Education, approved by the Holy See, attest the unchanging soundness of his principles on this vital matter all through life, and furnish an eloquent and unanswerable commentary on the conduct of such Catholics as misrepresented him so cruelly.

"Wishing," the assembled bishops say, "to arouse more and more the diligence of our priests, we admonish them to bestow their most zealous efforts in increasing the number of purely Catholic schools, which shall have nothing whatever to do with any system of National Education. Whenever the parishes are by themselves unable to supply the means for such a purpose, let the matter be reported to the Bishop, and having obtained his sanction, the priests shall take care to appeal to the charity of wealthy Catholics, in order that with the donations and contributions of these schools in conformity with Catholic discipline may be built and supported.

"Under no pretext shall the priests be allowed to transfer to the Commissioners of the National Board the ownership of the schools either built or to be erected. We remind the parish priests, that their strict duty is to have in their schools none but virtuous and sincerely religious teachers; should some of them not be so qualified, every effort must be made to remove them.

"The religious communities of men and women which exist in our province, or may exist there in future, and which are primarily or secondarily instituted for educating the young, we expressly forbid to have any connection whatever with the system of National Education, unless they are otherwise expressly authorized by the Ordinary."

As to schools kept by nuns, the Archbishop never permitted them to connect themselves in any way with the National Board; and very justly so. It was, as he deemed it, most improper that Protestant officials should have the power at all times to intrude themselves upon schools kept by nuns. Some of these, anxious to profit by the pecuniary advantages afforded by the National System, pressed him repeatedly to be allowed to place themselves under the Board. But he was not to be moved from his determination.

The provincial Synod held in Tuam, in August 1858, only renewed the exhortations to the clergy to increase the number of unmixed Catholic schools. One article in the chapter on parochial schools insists on the serious teaching of the native Celtic idiom. It was no "amateur" fancy that had led the Archbishop, amid all his labors and struggles, to devote himself to the culture of this tongue, and thereby to encourage its revival among priests and people. His chief preoccupation in all this was that the then numerous populations in Ireland, whose mother-tongue the Gælic was, should have a literature which would be to them not only the vehicle of a generous Christian instruction, but a vehicle as well of the classic literature of Europe.

As we shall see when we come to treat separately of Dr. Mac Hale's relation to the proposed Catholic Universi-

ty of Ireland,—it was this high purpose of preserving f all time the ancient Celtic literature of his country, and making it and the best classic works, sacred and profa translated into it, the intellectual food of the many th sands whose native dialect it was, that inspired his effo in favor of a distinct department of Gælic teaching in t contemplated national university.

At any rate, the words of the special synodal decree a most worthy of a place here.

"It was to us a subject of deep anxiety to see that t study of our national idiom was either altogether banish from parish schools, or only treated superficially and for very brief space. It would surely be no slight a reproach our age, if we forgot altogether the tongue in which o holy apostles and their successors evangelized our fore thers, and which was the vehicle by which the word of fai came down to us untainted and unimpaired. Every o knows that this tongue is still spoken among us far a wide, and that it is the medium of all the most efficacio for touching the hearts of the faithful, for kindling the souls to the love of piety and virtue, for most powerfull restraining from vice and error.

"Only the young generation are beginning not to kno the Gælic. Some persons have labored not a little stren ously to publish works in our native language and to hav them sold everywhere at a low price. Nor, as we know t a certainty, have their labors been in vain. The fate of th ancient, and to us for many reasons venerable idiom, d pends on the clergy. Do you, therefore, our own priest exert yourselves earnestly to have in every parish wher Gælic is the vernacular a class in your school, where a the pupils shall learn it. Let there be prizes for merit, t reward zeal and success in cultivating it; and those who wi them, by their bright example, will mark out a path i which they will be followed, in grateful rivalry, by those o their own age."[1]

The Holy See, by sealing with its approbation this d

[1] *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum Provinciæ Tuamensis*, pp. 68, 69, 30.

PART V.

DR. MAC HALE'S PUBLIC ACTION FROM 1841—1851.

PRELIMINARY.

BATTLING FOR THE LIFE OF THE IRISH NATION.

CHAPTER XXV.

I.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM AND THE REPEAL OF THE UNION.

THE decade which elapsed from 1841 to 1851 was, in so far as Dr. Mac Hale was concerned, a perpetual and not unsuccessful struggle for preserving against Government and its supporters the religious life of the Irish nation. Twice during that interval, in 1842 and again in 1846–47, did the Archbishop of Tuam put forth all his strength to preserve the bodily life of the people, to save them from starvation and extermination.

He stands before us in history as the man who did most, and most heroically, to keep Catholic Ireland from disappearing from the face of the earth.

We have seen, in the last chapters, how indefatigably he contended against the acceptance of the National School System as an institution in harmony with the belief of the great majority of his countrymen, or as in any way adapted to the moral needs of a nation who had, in the past, sacrificed and suffered so much for its ancestral faith.

It was the chief aim of the Archbishop's life to keep Ireland a nation: not a province of the British Empire, but a nation, self-governing as she had been before 1800, under the British Crown, and a Catholic nation. He struggled as a Repealer, to recover for his country the constitutional autonomy, shamefully bartered away and confiscated at the time of the Union. But in striving after Repeal and Home Rule, and in combating the persistent efforts of the British Government at religious proselytism and perversion, Dr. Mac Hale had no thought of establishing a Catholic ascendancy on the ruins of the disestablished Protestant Church.

The twofold principle for which he contended was to leave to each denomination of Christians the most perfect freedom to educate its own youth in accordance with the belief of the parents, and the freedom to develop the political life of the nation as the character and aspirations of the people and the circumstances of soil and climate and geographical position require.

The policy of Dr. Mac Hale, in supporting the Repeal movement and in endeavoring to create in Parliament an independent opposition, pledged to forward the above twofold purpose—to form no alliance with and to accept no office from either Whigs or Tories, Liberals or Conversatives —was to unite in one great national force the intelligence and activities of Irishmen of every class and creed. With such a patriotic union outside of Parliament, and a compact independent body of Representatives in the House of Commons, any administration, Whig or Tory, would be compelled to do justice to the rightful claims of Ireland.

We have before us the correspondence of Dr. Mac Hale and O'Connell, from 1828 till 1847; from this it is manifest that the Archbishop of Tuam never encouraged the alliance of the Irish representatives with either of the two great political parties, and never countenanced in any way the baneful practice of place-hunting.

It was a deeply rooted and life-long conviction with him, that, if the national political leaders and representatives showed an unbroken front in presence of Governments and Parliaments, these must perforce grant what Ireland justly demanded. Perfect union, and persistent united action on the part of the clergy of all ranks, on the part of the political leaders, on the part of these and the masses, would infallibly have led to a Repeal of the Union, and to all the blessings of self-government among a people so united.

Emancipation was carried, because the great majority of the nation stood determinedly together, regardless of the minority among the leading classes who stood aloof or opposed the movement. The full legitimate fruits of Emancipation were not gathered, and never can be gathered, till

the nation obtains Home Rule. The attempts made to achieve Repeal were founded on this conviction. This it was that induced Dr. Mac Hale to support and promote it. The cause of Repeal was marred in its first stage by the Lichfield House compact, in February, 1834, by the subsequent disposition manifested to accept place and emoluments as "an instalment of justice," and forego independent and united opposition to the Whig Government. This fatal disposition, more even than the trial and imprisonment of the Repeal leaders, marred the second and apparently triumphant phase of the second great movement. It discredited Conciliation Hall in the eyes of the most influential among the people; it encouraged the Government to refuse all measures of serious redress or reform. Had clergy and people stood together like one man in the autumn of 1845, and throughout the agonizing expectancy of 1846, prompt and efficient measures of relief would not have been withheld either by the Tory Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, or by the Whigs under Lord John Russell. Not a man would have died of starvation in Ireland, had the natural leaders of the Irish people been true to the policy ever preached and practised by John of Tuam.

In their never-varying aim of decatholicizing and denationalizing the Irish Celts, the successive British Governments sought, as a first necessary step toward their object, to obtain control of the hierarchy and beneficed clergy. Failing in this, they sought to divide them, and succeeded. They succeeded in obtaining an unhappy influence over the Archbishops of Dublin as soon as the Penal Laws began to be relaxed. They exercised, as is but too well known, the great influence which the Ministers of a mighty empire always possess, in the choice of the Archbishops of Dublin, down to the year of grace 1885. Then the pressure openly and notoriously brought to bear on the court of the Vatican proved to be unavailing.

In the various educational schemes devised and set on foot by the Government and Parliament of Great Britain, British statesmen counted on dissentiment and division

the oar of public opinion in both hemispheres, uphold cause of Repeal, and win for it millions of friends wh O'Connell only counted thousands.

The misfortune of Archbishop Mac Hale, if indeed can now call it by such a name, was to be in advance his contemporaries, to see higher, clearer, farther in religi as well as in political matters, than the churchmen or sta men who surrounded him, than Daniel O'Connell hims than Archbishop Murray, or Cardinal Wiseman.

His prophetic mind pierced the surface of things pres and read in the far off future the results of a false policy

Let us now take up in succession each of the vitally portant subjects to which, within the ten years here sp fied, the Archbishop of Tuam devoted his most religi and patriotic efforts.

I. DR. MAC HALE IN THE REPEAL MOVEMENT OF 1841.

We have already alluded to the unfortunate alliance O'Connell and his supporters in Parliament with the Wh Government. This alliance was in direct opposition to t often expressed and well known principles of policy ad cated by the Archbishop of Tuam,—a thorough indep dence of both of the great British political parties, and concentration of all the energies of the Irish represen tives, of the clergy, and the people, in urging the Repeal the Union, and in forcing the British Parliament and Go ernment to be just to the claims of Ireland.

This departure of O'Connell from the true statesmanlil course marked out by Dr. Mac Hale, besides utterly wrec ing the prospects of Repeal after 1831-32, resulted in d feating another cherished object of the Archbishop's e lightened policy, the abolition of the atrocious Tithe Syste in Ireland. On no measure, not even on the carrying Emancipation, had the clergy and people of Ireland so s their hearts, during the decade between 1830 and 1840, a on seeing the iniquitous and intolerable burthen of tithe taken off the shoulders of the Catholic peasantry.

We have seen how eloquently and unceasingly Dr. Mac Hale denounced this great wrong, since he first took up the pen, in January, 1820, to plead the cause of his oppressed countrymen. Justice to them was the one object he ever sought by taking a part in the politics of the country. In the very midst of his zealous endeavors to settle the Killala troubles, he seized every opportunity to urge O'Connell and the Irish members of Parliament to be earnest in obtaining the abolition of the tithes paid by Catholics to the Protestant Establishment.

The clergy of the diocese of Tuam petitioned Parliament against the continuance of this monstrous wrong. The letters which he and O'Connell exchanged on that occasion ought not to be omitted here,—as they clearly reveal the line of policy which the Archbishop advised as the only one likely to ensure the overthrow of the Tithe System and of the Establishment itself, as the only policy which could, in the end, secure the triumph of Repeal.

The first letter is dated Tuam, May 26th, 1837. We follow the Archbishop's own manuscript:—

"MY DEAR MR. O'CONNELL:—In accordance with the wishes of the clergy of this diocese, as well as my own, I beg leave to transmit to you the Petition on the approaching Tithe Bill, accompanied with their request that you will have the goodness to present it, at your earliest convenience, in the House of Commons.

"I cannot express to you how great the dissatisfaction of the people is, at the prospect of being obliged to pay the full amount of the tithes, after the hopes so often held out to them of being released from the odious impost. The paying it to the landlord rather than the parson they do not conceive to be any benefit to them.

"Though it cannot be expected that they should be all at once relieved from the encumbrance of the Protestant Establishment, there should be at least a beginning of reducing to practice the principle of JUSTICE,—by getting rid of that encumbrance in the districts in which the Protestant clergy have no congregations.

"This was a feature in last year's Bill, the omission of which in that of the present session has rendered the proposed measure very unpopular. The former gave a pledge, by thus beginning to reduce the Establishment, of its total legislative extinction in course of time. The present Bill holds out no such encouraging prospect.

"As for the *ten per cent for education*, the sum could not by any means reconcile the people to an enactment which would confine the claims of the parsons to a large portion of the tithes of which they have so precarious a tenure, without freeing them (the tithe-payers) from any portion of the remainder.

"On no other measure are the hearts of the people so much fixed as on their release from contributing to the support of an Establishment that is ever opposed to their best interests. The Tithe Bill they look upon as the test of the JUSTICE which has been so long promised, but of which the performance,—they complain,—has been so long delayed.

"Such is the general feeling throughout this extensive district, as I have learned from the assembled clergy, and which we have deemed it our duty to convey to the Legisture.

"Wishing you many happy years to aid in the consummation of that JUSTICE which the country expects, I have the honor to remain, etc."[1]

The answer came from London, dated May 31st, and is marked *Confidential*:—

"MY DEAR AND REVERED LORD," O'Connell says, "I had the honor of receiving your Grace's letter, and the still more cherished honor of your confiding to me the petition of the clergy of your Archdiocese.

"It is a petition fraught with matter and pregnant with events. The Ministry is tottering to its base, and the old oppressors are ready again to pounce upon Ireland. I am, I own, timid, and could have wished that this blow had not

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

been given to the fallen fabric of ministerial power. I do believe it will be decisive of their fate.

"But do not understand these as tones of reproach. I may be sorrowful; but, in plain truth, I can have no elements in my mind which could create anger, when, as in this instance, the wise and the good adopt a course too bold for my humbler temper. What I grieve at, is simply that it should have been necessary for your Grace to adopt that course, at the moment of all others the most critical to the continuance of the only bearable Government Ireland ever experienced since the fatal day when the followers of the murderer of Becket polluted our shores.

"Perhaps I would have been anxious to canvass the present tithe measure with you, had I been apprized of your opinions upon it. It is now too late. Yet, in vindication of myself, permit me to say:—

"1. That this Bill is not worse than the Bill of last year; for *that* kept a parson in every parish. It was Lord Morpeth's *first* plan which excluded *resident* parsons from totally Catholic parishes. Even that gave a species of missionary fund for every parish whatsoever.

"2. That this Bill gives no additional legal *rivet* to our chains. The Tithe Composition Acts gave legal rights to every parson to the fullest extent law could give them. Stanley's Bill *riveted* and completed the iron bond of law; it is not possible to go further.

"3. That this Bill gives a new investigation in every case where the tithe composition is too high,—a matter of great importance, so long as the impost remains in any shape.

"4. That this Bill at one blow strikes off 30 per cent of the impost, affording a precedent for going farther; and if such a Bill passed, it would be the first law directly depriving the parsons in all cases of a percentage.

"5. That it appropriates 10 per cent in direct terms out of the impost to other than *parson-purposes*, namely, to education.

"Thus the new Bill would introduce a new legislation,

for the first time taking from the parsons 40 per cent,—30 per cent as a reduction, 10 per cent as an appropriation,—operating upon both ends of the scale.

"It is quite true that, although the parsons would lose by this Bill 40 per cent, there is this difficulty, that the landlords would pocket, at least in many instances, part at least of the 30 per cent reduction. But that is a difficulty inherent in the abolition of tithes. In spite of every precaution to the contrary, there is that in the present agrarian economy of Ireland of a mischievous tendency to throw into the pockets of the landlord every sum of which the tenant is relieved. . . . .

"I address these observations to your Grace, not only respectfully, but, I will venture to say, in sentiments of affectionate respect. Your character is indeed cherished by me in a manner which makes it equally reverenced and loved.

"I believe your Grace to be a great blessing bestowed by a merciful Providence on a long persecuted and, I trust, now rising and spreading religion. Judge, then, how poignant must be the regret with which I differ from you and from your eloquent and powerful resolutions.

"Perhaps, indeed, my more feeble judgment is clouded by my apprehensions of, I fear, the now certain advent of restored ORANGE rule in Ireland, aggravated as that bitter misfortune will be by the fact, that, in the exercise of a conscientious and awful duty, the clergy of Tuam have been under the necessity of accelerating that deplorable restoration. . . . .

"I do, however, my revered Lord, feel so deeply on this subject, that I write off for my son . . . . to support the Ministers. But as the majority of the Connaught members will, as they ought, take their tone from your Grace, the consequence will be that the Ministers will be left in a minority; and, as they came into power on the Irish Church Bill, so will they be compelled to go out upon the same subject.

"The old judges will, of course, resign; and for another

regret that I could be brought to differ with you on any question regarding the interests of Ireland. Your indefatigable exertions in its behalf, and the unparalleled services you have already rendered, give you a title to the just confidence of all your countrymen.

"Were the present Tithe Bill a matter of mere difference of opinion between us, I should not hesitate to acquiesce in your superior and experienced judgment.. Besides our own opinions (those of the clergy of Tuam), we gave expression to the deep and general discontent it excited.

"Coming in daily contact with the clergy, and having a good deal of intercourse with the people themselves, I can state that I never knew a measure to which they are more opposed. Their aversion to the Bill is such, as that I am convinced no influence that the bishop or clergy could exercise would persuade them of its advantages.

"The 30 per cent to the landlords, so far from looking to them as a boon, they really regard as an encouragement to that body to unite with the Establishment in the wish to perpetuate the impost. What confirms the distrust of the people in the measure, is that the Bill is palatable to many of the parsons and to the Tory landlords. It is a matter of notoriety that some of the latter labored to have public meetings to petition the Legislature to pass the Bill into law. Had the people any doubt of its tendency to fasten the Tithe System on them, they would be convinced of that tendency by finding the measure hailed by many of their old oppressors.

"Nothing could have been further from our minds than a wish to embarrass the Government by unnecessary remonstrance. As they professed an anxiety to do justice to the people, their tithe measure was not regarded as any approximation to that justice.

"We wished to convey to them the impression of the people that they considered the Tithe Bill anything but justice. It would not be just to the Government to let them imagine that they would be conferring a favor by a measure which, we knew, excited general discontent. We

were, therefore, impelled by a deep sense of duty to convey the seasonable petition to the Legislature, in the hope that the Government might be induced to make larger concessions to the just demands of the people.

"Having embodied in our resolutions and petition the general feelings and deliberate opinions of the assembled clergy as well as of their flocks, I could not, without forfeiting their confidence, take upon myself to control the effect which they might have upon their representatives.

"I regret much that the Government has not taken a firmer stand, by endeavoring to realize its professions to do justice. By its frustrate attempts to conciliate the Tories, its strength has been gradually impaired. Hoping that by doing more justice to Ireland it may still retrieve itself to its former vigor, etc., etc." [1]

It was to him a bitter, bitter disappointment when, in 1838, the Melbourne Ministry, instead of abolishing the hateful tithes paid by a Catholic population to the Protestant parsons, transferred nominally the burden to the shoulders of the landlords, and had the tithes rigorously collected from the poor by the constabulary and the military.

O'Connell acquiesced in the wretched compromise. It nearly wrecked his popularity. He was denounced for it to his face in a public meeting in Dublin by Sharman Crawford, a Protestant, and was eloquently reproached with his delinquency by Father Daverne, a patriotic priest of Tipperary. They gave utterance to the sentiments of all that was best and soundest in Ireland.

Of what the Archbishop of Tuam thought and felt on this matter, some passages of a letter to Mr. O'Connell will leave no doubt on the reader's mind. It is dated "Tuam, September 26th, 1838."

"I fully agree with you," he says, "that to secure the rights so insultingly denied them, the people must depend on their own exertions. . . For a long time they felt but little confidence in the present Ministry (that of Lord

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

Melbourne). The Tithe Bill, in which they (the Ministers) abandoned the principle on which they had ousted their predecessors from office, has filled up the measure of the public distrust.

"If the Ministers fancied that the Irish people could acquiesce in so unjust a law, they must already be convinced of their mistake. All the united influence of the kingdom could not reconcile the people to an impost which is growing every day more odious. Hence, the Catholic clergy, in denouncing the Tithe Bill, and urging the necessity of an immediate resumption of the question in Parliament, are only expressing the opinions and seconding the views of the people. . . .

"It is my conviction that the unreserved confidence which has been hitherto placed in the Ministry has had a baneful influence on the interests of Ireland; and that, if they were taught to feel that measures of general good, *and not of individual benefits*, would be the test of public confidence, something would have been done for this country."

The meaning of this O'Connell could not mistake: his *policy* was utterly at variance with the principles and policy of the Archbishop.

In the spring of 1839 was passed the Bill suppressing a a portion of the Irish Protestant bishoprics. This induced O'Connell to make an attempt to spread his Precursors' Society,—the vanguard, as he considered, of the Repeal Army, throughout Connaught. There the people had set their faces against the National Schools, and were making heroic sacrifices to support schools of their own. It was hardly fair or reasonable to demand parish subscriptions in favor of the Precursors' Society, while their slender resources were thus drawn upon.

Besides, the priests of Connaught were not satisfied with O'Connell's action in supporting the Melbourne Ministry.

The Liberator wrote to the Archbishop on April 4th, 1839, pressing him to encourage the Precursors' Society in his province. Adverting to his own policy, he ventures

to say: "The peril of a Tory restoration is very imminent, and every one's opinion is, that upon a new election the Liberal members for Ireland would little exceed forty. The English people are essentially Tory; and nothing preserves us from actual persecution, but the members and moral energy of the Irish people."

Dr. Mac Hale was not moved from his purpose by this appeal. He replied to O'Connell on April the 16. After expressing his opinion that little or no good was done for Catholics by the late Bill diminishing the Establishment, he points out the fact that the temporalities of that Church have not been touched. The country is still overrun by the proselytizers, and the National System is pushed by the Government more actively than ever.

"It is this state of things," he says, "as well as the marked insult and injustice with which their province in particular is treated, that makes the people of Connaught so indifferent in joining the Precursors' Society. There can be no hope of that justice for which the people are struggling, while the ascendancy of the Protestant Establishment is left in full vigor.

"If the system of politics is not changed, you may rely on it, the name of 'Whigs' or 'Radicals' will have no charm, and the people, tired of promises unfulfilled, will abandon them to their fate. . . I hope the Ministers will take a salutary lesson from the difficulties into which their feeble policy has thrown them; and that you will be enabled,—if you hope for the free, generous, and uncalculating aid of the nation,—*to enlarge your* demands on the Government, and to insist on those rights respecting religious equality of which every administration appears equally inattentive."

This is the policy of John of Tuam.

All through 1839 O'Connell pleaded alternately with the Archbishop in favor of the expiring Melbourne-Russell ministry, and in favor of his Precursors' Society, which he wanted to spread throughout Connaught. Dr. Mac Hale continued to treat the Liberator with all outward respect.

He, in spite of his errors of judgment and mistaken parliamentary policy, was still the only public man whom the Catholic masses trusted.

John of Tuam was not to be moved from his conviction that agitation throughout the provinces would be productive of no solid or lasting result, so long as Irish politicians and Representatives did not stand together like a unit, independent of the two British parties, and casting their votes only for the reformation of Irish grievances.

In a long letter of Mr. O'Connell to him, of January 3d, 1839, there are bitter complaints of the want of "assistance" and "encouragement" afforded by Connaught.

"Ireland," the Liberator says, "has never acted together save at the close of the Emancipation fight; and she never again will combine in a simultaneous exertion, until the happy day shall come,—if ever it come,—when we shall be on the eve of another and a greater political victory.

"But it is vain to hope for combination from Connaught until your judgment goes with us in our struggles. It is not by mere neutrality or even passive countenance that we can be aided by your Grace.

"You do not *think* with us, or you would *act* with us.

"So far am I from stating this as as a matter of compliment, that I tender my respectful approbation of the line of conduct you pursue, because I am convinced it is the dictate of a mind of the highest order and of a heart full of the purest love of country and of religion.

"I think your Grace will pardon me this lengthened trespass. I will conclude by assuring you that I do not deprecate any attack, however violent or powerful, on the present Ministry. I love them not. I respect them little indeed; but I support them to keep out the Tories. And, if it shall happen, as events portend, that a Coalition Ministry shall be formed, you will probably have me in direct opposition before the end of the ensuing session."[1]

As in the preceding letters of Dr. Mac Hale to the Liberator, so in that from which we are about to quote, all

[1] *Ibidem.*

personal sentiments, all mere side political or partisan issues, are rigorously ignored, and the Archbishop ever turns,—like the needle to the pole,—to the one consideration of the people's interests, to the one policy of remaining independent of parliamentary parties.

He writes from the Island of Achill, on October 15th, 1839. "You perceive," he says, "how active and untiring is the hostility of our enemies to our religion, and how their enormous wealth is still made the instrument by which the perversion of the people is sought. On the strongest religious grounds, then, as well as political, I am opposed to the tithes or rent-charge, knowing well, as long as those who are hostile to our faith can command such a fund, they will strive to convert it to the injury of our religion.

"You need not, therefore, fear any abatement of agitation on that subject. It is here deemed the sum of every other grievance, without the removal of which our agitation would be of little avail. It is, therefore, put forth as the most prominent of the evils of Ireland.

"I am delighted that the gentry, the men who in general hitherto stood aloof from the contest, have at length embarked in it, resolved to get rid of an impost that involves so much their own reputation, as well as the interest of their own families. This spirit is progressing fast, and has already spread through all parts of the province, everywhere reprobating the injustice and cruelty of the tithes.

"I fear the Whigs calculate on a full amnesty for their bad acts, because the people hate the Tories. They are expecting too much. They hope for the qualified support of the people, without any pledge on those specific measures for which the people are contending. . . .

"Any influence we command with the people is founded on the credit they give us for seeing a fair prospect of improvement in their condition. We cannot hold out this prospect to them, unless it is given by our rulers, or extracted from their fears. I wish you could induce them to give us more confidence. If they do not, then the people, relying

no longer on *their* vague promises, will rely on their own exertions. The present difference of opinion will vanish, and you will find no difficulty in concentrating them either against Whigs or Tories."

As the year 1839 drew fast to its close, and the signs became daily more apparent of a near restoration to power of the Tory party, led by Lord Stanley, Mr. O'Connell pressed the Archbishop more earnestly to join with him in organizing Ireland against the Tories.

"The main-spring of Tory hostility to Ireland," the Liberator writes on December the 23d, "is hatred of the Catholic religion. This is not to be endured. We cannot suffer ourselves to be trampled under the hoofs of the brutal Orangemen of either country. . . . My object would be, once again to organize all Catholic Ireland in an effort of resistance to all our enemies."

The position, then, of political parties in Great Britain and Ireland at the beginning of 1840 is identical with that which we behold at the beginning of 1890. The vital principles of Orangeism, hatred of the Catholic religion, is the soul of the Tory party under the Salisbury-Balfour Government: the Primrose League is only the offspring of the Orange League, which, on both sides of the Channel, unites all anti-Catholic politicians in coercing Ireland and refusing her the JUSTICE now claimed for her by the majority of Englishmen.

Mr. O'Connell, in the same letter, expresses a wish to make up the difference between Dr. Mac Hale and Dr. Murray on the National School question. "If your Grace were in Dublin, I do think," he says, "that something might be done to satisfy your just apprehensions."

It was precisely because Dr. Mac Hale, every time the business of the Irish Church led him to Dublin, became more and more convinced of the hopelessness of converting Dr. Murray to his way of thinking, that he paid no heed to Mr. O'Connell's half-invitation. The place-hunters and courtiers of the Castle, whose advice warped Dr. Murray's better judgment, and led him all through life to follow a

fatal course of policy, were either identified with or closely akin to the place-hunters who advised O'Connell, and bound him fatally to the Whigs.

"I could *say*," he continues, "many things to your Grace, which cannot so well be expressed in a written communication, even for want of space. But I, of course, leave all these matters to your own exalted and superior judgment. All I venture to ask for, is as much assistance as your judgment will permit.

"It is, to my mind, of the utmost importance to organize a Catholic struggle; and if once it shall be organized, I for one will *never, never* consent to its dissolution, till we obtain ample security of *perfect equality* in future. . . .

"We have ourselves to fight the battle of Ireland and Catholicity against the Orange and Tory faction. I am tremblingly alive to the part that you will take. *Your co-operation would, in my mind, be quite decisive of success.*

"Of course, I will not take or allow to be taken any step inconsistent with law. Nor would I ask that your Grace should commit yourself one inch beyond your own inclination. But I do want your countenance,—your *something more* than mere acquiescence. The longer that *more* were, the better.

"Indeed, I do believe the fate of Catholic Ireland is now in your hand. If we had you going with us in the strength of your judgment, there would arise a combination more powerful than the old Catholic Association."[1]

Such was the value attached by O'Connell, before organizing his last Repeal Movement, with its monster meetings, to the coöperation of John of Tuam, such the share he assigned to the great churchman in the supreme national effort for the restoration of the autonomy of Ireland.

"THE FATE OF IRELAND IS IN YOUR HAND."

It would have been safe in that strong hand, in the hand of his wise and unselfish counsel, if the men who surrounded O'Connell in the last ten years of his life had not taken the direction of the Repeal Movement out of the

[1] Mac Hale MSS.

Archbishop's hands, and made the Liberator yield to their selfish views and aims, instead of the religious and patriotic counsels of the Prelate. It would have been safe in the strong, steady grasp of that hand, if the young Ireland of that memorable decade had only looked up to the patriot-prelate of the West for the light to direct aright their own councils, and to correct the headlong rashness of their inexperience.

At any rate, we see what place the Archbishop of Tuam held in the estimation of Irishmen, just as 1840 was dawning, and with it a struggle destined to end in such disaster and despair.

On April 8th, of that year, O'Connell wrote to the Archbishop:—"Whenever I have formed the intention of making a *great* popular movement, or a movement which I hoped to be *great*, I have in latter times taken the liberty of announcing my intentions to your Grace, in the strong wish to obtain the aid of your giant mind and national influence. In this I have not been very successful. I got from you much excellent and very wise advice; but active co-operation you thought it fit not to give me. . . .

"I now lay before your Grace my present plan; it is this: —To organize a JUSTICE or REPEAL Association. The justice I require branches itself into four different heads or grievances.

"1st. The payment and support by the State in Ireland of the Church of the minority of the Irish people.

"2d. The omission to give to the Irish *full* corporate reform.

"3d. The omission to give the Irish people the same political franchises which the people of England enjoy.

"4th. The omission to give the people of Ireland an adequate share of parliamentary representation.

"The association I propose will organize, I hope, the Irish people, to insist on the redress, the full redress of these grievances from the Imperial Parliament; and if not speedily and fully granted by that Parliament, then from a restored Domestic Legislature."

Here we have, in the very first conception of the plan on which O'Connell was about to found his new Association, and to start the most gigantic agitation ever thought of by him, the original vice which was to mar his work. The proposed association was to be for "Justice," instead of "Repeal." And during the agitation for REPEAL, O'Connell, unhappily, was to turn aside from the one purpose, the achievement of which was alone to secure justice to Ireland, by every mirage held out to him by ministerial promises of reform.

"You were," he says, continuing to address the Archbishop, "in your former letter, pleased to labor with me[1] to use my influence with the present Ministry, to adopt a more liberal course of legislation in Ireland, or I should say for Ireland, and you conveyed to my mind the idea that I ought to obtain from the Government that adoption by menacing to desert them at their need, and to allow the Tories to put them out."

This, as we know, by referring to the Archbishop's letter, is not what the latter insisted upon, but the keeping the Irish party at home and the Irish Representatives in Parliament altogether *independent of either Whig or Tory alliances.*

But then comes the pitiable plight in which O'Connell confesses himself to be in consequence of the pledges given to the Melbourne Ministry, and of the few paltry *places* bestowed in return on the followers of O'Connell. Listen to this confession:—

"It was in vain that I assured your Grace that the leading men of the present Ministry, and especially Lord John Russell, desire, anxiously desire, an honorable opportunity of giving up power. They do not cling to it, believe me; I do beg of you to believe me, for I know the fact. They do not cling to office with any tenacity that would make such a menace of the slightest avail.

"Now, do, my dear and most revered Lord, *believe me,* that this is the simple fact. Nay, they menace me to resign,

[1] The word *labor* is in the original MSS. letter of O'Connell.

unless I satisfy them in my conduct. Under these circumstances, is it *too much* for me to ask of your Grace to believe me that I am utterly unable to *influence* the Government?"

If, as the writer says, he is "utterly unable to *influence* the Government" of Lord Melbourne, to what little purpose must O'Connell and his followers in Parliament have given their support so steadily to the Whigs? If, as O'Connell affirms so emphatically, Lord John Russell and the leading men of the Cabinet "desire, anxiously desire, an honorable opportunity of giving up power," what is the nature of the benefits conferred by the Whigs on the Irish leader and his associates, that they should "menace him to resign unless he satisfied them in his conduct?"

Of national benefits up to the date of that letter,—April 8th, 1840,—not one had been conferred in return for Irish allegiance to the Whigs in power. Why, then, should O'Connell tremble at Lord John Russell's threat of resigning? And what was the *satisfaction* which the Liberator was thus coerced into giving by his future "conduct"?

In the Archbishop's prompt answer of April the 11th, there is not one word to allay the "fears" of the Liberator regarding the instability of the Melbourne Cabinet. O'Connell shall be welcomed in Tuam and throughout Connaught, simply because he shall bind himself henceforward to an INDEPENDENT PARLIAMENTARY POLICY. The utterance of that letter should be held in everlasting remembrance by the true representative men of Ireland.

"I have read with deep interest," the Archbishop begins, "the kind letter with which you have honored me. I am only surprised that you could for a moment imagine that I could be indifferent to any communication from such a source. I prize it the more on account of your continued personal friendship, notwithstanding my apparent,—for it is only apparent,—apathy in the political transactions of the country. If you are not in sufficient possession already of the cause, I shall explain it more fully in another letter.

"We are arrived at an awful crisis. Never since you embarked in the cause of your country and religion, were

your exertions more required in vindicating the freedom of both.

"This last measure [1] is the deadliest stroke yet aimed at our liberty. Whilst the franchise remained, there was hope for a peaceful assertion of our rights. Take that away, and the people are left without any arms in their hands; and in this posture they are again ready for any experiment of slavery or despotism.

"The protection, nay, the extension of the franchise is a common cause, on which there should be no controversy. All Ireland should shout its reprobation of those who would thus attempt to take from the honest man the shield and the sword of his freedom.

"Already have there been meetings in this part of the country, denouncing this infamous measure, and not forgetting those who were absent from the division. It is worthy of the hatred of Stanley for Ireland.

"I shall cheerfully give you all the assistance in my power. . . . You cannot 'invade' any part of Ireland. For you, at least, the boundaries of dioceses and provinces should disappear.

"Ireland must be awakened to a sense of its duty, and fully impressed with the conviction, that *it is not on Whig or Tory or Radical it is to rely*,—for they are all hostile to our holy religion,—*but on our own concentrated efforts*, which alone can save us from the despotism to which we shall otherwise be doomed."

The Archbishop, believing that no serious redress of the many secular wrongs which the Catholics of Ireland complained of could be obtained save through an Irish Parliament, and that the prompt restoration of this Parliament could only be obtained by united and persistent constitutional agitation, acting on public opinion in Great Britain—at length yielded to Mr. O'Connell's solicitations.

[1] Lord Stanley, at the opening of Parliament, in 1840, introduced a bill which virtually disfranchised the mass of Irish voters, by raising the qualification for franchise. This completed the fatal measure to which O'Connel had consented in 1829, which disfranchised the Forty shilling freeholders.

He resolved to enlist the men of Connaught in a new movement in that direction.

No time more unfavorable to the Archbishop could have been chosen than the spring and summer months of 1840. He was literally overwhelmed with occupations of the most important kind. But, feeling that a determined stand must be taken by the Irish people in presence of the tottering Whig Government, as well as of their more illiberal and hostile adversaries, the Tories, Dr. Mac Hale consented to inaugurate the new crusade for national rights in Tuam. The middle of August was chosen for a mass meeting and a banquet.

There was, from the moment the day of the meeting was fixed upon till the day itself, very little time left for preparation. The requisition calling the meeting could only be signed by a minority of the leading gentry. But, as it became known that the Archbishop had heartily gone into this great movement, the Catholic proprietors of Galway and the adjoining counties did not wait for a formal invitation. They knew that John of Tuam could not be half-hearted in any matter to which he seriously put his hand, especially in such a momentous matter as this.

So the assemblage in the ancient city of St. Jarlath, on August the 13th, 1840, was a truly representative one. The gentry, titled and untitled, Protestants some of them, came from far and near; the middle classes and the peasantry answered the call with enthusiasm. O'Connell made one of the most telling speeches ever delivered by him. He was thoroughly in sympathy with the thousands who surrounded him. He described the effort just made in Parliament by Lord Stanley to limit the electoral franchise, as to prevent the sending to Parliament of any but a few Catholic members, thereby doing away with the chief benefit of the Emancipation Act. "I happened to have the clock by my side," O'Connell said, "and it was by that means only that I succeeded against Lord Stanley for a time. He was forced to withdraw his Bill, but it was merely with the intention of bringing it in again next ses-

At length came the turn of the Archbishop of Tuam He had left the open-air meeting to be managed by Mr O'Connell and his lay associates. The two hundred gentle men who sat at the banquet-table were those whom the Prelate was most anxious to enlist in the national cause Lord Ffrench, in proposing his Grace's health, paid him a splendid tribute of praise. "I can remember at this mo ment," the noble chairman said, "that the Liberator, that whom no man can better appreciate intellectual value, on one occasion called his Grace of Tuam 'THE SHINING LU MINARY OF THE WEST'... Thus, in the wise appointment of Providence, a Paul was raised up among the Apostles and a Mac Hale among the prelates of Ireland."

The latter, as was his wont, was too single-minded to be much moved by personal compliments, coming even from the highest and best. His admiration of O'Connell was too sincere, and his whole being was too much wrapped up in the national cause, to permit him to think of self.

"I return you thanks," he said, "not so much for this compliment to myself, as for the earnest and ardent unani mity with which the peer, the baronet, the gentry, the people, and the clergy have thronged together on this occasion.... It is an auspicious day for the interests of Ireland, and the impulse it has given, like that of a pebble cast on the calm waters, will circulate over the empire.

"Our projects of legislative reform have no affinity with those of the Chartists. Our progress, with our present illustrious guest as our pilot, even on the untried depths of politics, will be safe and sure under his guidance.

"We are not trying any new and hazardous experiment The Legislative Union is itself but a raw and crude experi ment; a tree of recent growth, of which the bitter fruits cannot be improved by any cultivation, or mellowed by age.

"Now, as Catholics, we are represented as the abject slaves of a foreign despotism, and anon we are stigmatized as the over-bold and unreasonable assertors of our national freedom. But we never forget to give to our lawful rulers

whether temporal or spiritual, the civil or spiritual obedience, respectively, which the precepts of our Divine Redeemer award them.

"We are told that the Union, which before was loose and precarious, has been irrevocably cemented by steam and railroads.

"I cannot understand what the laws of motion have to do with those of mind, or the moral responsibilities of legislation. Were Ireland to be under an absolute government, or to enjoy an equal share of representative freedom, I could well conceive the benefits we should derive from the facilities for rapid intercourse.... In the imposition of taxes and other public burdens, the royal pound of flesh is inexorably demanded from Ireland. Why, then, should Ireland not insist on the same stern measure of constitutional right and justice and equality for her people?

"Has the development of the hidden power of steam or the construction of railroads repaired the constitutional wrong which originally entered into the covenant of the Legislative Union? Because an Irish member of Parliament can now travel to London in the third of the time once taken by the journey, does it follow that Ireland should be content with a third of the Representatives to which she is entitled?.... Improve the land and water passage as much as you can, bring out the latent power of steam till you almost annihilate time and space,—the respective interests of both countries, and the necessity of providing for them by home legislation, will continue the same as before.

"You cannot thus reason a whole nation out of its natural rights, and cheat them into an abandonment of those blessings which must be forever found in the influence of a kind, congenial, and, to us, *sympathizing and paternal local legislature.*"

Coming to the argument immediately touching the landlord class, the Archbishop continues:—

"Let the gentry take warning in time. They may stay aloof from this movement through the fancied prudence of

protecting their properties, and they are not to blame if they think they are right. But surely they are not insensible to the silent and rapid revolution that is already destroying their properties under this wasting machinery 'of rent charges,' and 'poor rates,' and 'county cesses,' to sustain a hostile and alien political establishment, not only useless, but noxious among a people, to maintain a civil staff of highly paid officers, with few soldiers, to feed a swarm of foreign commissioners of every class, themselves the most voracious paupers among those for whom they profess such solicitude. . . .

"As connected with the fatal influence of the Establishment in Ireland, and illustrative of the different measures meted out to Protestant England and Catholic Ireland by the Imperial Legislature, I beg to state a simple fact, in mentioning which I must disclaim to bring in here anything like controversy. It was only the other day that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York insisted that no inspector of any system of education should visit the schools of their respective provinces without their special sanction, and that such should be dismissed if obnoxious to their authority.

"A short time before that, a greater number of the archbishops of Ireland laid before our Viceroy a document which did not solicit over school inspectors anything like such ample authority. Yet the requisition of the former was conceded; that of the latter was refused in its entirety.

"Should we experience such different treatment, were the spirit of the Union impartial? Oh, no! But we must recollect that the Archbishops of York and Canterbury are Englishmen, and that we are mere Irish; that they belong to a favored faith and a favored nation, whereas we are the professors of an alien creed and the inhabitants of an alien country. . . .

"Forty years of Ireland's legislative bondage have already expired, and many who saw the glories of the former temple of her freedom may live to see the splendors of the second. . . . Yes, the times afford symptoms of this consummation. The patient endurance of the people and their in-

society. It binds man through love, and it relieves the extremity of Irish misery with kindness and respect. . . . Well, we wished to relieve Irish distress. How did we set about it? By treating Irish feelings with respect? Not at all, but by conduct directly the reverse. By denouncing Irish religion and Irish morality as superstitious; by carrying deadly hostilities to the hearth and the fireside of every hut in the island. . . . We speak not here of the pecuniary follies of the Poor-Law. We only speak of the insult, the outrage, the deep-rooted hostility, aversion, and and contempt displayed by its authors for the character, the intellect, and the morals of the Irish nation.

"Do we need other instances? They are to be found in every page of Irish legislation; they form—diversified, indeed, with bloodier matter—the staple of the history of the English connection. The Tithe Rent-Charge, the National Board of Education, the Anglican Church, the Protestant Lords Spiritual in Parliament, the annual grant to Maynooth, the insolent prohibition of religious Orders in the country, the curtailment of her parliamentary franchises, the denial of even the pretence of an equal representation, the restriction of municipalities, vexatious qualifications for burgesses: these things and many more show that England (with exceptions) hates and despises Ireland, and cares not one straw for her honor or her feelings.

"He observed that the population of Ireland was increasing more rapidly than that of England, and he thought this an important element in the political situation, Somewhat later, when all his efforts in the direction of redress proved unavailing, he said with prophetic instinct: 'REPEAL WILL COME. One cannot see by what steps, but COME IT WILL.' His words may yet come true, and that speedily.

"In the middle of April, 1843, the Repeal rent, which in the previous year had averaged £100 per week, suddenly rose to £450. . . .

"Referring to the Tara meeting, on the 28th of August (1843), Lucas wrote:—

"'We confess that two or three years ago, mistaking the

despair of the Irish people for a fixed unwillingness to disturb the settlement of near half a century, we thought there had been sufficient consent to convert the *force* into *law*. But a man must be blind to everything going on around him, who does not see in the present agitation of Ireland a proof beyond the possibility of doubt, that the obedience hitherto paid to the law has been only the obedience of fear; that prescription has no existence in the matter; that the Union has only been endured, not accepted; and that their resolution to abide by a native Parliament is as strong and undying as ever.

"'Ireland has been robbed; she has a right to claim back her stolen property; she has a right to follow her stolen goods, and to re-instate herself in her lawful possession as best she may.'

"The meeting at Tara was followed by others at Maryborough, Lismore, and various places in Connaught. The Mullaghmast meeting, on the 1st October, was the last actually held. The numbers present were enormous.

"So far, indeed, had the idea of Repeal taken hold of men's minds, that even the Tory *Morning Herald* thought that the measure was INEVITABLE."[1]

If among the most prominent journalists in Great Britain, while this third and last O'Connell agitation for Repeal was at its height, its success was judged certain, speedy, INEVITABLE both by the Tory Protestant editor of the *Morning Herald* and by the English Catholic and liberal editor of the *Tablet*, there must have been in British public opinion and in the expectation of all classes a reasonable ground for the prediction of the Archbishop of Tuam, and for the bolder utterances of the Liberator fixing the year and the season for the realization of Ireland's hopes.

Let us not pause to blame or to regret, but follow proceedings and events. The task of the critic is easy on the battle-field where a nation's fate has been staked and lost. Who does not know how many unforeseen elements interfere to disturb the most careful calculations of even a Na-

[1] "Life of Frederic Lucas," Vol. I., pp. 127—133.

the representation of Mayo as an heirloom. It now became a thing of no little importance to secure the vacant seat for a staunch Repealer.

O'Connell had been urged to come to Castlebar for the 16th of December, the day fixed for the opening of the poll, and had half promised to do so. But he did not come; and the Archbishop himself thought the success of the election so necessary to the national interests at that moment, that he did not hesitate to propose to the electors, in a set speech, Mr. Mark Blake of Ballinafad, who was a Repealer and a Catholic.

In his speech he laid great stress on the recent bill of Lord Stanley curtailing the electoral franchise, and on the system of National education, which had also Lord Stanley for parent. Both the one and the other were deadly weapons aimed at the heart of the nation. The infidel and proselytizing schools devised skilfully to destroy their ancestral faith, the electoral law to cancel the boon of Catholic Emancipation and replace the people under the yoke of the Protestant Ascendancy.

"I address myself to all," he began, "since the interests of all are involved in the result of this election. You are assembled here this day, to exercise one of the most valuable privileges which the Constitution confers, to discharge one of the most important duties which the Christian religion imposes.

"The small number of freeholders to whom the narrow jealousy of the British Senate has left the privilege of a vote are now called on by an imperious obligation to give it for the benefit of those who have been stripped of its exercise in punishment of their devotion to the cause of Ireland. Those who have been made martyrs to their fidelity will look with confidence to the comparative few who enjoy the privilege, and expect that these will imitate their own glorious example, and give their suffrages, which they hold but as a trust, for the benefit of the community.

"They have a right to look to you, and to me, and to every other in whose possession there is any remnant of that

extensive franchise which was ennobled in their hands, and they are looking to us with the just hope that it shall be exercised for their protection.

"I feel the claim. I am anxious to be the organ of this just requisition of the people. And, therefore, before I introduce the name of any candidate to this assembly, I feel it needful to know whether you would prefer a candidate who would consult but the feelings of a small section of the inhabitants, or a candidate who would labor to promote the interests of the entire of its vast population?"

The shouts of the vast assemblage made manifest their preference for a representative of the latter type; and the Archbishop at once continued:—

"This is a response worthy of the high character of the men of Mayo. It is such an expression of justice, of integrity, and of true patriotism as I anticipated. And in accordance with that general voice, I have the honor to propose Mark Blake, Esquire, of Ballinafad, as a fit and proper person to represent this great county in Parliament.

"The principles on which he seeks your suffrages are too clear to be concealed beneath any cautious ambiguity of language. The grievances to the removal of which he pledges his coöperation are obvious to all; and the improvements for which he promises to labor are such as will unquestionably raise Ireland to the proud position to which the natural advantages of her soil and the high morals and intellectual attributes of her sons entitle her."

The Archbishop was here doing one of those things of which he had been so often and so bitterly accused by the enemies of his creed and people, making a political speech at the hustings. We need not justify the act to the reader acquainted with the Prelate's principles and motives. We give these extracts rather fully, because this is a kind of programme of the national party.

"He (Mr. Blake) comes not forward," the Archbishop continued, "to condense all his claims to your support into the vague but not altogether unintelligible announcement

"The profession of such principles will never find favor with the intelligent and high-minded people of Mayo, *conservative* as they are of evil, *conservative* of all that is odious in Orange ascendancy, or humiliating in provincial degradation."

This is powerfully put to the intelligence not only of his immediate hearers, but to that of the public throughout the Three Kingdoms. Now, having stated what the Repeal candidate is *not* pledged to, or rather what he is bound to resist and denounce, let us see what are the positive pledges he takes before the country. As we have said, this speech was, at the time it was made, a kind of profession of national politics. The first national grievance to be removed is the Protestant Establishment.

"In demanding," the Archbishop says, "that a Catholic country shall not be burthened with an oppressive Protestant Establishment, we ask not only what is in accordance with justice, but that in demanding which we are borne out by the examples of England and Scotland.

"When the English people chose to frame a new creed, and to substitute for a Roman Catholic hierarchy a new form of truncated episcopacy, peculiarly their own, they were no longer kept burdened with a Catholic Establishment.

"Again, when Scotland, as impatient of the new episcopal body of England, as England was of the apostolic hierarchy of Rome, refused to submit to the dominion of either, and adopted, under the name of Presbyterianism, a species of ecclesiastical democracy, the men of Scotland were no longer rendered tributary to a Church which they disowned.

"Is there in Ireland or its people anything that would make that wrong which English civilians and jurists pronounce to be the very essence of right in England and in Scotland?

"And if it were right and politic that England and Scotland, in adopting a new religious opinion, should be freed from the support of an ancient establishment, adverse to

support of a foreign monopoly, the franchise has been so completely cut down, that they have now but about six hundred freeholders, or only one for every four hundred inhabitants!

"For such inequality, is there any hope of redress from the Imperial Parliament?

"The hostility of Lord Stanley to the little that remains of our franchise will answer my question. In the history of the Penal Laws, which were successively piled up to oppress this unhappy country, what, think you, was the last enactment added to cap the climax of all that legislative atrocity? What was it?

"They totally abolished the franchise!

"Yes; after confiscation and imprisonment, after exile and death had failed to effect their purpose, from Elizabeth to William and the First of the Georges, the taking away of the franchise under the Second George was the dreadful blow aimed at last at the religion and freedom of the Irish people.

"History has not been an old almanac in the hands of Lord Stanley. Whatever may be his historical knowledge in other departments of politics, he has made remarkable progress in the study of penal despotism. He has resolved to begin his legislative crusade against the Catholics of Ireland where the ministers of James I., adepts in persecution, ended their cruel proceedings.

"Lord Stanley is resolved, by the destruction of the franchise, to overturn the whole political edifice based upon our Emancipation.

"To avert such a calamity, the people of Mayo have proclaimed their determination to labor for a domestic legislature."

So much for the Repeal Pledge to be taken by all popular candidates, and for the imperative reasons impelling the nation to seek for Repeal. Lord Stanley had thrown down to the Catholic majority in Ireland the gauge of mortal combat. Dr. Mac Hale takes it up in the name of his countrymen.

"As for the other pledge," he continues, "regarding the National Board of Education, it is one which will reflect imperishable honor on the people of this county.

"I have been solicited, from more than one very influential quarter, to persuade the friends of the independence of Mayo to forego these pledges. Were I capable of yielding to such solicitations, some of them intended honestly, and for the benefit of our people, I should expose myself to the reproach of being in reality an enemy to the education of our youth.

"Our people, filled with attachment to the faith for which their fathers suffered, refuse to adopt a system forbidden by their pastors. Our rulers, on the other hand, are implored to make such fundamental changes in the authority exercised by this bigoted Board, as would render safe the instruction given by it, and bring it in harmony with episcopal authority.

"Deaf to the petitions from the most influential, our rulers refuse to adopt any of the modifications suggested by the bishops themselves; whence it must be manifest that their object is to set aside the ordinary functions of the episcopal authority. Nay, in defiance of the bishops, this jobbing junta of commissioners strive in this very diocese to spread their execrable schools.

"What, then, remained to us but to resort to that argument by which corrupt Ministers have been taught to feel the force of conviction? To reason, Scripture, the testimony of history, and the authority of the ancient sages of the Catholic Church they could listen with comtemptuous indifference. Their understandings may, however, yield, as they have yielded before, to the suffrages and resolves of freemen.

"In the course we have pursued, therefore, and in the pledge we have required, we have been aiding the cause of a sound and well-regulated education. What think you? Would those be unfriendly to the inhabitants of a country, who would warn them not to drink of the wells which the enemy had poisoned? or who were exerting themselves

meanwhile to explore and open up new springs of wholesome and living waters?

"Against this treacherous system, which attempted to palm off on the country, as the dictates of Inspiration itself, corrupt versions and garbled portions of the Scripture, compiled upon a principle of compromise, so that the shining light of the Catholic Church should not appear in them as it does in our genuine versions, but be put under the bushel of the Sectaries, I raised my voice and do raise it still. It is a system dangerous to faith and morals.

"It is my conviction that, if unchecked, it would have proved to be the most deadly engine ever framed against the Catholic religion in Ireland.

"In its suppression education would not be suppressed. Pure education flourished in Ireland before the National System came into existence. It will also thrive when that System is no more. It will thrive never more fruitfully than when its operation will not be trammelled by a machinery so incongruous and so discordant.

"Had we given up any one of those pledges, so odious to the Whigs, but at which they connive for fear of being ousted by the Tories, we should be called upon to surrender another and another.

"The pledge regarding the appropriation of the revenues of the Establishment would be thought offensive to that kindliness of feeling so desirable in the community, and, therefore, to keep what they call philanthropy alive, no change whatever should be asked for.

"Since you cannot deprive men of their great and unjust monopolies without ruffling the genial current of their temper, according as you would surrender one pledge, these economists of conciliation would retire still further, and ask you to make another sacrifice. To attempt to meet their exigencies would be to try to come up to the rim of the horizon. The last and only pledge on which, they submit, we might all agree, would be that drawn up by some easy-going, good-natured men, whose religious and political prin-

and persecuting system of education. We must have a better.

"We must prevent the Whigs from being the political pioneers of the Tories, from furnishing these with new powers and new instruments of oppression.

"I have seen the address of our retiring Tory member for Mayo. He talks of the degraded condition of his constituency. He feels that the freeholders are no longer sold like cattle in the political market. I have heard, too, that a great landed proprietor wrote to a Catholic clergyman, cautioning the latter not not to interfere with *his freeholders*.

"This is language which could not be expected from any gentleman acquainted with the British Constitution.

"The Catholic freeholders are the tenants of the landlord; they are also the flock of the pastor; but they are not the freeholders of either. Their *freehold* is their own, given to them by the Constitution, in trust for the community, to be exercised in accordance with the dictates of conscience. It is a right of suffrage over which no human power has control.

"I am told also that some of the influential Tories have already fled, to avoid having their eyes offended by seeing the popular triumph. I wonder much that the proprietor of this town did not wait for this display of the spirit of his freeholders, with which he, no doubt, used to be formerly gratified. Formerly, when another branch of the aristocracy was humiliated, he was lifted up on the shoulders of the people. It is now a matter of great surprise that a Conservative should attempt to represent this county in Parliament. The reason must be that the young gentleman was abroad, visiting foreign countries, while this great change was occurring here. On his return he found that the Tory structures which cast their shadows over the lakes of Mayo were as utterly ruined as Tyre or Persepolis.

"One word to those who lived on Protestant Ascendancy: Your patent of monopoly is expired. The tide which bore forward the vessel of your political fortunes has receded, never to return. But lo! another tide is rising. It is the

prosperity of a nation blessed with a legislature of its own. Do not allow this tide to ebb forever. Fit up and refloat your stranded vessel. Let it float alongside the Catholic bark. They are sister-ships, and should ride the waves together."

From this speech of Dr. Mac Hale, as from all his public utterances, all who heard or read them could gather that his was no selfish, narrow, or intolerant policy. He demanded for his co-religionists and co-nationalists only the right common to all.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DR. MAC HALE'S STEADY EFFORTS FOR REPEAL (CONTINUED).

1841—1844.

LORD Melbourne and his Whigs were out of power at length; and now, that O'Connell's baneful connection with them to the last could no longer hamper his proceedings in favor of Repeal, would he, after losing a twelve-month in waiting upon political tricksters, who could not or would not fulfil their repeated promises in favor of Ireland, break with them forever, and follow the counsels of the Archbishop of Tuam?

A great banquet was given to O'Connell by the men of Galway in 1841, after the downfall of the Whigs. Of course, the Archbishop of Tuam was present, and his speech was the great feature of the evening. Already the Tory Government had declared that every Repealer holding an office or situation under them should be deprived of his place; every justice of the peace joining the movement should have his name struck from the list of magistrates. And the threat was sternly carried out. After expressing his pleasure at the large gathering of gentlemen present at the banquet, the Archbishop went on, alluding to the absent:—

"There are, to be sure," he said, "some few who would consider gratitude to the benefactor of their country something like a crime. It is not surprising that these should not join in doing him homage on this occasion. Perhaps they are sensitive to the threat of Lord Ebrington, and dread to walk under the cloud of the viceregal disfavor. No matter. The views of the corrupt and the selfish cannot overcome the general conviction, nor turn the people away from peacefully prosecuting the Repeal of the Union;

for this alone can consolidate the throne, and bestow lasting prosperity on this rich but wretched land.

"The interests of our holy religion are involved in this measure. What security have we against the repeal of the Emancipation Act, if not in Repeal? The Irish majority is our only protection against Lord Stanley's disfranchising bill. Annihilate or abridge our franchise, you take away that majority. Take away that majority, you destroy the only bulwark against the refluence of Tory tyranny. And when no breakwater is left to resist its course, is it not natural that the current will roll onward with the same violence as of old, sweeping away the property of Catholics, and, if it were not imperishable, lifted far above the violence of every tide, sweeping away the priceless inheritance of our religion itself?

"In such an event, the properties of the selfish would not be saved; nothing, as we know by sad experience, nothing but apostasy would save them.

"The Emancipation Act, we are told, cannot be disturbed, having become law. Did not the more recent Reform Bill pass into law? And is not Lord Stanley's intended measure a virtual repeal of that bill's scanty provisions, as far as Ireland is concerned?

"The treaty of Limerick, too, was violated. It was observed so long as policy dictated its observance. But when the dominant party panted for the properties of Catholics, whose only crime was a chivalrous loyalty to their lawful king, an apology was soon found for violating the faith of treaties.

"Think you that the Emancipation Act would be long respected by men whose hatred of the Catholic faith is sharpened by their long exclusion from office, whose rancorous slanders against everything Catholic show how ready they are to turn the instruments of persecution against the persons of Catholics? . . . .

"But they have given us a Poor-Law as a panacea for all our ills. Yes—well it may be called a *Poor* Law, since its working will inevitably render poor such as are comfort-

able, afford but poor relief to the needy, while pouring the enormous sums raised by taxation into private and corrupt channels, to feed that decayed portion of society out of which the vitality of public virtue is gone,—men who, ashamed to beg and unwilling to dig, strive to quarter themselves on the public taxes.

"The prophetic fears of our Liberator are already realized. I wish his warning and that of others had been heeded in time. It is not to be supposed that any could be so hard-hearted as not to labor to improve the condition of the poor. No. But it is only adding insult to their load of misery, to offer them, under guise of relief, a measure which only aggravates their hardships. The enormous expense of this Poor Law machinery would, in itself, be an intolerable evil: *three hundred pounds*, as in some instances, expended to administer *one shilling and sixpence* of relief.

"Is this the great boon of the Poor Laws, that the tenantry are to be treated like Helots without a will of their own? that the driver's lash is to hang over them, threatening to send them out adrift upon the world, if they do not vote for persons whose only object is to fatten upon their increased misery?

"The 'freedom of the British constitution' and the 'freedom of the ballot box' are eternally ringing in our ears. But what are these expressions but words of bitter derision to the poor man, who finds that their practical effect, with regard to him, is to enable every little village landlord to pursue him with relentless vengeance?

"I only touch upon the scenes and sources of our contentions. . . . These wretched contests, like those of the smaller animals of creation, become more bitter and deadly in proportion to the narrowness of the sphere of dispute, and the littleness of the agents engaged in them.

"What a melancholy spectacle to see a fine people, who should be united for the attainment of every great national object, thrown into a state of disunion by the working of a bad law!

"It is, to be sure, a fine Poor-Law for the foreign func-

tionaries of Somerset House, with the little band of *Irish foreigners*, more alien than the English themselves, who are, through thick and thin, the promoters of this ruinous and desolating system.

"But for me, when I consider the enormous expenses of these itinerant Satraps; their arbitrary power over the ancient interests of the soil; their uncontrollable power of taxation, with their ignorance and disregard of the state of the poor people; the frequency of expensive and ruinous contests, entailing heavy burthens on districts; the miserable servitude which awaits the poor; the worse than negro slavery to which every grasping agent of an English monied interest strives to consign the miserable serfs they get into their power, I feel that far better were innocent poverty with freedom, than a decrease of poverty with an increase of crime.

"Were I to pay such taxes cheerfully, I might be supposed to acquiesce in the system. But, inasmuch as I am resolved never to break the law, I shall let it take its course, and suffer my furniture to be seized and sold, rather than countenance a system fraught with such frightful discord, heart-burning oppression, and every species of demoralization.

"As an appropriate appendage come the agricultural schools—excellent things, if you give the people a tenure; but a mere humbug, like other legislative remedies in Ireland, if the tenants are not to be remunerated for their outlay and industry as well as the owners of the soil."

The Archbishop concluded by applying to the actual industrial condition of Ireland his own ripe knowledge of the state of ancient countries in other ages, and of the conditions of modern countries and peoples visited and studied by himself.

What could Ireland be if her resources were only cultivated and developed by a legislature of her own?

It was a stirring appeal, most instructive and most practical. It made the cause of Repeal popular all through Galway.

When the Tories under Peel, Wellington, and Stanley took up the succession of the Whigs, there seemed to be for O'Connell and his parliamentray followers an opportunity for forming an independent group in the House of Commons, instead of sitting and acting with the Whigs, as if they only formed an insignificant fraction of the opposition. In truth, their alliance with the Whigs had made them insignificant. Had they stood aloof from both parties,—their votes, though only less than a dozen, would have more than once rendered them masters of the situation. Neither Liberals nor Conservatives could have held power without them. Even when the Tories began their new reign, there was nothing resembling an Irish party in the House of Commons.

While the new Corporations Bill was discussed and passed, the utter powerlessness of O'Connell and his Irish associates was fairly demonstrated. The English and Scotch Corporations had been reformed four years before Parliament could be induced to grant to Ireland the insulting measure which was, in 1842, bestowed on Ireland as a bone is thrown to a famishing dog, with a curse and a kick.

To be sure, the new Bill soon enabled Mr. O'Connell to be elected Lord Mayor of Dublin. It seemed a great triumph to many. And we can remember how the change was hailed in America by the masses of Irish exiles. It seemed an omen of the speedy triumph of Repeal,—of national right.

Of the sixty-eight Irish Corporations only ten were retained by the new Bill, and these were so stripped of their former privileges, burgesses so limited in number, burdened with taxes, and shorn of the rights enjoyed by their brethren in Great Britain, that the reform looked like a punishment and an outrage.

No one of the Irish municipalities was allowed to retain the power of nominating either its own recorder, or its sheriff, or to retain the control of its police.

O'Connell was destined, ere long, to find that Stanley

agitation would continue to guide them in their present struggle.

"They would assemble in their tens of thousands to hear his instructions on constitutional agitation, and faithfully carry out his injunctions.

"I was never more delighted in my life than when I heard our illustrious guest let fall, this evening, an expression used by him in another place the preceding forenoon. He was answering an address presented to him by our young and innocent. He spoke the unaffected feeling of his soul. And eloquent as he was on all occasions, he thrilled me with unspeakable joy by declaring that *he never would cease to urge this great question of the Repeal of the Union.*

"My fear is that some of the treacherous allies, who had joined O'Connell on other occasions, would desert him again, as they had done before, whenever desertion favored their selfish interest. They will gather round him in the hour of seeming prosperity and success, and endeavor to urge him to follow a line of policy in opposition to his own convictions and feelings, as well as to the long experience of his public life of forty years.

"I do not need to claim the gifts of a prophet to assure the Liberator that, in his present battle for the legislative independence of our country, he shall have with him not only tens and hundreds of thousands, but millions of our brave-hearted countrymen, together with their faithful priests.

"This evening has pleasantly closed a day full of glorious promise. The scenes we have witnessed to-day and yesterday cheer and inspirit us. Mr. O'Connell must, as he declared it himself, have felt that it is impossible to enslave forever a people so alive to every generous thought and emotion, possessed of such ennobling qualities, especially when they firmly resolve to be free.

"Treachery may creep into your ranks. But you have only to be true to yourselves, and firmly attached to your own principles.

"No compromise with Whigs, or Tories, or with any political party whatever! Give your every thought and

members of that patriotic body. Besides this sum, you will receive subscriptions from others of the clergy of this diocese, in union with those of their faithful flocks.

"I can say with truth that there cannot be any body of men more anxious for the peaceful success of that great measure, the restoration of our native parliament, now the only sanative one for the inveterate and accumulating evils of Ireland.

"The most sceptical are at length resigning all their doubts about the ultimate, nay, the speedy, triumph of the repeal of the odious Legislative Union. To the accelerated force with which public opinion is propelling it forward, the few and feeble reasons by which it could be at any time opposed are rapidly giving way. For this we are mainly indebted to your wise determination to stay in Ireland to guide your confiding countrymen in this loyal and peaceful movement.... Yes, it is doubtless the same spirit of prudent forecast and prompt decision which urged you to the Clare election, so as to gain on Irish ground our long withheld Emancipation, that has again swayed your mind in making a similar experiment to achieve on our native soil the restoration of our lost legislature.

"We shall hear no more, I trust, of the hollow avowals of men professing great zeal for *the principle* of a domestic legislature, 'provided it were practicable.' This is only a thin disguise for concealing their indifference to the fate of their country. They entirely misplace the emphatic 'if.' Instead of saying they would become repealers *if* Repeal were practicable, we tell them, IF they who talk thus become Repealers, Repeal is not only practicable, but already achieved!....

"There is only one vain fear which I am anxious to dissipate: it is the unhallowed phantom of *Ascendancy*, which the enemies of Ireland proclaim to be our only aim.

"Never was there entertained a more groundless apprehension. In your 'Memoir on Ireland' you had shown, on the evidence of history, that the Catholics of this country, on regaining power, so far from indulging in any vindictive

Dissenter, Milesian and Cromwellian, the Irishman of a hundred generations and the stranger who is within our gates; not a Nationality which would prelude civil war, but which would establish internal union and external independence; a Nationality which would be recognized by the world, and sanctified by wisdom, virtue, and prudence."

The author of this volume was scarcely two weeks in priest's orders, when the first number of the "Nation" reached him in Quebec, where he was laboring among his exiled fellow-countrymen. How can he ever forget the delightful sense of a near triumph for Irish nationality, which filled his soul and those of young and old around him, who, on the shores of the St. Lawrence, still clung to their fondly cherished hopes of seeing Ireland a nation! God knows, so far at least as he can now remember, that never once was the hope of a near repeal of the Legislative Union mixed up with the idea of a total separation from Great Britain.

Every succeeding number of the "Nation," which brought us prose and poetry as fresh, as delightful to patriotic hearts as were the epic songs of Homer to the scattered Greeks of old, continued to keep up and increase our enthusiasm for Repeal. But with that was mixed no dream of armed conflict in Ireland, no thought of civil war, no suspicions of rebellious intentions lurking in the mind of O'Connell, or of any one of the noble band of writers led by Thomas Osborne Davis and Charles Gavan Duffy.

As the months succeeded each other all too rapidly during 1843, and Sir Robert Peel was taking measures to force O'Connell and his multitudes of followers into some act or alternative which might justify the use of military force, people within the Three Kingdoms as well as in America hoped earnestly that the Government would yield to the justice of Irish claims.

The NEARNESS OF REPEAL became in the eyes of the public a reality none could question.

At this time Thomas Davis wrote, after carefully studying the situation :—

England. Depend upon it that O'Connell will be defeated in his business."

O'Connell certainly had no thought of "plunging into a bloody civil war," or of exposing his people to the risk of an armed collision with the Government. And the peril and guilt of such a conflict were still farther from the thoughts of the Archbishop of Tuam and his brother-prelates. A bloody conflict had no existence save in the designs of Sir Robert Peel and his Cabinet.

But Mr. Davis calculated more on the moral force of public opinion than on the terrors of physical force demonstrations, to compel the Government to yield to the national voice.

It is instructive to learn on what grounds he rested his hopes of soon obtaining Repeal.

"You in England," he replies to his friend, "quite overrate the likelihood of war here. We have the people as docile and exact in their obedience to us as possible. They see that discipline is the greatest element of success. Unless the Government begin the contest, either with their own troops or with the Orange mob, there will be no fight for the present.

"We are making more way with the upper classes than you fancy. These will, not yet at least, join the Association, but many of them will join a Federalist party which is about being founded. If that Federalist party be managed by bold, clear-headed men, *it will impose its own terms on England in two years.*

"We Repealers hold peace and war in our own hands. O'Connell could in three months have possession of Ireland; but he is adverse, wisely, humanely adverse to fighting, save in the last extremity.

"He prevailed in '29 by the power of fighting, not by the practice of it; may he not do so again? You will say, 'No, for England is dead against us.' What's the proof of her being so? I see little; on the contrary, I believe a portion of the intelligence and half of the populace of England will aid us, if things go on peaceably as they are going.

Commons, on July 28th, 1843, that the functions and powers of government would soon be wrested from the Lord-lieutenant.

The Dublin *Evening Mail*, the semi-official organ of the Castle, thus warned the British Government:—

"We can assure Sir Robert Peel that many honest and sober men begin to question whether such terms could not be made with the Repealers as would render a Parliament in College Green, with a House of Lords as it was before the Union, not only a glorious thing for Ireland, but very safe for all her inhabitants. They argue from the enlightenment of the times for the safety of their religion, if not for the toleration of their Church, and seeing the interest which Roman Catholic landlords have in the permanence of their tithes, they infer that their properties might be made safe enough."[1]

All this will, unless we are much mistaken, throw no little light on the actions and utterances of Dr. Mac Hale regarding the Repeal Movement of 1840–'43.

One of the "Monster Meetings" which marked the progress of the '43 agitation, was held at Clifden, Connemara, amid the sublimest mountain scenery in Ireland, and the utter desolation created by landlord misrule and the inconceivable neglect of Government.

There had been a down-pour of rain while Connemara poured forth her tens of thousands to greet the Liberator and their loved Archbishop, as well as to testify their abiding interest in the national cause. But nothing could damp the ardent patriotism of these stalwart mountaineers, inured to privation and hardship, and whose sole comfort in life came from their undivided love of religion and country.

There was a banquet at Clifden in the evening, and the Archbishop, in his discourse, feelingly alludes to the unquenchable flames of patriotism and piety which burned in the hearts of his flock.

"To show my confidence in the Liberator of our country," the Prelate said, "and my sympathy with the suffer-

[1] *Ibidem*, pp. 112, 113.

open the internal channels of communication in that distant province, to intersect it with roads and canals, hundreds of thousands of British capital, much of which has been wrung from Ireland, have been expended. What, during its long connection with Ireland, has been the amount spent by Great Britain in improving this province?

"Let the frightful number of lives annually lost upon our coast tell us that; lives lost for want of the protective works which it is the duty of every wise and provident government to construct for the benefit of our fishermen and seafaring population. Nature has generously furnished Ireland with harbors capacious enough to invite the commerce of the world. But these are allowed to lie there neglected and abandoned, as if they belonged to a country but just discovered!

"Not a year passes without recording the terrible accidents which befall our hardy fishermen, who put out to sea in craft totally unfit for even shoal water fishing, tempted as they are by the abundant harvest offered them by the deep water along our shores.

"When a storm springs up of a sudden, as there are no harbors of refuge provided by Government, no precautions to guide these toilers of the deep to a place of surety, they are forced, in order not to be dashed to pieces in the storm and the darkness, on a rock-bound coast, to brave and fight the furious elements in their frail boats.

"What can be the purpose of all this systematic and persistent neglect of Ireland and her immense natural resources? To waste money on that Moloch Establishment, the bane of our country! To its support are the lives of our people sacrificed. What benefits do the people of Connemara derive from its ministrations? None! none! They have clung to the pure and ancient faith of Ireland with heroic fidelity. And so far is the Protestant Church from being among us in a flourishing condition, that its patrons are fain to recruit members for it from among the most worthless of our outcasts.

"I have no doubt whatever but that the fairest convert-

fessions not entail certain and prompt dismissal? And have not many been already dismissed for this very reason?

"To be sure, they say these delinquents were punished for 'interfering in politics.' But the politics our rulers tolerate or advocate tend only to the total extinction of our national spirit. If, like those Chinese nurses who crush the limbs of infancy into fantastic shapes, our educators were allowed to mould the minds of our youth into the cherished forms of Anglo-Saxon prejudice, there would be little hope for Irish nationality.

"But there is in the Irish temperament a force of elasticity which either resists pressure, or soon recovers from the wrong bent given by it. We owe no thanks to the teaching of the National Schools, that the majority of our youth soon recover from the intellectual malformation imposed upon them.

"Had we a native parliament, would the children of our country, as well as their educators, be subjected to such thraldom? Would the Catholic schools of every grade, those of the immense majority of the nation, be so scantily provided for our needs, so niggardly furnished, so grudgingly maintained? Would the instruction there given be so mixed up with anti-Catholic and anti-national teaching that we at present deem it safer to make our people rely on their own slender resources, rather than make their children drink at such impure springs?

"No! Had we a native parliament, Ireland would soon be again what it once was, abounding in the number and excellence of its literary establishments, diffusing, like Mayo and Lismore, the light of its learning over the civilized world.

"Those names are still dear to Ireland; and I must confess that, were I not prevented by imperative duties, I should most willingly attend the coming Repeal festival at Lismore, to pay my homage to that venerable seat of the ancient literary glories of Ireland.

"Why should we be satisfied with the impure and poisonous drippings allowed our children by the present sys-

accepted or bestowed will mar the present movement, will soon find out their mistake. The present agitation is not one aiming to gain lawyers' seats on the bench, or priests and bishops a pension. It is not got up to obtain for subordinate agitators a salary, which, by making them stipendiary magistrates, would silence their patriotic clamor. We are not seeking to obtain places for the few at the expense and to the injury of the many. This is an agitation got up by the people, springing from the popular misery, upheld by the sympathies of the masses, co-extensive with the Irish nation, and pushed forward by whatever is most powerful and influential in every rank.

"It is not the agitation of a section or a party, which may reach a high degree of energy to-day, and decline or die out to-morrow. It is the movement of a nation resolved to be free. Nothing short of national reforms and improvements extending to the entire mass of the population, and to every class of society, originating with and carried out by a DOMESTIC LEGISLATURE, can ever succeed in allaying this universal excitement, in calming this uprising and upheaving of an entire nation's sentiment."

To all the monster meetings and Repeal banquets held through 1843, Dr. Mac Hale was invited in terms which left no doubt of the place he filled in the thoughts and affections of his countrymen.

"Although the diocese of Tuam justly claims your first care," they write from Skibbereen on June 8th, "the people of Ireland, the oppressed, the universal people, claim you as one of the most gifted, most devoted, and most beloved of their advocates, occupying a position in their affection and respect of which Royalty might feel proud."

On the 7th of August a letter from Navan says:—

"I have this moment heard our venerated Bishop, Dr. Cantwell, express to his clergy assembled his deep anxiety that your Grace would answer in the affirmative Counsellor Mullen's note requesting you to preside at the Tara Hall dinner on the 15th instant.

"Such attraction and *eclat* as your Grace would not fail

Within his own province he only yielded to the unanimous wish of bishops, priests, and people, in lending the sanction of his presence and the aid of his voice to the great gathering in favor of Repeal. In the provinces of Armagh and Dublin, he deemed it his duty not to be present, for reasons which our readers will appreciate.

In 1844, he went to Limerick, at the request of his friend, Archbishop Slattery, to grace by his support and voice the great demonstration in honor of O'Connell and his fellow-prisoners, over which William Smith O'Brien presided.

He did not readily yield to invitations to join in such social or political gatherings.

To O'Connell and the patriotic band singled out by the Government of Sir Robert Peel for criminal prosecution, the Archbishop showed constant and open sympathy. The wonder was that he also was not selected by the Tory Ministers and their lawyers as one of the chief "Conspirators,"—as the principal conspirator, indeed, after O'Connell himself.

But there is no record of Dr. Mac Hale's ever having approved, much less counselled, these enormous assemblages as demonstrations in any way intended to overawe the Government or endanger the public peace. He was for a thorough and universal organization of Irishmen in a movement for obtaining by legal and peaceful agitation the restoration of Ireland's legislative independence. To keep aloof from all merely political parties or party interests, and to persist, through the ballot box and the united votes in Parliament of an independent Irish party, to force the Imperial Legislature to do justice to Ireland—such was Dr. Mac Hale's conception of the movement which began in February 1843 to attain such proportions by the public debate in the Dublin Corporation.

When O'Connell was arraigned, found guilty, and sent with his associates to Richmond Prison, the Archbishop of Tuam was not slow to manifest his undiminished respect for the men whom the public opinion of the civilized world proclaimed to be guiltless of any moral crime.

But the cause of Repeal did not die with O'Connell. The Archbishop of Tuam, ever true to it as he was true to himself, never lost faith in its ultimate triumph. He ceased not, amid the various mighty interests he had to contend for, from 1844 till 1850, to repeat in public and in private his profession of faith as a Nationalist. When spoken to about Federalism or Home Rule, he invariably answered that he had not studied sufficiently the theories of those who advocated Federalism or Home Rule. It was enough for him, he said, to remain faithful to his great purpose of getting back Ireland's native Parliament.

In one word, he would have Irish Nationalists REPEALERS, and nothing else. Their cry should be REPEAL THE UNION, REPEAL THE UNION. Give us that first, before, and above all else.

"How wise this policy was we shall see still more clearly in the following chapters.

The following letter from Dr. Cullen will aptly find its place here.

"IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, January 4, 1844.

"MY LORD:—I have been a very bad correspondent for the last three years. The only excuse I have to allege, is that my health was so bad that I could scarcely write. For the future, however, I expect to be more punctual, and to make up for past negligence.

"Before your Grace's letter reached me, I had spoken to the Secretary of the Propaganda, Mgr. Brunelli, regarding Dr. Browne's appointment to Elphin. He appears to think that after your letter to the Propaganda in the matter, there will be no further difficulty, and that Dr. Browne will be elected. The Congregation will not meet till toward the end of this month, so nothing will be done before then.

"I was also speaking, since I received your Grace's letter, with Cardinal Fransoni; and he also thinks there will be no opposition to the proposed translation. The selection of a bishop for a vacant see is not at all contrary to the terms of the Rescript, though in the beginning some of

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONTENDING FOR THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE NATION—THE CHARITABLE BEQUESTS ACT AND THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES.

THE violent and unconstitutional course pursued by Sir Robert Peel and his government in putting an end to the Repeal agitation in October, 1843, the evident mental prostration of O'Connell, both during his trial and imprisonment, and especially after his release,—too clearly told the Tory statesmen that they had won the battle for the moment.

Had O'Connell been even ten years younger, or had he preserved at seventy the intellectual vigor he possessed at sixty,—the Repeal Agitation, suspended a moment by his trial, and acquiring a fresh and enormous momentum from his triumphant acquittal, would have been carried on to certain success in 1845.

The very discussions regarding Federalism, and Parliaments held triennially in Dublin,—discussions which, carried on all through 1844, '45, and '46, both in the Press of Great Britain and in the Irish Press, kept the idea of English injustice toward Ireland so prominently before the public mind,—all these were logical and most happy consequences of O'Connell's agitation.

Yes,—the very accessions, after O'Connell's liberation, either to the ranks of Repeal or to the cause of Federalism, of distinguished members of the aristocracy, the gentry, and the cultivated intellects of Ireland, the very fact of prominent Orangemen's joining the ranks of the Nationalists,—all evidently pointed to a near triumph of that JUSTICE for Ireland which John of Tuam had been so long preaching.

But the vacillation, the distraction, the confusion, the discouragement which marked O'Connell's councils and resolution in the autumn of 1844, and which spread dismay through the ranks of Ireland's most enlightened patriots,—were but too well known to Sir Robert Peel.

Yes,—Ireland was at the mercy of the British cabinet. They were now more than ever determined to push on their schemes for decatholicizing the Irish people, for dividing still more the Irish bishops, already divided both on the Repeal question and on that of the National System of Education.

The Archbishop of Tuam, in his eloquent letters to the Propaganda and to Pope Gregory XVI., on the dangers of the National Schools, had again and again insisted on the fact that the Irish people, in spite of their poverty, were both able and willing to support, not only their priests, but their own schools. Again and again the Archbishop had pointed with a just patriotic pride to the many cathedral and parish churches erected, to the monasteries, monastic schools of both sexes, and parochial schools, all built and maintained by the voluntary oblations of the people.

This incredible generosity of a population crushed by rents, by tithes to Protestant parsons, by an enormous and complicated system of taxation.—was one source of Catholic life which the Government were now resolved to seize upon. Dr. Mac Hale's letters to the Propaganda were well known to the Ministers. Their agents in Rome were careful to obtain copies of them, as of all other ecclesiastical documents bearing on the subjects in dispute between the Irish bishops themselves.

The sums yearly bequeathed in Ireland for all the various purposes of Catholic charity formed an amount so considerable, that the Ministers thought that it should be controlled by Government.

This led to the passing of what is popularly known as the Charitable Bequests Bill. Simultaneously, or nearly so, with this odious measure, was passed a bill increasing considerably the scanty annual allowance given to the National

College at Maynooth. And both of these enactments only prefaced the introduction of a complete scheme of higher education, in which, as in the National Schools, the rights and wishes of the Catholic bishops were completely overlooked.

I.

The Charitable Bequests Act was one of the legislative measures most fatal to the Catholic Church in Ireland ever conceived of by British statesmen since the Union.

It aimed to divide the hierarchy on an important subject, half secular and half religious; and it succeeded in its object, for the time being at least. That it did not completely succeed, is due to the Archbishop of Tuam.

The case stood thus:—

"In the penal times a law had been passed for the purpose of plundering the Catholic Church in Ireland of all charitable bequests. So iniquitous was it, that Irish judges were found unwilling to be parties to the injustice. Even before Emancipation it had fallen greatly into disuse. Under its provisions the administration of charitable funds had been vested in a Bequests Board, whose functions were practically confined to Protestant charities and none other.

"Under the new system Catholic bequests to bishops or priests were, in the eye of the law, bequests to them personally, and as such would go to their heirs, and not to their successors in the ministry, however clear the intention of the donor. But beyond this there was no restraint of any kind on Catholic donations and bequests for charitable purposes. This great grievance would have been remedied by a short Act, such as O'Connell prepared, making every bishop and parish-priest a perpetual corporation for the purposes of the Act, and providing for a due registration of bishops and priests,—the register to be conclusive testimony in the Court of Chancery." [1]

Unfortunately, the Bill of which Mr. O'Connell had given notice was laid aside during his imprisonment. The break-

[1] "Life of Frederick Lucas," Vol. I., pp. 164, 165.

ing up of the then National or Repeal Party, as the Peel Cabinet thought, was a favorable opportunity for passing not only a Bequests Bill in conformity with their designs, but a complete sheme of Secondary and University Education, which should, in the end, "denationalize" the youth of Ireland.

Lord Wharncliffe, on introducing into the House of Lords the Government Charitable Bequests Bill, stated that the total amount of money bequeathed by the Catholics of Ireland for religious and charitable purposes far exceeded what was left by Protestants. One Catholic bishop had had a sum of £55,000 bequeathed to him by a single individual.

The principle of the new Bill was to place Catholic donations and bequest in the hands of a Board of Commissioners created by the Act. This Board consisted of two Irish judges and ten other commissioners,—twelve in all,—of whom no more than five should at any time be Catholics,—and all were to be appointed by the Minister. Thus there must, at all times, be a majority of non-Catholics on the Board, and as to the Catholics, it was the Minister's interest to see that they were persons who should give the Government as little trouble as possible. It was the traditional rule of the Protestant Ascendancy, to give to the Catholic majority of the nation either no adequate official representation, or no representation at all. It is so still in Ireland in every department of the civil service or the administration.

But one provision of the new law made it most insulting and totally unacceptable to the Catholic body: no donation or bequest to any Monastic or Religious Order, or to any member of the same, should be lawful.

Of the English Catholics in Parliament, Lords Beaumont and Camoys supported the Bill, the former advocating it as an excellent measure. In the Lower House Lord Arundel and Surrey was, against his usually correct judgment, misled into considering it as a fair Bill. Of the Irish Catholic Representatives, Morgan John O'Connell "approved its spirit," and Richard Lalor Sheil openly abused

the Most Reverend Dr. Slattery, Archbishop of Cashel, for protesting against it. But there were other Catholic members who cast their vote for this inquitous measure.

Frederick Lucas, in the "Tablet," denounced it with his wonted eloquence and fearlessness. "The new Act," he said, "will become a dead letter, if the Catholic bishops and leading laymen refuse to act under it; because the Government must start with a plausible Board, otherwise they will attract no bequests, for, as already remarked, there is nothing compulsory in the Bill. Sir Robert Peel dare not, while pretending to wish to conciliate Ireland, attempt to act in direct opposition to the hierarchy. The game is in their own hands." [1]

Yes,—the game, in this momentous matter, as in all that pertained to education, as in every question that concerned the religious policy of the Catholic Church and people in Ireland,—the game was in their own hands, if the bishops had known how to stand together.

What does history record of them in this instance? Lucas, an Englishman, appealed to them in terms which should have prevented them from wavering, had there been disposition to do so:—

"Let their Lordships, for God's sake," he urges, "bear in mind their own strength. The Repeal agitation has brought Sir Robert Peel to angle for conciliation. Let not years of agitation and thousands of pounds of the money of the poor be thrown away by exhibiting dissensions among themselves. They have the market in their own control, and can command their own terms." [2]

The Archbishop of Tuam was not one to slumber, or to look on calmly and silently, when the dearest interests of the nation were threatened. And he knew how he could count on the patriotic prelates who had battled side by side with him in the cause of education and nationality, such as Drs. O'Higgins, Cantwell, Mac Nally, and others.

He lost no time in laying before the Holy See this new scheme of the Tory government for encroaching on the es-

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 171. [2] *Ibidem*.

Isle of Malta, where, as a reward for his labors in America and for his writings in favor of the National System of education, the British Government had loaded him with honors and placed him at the head of the Maltese University.[1] I need scarcely remind your Eminence of the antecedents of this worthy. It suffices to state that such a champion can only bring discredit on any cause he may defend. We need not inquire who are those who employ him.

"Another priest, countenanced by the same patrons, has also published libellous attacks on the hierarchy and clergy, unhindered by the episcopal authority. Hence originated an unhappy suspicion that a few of the bishops were not unfavorable to this odious Act, and that the two priests I have mentioned were instigated by certain courtiers, mere nominal Catholics, to defend this new penal law and cast contempt on the episcopal authority....

"If the bishops who refuse to accept the yoke of this penal legislation are so treated while we are yet free from the coercive action of this new Board, it is easy to guess what would be our lot, and how low our religion would fall, if we were deprived of the protection of the Holy See and made the subject slaves of these hateful Boards of Commissioners, the creatures of the Government, no matter whether composed of Protestants, or of Catholics, or of both.

"The yearly meeting of the bishops is now over. The majority of the prelates was opposed to the Bequest Act. Not one dared to speak approvingly of it. And yet the minority would not express disapprobation, because they hoped it might receive a partial application. They asked that every bishop should be free to do as he pleased. But these were told that they could not act on such a Board of

[1] "Mr. (afterward Sir) G. C. Lewis wrote to say that the appointment had been made because a certain brochure of his 'had involved him in difficulties with his ecclesiastical superiors, and because he had in consequence been suspended from some preferment which he held in the Irish Catholic Church. . . . It occurred to me that he might be tried for the rectorship (of Malta University College), on account of the opinions he entertained on the subject of education and his independence in avowing them.'"—*Ibidem* p. 172.

Commissioners, without invading the sacred and inalienable rights of their brother bishops.

"Five weeks yet remain before this act is to be enforced. If no Catholic member can be found for this Board of Commissioners, the law will be absolutely void, because the Board cannot work validly without the prescribed number of Catholic members. Moreover, lay Catholic commissioners alone will not suffice for carrying out the purpose of the legislator. Without the concurrence and approbation of the bishops, our enemies could have no prospect of giving efficiency to this baneful Act.

"We, therefore, look to the action of the Holy See, as to our only ground of hope.

"If some bishops, deceived by the frauds and bribes of the Castle officials, so hostile to our faith, consent to be members of the Board, they will assuredly forfeit all respect from the people and all confidence from their brother-prelates. Instead of being looked upon as the servants and helpmates of the Apostolic See in advancing the Catholic faith, they will incur such odium and aversion as never has yet been felt in Ireland toward the dignitaries of the Catholic Church.

"Their business will be to procure honors and places for their relatives and others, and the cares of worldly pursuits will distract them from seeking the spiritual welfare of their flocks.

"Our hierarchy, so united till now, so strong and fair in its united strength, will fall asunder, and by its unseemly divisions will become, in its weakness, helplessness, and deformity, a subject of exultation to our enemies, a sight moving to tears the hearts of our faithful people.

"Our fate is in your hands.

"If your Eminence only writes a timely letter to the bishops of Ireland, or to the four archbishops, bidding them not to accept any place whatever without the consent of their brother-prelates and that of the Apostolic See, then religion will be in safety here, concord will be maintained, and the authority of the Holy See preserved inviolate.

"There will be time enough afterwards for the Holy See to have this Act subjected to a thorough examination, and to pronounce upon it a definitive judgment."

From the following letters of Dr. Cullen, we know how decidedly adverse to the Charitable Bequests Act was not only the opinion of the Propaganda, but that of Pope Gregory XVI. himself, so clear-sighted, so independent in his judgment, and so outspoken in favor of Ireland.

"IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, Sept. 11, 1844.

"MY LORD:— . . . . I was delighted to see your Grace declare such decided war against the new 'Charity Bill.' It is a most abominable insult to Catholics, to pretend that it is a great boon. God grant that no bishop will accept of office in the Commission! O'Connell's opinion must have great weight. I was glad also to see that Mr. Cooper and Mr. Flanagan had come out against it. This shows that the Dublin clergy are on the right side. I hope the opposition will be so strenuous that the Government will not be able to advance a step.

"What a sad thing it is that any prelate should hesitate to declare his opinions openly in such an important case! Ireland is now all united, and we might dictate our own conditions. It would be horrible to submit quietly to such a Bill, or to declare ourselves satisfied with it. I wrote a line to Mr. Cooper to congratulate him on his letter, and also to let him know the opinion entertained in Rome on the Bill. I shall translate O'Connell's opinion of it for the Pope.

"I fear there are some steps being now taken to have an English ambassador here. The Penal Laws being abolished, the Government may send one if they wish; and it will be difficult for the Pope to refuse him. *His business will be to intrigue in Irish affairs.*

"There is a new journal published in Rome, called the *Saggiatore* (Essayist), and it contains in last month's number an excellent article on Ireland, denouncing England in a most eloquent strain of indignation. The cause of Ireland

is popular everywhere. *If all our bishops were united, who could resist our just claims?*

"Wishing your Grace every happiness, I have the honor to be, with the profoundest respect,

"Your devoted, obedient servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

Writing on the following 3d of October, Dr. Cullen says:—

"We were all delighted with the news of O'Connell's liberation; it is a glorious triumph. I shall present the opinion on the Charitable Bequests Bill to the Pope when he returns from Castel Gandolfo, where he is at present. Would it not be well te introduce the matter to the assembled prelates at their next meeting? There are some canons and decrees of the Council of Trent that appear to excommunicate persons assuming the functions now to be attributed to the Commissioners. It would be well that Catholics should be made aware of such decrees being in existence.

"When shall we have the happiness of seeing you in Italy again? We should be delighted to have you amongst us for a few months."

On the Charitable Bequests Bill, as on every Government measure relating to national education in all its stages, Dr. Murray's fatal policy divided the episcopal body, as well as the most influential classes among the laity; and thus was dispelled or deferred the realization of the fond hopes arising out of a thorough union of sentiment and action among the members of the hierarchy.

Thus sadly does Dr. Cullen express himself at the end of 1844:—

"MY LORD:—I was most grieved to hear of the result of the late meeting of the prelates. It is very unfortunate that they could not come to some agreement among themselves. I fear it will be now very difficult to do anything. It would be well to write a letter to the Propaganda stat-

ing all the objections to the act. If each bishop could write, it would produce a good effect. But I suppose it will be very difficult to get a decision after adopting the resolution, that each one was to do as he pleased.

"The letter you received at the meeting was an index of the state of feeling here. However, if the bishops write to the Propaganda, and state the grievance which the present Act entails on them, they will get something done.

"The Pope is still quite well, and unchanged in his opinions regarding Ireland, though I suspect the English Government is plotting something against our Church and expects to gain over Rome. The English agent here is very busy about Irish affairs; Austria is also doing something...

"*Were the bishops united, there would be nothing to fear;* but as things are, the British Ministry may be very successful."

On January, 28th, 1845, there is a hurried note from the same:—

"I write a line to contradict in the most decided way the report of a projected Concordat (with England). There is not a word of truth in the whole matter. Perhaps I contributed to circulate this rumor. I was deceived by a conversation a priest in Rome had with Mr. Petre, in which that gentleman stated he was engaged in important negotiations here, or at least made the people understand as much. He is not at all received in Rome.

"For Heaven's sake, exert all your powerful energies to restore peace in the Church!"

Alas! the prospects of such a peace were growing more and more feeble with the dawn and progress of the year 1845. The British Government, utterly reckless about the signs and predictions of approaching distress, such as Ireland had never before witnessed, were intent on forcing on the Catholics of Ireland their cherished plan of mixed Collegiate Education, as well as on carrying out, by hook or by crook, the purpose of the Charitable Bequests Bill. Against all their scheming the Archbishop of Tuam, who clearly divined their purpose, was immovably opposed. Not so

Dr. Murray, and the bishops who followed his leadership.

Oppressed with care and anxiety as Dr. Mac Hale was, while the spring and summer of 1845 gave portentous warning of the approach of famine, he could not forget the spiritual interests of his people, the perils which threatened the very existence of Catholicism. He fought the godless education laws, because he believed them to be the deadliest foes of the religion of his fathers, with his whole might, and while doing so, he showed marvellous zeal and power of endurance in combating the dread foes, famine and fever.

Let us, ere we come to the awful scenes of suffering, allow Dr. Cullen to give us an insight into what was said and done in Rome, just as the fatal malady which preyed on the octogenarian Pope was making its slow but steady advances.

"IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, Nov. 27th, 1845.

"MY LORD:—I received some days ago your Grace's letter containing an enclosure for his Eminence, Cardinal Fransoni. I presented your letter immediately; and he has probably answered you before now. He complained, on my return to Rome, that none of the Irish bishops had written a line to the Propaganda on the new (colleges) education question; and he was, therefore, gratified to have all reason for complaint removed by your Grace's letter.

"I believe his Eminence, and every one I could speak to regarding the new colleges, are decidedly opposed to them. The experience of France and Germany has taught them what is to be expected from such establishments. It is difficult, however, to know what they will do, or whether they will do anything on this question. It is hard to make them take any step likely to bring on a collision with the temporal authority. However, the Cardinal said he had written to Dr. Crolly and to some other bishop to ask *why they had changed their minds regarding the colleges*, and had set aside the Resolution of the bishops.

"This letter will, I hope, have the effect of impeding any further step on the part of those prelates who may be in-

clined to favor the system. Probably the Cardinal will explain himself more freely to your Grace and to Dr. Slattery.

"If the bishops be unanimous, I hope the battle will be gained; it will be so, if even a great majority be decidedly opposed to the godless system. But should there be a division, at least a serious division, I fear the Government will have everything in its own power.

"God grant that things may take a right course, and that unity may be preserved!

"Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Cork, left town yesterday. He never interfered at all about the colleges. His business appeared to be *to buy old books.* Dr. Kennedy is still here. He does not stay with us; Dr. Murphy did, but I believe he has not interfered directly in the questions which occupy the Irish mind. He is rather in bad health; and he is ever thinking of returning to Ireland *on account of the reports which reach us every day of* IMPENDING FAMINE in the country.

"The Pope is quite as much attached to Ireland as ever. The little leaning toward England, which manifested itself last spring, appears to have passed away. I think as long as he lives we shall have no Concordat with England, and no (English) ambassador in Rome.

"I see by the papers that (Rev.) Dr. Kirwan is named president of the (Queen's) College at Galway. How fortunate it was he was not made bishop! I suppose there will be several priests willing to accept office under him. In the French University Schools several priests of great learning are employed, but they do not at all impede the evils of the system. I hope O'Malley will hold his tongue after the lecture the "Tablet" has given him."

"We know there are Irishmen," said the most fearless among these publicists,—"as indeed the two curses of of Ireland have ever been to see her patriotism ruined by dupery and treachery,—who affect to have the fullest confidence in the upright intentions of the present Government. In their eyes the packers of juries, the employers of spies, the seal-breakers, the violators of every confidence and ev-

ery principle of honor, are a well-meaning set of innocents, who desire to confer a benefit on their chief enemy, and who, in the height of their death-struggle, wish to add health and strength to their antagonist. We know some of them affect to be Repealers. They declaim against Saxon tyranny, and would not let Englishmen pass a law affecting property to the extent of forty shillings. They would not allow an English Minister to nominate to office so much as a bailiff or process-server. Their houses, property, industry, commerce,—all that relates to this world or to Mammon, everything that smacks of sin and has the taint of the Devil upon it, they would keep to themselves, hug to their hearts, pay for it, wrangle for it, fight for it, take the pence of the poor for it, set the country in a blaze of discord for it from north to south. Not a rag would they leave in the clutches of the hated Saxon. Yet into these same clutches are they willing to trust the affairs of God, the Church, and religion, and they would do so without a scruple or a sigh." [1]

The two Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, with Dr. Kennedy, Bishop of Killaloe, accepted seats in the Board of Commissioners, the two other Catholic members being the notorious A. R. Blake and Sir P. Bellew. Of course, Dr. Whately sat side by side with Dr. Murray. Dr. Kennedy however, felt his place rather uncomfortable and withdrew, the Bishop of Belfast, Dr. Denvir, taking his place.

It was a great triumph for Sir Robert Peel; but it was a triumph which boded ill to the Catholics of Ireland.

The Archbishop of Tuam did not hesitate to undeceive the Prime Minister as to any hopes the latter and his associates might entertain about subjugating the Church, which had withstood more than three centuries of the fiercest persecution. He wrote to Sir Robert Peel, on January the 24th, 1845.

"It is as a step to the complete subjection of the Catholic Church to the State, which no doubt is your aim, that you have introduced that fatal measure of the Bequests Bill.

[1] Frederick Lucas, in the "Tablet."

By its fruits you may judge of the wisdom of your policy.

"You have confessed that your difficulty was Ireland. Have you not increased and thickened those difficulties by this disastrous measure? Never within the memory of the oldest inhabitants was Ireland in a state of more formidable excitement. And why? From the encroachment you have striven, but I hope in vain, to make on the freedom of the Catholic religion.

"Allow me to tell you in all sincerity, that as you are now about meeting the Parliament, your first measure must be the repeal, the total repeal of that penal law, root and branch, if you wish to restore tranquillity to Ireland.

"I shall not fatigue you or the public with the arguments against this iniquitous law, that are now as familiar as they are forcible. . . . The question has been so far argued that persons the most illiterate are in possession of those arguments. Hence an intellectual and religious opposition to the measure, deep, wide, embracing all orders and classes,—laity, clergy, priests and bishops, gentry and peasantry. It is spread over the entire country, and has on its people as fast a hold as their faith.

"When it was announced that three estimable and venerable prelates were associated to the Commission to carry this odious act into effect, the public mind was stunned, and a sudden grief fell on the heart of the nation. . . .

"There is not in the world a people who feel more veneration for their prelates than the Irish; and therefore you must suspect that the measure must be bad, which could produce dissension in a body held so closely together by the spirit of Catholic faith and concord. It requires no extraordinary sagacity to perceive that you, in looking for the aid of Catholic bishops, sought not to support the Catholic religion, or to exalt its priesthood, but rather to prop up the tottering fabric of Protestant Ascendancy.

"If you meant, as you should have done both in policy and justice, to legislate on a principle of common fairness toward Catholics, why not recognize in law the canonical rights and apostolical jurisdiction on which this penal law

defending their faith, have been made the most practised champions upon earth. . . . They will then cling, as their ancestors have done, to the Rock of Peter. They shall labor, too, for the peaceful recovery of all those rights of which, on account of their attachment to the chair of Peter, they have been deprived.

"Allow me to ask you who are they who, in reality, are making inroads on the power of the Pope, and striving to make a mockery of his jurisdiction? Is it we, who constitutionally labor for the repeal of the Bequests Act, so repugnant to the Canons of the Church, and so little in accordance with the principles of the Catholic religion? Or is it those who, without consulting the Holy See, strive tyrannically to enforce this penal enactment?

"Before this Commission was named, we sought, as was the duty of Catholics, to have this question referred to the decision of the Holy Father. We were told, 'why refer to the Holy Father a question regarding temporalities?'

"The people meet, resolve, denounce the unconstitutional encroachment on their civil rights. They are told that they violate the obedience due to their spiritual rulers, by deliberating on a matter which they should leave to a spiritual tribunal. Thus, the Pope must not decide because it is a temporal matter; and the people must not decide because it is a spiritual concern. And, during this unprincipled and sophistical shifting, the prophecy of a celebrated writer is sought to be realized by the erection of a ministerial and political papacy in our own kingdom, directed by the nod of the Premier, disregarding, on the one hand, the authority of the Pope, and, on the other, striving to crush the religious and political rights of the people. . . .

"You feared, if we are to judge by the combination of law and armaments to which you resorted to crush them, the display of power exhibited by the Monster (Repeal) Meetings. The malignant spirit of your Bequests Act has evoked a far more formidable agitation. Yes, the people of Ireland love their country. . . . But they love their religion more,—the one being temporal and the other an eternal

Kinsella! This is ominous. Let us hope that the abettors of (religious) indifference, heresy, and infidelity will be *compelled* to relinquish their infamous traffic, and that, no matter how sacred or exalted their station, they shall not be permitted to sell the Church of Ireland 'for filthy lucre,' or an unholy intimacy with the implacable enemies of our creed and our country. I need not assure your Grace of the satisfaction I felt that my name was attached to the document in question.

"Dr. Cullen passed a few days with me here. He is most indignant about the 'Godless Scheme,' and thinks it is the plain and imperative duty of the orthodox prelates to address a common document to the Irish clergy and people, strongly reprobating the Infidel Colleges.

"He also thinks that *we ought to accuse the three episcopal Commissioners before the Pope, as bartering the principles and independence of our Church for worldly motives, etc.*[1] We should put these worthies on their trial before the proper tribunal, and thereby prevent them from forwarding garbled statements, and even open calumnies, to the authorities in Rome. I intend soon addressing a very brief letter on the subject of the colleges to the priests and people of this diocese."[2]

It would appear from the following correspondence between the Premier and the Archbishop of Tuam, that the latter had remonstrated privately with the Minister on the obnoxious measure which he had presented to Parliament, and that it was only after waiting in vain for a reply that the Archbishop addressed himself to the public press. The Prime Minister, as the reader will see, avoids giving the Catholic prelate his proper title:—

"WHITEHALL, July 17th, 1844.

"Sir Robert Peel presents his compliments to the Most Reverend Dr. Mac Hale, and begs leave to acknowledge the receipt of the communication addressed to him by Dr. Mac Hale some days since on the subject of a bill for the

[1] These Italics are our own. [2] MAC HALE MSS.

way, and to give Sir Robert Peel seasonable intimation that the Catholic people will not be reconciled to a continuance of the System, without large improvements, much less to its further extension and development in its present most objectionable form."[1]

Once more, as we know, the Irish hierarchy, clergy, and people soon learned that the safe guides to follow were not prelates whose judgment was warped in the atmosphere of Dublin Castle, but those who kept aloof from courts.

Then came the controversy about "the Infidel Colleges."

[1] *Ibidem.*

Ireland to be planned or conducted by those who seem to have taken upon themselves the exclusive office of the directors of the national mind, and to whom—so well have they till now accorded to your views—you seem anxious to entrust the guidance of the youth of Ireland, and the laws and regulations by which its academies, colleges, and universities are to be governed.

"Before the next session of Parliament we shall have petitions with thousands of signatures, praying for a share of the public funds for our people in proportion to their numbers and their services to the State.

"We shall also petition for the erection and endowment of Catholic provincial colleges, as well as diocesan seminaries.

"It will be well to meet our just wishes; for an average of £2,000 a week to the Repeal Association shows the mighty resources of a people resolved to be free. The yearly amount would throw into the shade your increased grant for education."[1]

Thus did the Archbishop boldly challenge the Government to a contest which was to be longer and more bitter than the battle fought for the National Schools; thus clearly did the trusted leader of the majority of the Irish clergy and people unfold his programme, many important points of which were carried out to the letter, and all of which would have been executed, were it not for the unforeseen calamities we have already touched upon.

Lucas, in the "Tablet," while it was yet in the power of the Episcopal minority to unite with their brethren, was most earnest in his exhortations to union. On the 8th of November, 1844, as his brother relates, after devoting two articles in the early edition to the subject of the Charitable Bequests Bill, he was so oppressed with anxiety, that he rose at night to prepare another for the later edition of the next morning's paper. "Next week will be too late," he thought; "next week some fatal conclusion may be arrived at." So this noble publicist, whose whole soul was so closely in

[1] LETTERS, etc., First Ed., pp. 572, 573.

of the most Satanic projects for dividing a nation, for marring the most praiseworthy efforts toward liberty and self-government, and for throwing back for another half-century the cause so successfully advanced by O'Connell and Mac Hale?

"The experience gained in passing the Bequests Act was not lost sight of; and no sooner had the bishops come to their decision respecting it, than a certain Mr. Wyse, Member for Waterford, was put up to propound an educational scheme, which resulted in the establishment of the Queen's Colleges. The proposal was better calculated to create divisions than the Bequests Act, and it led to very warm discussions on the question both of education in general and of education without religion in particular."[1]

"Are the bishops awake?" asked the "Tablet."

One of them most certainly was, as we have seen.

With him stood, in the present phase of the education question, as in resisting the Bequests Act, the majority of the bishops, and the Catholic people of Ireland. The letters of the leading spirits among these, and which we have now before us, are only answers to the Archbishop of Tuam's appeals to their piety and patriotism. 'Bishops, priests, people, the few members of Parliament true to their political trust and their religious principles, O'Connell and the masses who looked up to him and to John of Tuam for exhortation and guidance, all, all were fired by the latter's inflamed words of warning and denunciation. More even than O'Connell, beset as the latter was, in his fast-declining mental and bodily strength, by men who sought their own personal interests, was the Archbishop of the West the leader of the nation, the defender of religion in its mortal peril.

"My revered Lord," O'Connell writes from Dublin, on February the 19th, 1845, "I am exceedingly alarmed at the coming prospect. I am truly afraid that the ministerial plans are about to throw more power into the hands of the supporters of the Bequests Bill. A fatal liberalism is but

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 179.

the Cardinals in order to explain the necessity for translating him to Ephin. I fear there is somebody inclined to meddle with Irish Church affairs. . . . I think it would be also well for your Grace to write a letter to Cardinal Acton. He is a very excellent man, but I think is easily led astray. He will attach importance to anything you write."

From other letters of Dr. Cullen it is manifest that these same intrigues began when the names of candidates were forwarded for the See of Galway, and that the appointment of the afterward noted Dr. Kirwan, first president of the Queen's College in that city, was only prevented by Dr. Mac Hale's interposition. The Government would have had a pliant and useful tool in Dr. Kirwan, as it had later, unhappily, in Dr. Browne, become bishop of Elphin.

On November the 8th, Dr. Cullen writes again: "I have been quite shocked by Greg. Lynche's infamous letter on the Uncharitable Bequests Bill; it is truly an 'uncharitable Bill. . . . As the Bill was changed a little, I was afraid to give His Holiness' opinion to the meeting of the bishops. God grant that no mischief may be done! There is no British ambassador in Rome, thanks to God. The person here is only a secret agent, a spy, not received by the Pope. There has been one for many years."

On December the 7th, in a postscript to his letter, the Rector says to the Archbishop of Tuam: "Probably it will be more prudent not to write in public against the (Bequests Act), until the judgment of Rome is heard, or at most to do nothing but petition Parliament!"

Then, on January the 28th, 1845, comes the following: "My Lord, I write a line to contradict in the most decided way the report of a projected Concordat. There is not a word of truth in the whole matter. Perhaps I contributed to circulate the report. I was deceived by a conversation a priest in Rome had with Mr. Petre, in which that gentleman stated he was engaged in important negotiations here, or at least made the people understand so much. . . .

"For God's sake, exert all your powerful energies to restore peace in the Church!"

On February the 8th following, Dr. Cullen writes to Dr. Cantwell, Bishop of Meath, on the same subject: "I cannot do much in the matter. I am not at all well; and, besides, I was wrong in taking any part in the proceedings publicly. You will understand my position. I do not know what they will do here; but it would be well to write directly. God grant that nothing bad may occur in Ireland! Things are gone to a terrible state. Every exertion should be made to preserve or restore union. For God's sake, exert yourself! It is bad to push things to extremes. I fear it is not wise to introduce censures in such cases.

"There is not a word of truth in the report about Concordats... What an awful calamity it would be to have any rupture with the Holy See!

"I see some talk about lay deputations (to Rome). Such things would be most dangerous. Oppose them, for God's sake. Perhaps they would not be received, or not well; and then the consequences would be very bad. Dissuade the people from such a project.

"It is a pity that the late (?) controversy was not regularly brought before Rome. No one, I believe, wrote directly about it, except one. A joint letter should have been written."

Thereupon the Bishop of Meath remarks: "Poor Dr. C. must be greatly alarmed. We ought to send a joint letter... I forwarded by this post the extract about the Deputation (private) to Dan. It will, I think, influence his movements."

Again, on February the 11th, Dr. Cantwell writes: "I think a general meeting of the prelates, to take into consideration the Bequests Bill and the Academical Education Bill, is most desirable, and that it ought to be convened at the earliest possible moment."

Dr. O'Higgins, Bishop of Ardagh, who, with Dr. Cantwell, had ever been the staunchest supporter of the Archbishop of Tuam, rendered, all through this long and fearful contest, invaluable services to his Church and country,—was also fully alive to the danger of English intrigues in Rome,

and fully enlightened with regard to the new Government plot for dividing the Irish bishops and obtaining complete control of education.

HE had been long "awake" before the cry of Lucas in the "Tablet" sounded trumpet-toned through the Three Kingdoms. "My dear Lord," he writes, "I believe that under existing circumstances it is better to postpone our general (yearly) meeting. Things are going on pretty well all over the country, and the opposition to the abominable (Bequests) 'Act' is likely to acquire force every day. Every deanery and parish in this diocese has done or is doing its duty with vigor and determination. . . .

"I fear that matters in Rome are much worse than we have hitherto apprehended; and the more I reflect on that subject, the more I feel convinced that an episcopal deputation to the Pope is now more a matter of *absolute necessity.* All the priests and people of this and the adjoining dioceses (some of Kilmore included) are of my opinion. Dr. Mac Nally is quite anxious that a moment should not be lost. You know how easy it is to alarm and deceive the Cardinals; and should the Holy Father and they be surprised by the hypocrisy of England, the evil would be irremediable.

"Dr. Cullen's *terror* shows what an impression has been made. English Catholics,—aye, and English priests,—are the corrupt tools employed by Peel. Unless they are met face to face, and proved to be base hirelings before the proper authorities, *our Church will be sold forever!*"

That the state of things, in so far as the future independence of the Catholic Church in Ireland was involved, was fraught with the most serious danger,—is manifest from the following letter of Dr. Cantwell to the Archbishop of Tuam:—

"MULLINGAR, Oct. 1st, 1845.

"MY DEAR LORD:—Your Grace will be gratified to hear, if you have not already received the pleasing intelligence, that the Primate (Dr. Crolly) has received a communication from Rome respecting his proceeding with which he has no reason to be pleased. Of this there is not *a shadow of*

were signed by even twelve bishops, it might accomplish the object without your Grace or any other prelate going to Rome. For God's sake, work the point without delay.

"Our *principal* danger is at Rome. There *we* have done nothing. *There* our enemies are actively at work, and we are bound to preserve the authorities *there* at least from being the victims and tools of misrepresentation and falsehood. Favor me with a line at your earliest convenience.

"I have just heard that Dr. Higgins has been compelled by ill health to abandon the idea of holding the confirmations which he had published. What a loss to our cause! I hope the attack is not serious, and that he will soon rally.

"In great haste, I have the honor to remain, my dear Lord,

"Your Grace's affectionate and most devoted servant,

"JOHN CANTWELL.

"P. S.—I wrote to and had a reply from Derry. There all are truly orthodox and staunch."

Dr. Cantwell, in a letter of Nov. 9th, writes: "I had a letter yesterday from Dr. Cullen, written a couple of days after his arrival in Rome. He had a conversation with Cardinal Fransoni, who is *with us*. He *complained* that no bishop had written on the subject (the new Education Scheme). Dr. C. implores as many letters from bishops, denouncing the (Bequests) Act and accusing those who have lent themselves to its *execution*, as we can possibly influence. Cork (the Bishop of) is not at all favorable to the scheme, and will not delay many days in Rome. Killaloe (Dr. Kennedy, Bishop of) is, on the contrary, zealous in its favor and will succeed, *through the willing but mistaken zeal and agency of Cardinal Acton*, in doing great mischief, if not counteracted by extraordinary exertions *here*, by clear remonstrances from the bishops, conjointly and individually, or by the presence of some on our side at headquarters."

All these letters,—and they are only a few selected from the mass,—evidently pointed to Dr. Mac Hale as the stay

of clergy and people in what was,—long before the cry of famine was raised,—designated as a momentous crisis.

Dr. Cantwell says to him in another letter :—" *Your Grace is now the* ONLY *hope of Ireland.* We shall aid you with our fervent prayers and good wishes. May the Holy Ghost enlighten and guide your counsels!"

This strikingly recalls the words addressed many years later, and in a no less momentous crisis, to the Archbishop of Tuam by Alexander M. Sullivan. And we shall see, in the succeeding chapters, similar tributes of pious admiration and grateful praise addressed to him by Englishmen of distinction as well as by his own countrymen.

In very truth, the policy and avowed projects of the Tory Government, at the dawn of 1845, were pregnant with such dangers to Ireland as had not been experienced since the enactment of the Penal Laws.

This was made clear after the re-opening of Parliament, on February the 4th, 1845. Dr. Kennedy, Bishop of Killaloe, who had at first accepted a place on the Bequests Board, soon withdrew, to the great joy of his people and clergy, and amid the rejoicings of the whole nation. He was succeeded by Dr. Denvir of Belfast, who only accepted the place on condition that certain odious clauses in the Bill should be cancelled. This was promised. But when Parliament met, Sir James Graham declared that no alteration should be made in the Law.

Had not Sir Robert Peel succeeded in yoking to the triumphal car of the new anti-Catholic legislation the Catholic and the Protestant Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, side by side? And what obstacle could he find henceforth to his pet scheme of collegiate and university education? All the influence and the gold at the disposal of the British Government were doing, as we have just seen, not a little sad work in Rome; and, at home in Ireland, were not the successors of St. Patrick and St. Lawrence O'Toole the willing and zealous instruments of the same Government, both for the purposes of the Charitable Bequests Act and for that of the new Queen's Colleges?

"If (said Lucas in the "Tablet") any one were to predict that the edifice of political strength of which O'Connell has been the main architect was, just after it had reached its greatest height and been brought to its utmost perfection, to disappear in one day, like the prophet's gourd, to vanish and leave no trace behind; that the great political organization which the people have toiled and labored and sweated and starved for, ... and have hoped against hope and have trampled down despair with heroic fortitude; .... if any one were to prophesy that this great political organization was about to be scattered to pieces like some house of cards, ... he would, we suppose, be thought a very foolish and a very extravagant prophet.

"If any one were to predict that the holy Catholic faith, which the people have died and suffered for in all practicable ways, ... was about to pass away from some considerable portion of the community, ... he would, we suppose, be accounted little short of a madman or an idiot.

"Yet we are bound to declare our deliberate and solemn apprehension that a few false steps now taken by those whom it most concerns may realize both these portentous visions."[1]

Frederick Lucas was no false seer. But, while he saw division in the Repeal Association, and the hands of its venerable leader too feeble to hold the reins and to control the fiery and warring elements which agitated the party, and while he beheld the episcopal body like a house divided against itself,—he might well utter his prophecy of despair.

But we in America, who looked on from afar, knew and felt that John Mac Hale, Archbishop of Tuam, personified in himself both the patriotism which had created the Repeal Party, and the invincible, unpurchasable spirit of faith which should save the national religion from shipwreck.

He was,—and we knew it in every land where Irish ex-

[1] "Life of Frederick Lucas," I., pp. 180, 181.

iles lived and hoped against hope for Ireland,—he was the Josue as well as the Moses of Irish nationality.

III.

ACCESSION OF PIUS IX. TO THE PAPAL CHAIR.

In June 1846 Ireland lost in Gregory XVI. an enlightened and devoted friend. He was spared the spectacle of Ireland's awful agony while enduring the pangs of starvation and pestilence as well as the brutalities of a coercion act,—the grand specific ever ready to the hand of the British Legislator for the constantly recurring evils of oppressed Ireland.

The bishops had solicited from the venerable Pontiff a doctrinal judgment on Sir Robert Peel's new scheme of higher eduation. Government intrigues had divided the prelates themselves and moved heaven and earth in Rome to delay or prevent a decision. And so the question was under consideration, when, ere the end of June, 1846, Cardinal Giovannni Mastaï Ferretti became Pope, with the name of Pius IX.

The Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel, with the seventeen other prelates who followed them in their opposition to the Colleges Bill, lost no time in congratulating the new Pope, and soliciting his attention to the grave question which occupied the mind of his predecessor up to his latest hour.

The letter from the two archbishops, speaking in the name of the majority of their brethren, is from the pen of Dr. Mac Hale, and written in his best style and purest Latin.

"His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI.," it says, "closing a blessed life by a still more happy death, is now counted among the long series of the successors of Peter who passed into the peace of the Lord, while the Church all over the globe mourns in the deepest grief the loss of a Pontiff whose memory assuredly deserved to be held in undying reverence.

"But blessed be the God and Father of Our Lord Jesus

Christ, the God of all consolation, who comforteth us in every trouble of ours. He hath not left us long orphaned. For scarcely has the Church been widowed by the death of Gregory, when she is filled with joy by the election of PIUS, and with such singular unanimity, that the hand of God was visible pointing you out as the man He willed to fill the place of Peter, and to have a care not only of the lambs but of the sheep in the flock.

"This extraordinary favor has suddenly lifted up the universal Church from her place of mourning, and caused her in her exultation to pour forth to God her solemn prayers of thanksgiving. Nor would it become us, who have been called to have a share in your pastoral solicitude, not to share also in the universal joy. Wherefore, kissing the feet of Your Holiness, we congratulate you with all our hearts on the supreme honor and power entrusted to you both in heaven and on earth. We salute you as the successor of Peter, as the Vicar of Christ, as the visible Head of the Universal Church. We promise you for ourselves and our charge all honor, reverence, and obedience; we pray to be allowed to address you, in the words of St. Bernard, 'Thou art he to whom the Keys are given. . . . Others have flocks assigned to them, to each one his own; to Thee all have been confided, to the one pastor, the one undivided flock, and Thou art alone the Shepherd of all the sheepfold as well as of all the shepherds.'

"It were indeed to be desired that on this happy occasion no other duty should be ours than the most grateful one of professing for Your Holiness, as we do hereby profess, love, reverence, obedience. It hath pleased God to dispose otherwise, since we have fallen upon perilous times. And amid the dangers besetting religion, to whom shall we go, if not to you, Most Holy Father, 'who hast the words of eternal life'? And when the sheep see the wolves rushing upon the fold, can they fly too fast to the Shepherd?

"What this peril is, we shall now briefly state.

"During the year last past, the British Parliament enacted a Law of Collegiate Education for the entire Kingdom

cal education. This will also repress other dangerous assaults on our holy religion; it will restore peace and concord among ourselves, and will preserve the unity of spirit in the bond of peace.

"We hope that Providence has reserved the bestowing on us of this great blessing during this Pontificate, and the Church of Ireland, everlastingly grateful for the same, will thank God that Pius IX. has been able in our day to crown all the benefits conferred on us by the Papacy from the day when Celestine I. sent St. Patrick on his apostolic mission to Ireland.

"Still, Most Holy Father, not as we will, but as you will. Let Pius speak; Peter speaks in him. We who belong to your sheepfold will listen to the voice of the Shepherd of shepherds. We shall hear you, obey you, follow you.

"Kneeling before Your Holiness, we kiss the feet of Peter's successor. We offer our congratulations to our Pastor, our Pontiff, our Father. We venerate you as him who holds on earth the place of Christ, supreme both in honor and power. We commend to your care ourselves, our flocks, our nation. For you we ask of Almighty God length of years to reign gloriously on earth, and an eternal crown of glory in heaven. For ourselves and all who are ours, we implore the Apostolic Benediction, remaining as long as life lasts,

"Of your Holiness

"The most humble and most loving sons,

† MICHAEL, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL,

"THURLES, July 29, 1846;

† JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM,

"TUAM, July 31, 1846."

The answer to this joint letter was dated September 5th, a little more than a month thereafter. It is a hearty response to the warm words of affection and reverence with which the two Archbishops had greeted the new Pope.

"We were delighted," he says, "with your most kind letter, expressing your just sorrow in common with all good

men for the loss of our predecessor of saintly memory, who so highly deserved by his many illustrious and glorious deeds of the entire Catholic Church, and conveying in most loving words your congratulations at our having been by some hidden design of Providence raised to the supreme dignity of the Apostleship. We remarked with equal joy and consolation, that your letter bore throughout striking evidence of your well-known love for religion, of your piety, virtue, of the singular attachment, love, and reverence which you bear to this Chair of Peter, the centre of Catholic unity, as well as of that episcopal zeal which animates you for the furtherance of God's glory and the salvation of souls.

"Cherish ever, Venerable Brothers, in your own souls this deep religious sense, so worthy of all praise, and relying on the divine assistance, continue as you have done hitherto, to be watchful, to work and endeavor in all things to fulfil your ministry, so that the flock confided to you may be daily fed with the word of life, and thus grow in the knowledge of God, confirmed in the gifts of His grace, and advancing in His ways with joyous and unfaltering steps.

"As to the matter of such momentous importance mentioned by you in your letter, you are well aware that our Congregation of the Propaganda is busied, in accordance with its usual custom and rules, in submitting the whole question to a most careful examination and consideration, as the very gravity of the subject demands, and that, as soon as may be, the same Congregation will send you in good season a timely answer.

"And thereupon, Venerable Brothers, we cannot forbear, loving you as we do most dearly, to exhort you with all the affectionate earnestness possible, to be, amid the many difficulties of the present times and circumstances, most solicitous about preserving the unity of spirit in the bond of peace, to be of one mind, cherishing on every point the same mutual sentiments, so that you may have nothing more at heart than to endeavor, setting aside the

maxims of a mere human prudence, to unite all hearts and all sentiments for the one great purpose of increasing among your people, through every means in your power, the prosperity of religion and the advance of its sacred knowledge, glorifying thereby God, Who is the author of peace and the lover of charity.

"We make no doubt but that you will zealously foster among yourselves this spirit of concord so dear to God, since men of your singular prudence and virtue must be well aware how much such concord contributes to the welfare of religion.

"Moreover, we most earnestly beseech you, again and again, never to cease praying God, who hath raised us, in spite of our unworthiness, to be the Vicar of His only-begotten Son on earth, to help our weakness with the constant aid of His own almighty power, to strengthen and sustain us, so that, amid the evil and difficult days on which we have fallen, we may discharge the all-important duties of the Apostolic office in a way to enhance the prosperity and glory of His holy Church. On our side, we shall never fail in every prayer and supplication and thanksgiving, most humbly to beseech our most merciful Lord, to pour forth on you the richest stores of His goodness, and to send them also down abundantly on the flocks confided to your watchful care."

In a question of such surpassing importance, it will be best, for the interests of historical truth, to allow the chief personages engaged in this great conflict to appear and speak for themselves.

The Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Slattery, who felt as deeply as Dr. Mac Hale on the dangers of the situation, was in daily communication with him by letter. It would have been hard to tell which of the two prelates exerted himself more zealously or effectively on this occasion. There was an imperious necessity for enlightening the authorities in Rome about the true condition of things in Ireland.

On October 8th (1845), Dr. Slattery writes:—

"With regard to the other topic, I think with you, that

as soon as it is sufficiently arranged to be numerously, and, as I think it will be, generally signed." [1]

Here now is the important document forwarded to Cardinal Fransoni, and which was drawn up immediately by the two archbishops and signed by them and their seventeen adherents.

"YOUR EMINENCE:—As in every diffcult question that arises we should have recourse to our Most Holy Father, appointed by Our Lord to rule both the shepherds and their flocks, and since we have good grounds to fear for religion, albeit flourishing still among us, we have recourse through you to our Most Holy Father, in order to obtain light from the very source from which we derived the truth of the Gospel.

"It is, most likely, known to His Holiness that during the present year the British Government devised and enacted as a law a system of Academical Education for Ireland; by virtue of this law four colleges are to be built, in which the entire youth of the Kingdom are to be instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, without any distinction as regards religious creeds, without any religion whatever (as we shall show hereafter).

"The British Government introduced into Parliament, discussed, and passed this Bill, without, so far as we are aware, ever consulting on any detail whatever the bishops of Ireland, although the Ministers knew perfectly well how deeply both the youth of Ireland and their bishops were interested in the kind of educational system which it was proposed to introduce among us.

"While this Bill was still before the Legislature, the Most Rev. Dr. Crolly, Primate of all Ireland, convened the Irish hierarchy in general meeting by the letter marked I. in the accompanying documents. This meeting lasted two days, and a mature deliberation resulted in the unanimous Resolution marked numbers II. and III. hereafter.

[1] MAC HALE MSS.

I.

Letter of the most Rev. Dr. Crolly, Primate of Ireland, convening the bishops to consult about the new colleges.

"DROGHEDA, May 14th, 1845.

"MY DEAR LORD:—As the Government plan of education appears to be pregnant with danger to the faith and morals of the youth of this country, I deem it my duty to call a meeting of all the prelates on Wednesday, the 21st instant, at twelve o'clock, in the Presbytery House, Marlborough Street, Dublin, in order that we may adopt the most effectual means of protecting our holy religion. I have the honor to remain, with the highest respect, my dear Lord, your obedient servant,

† WILLIAM CROLLY."

II.

In pursuance of this notice, the bishops of Ireland met in the place appointed on the 21st and 23d of last May; and after mature deliberation, the following resolutions were adopted:—

"At a meeting of the prelates of Ireland, convened in the Presbytery House, Marlborough Street, . . . His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Murray in the chair, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"Moved by the Most Rev. Dr. Slattery, seconded by the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Hale—

"Resolved—That, having maturely considered the Bill now pending before Parliament for the extension of Academical Education in Ireland, and giving credit to Her Majesty's Government for their kind and generous intentions, manifested in the endowment of the College of Maynooth, we find ourselves compelled by a sense of duty to declare that, anxious as we are to extend the advantages of education, we cannot give our approbation to the proposed system, as we deem it dangerous to the faith and morals of the Catholic pupils.

"That the Roman Catholic pupils could not attend the lectures on history, logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, geology, or anatomy, without exposing their faith and morals to imminent danger, unless a Roman Catholic professor will be appointed for each of these chairs.

"That if any president, vice-president, professor, or office-bearer in any of the new colleges shall be convicted before the Board of Trustees of attempting to undermine the faith or injure the morals of any student in those institutions, he shall be immediately removed from his office by the same Board.

"That, as it is not contemplated that the students shall be provided with lodgings in the new colleges, there shall be a Roman Catholic chaplain to superintend the moral and religious instruction of Roman Catholic students belonging to each of these colleges; that the appointment of each chaplain, with a suitable salary, shall be made on the recommendation of the Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese in which the college is situated, and that the same prelate shall have full power and authority to remove such Catholic chaplain from his situation.

"Signed on behalf of the meeting,

"DR. MURRAY, Chairman.

"DUBLIN, May 23d, 1845."

IV.

"The following are the terms in which the unanimous judgment of the Irish hierarchy, first given in the month of May, as above stated, was confirmed anew by nineteen bishops and published on September 13th last past:—[1]

"Lest our faithful flocks should be apprehensive of any change being wrought in our minds relative to the recent legislative measures of Academic Education, we, the undersigned archbishops and bishops, feel it a duty we owe to

[1] From authentic copy in the MAC HALE MSS.

the resolutions unanimously passed at the meeting held in obedience to this call; or in carefully perusing the memorial presented to the Lord-lieutenant in the name of the entire hierarchy, then apparently of one mind with regard to the intrinsic dangers of the proposed system of higher education, would not the reader be justified in thinking that, for once and on a matter so vitally interesting to religion, the prelates were of one mind and undivided in their opposition to the Government Bill? Was there not also good reason to believe that this unanimity in demanding alterations in that Bill, and these alterations grounded on obvious justice and fairness, would force the Government and Legislature to reconsider and modify the proposed scheme in accordance with the demands of the immense majority of the persons most interested?

It is a fact, however, that the memorial of the bishops was treated by the Lord-lieutenant and the Cabinet with contemptuous indifference.

And, unhappily, it is a fact no less certain, that Castle intrigues and Government influence again prevailed, and prevailed, at the very moment when the prelates were seemingly united in sentiment and purpose, in dividing them and giving up the victory to their enemy.

The Tories, with Sir Robert Peel as prime minister, were then in power. Would they adopt speedy and efficacious measures toward meeting the awful calamity hanging over Ireland?

When the Archbishop of Tuam, after careful observation, was convinced of the reality and extent of the distress, he hesitated not to do his duty by publicly addressing himself to the Government, undeterred by his former experience of ministerial neglect. The following letter to Sir Robert Peel tells its own tale fully and eloquently:—

"ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, JUNE 24, 1842.

"SIR:—It would be criminal to delay any longer to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the starving condition of a large portion of her Majesty's people. I have, during the last month, passed over many pressing applications to appeal to the Government in behalf of their suffering subjects unheeded. Fearing there might be exaggeration in some of the harrowing details that reached me, but fearing still more to excite hopes that might not be realized, I was unwilling to add to their misery the bitterness of disappointment.

"However, to the cries of hunger and starvation all such prudential calculations must give way. The people from almost every district have become the heralds of their appalling destitution.

"Already have the irresistible instincts of hunger been reducing to practice the theories of learned jurists on the community of property in cases of extreme distress. And, though there is no friend to order who must not deplore the necessity which would break down any of its fences, it is but justice to the sufferers to declare, that *on the face of the earth there is not, I am convinced, any other people who would endure the torments of hunger with such religious resignation.*

"Such magnanimous patience ought not to be abused. It is a bad and dangerous practice to habituate men to the idea of satisfying the cravings of nature by means beyond the laws. Yet, at this moment, such is the pressure of

of charitable relief has reached the poor of the most distressed localities.

"Other bad institutions required time for their development. The Poor Law System is realizing its unhappy fruits before its full maturity.

"In those munificent asylums which the spirit of the Catholic Church was wont to rear for the alleviation of human misery, never was it customary to make the comfort of the masses subsidiary to the interest of some few individuals.

"As yet the Poor Houses are untenanted, or in some places, where they are inhabited, they have become theatres of religious dissension. . . Who would have thought, that it could have entered the heads of these Commissioners to force the conscience of the Catholic inmates, by striving to make them work on holydays? . . . Men who wore, when it was fashionable, the uniform of *liberality*, are said to be so solicitous for the health of our Catholic youth, that, unless these consented to drink milk on Good Friday, they should practise the rigid fast of the Catholic Church!

"With such rapidly recurring seasons of death and famine, in a land teeming with exhaustless fertility, . . . can it be a matter of surprise that the Irish people would constitutionally exert all the energies given them by nature, to remove the anomaly of perpetual starvation in the midst of plenty, and of perpetual small and teasing persecution under the insulting names of 'enlightenment and 'liberality?'

"Those who are continually reproaching our people with their discontent do them much wrong by overlooking the causes of this restlessness. Is it just to expect that any people would be content who must part with the produce raised by the labor of their own hands, and often, as just now, experience at the close of the season all the horrors of starvation?

"They may be, and they are, thank God, almost to a miracle, religiously resigned under their unheard of privations. That is a question into which I do not now enter,

ty's Government would think it most wise to pursue, *in telling a starving people to wait for the showers and the seasons. . . .*

"I have the honor to be your very obedient servant,

"JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART."

What the Government did, in answer to this public appeal, and for the purpose of relieving the starving peasantry of Connaught, we shall see further on. But the great popular heart is never insensible to the voice of such distress, and "red tape" does not tie the hands of generous individual donors.

The letter, breathing as it did the sorrowing sympathy of a pastor who beheld daily and hourly the terrible sufferings which he was powerless to relieve, and the indignation of a patriot and statesman at oppression, cruelty, and mis-government which nothing could justify or palliate, called forth both from Englishmen and Irishmen a prompt response.

Lord Stourton comes first in date as well as in generosity. Writing from his beautiful Yorkshire home near Knaresborough, he modestly says: "*Allerton Park.* With Lord Stourton's respectful compliments, for the most necessitous POOR as his Grace shall judge most deserving of this small contribution towards the mitigation of the sufferings described in his Grace's pathetic letter to Sir Robert Peel, Bart."

The "small contribution," was a cheque for £150 sterling.

Here is an echo from the Jones of Llanarth:—

"LLANARTH COURT, NEAR MONMOUTH, July 24th.

MY LORD:—From the accounts we see in the papers, the famine and distress in the western parts of Ireland are truly afflicting. My brother, Mr. William Jones, has begged of me to hand your Lordship £5 in addition to my own £5; and we beg that you will have the kindness to make use of it in the way you think proper.

"With every feeling of sympathy for the sufferings of these poor unfortunate creatures, and hoping that in the

abundance of the approaching (harvest) they may be supplied with food, believe me, my Lord, to remain with the greatest respect, your obedient servant,

"EDWARD JONES."

Lady Stafford sends £5 "for the poor Catholics who are suffering the greatest privations."

The Rev. Joseph Carpue, of St. Mary's Priory, Princethorpe, Coventry, hastens to send £50 "for your suffering and afflicted poor."

Though we have not met with any of Lord Petre's letters among those preserved after the years of famine, yet we know from the near relatives of the Archbishop of Tuam that this nobleman never failed to contribute generously toward the relief of the famine and fever-stricken West.

Most touching it is to peruse the letters sent from the Irish themselves at home and abroad.

One letter with remittance contains the simple words: "*To the good Archbishop of Tuam: a small donation of one pound for the relief of the poor distressed in the neighborhood of Tuam.*"

"A friend of humanity" sends five pounds.

Here is "a widow's mite" of two pounds.

A brief, anonymous letter from Cork, signed *A. Z.*, encloses a five-pound note, with the prayer: "May the Almighty relieve your poor people!"

"A Catholic mother" writes: "It is my custom on the anniversary of my children's birth-days to give a small sum in charity. The enclosed is part of it. May I beg you to distribute it among the poor, and ask them to pray for my children?"

From ever-generous Dublin there are numerous contributions, some few bearing the names of the donors, but most of them sent through the medium of friends or concealed under the veil of an assumed name.

Immediately on reading the Archbishop's letter to Sir Robert Peel, "a Protestant Tradesman" of Dublin writes: "Seeing your statement of the destitution of the poor in

your neighborhood, I enclose you one pound, for the family, particularly, mentioned in your letter."

"Edward Ross, a servant," sends one pound, with the "regret that I could not send it sooner, but still trusting that my mite may be acceptable."

Another, always from Dublin, excuses his sending "a miserable trifle;" and in this strain do many noble hearts from the Metropolis deplore their inability to give more.

From Lady's Island, Co. Wexford, Pat. Walsh sends his five pounds. "Will your Grace be pleased to accept of my poor mite, requesting you not to publish my name?"

"Hugh Byrne, a Repeal Warden," writes from Bolton, England: "Enclosed I send a Post-office order for one pound, the joint subscription of myself and some other poor men of this town, toward the relief of the suffering poor in your Lordship's diocese." The letter feelingly and indignantly adverts to the mis-government and cruelty which cause all this distress in Ireland, and have driven so many poor men, like the writer and his associates, to seek for bread in a strange land."

From "Stonor, Henley on Thames, Rev. C. P. A. Comberbach sends, in the name of a Miss O'Brien, "a young lady of my congregation, who supports herself by tuition, five pounds, after having read your Lordship's statement of the distress of your poor."

From New York Messrs. Thomas O'Connor and John Foote, chairman and treasurer of a meeting held in that city, send £130. "No sooner," they say, "had the cries of the famishing poor of Ireland reached this city, than our citizens immediately resolved on devising some means of alleviating their distress. When assembled, your truly affecting letter to the British Premier was read, and made a deep and lasting impression on them.

"To the constant demands made on the philanthropy of our citizens, to an unusual depression of trade, and the consequent dearth of money, is owing the smallness of the amount we send you, an evidence altogether inadequate of the sympathy of the contributors."

on the Continent, to forward £ 10 to your Grace's committee for the poor. . . . . I trust that the early and plentiful crop, which it has pleased the Almighty to send, has already brought relief."

James Vance writes from 36 Cuffe Street, Dublin :—" By the direction of Mrs. O'Gorman Mahon I beg leave to enclose your Grace *two pounds* handed to her by *Abbé Moriarty, curé de Derchigny, près Dieppe.*"

These are only a few voices from among the then living multitudes, who were stirred to active commiseration by the famine of 1842.

Now let us listen to what the pastors of the stricken flock have to say in answer to the relief afforded.

Our old acquaintance, the Very Rev. James Mac Hale, of Mountview, comes in the first place. He writes on July 14th :—" Your Grace's remittance of £ 3 has been duly received. So seasonable is this relief, that I am convinced it will save many lives. . . . . Nothing could be more in season than the letter to Sir Robert Peel. It shamed the Government into some sort of charity and liberality, and has brought you the magnificent donation of Lord Stourton. No sooner than in three weeks' time can we have anything like relief from the growing crops."

From Louisburg, near Westport, nestling under the lofty mass of Croagh Patrick, Rev. Patrick Mac Manus writes, on July 9th :—" I have just received your Grace's letter with £ 5 for the people of Innisturk exclusively. No time shall be lost in sending the money. At a meeting held here a week ago, something was done for them. About eight hundred of oatmeal was sent to the island. The good people of Clare Island were not neglected. A ton of meal was sent them.

" As the landlord contributed nothing to meet the paltry Government grant, and as there was no person to represent Clare Island, a few charitable persons entered into a subscription in order to have the poor islanders entitled to a portion of the miserable sum sent by Government.

" The most appalling distress prevails in this parish. I

"The Lord-lieutenant has ordered £25 in aid of this parish, provided a like sum be subscribed for here. This condition is impracticable. Consequently the *paltry donation* will not be availed of. I fear very much that many of my parishioners will fall victims to starvation.

"I am endeavoring to do what I can for them; but, unfortunately, we are persecuted here both by the landlord and by the agent, on account of our politics. The agent of Sir Roger Palmer is a curse to this parish. He is, at this moment, instead of giving them any relief, serving the poor people with processes of ejectment. If he continues much longer to be the agent of Sir Richard, he will depopulate this parish."

Lord Stourton's charity was also a godsend to the numerous and famishing populations of Westport and vicinity.

"I beg to offer my most grateful thanks," writes Dean Burke, on July 12th, "for your kind remembrance of my poor people. . . . . I am sure there were about 500 persons about my door, demanding either work or a morsel of bread. They went through the streets in a body, made a small collection, and nothing more. I wrote to his Excellency yesterday, offering ten pounds, provided he would grant a like sum."

And on July the 17th: "The castle secretary, Mr. Lucas, answered my letter to his Excellency, referring me to the Relief Committee. . . . . I have this day written again that there is no committee, and that the refusal will be considered both uncharitable and illiberal. Indeed, I do not expect any success in that quarter.

"Rev. Mr. Ward of Aughagower got £25 by your Grace's £5! Some people are fortunate. I offered £25 on condition of getting a like sum on my work (a convent school). But, no! It will appear that there is some bigotry working against me.

"I had 60 men at work on Monday, the poorest I could select about the town, and 40 every other day of the week. I certainly incur all this expense on the hope of the Govern-

ment money. Risk or not, I shall have 50 at work to-morrow, please God, if only to vex the officials. Should the correspondence be ever published, it will certainly be in my favor.

"Great rain this day. New potatoes coming in fast at 6 pence a stone; but they are not good."

Finally, on July 19th, Dean Burke writes: "The scenes here are still most distressing. Although there is much work for the people, yet the number unemployed is immense; I have 40 men every day at my convent. They have, in fact, thronged in from every part, even from Galway. Very many Islanders. There was a collection made among the citizens on Saturday; the noise, bustle, and cries would remind one of a besieged town."

Of course, fever, the never-failing follower of famine, made its appearance when the latter had done its worst; and the ravages of this dreaded disease are often more fatal and more wide-spread than those of starvation.

The Archbishop and his faithful priests, in meeting this new enemy, were exposed to continual and serious peril. But they took no thought of their own lives. The Catholic priest looks upon death encountered in the discharge of such perilous duty as ministering to the fever-stricken, as the most glorious ending of his labors,—as the crowning reward of the good shepherd who lays down his life for his flock.

The preceding narrative is only a faint outline of the fearful picture offered by the West of Ireland in the summer of 1842.

But the horrors from which we only partially lift the veil might be deemed trifling when compared with the awful calamities which befell a doomed nation in 1846 and the two following years.

Then more than ever before was the Archbishop of Tuam called upon to stand between his people and utter extinction.

II.

DR. MAC HALE AND THE GREAT FAMINE OF '46–'47.

1. *Precursors of the Famine—Dr. Mac. Hale's Warning.*

The potato blight, which wrought such awfuf destruction among the population of Ireland, first manifested itself in America, in 1844. So thoroughly were the tubers till then in use throughout the United States affected by the disease, that a commission was sent to South America, where seed was obtained from the fruit of the potato plant, and from this seed a perfectly healthy crop of tubers was raised the next year.

The blight of 1844 was also extensively felt in Belgium, Holland, Germany, and extended as far east as Hungary. In the continental countries thus affected, the respective governments took wise and efficacious precautions in view of a renewal and extension of the calamity during 1845 and the succeeding years.

In Ireland the potato crop of 1844 was equally healthy and abundant. No alarm was felt or expressed by the landlords and tenants; and the seed potatoes were put in the ground in the spring of 1845, without any apparent misgiving.

"The harvest of 1845," says an eye-witness, "promised to be the richest gathered for many years. Suddenly, in one short month,—in one week, it might be said,—the withering breath of a simoom seemed to sweep over the land, blasting all in its path. I myself saw whole tracts of potato growth changed, in one night, from smiling luxuriance to a shrivelled and blackened waste. A shout of alarm arose. But the buoyant nature of the Celtic peasant did not give way. The crop was so profuse, that it was expected the healthy portion would reach an average result.

"Winter revealed the alarming fact that the tubers had rotted in pit and storehouse. Nevertheless, the farmers, like hapless men who double their stakes to recover losses, made only the most strenuous exertions to till a larger breadth in 1846. Although already feeling the pinch of

sore distress, if not actual famine, they worked as if for dear life; they begged and borrowed, on any terms, the means whereby to crop the land once more. The pawn-offices were choked with the humble finery that had shone at the village dance or christening feast; the banks and local money-lenders were besieged with appeals for credit.

"Meals were stinted; backs were bared. Anything, anything to tide over the interval to the harvest of FORTY-SIX!

"O God, it is a dreadful thought that all this effort was but more surely leading them to ruin! It was the harvest of Forty-Six that sealed their doom. Not partially, but completely, utterly, hopelessly, it perished.. As in the previous year, all promised brightly up to the close of July. Then, suddenly, in a night, whole areas were blighted; and this time, alas! no portion of the crop escaped.

"A cry of agony and despair went up all over the land.[1]

The British Government received timely warning of the first appearance of the potato-blight in Ireland, as well as of its extent. On the 17th of October the Viceroy wrote to the Home Secretary informing him of the alarming fact that the blight, which had utterly destroyed the potato in the United States, had fallen upon several counties in Ireland. This calamity was all the more threatening, that the diseased esculent was the sole nourishment of the immense majority of the Irish people.

Unhappily, Sir Robert Peel was then prime minister, and he had set his heart on the repeal of the Corn Laws. The partial failure of the potato crop in 1845, and even the prospect of its total failure in 1846, would only afford him additional arguments for throwing open the ports of the Three Kingdoms to the importation of foreign grain and other agricultural produce. But what Ireland needed, both in the distress of 1845 and in the greater prospective distress of 1846, was not the importation of corn or other provisions from abroad. Her rulers and landlords had only to keep on her own markets the superabundant produce which yearly found its way across the channel.

[1] A. M. Sullivan, "New Ireland," ch. vi.

Sir Robert Peel and his associates knew well what was, at that very moment, done in Holland, in Belgium, in Germany and Hungary, to prevent the possibility of famine or distress. The British Minister had only to store up, as a provision for the coming winter, as a precaution against the possible recurrence of the potato blight, the products yielded by the teeming fields of Ireland. He did not do so.

"As for having taken any steps to prepare for the Irish distress"—we quote the words of an Englishmen,—"Peel's first measure was a Coercion Bill, and this at a time when in Dungarvan, for example, five thousand human beings were in a state of want and wretchedness, and when half of the potatoes which the Poor-Law guardians there had stored up for future use were found to be rotten, and the remainder fast decaying." [1]

The letter of the Irish Viceroy to the Home Secretary had plainly told the latter that the distress in Ireland would be felt in all its intensity about February. Parliament met on January 22d, 1846. Up to that date "no provision whatever had been made for the want of food. The Queen's speech declared that every precaution had been taken which it was in her power to adopt for the purpose of alleviating the suffering which might be caused by this calamity."

We know, by sad experience, in 1890, how much of unmitigated falsehood British Ministers can crowd into Queen's speeches, especially when Ireland is concerned.

On February the 17th, not a month after the meeting of Parliament, Sir James Graham admitted that four million people would for four months of the year be without their usual means of subsistence; and to relieve this amount of want the Government had sanctioned the advance of "no less a sum than £448,000, to be laid out in public works" in Ireland.

2. The Archbishop of Tuam was too watchful not to perceive the first signs of the approaching calamity, as he

[1] Edward Lucas, "Life of Frederic Lucas," vol. I., p. 211.

was ever alive to the dangers which threatened the faith of his people.

In his Lenten Pastoral of 1846 he warns his clergy and people of the perfidious designs of the Government, and of the advance of famine with all its train of evils. Himself a man of prayer, he has unbounded faith in the united supplications of the suffering poor. But while lifting their hands to the Mercy-Seat, they must neglect none of the means suggested by human prudence to stave off and remedy the ills which threatened them.

The Pastoral produced a deep impression, not only throughout Connaught, but all over Ireland.

"Venerable and dearly beloved brethren," he says, "having so often and at some length laid before you the nature of the institution of Lent, and the duties it required, we should have been content, on this occasion, merely to refer you to the regulations of later years, if it were not for the awful visitation of famine, with which the Almighty threatens to punish the sins of his people.[1] This calamity has been long threatened. But the very frequency of the warning has had the effect, as it often happens, of rendering some heedless and callous to the danger, until the fearful reality begins to make itself felt in hunger and starvation over the land. . . .

"No matter how scientific men may be occupied in tracing the causes and explaining the symptoms of the (potato) disease,—we are taught by wisdom from a higher source, that every such calamity is a portion of that vengeance which God has in store, and occasionally discharges, on account of the infraction of His holy laws. . . . 'Therefore shall the land mourn, and every one that dwelleth in it shall languish, and they shall eat and not be filled, because they have forsaken the Lord in not observing His Law.'[2]

"The people of Ireland have not yet, it is true, reached this dangerous and daring impiety. But individuals have; and unless seasonably checked, there is a manifest tendency toward LIBERALISM, which would discard the peo-

[1] Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 2. [2] Proverbs iv. 3, 10.

ple's legitimate guardians from the watch-towers of Israel, and resign their custody to mercenary apostates and to strangers,[1] who would soon infect with foreign mixture the faith, the worship, and the morality of the Catholic Church.

"Yes, there is spreading abroad the same jealousy of the holy influence of religious orders, and the same rage to transfer from them to laymen, nay, to heretics and infidels, mixed up with apostate priests, the education of the rising youth of Ireland, such as preceded the French Revolution. There is ringing in our ears the same *liberal* jargon, and the same denunciations of a distinct and exclusive creed. . . . The consequences we need not detail; they are written in blood.

"The land mourneth; the people are on the verge of famine; . . . . and the remedy that is suggested to heal the evil, and the means to which they have recourse to appease God's anger, is to lend themselves to an active coöperation in that very infidelity, which so signally brings on them the chastisement of heaven!

"What will the expenditure of a (Queen's) College avail to avert the coming famine? It would be a drop in the ocean. Yet, for this drop, like the drop of honey[2] which was almost fatal to Jonathan, some doubtless may risk the loss of their immortal souls.

"We are now arrived at a period in the history of our Church in which apostasy, or any faltering in the faith, would be doubly criminal. Many ecclesiastics in the sister country,[3] eminent for their wisdom, talent, and integrity, are now returning to the bosom of the Church of Rome, tired of the 'difficult and troublesome ways,'[4] in which they had so long walked.

"The bishops of France, the glorious successors of the men who earned for that kingdom the praise of MOST CHRISTIAN, are now repairing the fences cast down by

[1] Ezechiel xliv. 7, 8.

[2] I. Kings xiv. 43.

[3] It was in 1846 that Newman, Oakeley, Wilberforce, and so many other of the noblest and best in England joined the Catholic Church.

[4] Wisdom v. 7.

The last pages of this Pastoral Letter contain golden advice regarding the Parliamentary elections about to take place during Lent. "No one," he says, "can be an agent in bribing or coercing the people, or making them commit the horrid crime of perjury, without being guilty of grievous sins, which no temporal honor or emolument, not even the possession of a kingdom, could outweigh.

"All the voters are FREEMEN, not lots (of animals) to be driven to a political market. . . . It is our solemn conviction that many of the public evils that we have already traced to national sins, such as famine and pestilence, are much aggravated by the crying guilt of fraud and bribery, of force and perjury, committed before heaven at these elections. Nor is this conjecture. For, if any one should doubt what we say, we refer him to the Book of Kings,[1] where it is said that a famine, not of a year, but of three years in succession, came on the land of Judea, on account of the wickedness of Saul, who, in despite of a covenant ratified by an oath, had put to death the people of Gabaon."

Thus taught he, holding up the law of God as the only beacon light for his people's guidance, amid the storm of political passions, the pitfalls of proselytism, and the maddening agonies of hunger.

With the end of summer came the certainty that the potato blight was almost universal, and that an entire people, reduced by landlord oppression and by inconceivable improvidence on the part of their rulers to depend for subsistence on a single tuber,—the potato,—were now exposed to starvation.

Would the British Government, roused from their usual supineness by the warnings of the public press, take some measures adequate to the occasion?

The Archbishop of Tuam would do his conscientious duty by addressing himself publicly to the Minister. There do not exist in the whole range of literature more powerful or more touching appeals, than are contained in

[1] II. Kings xxi. 1.

"The fact is, then, so. And to throw a people accustomed for some time to meal diet on potatoes, some of which are rotten and some unripe, would be to aggravate all the evils of famine with the horrors of pestilence.

"It is not, then, on the miserable and peddling scale of levelling hills on a mail-coach road, that the physical wants of a numerous people are to be relieved, but by those extensive and necessary improvements which, while they mitigate distress, will afford to the Government an adequate remuneration;—such as the erection of quays and piers along the southern and western coasts, by which the existing misery would be relieved, and courage given to the hardy natives to explore and develop their fisheries; this is a resource on which any enlightened statesman could draw for supplying the wants of the people.

"These are public works which the people have a right to expect, in return for the ample revenues with which their industry enriches the Exchequer." [1]

But the landlord class, who composed both houses of the "Great Council of the nation," would not admit that there were any grounds for serious alarm, or that a national famine was imminent. Was not Irish corn, with Irish beef, mutton, and butter daily imported into England, like a stream of adundance, whose waters never did and never could run dry?

And why tax the Exchequer for constructing piers and wharves along the coast, of Munster and Connaught, even though the Irish seas were a more exhaustless mine of wealth than the fields of Australia and South Africa, or the golden sands of California?

August wore away, the distress increased, the failure of the potato-crop was a terrible reality; the famine was inevitable.

On the 21st of the month Dr. Mac Hale again wrote to the Prime Minister:—

"The failure—the utter, the general, and undeniable destruction of the potato-crop, the only support of millions

[1] LETTERS, First Ed., pp. 609, 610.

of human beings, is now a subject of notoriety. . . . This is a tremendous crisis to contemplate. It has already had the effect of unnerving the courage of the people. A feeling of despair has fallen on them. Like mariners becalmed in the midst of the ocean, whose provisions are gone,—they look in vain for relief, since no shore is near.

"Yet, far from sinking into apathy, we (who can help) are all bound to redoubled exertion; and our guilt will be only aggravated, if we fail to administer relief to a perishing nation.

"Allow me respectfully to impress on your Lordship, that hunger and starvation are already at the doors of hundreds of thousands. . . . The British Empire boasts, and boasts with justice, of its measureless resources. Now is an opportunity of exhibiting as well the extent of its humanity as of its resources.

"And what is the available sum that has been voted by the munificence of Parliament to avert the starvation of millions? FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS!

"Ten placemen divide between them a larger share of the public money. Fifty thousand pounds for a starving people!

"It is not many years ago since four times that sum was squandered on the pageant of a king's coronation. Fifty thousand pounds!

"It is still fresh in our memory when a few parsons were allowed twenty times that amount,—a million of money,—from the public purse, to maintain an artificial status in society; and yet but the twentieth part of what was given to that body to keep up their rank, is to be doled out to keep multitudes, who are the sinews of society, from perishing!

"Your Lordship does not forget when TWENTY MILLIONS were heaped out of the public treasury to give liberty to the negroes of the West Indies. . . . Are the lives of the people of Ireland prized so low that but *fifty thousand pounds*,—the four hundreth part of these twenty millions,—is to be given for rescuing our people from certain death?"[1]

[1] LETTERS, First Ed., pp. 612–614.

More and more urgent, more and more impressive, rise the tones of the Archbishop, as he alternately remonstrates, reproves, beseeches, pleading with all the eloquence of an agonized parent for the lives of his perishing children.

On October 7th, he cries out to the Prime Minister:—

"The people's hopes have been sustained by assurances of prompt and efficient relief. Their patience has been stretched to a degree of endurance to which human nature is seldom subjected. Yet, when they find the enactments of Parliament... abortive of relief, it is to be feared that their suspicions of underhand intrigue will goad them on to violence and outrage. While we preach patience to them, it is our duty to adjure their rulers not to push their patience to its extreme limits....

"The question is not now about the preference to be given to the constructing of roads, or to the most remunerative labor. The pressing, the imperative question, is about saving the lives of famishing thousands. All the other speculations are unreasonable, nay, cruel.... All your works, productive or unproductive, are only means toward saving the people's lives, which are more valuable than any property, and should not be sacrificed to these cruel speculators, who value property more than the people's lives.

"Better that they should be making holes and filling them again, than that they should die, and in their death scatter pestilence among those who may have no pity for their misfortune.

"Food is the first requisite, and then employment, productive, remunerative employment, if you can, but, at any rate, employment to save the lives of the people."

The Government did nothing, or next to nothing; and starvation continued to mow down its victims. On Dec. 15th, the Archbishop of Tuam wrote one of these letters, which compel the attention of the most indifferent.

"By one of these awful calamities," he says, "with which Providence visits nations, five millions of people, forming an integral portion of a flourishing and mighty empire, are entirely deprived of food and consigned to all the horrors

their fruits now to meet the present exigency? The temperate habits of the people refute the slanderous assertion, that these fruits were improvidently wasted.

"No! The fruits of the first seasons were forced from the tenantry in lieu of the *arrears* which preceding years of distress had accumulated. And allow me to tell you that, though on all equity, the loss of a crop should be proportionably sustained by the landlord and the tenant,—*there is not a farthing of arrears, which might grow during this famine, that would not hang over the poor tenants,* EVEN FOR TEN YEARS, *to be rigorously exacted* whenever heaven blessed them with a more plentiful harvest.

"This will account for the utter destitution in which this calamity was to be encountered, notwithstanding the propitious harvests of the preceding seasons.

"Alas! there was no Joseph to store the abundant produce. There was no responsible body to care for the misery of the Irish people.

"As it is, then, an incontestable truth, that it is to the Union our present unprepared and destitute condition is to be traced, we have a strict right to large grants, proportioned to the crisis, from the Imperial Exchequer.

"Whilst we supplied you with our abundant produce, we were as dear and cherished a portion of the empire as Yorkshire, or any other shire in England. Nothing could exceed the indissoluble closeness, nay, the affection of the Union.

"But when adversity comes upon us in consequence of this legislative identity, when famine walks, a destroying angel, through the land, ... then we are told: 'You have no claim on us; sink or swim; look to yourselves, and rely on your own resources.'

"Would such be the language to Yorkshire in the days of a vengeful visitation? . . . . It is only Ireland that can be flattered with the name of a Union, when giving her heart's blood to the prosperity of the empire; and then, in her inanition, to be abandoned to starvation!"

The famine, moreover, afforded the bigoted among the

upper classes,—and they were many and powerful,—an opportunity for taking the distribution of relief into their own hands exclusively, and of making of it a means of unhallowed proselytism. "The (Catholic) curates, forsooth," the Archbishop indignantly exclaims, "are not persons of sufficient consideration to be put on relief committees! Yet, more than once, when all the influence of armed men and stipendiary magistrates had failed, these very curates have been selected and sent forth to calm the stormy popular masses, rushing for food with all the rage of hunger, chafing with any opposition to their terrible instincts. . . . ."

As we have seen, Parliament, before adjourning in August, had voted £ 50,000 for the relief of the starving people in Ireland. And as the distress increased daily as the autumn and winter advanced, the Prime Minister was vainly urged to assemble Parliament and provide some adequate remedy for the awful sufferings.

"Your delaying to assemble the Parliament," Dr. Mac Hale continues, "can only be accounted for by your total ignorance of the awful extent and intensity of the present famine. Every village witnesses, and every day records instances of persons dying of starvation.

"The tragic end of the young girl, only sixteen years of age, which but lately occurred, is but one of the many extraordinary deaths with which, in all their frightful diversity, our ears are made familiar. Prompted by the cravings of hunger, the poor creature tottered toward a neighboring mill, and entered. The machinery was in motion, and she, unconscious of danger, as she stretched out her hand for a little meal, was instantly caught and torn to pieces.

"Your Lordship has now a great destiny to fulfil, the rescuing of a whole people from the jaws of famine. Nothing less than millions from the Imperial Exchequer can avail for that purpose. Such a measure will be indispensable, notwithstanding all the aid which may be lent by the Irish landlords. . . . They seem altogether unmanned. Their property is shifting away from under their feet, and they seem seized with an utter inability to arrest the ruin.

"They talk much of remunerative labor, but little of *remunerative tenure.* It was the tenants' want of security to enjoy, in substantial food, the fruit of his improvements, that consigned our populations, as if they were wandering tribes, to such a precarious root as the potato. Without a tenure which will make labor reproductive both to tenant and to landlord, no agricultural improvements, such as the crisis demands, will ever be achieved.

"The period assigned for the meeting of Parliament may appear near at hand to the opulent, amid all their social enchantments and enjoyments. It will be a long and dreary period to the famishing inhabitants of Ireland. Deep snow at this moment covers the earth; and even the miserable day's wage, which could not afford half a meal in the twenty-four hour's to all the members of a wretched family,—*is, in many instances, withdrawn.*

"If you are ambitious of a monument, the bones of a people, 'slain with the sword of famine,' and piled into cairns more numerous than the ancient Pyramids, will tell posterity of the triumphs of your brief but disastrous administration."

III.

O'CONNELL'S CO-OPERATION.

What was, when the potato-blight of 1843 filled every patriotic and enlightened mind with alarm, the attitude and conduct of O'Connell? The unhappy dissentiments which, shortly before his death, in 1847, broke out in the ranks of the national party, led to a most unfair and unjust appreciation of a few utterances of the venerable tribune with regard to the then existing famine and the remedial measures imperatively demanded by the circumstances.

The words and acts of the Liberator, before the terrible sufferings of his people in the autumn of 1846 and the ensuing winter had crushed alike mind and spirit,—will best speak to the intelligence of our readers.

On Tuesday, October the 28th (1845), O'Connell, who had

country; and it seems to be a merciful dispensation of Providence that it is so abundant.

"But the oat crop is passing out of Ireland from day to day. I see by the 'Mark Lane Express,' that no less than 16,000 quarters of oats have been imported in one week from Ireland to London; and, therefore, we must look to our own subsistence.

"You may meet a local calamity by means of individual subscription; but this will never be sufficient for a national calamity such as the present. Something adequate must be done, and done immediately. You cannot adjourn the eating of food from day to day, as you would the meeting of an assembly. We must press on the Government, that without their assistance, so great is the calamity, nothing effectual can be done; and that they must take immediate steps to mitigate the evil and *provide food for those who otherwise must die of starvation.*

"I propose that a deputation be appointed to wait on the Lord-lieutenant. . . . . The first measure to be taken by the Government, is the immediate stoppage of distillation and brewing.[1] The exports of provisions of every kind to foreign countries should be at once prohibited, and our own ports opened to all countries. . . . .

"The King of Belgium did not delay one moment to apply a remedy. When the mischief (the potato blight) was discovered, he issued an ordinance opening his ports for provisions free of duty, and preventing the exportation of provisions. He called his Parliament together soon afterward, and they, of course, ratified the act of the Government.

"It is perfectly clear that the Parliament of Great Britain would ratify an act of such obvious necessity as

[1] The measure here suggested by O'Connell is ridiculed in "Young Ireland," the author evidently attributing to *senility* or softening of the brain the utterances of the aged statesman on the famine, and the policy by him pursued at this momentous crisis. But the Dublin "Freeman's Journal" of Oct. 30, 1845, which gives a full report of O'Connell's speech, also contains a letter of Richard Grattan, in which it is said: "The brewers and distillers throughout the empire ought to be immediately stopped, and the ports opened for the free admission of foreign corn."

"I propose that the Government appoint a commissioner for every county in Ireland, who shall be answerable for that county. Let parochial commissioners be appointed to act under him. For my part, I undertake to go to my county and act there; and surely it will not be difficult for a gentleman to thus offer his free services in each county. I am ready to go and thus serve in any county they may appoint me to. Let there be in each parish houses for the distribution of food.

"This organization should extend to every locality. Above all, let us encourage the giving of provisions by way of wages for labor, instead of giving them as an alms.

"One Government-railroad has already been begun; let the people be put to work on two or three other railroads. Let employment be found for them from one end of Ireland to the other.

"It behooves us, as men and Christians, to do everything in our power to mitigate the horrors of the present calamity. We must have acts, acts universal, striking, and permanent; and I again most emphatically repeat that our most especial care should be, that as much as possible of the provisions should be given as wages for labor."

Later, during the same session of the corporation, O'Connell, in addition to the above suggestions addressed to the public authorities, states what he deemed it incumbent on private persons to do at once in each locality, and what he was himself doing on his own estate.

"Meantime every human and patriotic man in the community ought to endeavor to do more or less in his own sphere. . . . I have already given orders that five or six tons of rice should be purchased at Darrynane; that all the oats which could be had in the district should be bought up for me, and that five times the usual quantity of bacon should be saved, in order that the long use of vegetable food should be varied by a mixture of animal nutriment. . . . We must endeavor to rescue our people from death!"

Out of this initiative of O'Connell sprung a public meeting and the appointment of a deputation of representative

men,—nobles, clergymen, and laymen,—to call on the Lord-lieutenant, and through him to press on the Imperial Government the vital importance of adopting at once such relief-measures as those suggested above. The passage in which the Liberator promises to waive all political agitation or aims while the Government is earnestly laboring to save the lives of the people, made a deep and salutary impression even on his most bitter antagonists.

"This is a time," he said, "when the fullest confidence should be given to any Government that will act as it ought in such an emergency. I care not who the Minister is, if he only comes forward decidely to render assistance, he shall have my support and the support of every independent member for Ireland. I am not availing myself of this circumstance to raise more strongly the cry for Repeal, or to urge the agitation for Repeal. I am not mixing any kind of politics with our efforts to rescue the country from starvation."

Thereon the Tory "Evening Mail" remarks: "It is impossible not to admire the sentiments expressed in this passage; and, albeit unused to approve Mr. O'Connell's acts or opinions, we admit that we read these words with a degree of gratification which the town-council speeches seldom afford us." [1]

The "Newry Examiner," alluding to the scientific investigation ordered by Government into the origin and nature of the potato disease, thus indorses O'Connell's suggestions, while ridiculing the Government and its scientists:—

"The *scientific* problem has not been solved. We are as far off as ever from any information that may be relied on, as to the cause, or seat, or remedy of the new and strange disease that has affected the poor man's means of subsistence. . . .

"But the politician and the statesman has a duty which is easily understood. Whatever the cause, the ruinous effect is apparent enough. A large proportion, more than one third, of the ordinary crop has failed. This is a fact to be dealt with: and it is a question which all men can understand.

[1] "Freeman's Journal," Oct. 30, 1845, evening ed.

From what quarter should the difficulty be met, and when, and how?

"This is the practical part of the case; and we think O'Connell has solved it most completely in his speech at the meeting of the Dublin Corporation.

"Restrain the export of food;

"Advance money for public works on the security of the crown lands;

"Stop the distillers;

"Tax the absentees one-half, and the resident proprietors one tenth of their incomes;

"Store provisions, and distribute them in payment for labor.

"These are just, wise, practicable, and statesmanlike recommendations, and the Government which neglects them will incur a tremendous responsibility.

"Much of the mitigation or aggravation of the evil will depend, of course, on the voluntary acts of the landlords. If they press for their rents in disregard of the awful circumstances of the tenantry, fearful results may ensue. We earnestly hope that the rights of property will not be thus strained; for the security of property itself may become endangered by the oppressive conduct of needy or greedy landed proprietors.

"We shall anxiously look for the reception of O'Connell's propositions at the hands of the Government.[1]

The deputation which waited on Lord-lieutenant Heytesbury was headed by the Lord Mayor, the Duke of Leinster, Lord Cloncurry, and Mr. O'Connell.

The address submitted to his Excellency was in the form of Resolutions embodying and endorsing the principal proposals of O'Connell. It was most carefully worded.

"It has now been ascertained," the address stated, "beyond a doubt that the famine and consequent pestilence are imminent, unless the Government shall, without hesitation or delay, take the most prompt measures to provide food for the people, and to organize means for the distribution of

[1] *Ibidem.*

such food in each locality throughout the land. . . . We also respectfully suggest to his Exellency the Lord-lieutenant the propriety of Government establishing, in convenient parts of the country, public granaries, into which corn should be received and tickets issued for the same at the current market-prices, such corn to be issued to the people at a moderate rate. And that in the event of the appearance of famine being happily averted from the country, the advantages of higher prices in other countries shall be secured to the present owners of corn so to be stored."

This was eminently practical, and, if carried out, would have put a stop to the shameful and inhuman speculations of the traders, who during the ensuing eighteen months made large fortunes at the expense of the perishing poor. It secured the owners of the stored grain against all possible loss, averted the peril of starvation, and provided the means of sowing the corn-fields with the next spring. No mention was made of taxing either absentee or resident proprietors.

The Viceroy had time to consider his answer. This was a masterpiece of stupidity and heartlessness. The words "distress," "famine," "starvation," "people," are not so much as mentioned in this precious monument of viceregal imbecility. "It can scarcely be necessary for me to assure you," this representative of Queen Victoria's motherly Government began, "that the state of the potato crop has for some time occupied and still occupies the most anxious attention of the Government. Scientific men have been sent over from England. . . . They have not yet terminated their inquiries. . . . The Government is also furnished with constant reports. . . . These vary from day to day, and are often contradictory. . . . To decide, therefore, under such circumstances, upon the most proper measures to be adopted, would be premature. . . . There is no immediate pressure in the markets. I will, however, lose no time in submitting your suggestions to the consideration of the Cabinet."

As soon as the Viceroy had finished reading this elaborate piece of mockery, he began bowing out the members of

the deputation. O'Connell endeavored to explain the resolution relating to the stopping of brewing and distilling. But he was not allowed to proceed. And the "bowing out" began anew. There was a pointed discourtesy in the proceeding of this English baron, undeservedly raised to a position of which he could understand neither the duties nor the responsibilities. The members of the deputation keenly felt the slight put upon themselves personally; but the callousness of the Castle officials only increased their fear of finding in the Ministers of the realm the same obtuseness of intellect and the same supineness, when not a moment was to be lost in saving the lives of millions.

Lord Cloncurry, who had nobly offered to give up the whole of his revenue to relieve the national distress, was determined to elicit from the Prime Minister himself some promise of help in proportion with the unprecedented need. On November the 6th, he wrote to Sir Robert Peel, pressing upon his attention every one of the measures just submitted to Lord Heytesbury. "As chairman of a committee consisting of highly respectable gentlemen, appointed at a recent public meeting of the citizens of Dublin, the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor in the chair, it devolves upon me as a public duty to address you as responsible adviser of our most gracious sovereign, . . . and in the most anxious manner to call for your fullest and most immediate consideration of the present afflicting and most dangerous state of the people of Ireland.

"We can assure you that our information is both accurate and extensive; that it reaches over all parts of Ireland, and that it is derived from sources unaffected by any political party motive whatsoever. Be assured, sir, we tell you but the simple truth when we inform you that the danger of famine is immediate and pressing, and if not averted by the activity of man, and the blessing of a merciful Providence, must result in pestilence of the most frightful nature. . . .

"We do not intend you any disrespect, quite the contrary; but we do wish to impress upon your mind the awful responsibility which, as her Majesty's principal adviser, you

And yet, what was the answer of the Tory Prime Minister?

One would suppose, on reading it, that it had been dictated paragraph by paragraph, and word by word, by the Lord-lieutenant in Dublin Castle, sent over to London for Sir Robert Peel's signature, and thence transmitted to the Mansion House Committee to mock Lord Cloncurry and his associates, to insult the entire Irish nation.

Four fifths of this unqualifiable answer are taken up with a literal repetition of the relief measures counselled by Lord Cloncurry and the Committee he represented. Then come two short paragraphs in the end, which afford a correct measure of the head and heart of Sir Robert Peel, as he stood face to face with the most awful visitation recorded in the history of the British Empire.

"I give full credit," he says, "to the assurance that in making this communication, your Lordship and those who are parties to it are influenced by no other motives than the desire to aid the Government in the efforts which they are making to avert or mitigate the impending evil... I beg to assure your Lordship that the whole subject is occupying the unremitting attention of her Majesty's confidential advisers.[1]"

The Mansion House Committee then resolved to address themselves directly to the Queen. But such a step, in a country governed by a responsible ministry, was irregular, if not unconstitutional, and could produce no beneficial effect.

The answer both of the Irish Viceroy and the British Premier simply said to the citizens of Dublin, *let the people starve!* We cannot for them hasten the slow working of the administrative machinery, nor hasten by one week or one day the meeting of Parliament, even though four millions of Irish serfs are suffering the pangs of extreme hunger.

[1] See "Freeman's Journal" of Nov. 11 and 13, 1845.

tion, self-governing, and progressive, he saw the Catholic majority educated and living up to the loftiest standards of Christian manhood. He also contemplated his Protestant fellow-countrymen enjoying to the fullest the freedom of rearing their own children in accordance with their own convictions; both Catholics and Protestants, freed from any fear of an odious religious ascendany, learning to esteem and respect each other in the light of perfect liberty, and serving their God and their country, while cherishing all these brotherly charities which make a people strong and prosperous, because united.

We have before us now the two books written in his ripe old age by the man who, together with Thomas Osborne Davis, was the leading spirit in the Young Ireland Party.[1] We do not find in either of these two volumes one single paragraph containing a manly and generous acknowledgment of the worth of John Mac Hale, Archbishop of Tuam, or of the incomparable service rendered by him to Ireland during his long life of a publicist and prelate, from the appearance of the first letters of HIEROPHILOS, in January, 1820, till his death, in November, 1881.

The solitary passage in "Young Ireland" in which is to be found any expression approaching to eulogy, merely calls "Archbishop Mac Hale, a man of robust intellect and fearless character, much distrusted among British statesmen."[2] But the entire passage, whether designedly or not, speaks of the Archbishop of Tuam as would a German writer in the pay of Bismarck, who was pledged to exterminating the Poles, and who either knew nothing of Dr. Mac Hale's preceding labors for Emancipation and Repeal, or overlooked his position as a patriot, a prelate, and a scholar.

[1] Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K. C. M. G.: "YOUNG IRELAND, a Fragment of Irish History," 1880; "FOUR YEARS OF IRISH HISTORY; 1845–1849, a Sequel to YOUNG IRELAND;" 1883.

[2] "During three years only one Catholic bishop had answered O'Connell's appeal. At the first meeting after the debate, the bishops of Meath and Dromne became members (of the Repeal Association), and immediately afterwards Archbishop Mac Hale."

"To you" he says to the clergy, in concluding his letter, "religion looks for support against fanaticism,—to you the country looks for repose against those who would shake it with a religious warfare; to you the peasantry, already too irritable, look for aid against those who would inflame them with a biblical frenzy; and to you the growing generation, who hunger for instruction, turn with fervent hopes that, while food is administered to their minds, you will not suffer their faith to be poisoned.

Twenty-five years have elapsed from the date of these first memorable letters of HIEROPHILOS, down to the introduction of the Colleges Bill, the founding of the "Nation," newspaper, the fatal dissensions among the hierarchy with regard to the Government plan of higher education, and the contemporary division among Repealers arising from this same cause, among others,—and the horrors of national starvation.

During this entire quarter of a century John Mac Hale had been indefatigable in doing what "Young Ireland" professed to aim at: he had been educating not only his own immediate flock, but educating the nation as well. He had encouraged and aided with his own generous donations his poor people to build Catholic schools in every parish. He had, as we have seen, sent for the Sons of St. Francis of Assisi, the Christian Brothers, the Sisters of Mercy, and the Presentation Nuns, to open their monastery schools for the instruction of the little ones of his flock. He had made generous provision for the education of his clergy. And, moreover, he had done, single-handed, what the Young Irelanders sought to do and did with no little success: he had labored to spread among Irishmen the love and culture of their ancient Celtic tongue, and with it, to open up the access to the ancient national literature.

Who was more intensely national in the truest, noblest sense of the word, than the man who, amid all his cares, all his herculean labors for his oppressed and famishing people, for the defence of their civil and religious rights, devoted his midnight vigils to the rendering into Gælic of Moore's

Melodies, to the translation of Homer's Iliad and of the Pentateuch into the same rich and poetic idiom?

The Young Ireland Repealers professed, and rightly, that the national party and their representatives in Parliament should ever remain independent of both Whigs and Tories, —maintaining a united and unbroken front in presence of every administration, and forcing the British Ministers and Legislature to do justice to the righteous claims of the Irish people.

This lofty independence, this incorruptible political integrity, was ever a cardinal principle with the Archbishop of Tuam, the very first article in his creed as a statesman.

It was his boast, from first to last, that he never sought a favor at the hands of any Minister, never accepted place or pelf for himself or any one belonging to him.

In this magnanimous independence and disinterestedness the Young Irelanders had only to follow the principles and practice of John of Tuam. No man more thoroughly scorned or more courageously denounced place-hunting, office-seeking, or any form of potitical selfishness and corruption.

Whatever patronage O'Connell enjoyed, Dr. Mac Hale never once availed himself of it. Indeed, there is not on record a single word of his expressing either approbation or satisfaction with regard to such patronage.

And, whatever reproach may be justly cast on O'Connell or his relatives on account of the lucrative offices bestowed or accepted by them,—no one who knows aught of Dr. Mac Hale's life and character will suspect him of conniving at practices which again and again defeated the purposes and destroyed the hopes of the most self-sacrificing patriotism.

During the years which elapsed from O'Connell's imprisonment till his death, the great purpose of Dr. Mac Hale and of the prelates who were his most faithful adherents was to keep the national party, the party identified with Repeal, united. Union among Ireland's patriots,

and union among her prelates, meant, in his judgment, certain success in winning not only home-rule, but every constitutional right withheld so long from his country

How effectual this twofold union was in influencing the conduct of British statesmen, and in compelling them to yield to Irish claims, we know from what happened about the period we are describing,—that home-rule for Ireland was seriously thought of, since the project was entertained of holding the sessions of the Imperial Parliament every third year in Dublin.

It was, therefore, Dr. Mac Hale's policy,—the only wise one,—to keep the Repeal movement going and the Repeal Party together, in spite of the political sins of which the sons and followers of O'Connell were accused. It ought to have been the policy of the Young Irelanders, and of Smith O'Brien, who threw over them the shield of his name and character, to sink all differences, and forget all causes of discontent, in the one purpose of being united, just when the unexpected and mysterious visitation of famine was about to imperil the very existence of the nation itself.

But just at that moment the success of the Government in dividing the Irish bishops on the subject of the Bequests Bill stimulated them to bring forward the Colleges Bill, for the purpose of dividing them still more, and of bribing with the offer of lucrative and honorable office both the most accomplished among the inferior clergy and the most distinguished among the Catholic laity.

This scheme of higher education took the training of the youth of Ireland out of the hands of the bishops, thereby usurping one essential function of their divine office, the indefeasible right of watching over the faith and morals of the young, and of exercising a superior control over the capacity and morality of their teachers. The Bill of Sir Robert Peel only granted the Irish bishops as a favor what they were bound in conscience to claim as a right.

The scheme was modelled on the system of university education long in practice on the Continent of Europe,—in France, in Germany, in Spain and Portugal, and in the

in the Church,—that the children of Catholic parents should be educated by Catholic teachers under the superintendence of their bishops and priests. That the faith for which Catholic Ireland had suffered and sacrificed so much and so long should not be imperilled by masters who either gave no religious instruction at all, or gave a wrong religious bias to their teaching, or scoffed at the religion of the majority, or derided all religions.

Such was the teaching given in the French and German universities. Such, Dr. Mac Hale and the majority of his brother-bishops had vowed, should not, if they could help it, be the teaching given in the colleges frequented by the youth of Ireland. To guard against the possibility of inoculating the youth of Ireland with the scepticism and immorality prevalent in the Continental Government colleges, the assembled bishops of Ireland had memorialized, —though all in vain,—the Lord-lieutenant. The Colleges Bill, in its latest form, was passed without any regard to the demands and petitions of the Catholic prelates.

Looking back to the attitude taken up by the majority of the prelates in 1840–41, when the judgment of Rome was sought for on the National School System, we cannot help recollecting that a like memorial, with the apparently unanimous assent of the bishops, was presented to the then Viceroy. It was a solemn comedy, on which it is not pleasant to dwell.

We find the same names at the head of the minority which favored the Charitable Bequests Bill. And now the same venerable names head a still smaller minority favorable to the scheme of Academical Education.

What wonder that the young men of the "Nation," seduced by the advocacy and active support of the two primates and their few adherents among the bishops, should write and speak in favor of the mixed system of collegiate training sanctioned by a man so respected and beloved as the Archbishop of Dublin.

What wonder, if he, at the end of a long life of pastoral devotion and innumerable good works accomplished for his

flock, gave his vote and his earnest support to Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham's pet project,—that Protestants like Davis and William Smith O'Brien, and liberal Catholics, like Duffy, should welcome with grateful acclaim what Catholic archbishops openly sanctioned?

And here the truth of history demands that, while doing justice to Archbishops Crolly and Murray by recalling the well-known facts in their case, we should do justice to Thomas Osborne Davis in the same connection, and to those who shared his opinions on this momentous matter.

The Government ignored the memorial of the assembled prelates precisely because they were assured before-hand of the concurrence of the two Catholic primates, and that of such bishops as the primates would not fail, eventually, to bring over to their side.

But the demands contained in the memorial approved themselves to the judgment of Thomas Davis, and their rejection by the Cabinet called forth from him an indignant denunciation of the entire Bill as presented in its amended or, rather, aggravated form.

In the sadly memorable meeting of the Repeal Association, held on May 26th, 1845, a few days after the signing and presentation of the memorial, Davis, rising to reply to a most violent philippic addressed to the Young Irelanders by the Richard Pigott of that day, the infamous spy and apostate Conway, forgot even the rude treatment to which O'Connell publicly and most injudiciously subjected him, to profess his adhesion to the principles and plan of the united hierarchy, as signed by their chairman, Dr. Murray, and, to all seeming, endorsed by him.

"Sir, I rise to express my strong approval of the memorial of the Catholic bishops. That memorial contains four propositions, and to every one of them I yield my cordial concurrence. The first of these propositions demands that a 'fair proportion' of the professors and office-bearers in the new colleges shall be members of the Roman Catholic Church. That is a just and reasonable demand. Mark the words *a fair proportion*, meaning, beyond doubt,

meaning beyond reasonable dispute, that the remainder should be Protestants.

"That, sir, is mixed instruction. The same clause demands, too, that the bishops of each province shall be members of the Governing Board. Note the words 'of which,'— not exclusively composing the Board, but 'of which' the Roman Catholic bishops shall be members. That, sir, is mixed management. The second clause is marked by the same care of Catholic rights, and the same adoption, by necessary inference of mixed education. It demands that, in some specified branches, the Roman Catholic students shall be taught by Roman Catholic professors; —the unmistakable meaning of this demand is for separate chairs in a mixed college. Separate chairs for the teaching of those subjects which cannot be taught by the professors of one creed without probable offence or injustice to the creed of others. I say that it is a just demand. I fully concur also in the purpose of the third proposition in this memorial, which suggests, 'if any president, vice-president, professor, or office-bearer shall be convicted before the Board of Trustees of attempting to undermine the faith or injure the morals of any student, he shall be immediately removed from his office by the said Board;' that is, by the Board of which the Roman Catholic prelates are to form a part.

"And now, sir, I come to the last proposition: 'That, as it is not contemplated that the students shall be provided with lodgings in the new colleges, there shall be Roman Catholic chaplains to superintend the religious and moral instruction of the Roman Catholic students.' I say that such a provision is most just and most necessary. I say now what I said before on this day fortnight, I denounce this Bill for not containing such a provision."

MR. O'CONNELL:—"You praised the Bill."

MR. DAVIS:—"I praised the Bill on certain grounds, and on these grounds I praise it now, and will praise it again. The proposal runs that the appointment of each chaplain, with a suitable salary, shall be made on the recommenda-

bore consequences which the speaker was far from foreseeing. But the men who were then his evil counsellors had calmly calculated cause and effect. And they it is, much more than O'Connell, enfeebled and suffering in mind and body, whom posterity will hold responsible for the fatal seeds of dissension then sown so recklessly among Repealers.

"One point," O'Connell said in his reply, "Mr. Davis omitted altogether. He did not read the resolution adopted at the meeting of the prelates, wherein they declared that they felt themselves, anxious as they were to extend the advantages of education, bound to withhold their approbation from the proposed system, as they deemed it dangerous to the faith and morals of the Catholic people. The system was met by the unequivocal and unanimous condemnation of the venerated and esteemed body. The principle of the Bill has been lauded by Mr. Davis, *and was advocated by a newspaper professing to be the organ of the Roman Catholic people of this country, but which I emphatically pronounce to be no such thing.*

"THE SECTION OF POLITICIANS STYLING THEMSELVES THE YOUNG IRELAND PARTY, ANXIOUS TO RULE THE DESTINIES OF THIS COUNTRY, START UP AND SUPPORT THIS MEASURE. There is no such party as that styled 'Young Ireland.' There may be a few individuals who take that denomination on themselves. I am for 'Old Ireland.' 'Tis time that this delusion should be put an end to. Young Ireland may play what pranks they please. I do not envy them the name they rejoice in. I shall stand by Old Ireland; and I have some slight notion that old Ireland will stand by me."[1]

The declaration of Davis had been received with marked favor by the association. And well it might. Had the Archbishop of Tuam been present there, he would have applauded the sentiments of this Protestant gentleman, who was the soul of honor, truth, and patriotism. He would have endorsed every sentiment, save the concluding com-

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 705.

was a duty to do so. He trusted their disagreement would leave no sting behind. If there had been any harshness of feeling, if any person had made use of private influence to foster dissension and to misrepresent them to each other, he would forgive it, if the offence were not repeated. He would sit down with a prayer to Almighty God that the people of this country, and the leaders of the people, might continue united in the pursuit of liberty, in which they were so often defeated before at the moment of its apparent fruition, and with a supplication to God that they might not be defeated again.

"These were almost the last words of counsel Thomas Davis uttered, face to face with the people he loved so truly and served so well." [1]

Among the documents in the possession of the author, among the published and unpublished writings of Dr. Mac Hale, there is not one in which is justified the suicidal policy which refused the coöperation of such men as Thomas Davis and Smith O'Brien, not a word endorsing the alliance with the Whig Government of Lord John Russel, or the place-hunting ambition of the men who had most influence in the Repeal Association, or the petty spirit of John O'Connell, who inherited from his father nothing but a name,—neither a share in the glorious services which made the Liberator the idol of a nation, nor the genius capable of sustaining the burden of a great cause only very partially won, nor the magnetic power to bind men to himself in the pursuit of a people's perfect enfranchisement.

It was a pity that Thomas Davis, and Smith O'Brien, and Charles Gavan Duffy never appreciated the place which John Mac Hale occupied in the affection and politics of their countrymen. He, as no other man could, might have given a safe and permanently useful direction to the "Nation" and all the magnificent and manifold energies which the Young Ireland writers and patriots disposed of. They would have understood his theories on the education of the Irish people, in all its degrees, and as best

[1] *Ibidem*, pp. 706, 707.

suited to the perfect religious liberty of all denominations in Ireland.

His patriotism embraced as high and wide an horizon as their fancy had ever dreamed of; his statesmanlike knowledge would have enlightened them on the dangers to be shunned, on the difficulties and dissensions to be avoided.

In 1845 and 1846, he would have kept closely bound together, like the strands in the ocean telegraph cables, every element of good in the Repeal Association. The united forces of Irish genius and Irish patriotism would in his hand, under his control and guidance, have worked harmoniously to save the life and liberty of the nation, in spite of the famine, in spite of the Colleges Bill, in spite of the coercion bills enacted to quiet the tortures of a nation in agony.

The fact is, had John Mac Hale's principles and policy been adhered to by the Irish people and its leaders, there would have been no famine, no fever, no emigration of the Irish millions, no breaking up of the Repeal Party, no disastrous dissension among the members of the Irish hierarchy.

When the men who formed the Young Ireland Party became publicly, persistently wedded to the system of mixed education; when several of them avowed and published opinions akin to the false liberalism of the day and the radicalism and revolutionism of Continental Europe;—it became incumbent on the Archbishop of Tuam and those who watched and labored with him in the cause of Ireland to condemn what they deemed a danger to their country.

But there exists no open or violent denunciation of these misguided young men by Dr. Mac Hale.

As to the complex causes which brought at length William Smith O'Brien and his associates into violent and armed collision with the Government, impartial history will say that the Young Irelanders were more sinned against than sinning. The rebellion of 1798, like many an armed "rising" before it under British misrule in Ireland,

proves that the conspirators were among those who governed and oppressed the native populations.

The conspiracy which brought about the Salisbury-Balfour Coercion Act and successful extermination campaign following the years 1886 and 1887, was not the offspring of Irish discontent, but of the Macchiavellian policy of a Tory Government and Legislature. And if the abominable conspiracy entered into by the *London Times* and the Government and Parliament which invented and created the Forgeries Commission, did not drive the Irish Representatives and their constituents into open and bloody rebellion, it was not because the plot was not well laid in Dublin Castle and in Westminster.

In America we never believed in the guilt of the insurgents of '48. They were driven to it, entrapped into it. The doctrines which they taught on justifiable resistance were those of Hampden and the Puritans, of William of Orange and the British Parliament, of Franklin and of Washington. They were not of Irish growth, or the fruits of Catholic teaching.

But,—anyway,—had Dr. Mac Hale's teachings and warnings been followed or heeded, either in Conciliation or in Confederation Hall, in the councils of the bishops as well as in those of Irish politicians,—there would have been unity of opinion and feeling and action. There would have been, to a moral certainty, a Repeal of the Union. There would have been peace and prosperity. There would be at this moment a system of national education,—primary, intermediate, and university,—which would respect the religious rights of every denomination of Christians. And, with a native Parliament legislating in College Green, Ireland would to-day count ten millions at least of prosperous inhabitants.

for wages of *six pence* to *eight pence* a day, and no two of a family allowed to be employed on the same works!

"The public works of a non-productive kind drew the laborers, who despaired of another harvest, away from agricultural pursuits to 'break stones on impossible roads'; mortgages were foreclosing to such an extent that 1200 notices were lodged in the Four Courts in a few months; deaths from starvation were becoming more numerous; works were stopped for want of money for the Board; in the Skibbereen work-house eighty-seven deaths occurred in November, and five more on 1st December, till there remained scarcely enough able-bodied paupers alive to bury the dead; and so the year drew to a close!"[1]

And so dawned "Black 1847."

The idea of a national subscription was started, when people in England began to open their eyes to the awful realities which were happening in the 'Sister Island,' and to the appalling magnitude of the suffering which must be relieved during the winter, and with the advance of a spring that could bring no hope to the tiller of the soil, no prospect of a ripening harvest.

But the "Times" would have no such subscription; all should be left to the Government, the generous editors thought. Was not the potato-blight about to fulfil the long-cherished projects of the majority of Irish landlords, to sweep away the Celt from the face of the earth?

"The potato cultivation could pay no rent; but cattle and sheep-rearing could, and smart rents, too. Let the people go, and bring in beasts instead. In the county of Mayo, one proprietor alone had already served more than six hundred processes. Some landlords, having induced their tenants to give notes of hand for their rents, used them as a mere summary and less obnoxious method of exterminating the wretched, starving creatures. Early in January (1847), the *Roscommon Journal* announced that 'the number of civil bills served by landlords for the approaching session in this town will treble those ever sent out for the

[1] *Ibidem.*

last ten years.' At Ballina, in the same month, between five and six thousand processes and ejectments together were served; in Castlebar, sixteen hundred processes, besides ejectments; and so on, from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear. Catholic landlords were as bad as Protestant; Burkes and Brownes vied with Gores and Knoxes. In a speech in Conciliation Hall, O'Connell read a letter from Cork, which gave the Protestant clergy return of the deaths in that Deanery; 5,000 were dead of starvation, and 10,000 actually dying. In the village of Glann, County Galway, an entire family of ten persons was found in one heap of putrefaction.

"Before long the people were dying on the roadsides, in their cabins, and in the work-houses, literally by tens of thousands; and clearances were proceeding concurrently at the same rate. I think no pen can describe the horrors of that spring. Mine is certainly all too incapable. The sufferings and patience of the people, on the one side, and the cold-blooded inhumanity of the landlords on the other, are quite beyond my power to depict."[1]

Yes, it was in the part of the country so especially dear to the Archbishop of Tuam, in Galway and Mayo, that the distress was most extreme, that starvation and fever were mowing down the populations, and that Landlordism was busy with its hellish work of exterminating. When famine and pestilence, like the devastating waters of twin Alpine lakes, were let loose over the land, the Archbishop set himself to do all that a bishop could to help and save his people. At first, and before the charity of Christendom, and the active generosity of the Irish race abroad, were called forth by the tidings from Ireland, the means at the disposal of Dr. Mac Hale and his priests were not only taxed to the utmost, but exhausted in the vain endeavor to relieve sufferings for which no private beneficence, and not even the resources of a single community, could afford an adequate alleviation.

He and his clergy shared all they had with the starving

[1] Edward Lucas, *Ibidem*, 245–247.

multitudes, besides multiplying their loving ministrations, to comfort the fever-stricken and the dying, to strengthen with the words of faith and love the thousands they were powerless to feed and to save from death.

During the last three months of 1846, and all through 1847, many hours out of every twenty-four were spent in receiving and registering money-donations sent to him for the poor from every part of the Three Kingdoms, from the continent of Europe, from Canada and the United States, from Australia and India. He was the man to whom Irishmen at home and abroad looked up, as to the spokesman and representative of their religion and race. Through him came the alms with which it was sought to appease the pangs of hunger among the thrice-scourged populations of the West.

He was most conscientious in accounting for every penny received and disbursed, most punctual in acknowledging himself every donation sent to him, most scrupulous in examining without a moment's delay every petition or application for relief, and in at once complying therewith. His priests gratefully and unanimouly testified to his indefatigable exertions. His example edified, cheered, sustained, and fired them with a noble emulation. If his correspondence, during the distress of 1842, afforded such various and touching evidence of priestly devotion, of fatherly kindness on his part, and of pastoral zeal on theirs, what a record we might have in the voluminous letters received by the Archbishop of Tuam during the famine of 1846–'47!

Let it suffice to say here, that, besides doing more than his usual part in the priestly offices at the Cathedral of Tuam, in the confessional daily, in the pulpit, among the crowds of poor who now besieged his doors, and at the bedside of the sick and dying, he took on himself alone, without the aid of secretary or assistant, the whole of the immense labor entailed by receiving, acknowledging, and distributing the alms thus sent to him from all parts.

In confirmation of this, we insert here a most precious testimonial from the man who enjoyed to the utmost and to

among the clergy and laity, and they formed the immense majority, who had ever considered Dr. Mac Hale to be, with O'Connell, the guide of the national councils, now sought his aid, when the Liberator had passed away from their midst. But, unwilling as the Archbishop had always been to assume either the position or the responsibilities of a political leader, he could not think of allowing himself to be anything else than what he was, an Irish bishop who held the political interests of Ireland to be inseparable from her religious interests, and who could permit no man or body of men to disjoin or to compromise either the one or the other.

His voice was ever for union among nationalists. It was only on rare occasions, when impelled by some necessity of the moment, that the Archbishop interfered by public letter or speech, to point out the line of right policy, to correct, or restrain, or moderate the action of leading laymen, to whom he always left the management of political affairs.

The men who successively administered the Government, both in Great Britain and in Ireland, never found in him an ally or an accomplice. He was ever ready to praise every measure of theirs which was in itself praiseworthy. But, as he had no personal ends to serve, so he looked to British statesmen for justice to his country and his creed. He could be content with no less. And he, therefore, watched their proceedings jealously, and denounced fearlessly their shortcomings, their injustices, their treachery to religion.

They loved him not. He was a perpetual thorn in their side. He was a thorn, as well, in the side of every man, prelate, priest, or politician, who paltered with the enemies of Ireland, or who was ready, for place or pelf, to barter away the dearest rights and liberties of the nation. Hence they were numerous, influential, most active, and not unfrequently most unscrupulous, the men who held Archbishop Mac Hale up to odium in Dublin, and London, and Rome.

It is human nature in those who govern, even human nature in those who govern the Church, to distrust the man

soul of him he loved so well. It was a day of unutterable bitterness for the strong man who had battled so long for Ireland, and who had lost the magic influence and companionship of the political chief of his nation. Surely, he might well weep for Ireland and for O'Connell.

Ireland, and the Archbishop knew it but too well, had now no statesman fit to take the place of the dead leader, to continue and complete his work. To Smith O'Brien O'Connell had seemed at one time to look as to the man whose great historic name and practical judgment would fit him to lead the nation to the peaceful conquest of the constitutional rights so long withheld. But, although O'Brien was the descendant of the ancient kings of Ireland, he had rendered no such services and made no such sacrifices as the man who had won Emancipation; and, besides, he was not, like O'Connell himself, a Catholic, heart and soul and above all things a Catholic, and did not command as such the confidence of the masses and their religious guides.

No, even though O'Connell had in his own person combined, like Samuel, the sacred character of the prophet with that of the judge of God's people, like Samuel he left in dying no son behind him to challenge the confidence and obedience of the Tribes. Neither the votes of the people nor the consecration of heaven had designated a successor to him who, on May the 15th, 1847, expired in Genoa, while yearning to visit the shrine of the Apostles, and the tombs in San Pietro in Montorio, where Ireland's fugitive princes had found a resting place in death. No man, towering, in the assembly of all Israel, head and shoulders above the multitude, commanded the popular admiration or could lead their hosts to battle and to victory.

Dr. Mac Hale knew but too well what dissensions rent in twain the party whom O'Connell had so long led forward and kept together by the magic cry of Repeal, and the cherished hopes of Home-Rule. Therefore might he mourn for the departed chief, whose place must long remain vacant.

Here we must pause awhile,—as did the chronicler after