LIFE OF JOHN MACHALE

ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM

THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF THE

MOST REV. JOHN MAC HALE

Archbishop of Tuam and Metropolitan

BY

REV. ULICK J. CANON BOURKE, P.P., M.R.I.A.

"But high amidst those glories bright
That shine on Inisfail,
'Tis ours to write, in lines of light,
The name of John Mac Hale."

T. D. SULLIVAN

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TO HIS GRACE

THE MOST REV. JOHN JOSEPH LYNCH,

Archbishop of Toronto,

THE "DECUS ET TUTAMEN"

OF THE IRISH RACE IN THE DOMINION OF CANADA,

JOHN OF TUAM'S FAITHFUL FRIEND, AND

FEARLESS FOLLOWER IN SHIELDING

AND GUIDING OUR CATHOLIC

COUNTRYMEN IN FOREIGN FIELDS, IN THE PATHS OF

PATRIOTISM, OF KNOWLEDGE,

AND OF RELIGION,

THIS MEMOIR IS, BY PERMISSION, DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

At the month's Mind of his Grace John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, whose life is contained in these pages, no panegyric presenting a picture of his past career was preached to the people.

Some of the pious priests then present, and literary friends who had come from Dublin to honour the memory of the illustrious dead, requested the present writer to pen a short memoir of the Archbishop. The same request was made by literary circles, who held his name and memory in great veneration. They remarked that others who did not know Dr. MacHale so well would soon take up the task, and that it were much better that one who had been, as a priest twenty-one years in close relations with him, and who knew his very thoughts, should write his life, than leave the duty to others who could not have so full a knowledge of one now no more. The writer hesitated. He had not a single document of those left by the Archbishop. He should depend on his acquired knowledge of the man, and the published facts and events in which his name has been mixed up for the past sixty-two years. His life was singularly long, strangely eventful. He was the central figure around whom for half a century were fought many conflict-

ing battles in the field of politics, of morals and of religious controversy. He has had, like all great men, many ardent admirers; but he has not been without enemies. Thousands of his countrymen have extolled his name beyond measure, on account of his persevering patriotism; yet, as in the sun, so there were spots seen in the flashing brightness of his character. A life such as his could not be readily written.

Seeing that none of those asked to write the Archbishop's life undertook the task, and not wishing that one so renowned amongst Irishmen should be in his generation without honour, the writer consented to pen the present short memoir. About the opening of the year 1882, it having been made known to him that Messrs. Gill & Son had it in contemplation to publish a series of shilling volumes, and that that well-known Catholic firm wished to make a beginning with the "Life of John of Tuam," the writer put himself in their hands. Left to his own views, the volume would be three times the size; but, being obliged to condense, and make all that could be said fit within a limited number of pages, he has been forced to pass over in silence several public events in which the late Archbishop had acted a part.

Claremorris,
Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1882.

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THE MOST REV. JOHN MAC HALE.

CHAPTER I.

"Ne laudas hominem in vita sua, tanquam si diceret: Lauda post vitam."—*Sermo S. Maximi Episcopi.*

"Do not praise a man in his lifetime, as if it should say: praise him after death"

At the present time, more strikingly than at any former period, the custom exists of presenting, after the days of mourning have passed, the likeness of a departed friend, father, or beloved leader.

Men great and good in their generation have been, at all times, regarded as fathers and as chiefs by the people whom they once cherished and directed. The inspired pensman counsels, to praise "men of renown, and our fathers in their generation; such as have borne rule in their own dominions, men of great power, and endued with wisdom; men ruling over the present people, and, by the strength of wisdom, instructing them in most holy words."*

Certainly the Irish Catholic prelates have ever been "men of renown in their generation; men endued with wisdom, and instructing the people." And, amongst the chief leading Irish prelates of the present

* Ecclus. xliv. 1-4.

century, the unanimous voice of Catholic Ireland, and the expressed opinion of intelligent men, not of Ireland nor of her faith, have placed John MacHale Archbishop of Tuam : in the words of Ecclesiasticus, he gained glory in his generation. It is most becoming, therefore, after his departure from amongst us, that his portrait, painted in words, should be, as a memorial, preserved, as has been said regarding those men of renown who flourished in a bygone age, so that "his glory may not be forsaken."

A certain writer has observed that "the soul is all man." Certainly it is the essential part of man. The best portrait, therefore, that can be presented is, not an outline of the physical form of the late Archbishop, but a delineation of the living spirit as manifested during his lifelong course. His face is no longer seen amongst us: nothing now remains save the memory of his deeds: these and his written and spoken words bear still, like pencils of light, the image of the subjective source from which they emanated. From the varied impressions, found in words, or figured in deeds, it will be the task of the writer to build up a life-like portrait of the great man who, for a period of nigh three score years, directed his native ecclesiastical province, and took a prominent position in the political and progressive policy of the Catholic people of Ireland.

One can at a moment recall to the field of vision, before the ken of memory, the outward form of the once living man: his splendid physique, symmetric frame, portly figure, noble features, arched brow, and lustrous eye, dignified mien, and commanding character, present a word-painting of the Archbishop as he appeared in the flesh ; but the mind remains stamped on every deed, from earliest boyhood to feeble old age, and demands elaborate care and strict attention to even the minutest matter of detail. The writer must pick up all the gems of genius strewn on the path

which the Archbishop has trod, and like a fresco or Mosaic artist, to fashion from the myriad spangles a life-like portrait of the noble original. A life such as this must necessarily encourage others to good, whilst it enlightens and instructs.

Long before the American poet, Henry W. Longfellow, whose lamented death has lately been recorded, penned the beautiful stanzas—"A Psalm of Life"—mankind had been told by the sainted Bishop of Hippo-Regius, that the fame of good men is a stimulus to others, inciting them to good. In fact, the sentiment is natural, and therefore is not confined to one people.

Witness Egypt, Ancient Greece, and Rome, how the inhabitants of these countries, in order to give expression to this view, preserved at once and presented the memory of their illustrious departed, by raising mausoleums to their memory, and erecting statues to perpetuate their name and fame. But it was reserved for Longfellow to put, in beautiful words, before the eyes of modern students acquainted with English the same solacing sentiment:

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time:

"Footprints which, perhaps, another
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take life again."

To praise such men—men of renown—is at once complying with a counsel, fulfilling a duty, and imparting to others a lesson of encouragement and hope.

What is this glory spoken of by Ecclesiasticus?

The Bishop of Hippo-Regius tells what it is: "Glory amongst men is the judgment of mankind, who enter-

tain a good opinion of those who have earned it—"*Gloria est judicium hominum bene de hominibus opinantium.*"—St. Aug., Lib. 5 *De Civitate, Dei.* c. 12.

Most of the Irish race, all the world over, have always entertained the highest opinion of the late much-to-be-lamented Archbishop, and in this sense his life and his memory are declared "glorious."

Like a pillar of a great temple, he stood for long decades of years. The national edifice of Catholic society in Ireland rested chiefly on his shoulders, at least during his early career, receiving from his directive influence symmetry and stability.

Besides the paternal and patriarchal features which the Archbishop's life presents to the mind of Irishmen, he possessed another claim to their admiration—his clear foresight, his unfailing success.

It is not every political captain, who wishing safety to ship and crew, always steers rightly the vessel which he commands through the troubled and seething waters of party strife. In the opinion of most Irishmen the late Archbishop of Tuam has succeeded in this trying test of human skill, energy, and perseverance.

Behold him for the past half century, and longer, standing out boldly in the blue firmament of political life, clear and unclouded, attracting the gaze of Irishmen by the brilliancy of his genius—the emerald colouring of his costume—his right hand pointing the while upward and onward—upward, as became a bishop indicating the end of man's destiny; onward, like a patriot chief directing his followers to advance within the lines of law and liberty, in the way of justice, of right, and truth.

Edmund Burke has well said that a good general must follow as well as lead his soldiers. The Archbishop followed the people in their rightful aspirations for happy homes and altars free, and for a firm foot-hold in the land of their fathers. He directed

those natural aspirations into the channel pointed out by wisdom and prudence. Like the Jewish law-giver and leader, he moreover, with up-lifted hands, on the mountain of Holy Church, and at the altar, prayed for his countrymen in their struggles,—first, for freedom of conscience; next, for equal rights with others in education; again, for citizen rights, social and political, and for home legislation.

The Irish Catholic natives followed his guidance with a triple ardour, picturing him to their minds pretty much as the Hebrew nation regarded Moses as their patriot leader, their consecrated chief, and the symbol of a superior directing power. His own mind, like an unclouded mirror, reflected the views and national aspirations of the masses. Every lover of Ireland felt that the Archbishop's patriotic sentiments were his own; that John of Tuam spoke in his stead: and what enhanced the value of his words of wisdom was, that whatever dropped from his lips or flowed from his pen was always gracefully spoken or eloquently written. His language bore the stamp of refined genius and matured learning.

This view reveals the secret of that magical influence which the Archbishop possessed over the minds of all lovers of Ireland, but above all over those sons and daughters of Eire who had emigrated to foreign lands. What he loved they loved, and loved intensely—creed, country, and language; what he hated they hated—past penal despotism, present oppression, crushing the natives or forcing them into exile; unequal rights to the vast body of the nation's sons and daughters. And, as distance makes the heart grow fonder of home and home relations, and conversely makes the heart detest more strongly those who forced the exiles to a foreign clime, they in turn have loved intensely the patriot prelate, because he proclaimed fearlessly before the world the story of those wrongs under which their beloved motherland

was suffering, and on account of which their lot was exile on a foreign, though not an unfriendly shore.

The memory of such a chieftain will not soon be forgotten. His name, like that of other great men, in their generation, will be remembered, and his deeds shall be told in long years to come.

While, then, his figure stands full before us in the gray twilight of his setting, and the halo of his past life is shed on the horizon of Irish native and foreign homes, it is well to make an effort to preserve the likeness of one held dear by so many of his countrymen.

This picture is only a miniature. Other hands and other times may enlarge its proportions.

CHAPTER II.

"A gracious woman shall find glory." (*Prov.* xi. 16.)

In the early spring time of the year 1789, John, the infant son of Mary Mulchiarain and Patrick Mac Hale, one of the farming class of land-holders, was born at Tuber-na-Fian, a quiet, secluded hamlet lying east of Neifin—a mountain ranked amongst the highest that stand, like giant sentinels, keeping watch and ward along the western coast of Connacht. The glen in which the village is situate is a part of the parish of Adergool, and of the barony of Tirawley.

"It is situated," writes the Archbishop, in a letter which he wrote from his father's house, in July, 1834, at the base of Neifin, the second amongst all the mountains of Connacht in elevation and inferior but to few in Ireland. The south view is bounded by a portion of the Ox* Mountains, stretching from the

* The mountain range known as *Sliabh gamh* lies north-east of the river Moy, forming a mearing line between the baronies of Tireragh and Leyny. Portions of those mountains reaching to Lough Con and the windy gap are known to some as *Sliabh gamh*. The word "*gamh*" in Gaelic, meaning piercing cold, wintry, rough, has been misunderstood for another term of similar sound, namely, "*damh*" which signifies "ox." Accordingly some fifty years ago, before Dr. O'Donovan and his fellow-labourers gave the correct meaning, the English speaking portion of the natives styled the mountain range of course incorrectly "Ox Mountains," and not bleak, mountains. The Archbishop made use of the name commonly known at the time amongst those of the community who had adopted the incorrect anglicised form "ox" rather than the Gaelic original "*gamh*."

Atlantic, in the form of an amphitheatre. . . . Round the base of this circuitous range of hills, is seen, as if to sleep, the peaceful surface of the beautiful lake of Levaile, bordering on the woods of Massbrook. Directly to the east the large lake of Con stretches from the Pontoon, to the north-west, the lofty hill of *Cnock Máire* intercepting the view of its surface, and again revealing to the eye, on the north side of the hill, another portion of the same sheet of waters. Beyond the extremity of the lake you can contemplate some of the most cultivated and picturesque portions of Tirawley, stretching along in the distance as far as the Hill of Lacken, the view of which is animated by a fanciful tower of modern construction."

The Mulchiarains and the MacHales had lived for more than a century in that picturesque valley which stretches to the south and east of Neifin.

Amongst the women of the townland Mary Mulchiarain, mother of the future Archbishop, was remarkable for her clear and comprehensive intellect, her firmness of character, her faithful discharge of those duties which a matron of humble position finds it her business to fulfil—duties towards husband and household, family and strangers.

It is the faithful discharge of duty that confers on a matron a right to be regarded as one of those who acts the part of the valiant woman so well described by Solomon. "In her the heart of her husband has trust; she has sought wool and flax and hath wrought by the counsel of her hands. . . . Her children rose up and called her blessed; her husband, and he praised her" (Prov. xxxi.).

Without any figurative stretch, the words of the wise man may be applied to Mary Mulchiarain, if one trust the testimony of those who were once her acquaintances and familiars. It is not worldly greatness, or a position, no matter how exalted in society,

but nobility of mind enriched by grace, uprightness of character, purity of purpose, energy, together with strict attention to discharge faithfully the obligation of her state, that make a matron virtuous and valiant in the Christian sense. Such, in an unpretending way, was Mary Mulchiarain, the mother of the child John, the future Archbishop of Tuam. All his life long that illustrious son cherished with fondest love his mother's name, he always held her remembrance in grateful recollection.

Amongst the Keltic clans, as amongst the Hebrews of old, it has ever been usual to trace the pedigree and to present the genealogical descent of distinguished men of the race, from some of the patriarchal chieftains who, as leaders and founders of remarkable families flourished in the remote past. This task has not been very difficult for Irishmen, for the names of the different clans and families belonging to each have been enrolled in MS. records in every age down to the sixteenth century or to the seventeenth.

Duald Mac Firbis (B. 1580, D. 1670) was amongst the latest and the most distinguished of this famous order of family historians, not alone for what he has in his own name left on record, but for the able aid he rendered the author of the "Antiquities of Ireland," Sir James Ware.

Mary Mulchiarain was daughter of Tadhgh, or Thadeus, and of Judith, called by the same family name; Thadeus was son of Brian and of Anne Mac Eneely; and this Brian was son of another Brian Mulchiarain, who with his father had, in the seventeenth century, come from Donegal to seek a home in north Mayo. After the plantation of Ulster, it was quite a common occurrence for many of the Catholic families in the counties Donegal, Derry, and Tyrone to cross the Erne, and to make their way along the sources of the Shannon into Connacht, thence to its western or wildest regions in Mayo.

Amongst those who emigrated at that period were the Mulchiarains, of whom Mary the mother of John was descended. They obtained lands and a home in Glen Neifin. Mulchiarains are numerous to this day in Donegal.

Patrick Mac Hale, the father of John, was son of Myles Mac Hale and Anne Moffet; Myles was son of James, son of Rickard, son of Searun or Geoffry; himself the son of another Myles, who about the opening of the seventeenth century removed from Iar-gcul, the western portion of the barony of Muirisk. He came, like Jacob to the house of Laban in Haran, into Glen Neifin or Tirawley, to select a suitable spouse. He found a home and settled in that peaceful valley.*

So far the voice of oral tradition uttered by the lips of the oldest living seanachaidhs of the clan Héil, tells of the immediate progenitors of the late John Mac Hale, Archbishop of Tuam.

The name Mac Hale is now known all the world over wherever Irishmen are found to have made a home. It cannot therefore be out of place to ask is it of Milesian, Belgic, or Danaun origin, or perhaps of a later Keltic growth?

Whatever may be said of the origin of the name, it is certain that the patriotic prelate who bore it, yielded to no man of the present or of the past, from the days of St. Laurence O'Toole down to those of Mitchel, in his undying love for Ireland. It is not one's family name that makes a man fondly devoted to his country, it is the intelligent mind, the loving heart, the desire to befriend those of one's kith and kin whom he knows and loves.

* *Iar-gcúl*: *iar*, western; *an cúl*, corner.

CHAPTER III.

"What is in a name?"—SHAKESPEARE, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II.

WHAT, then, is the origin of Archbishop MacHale's family name? A short inquiry relative to the early progenitors of the Clan MacHale will make this point evident.

During his lifetime the Archbishop seemed to think, although he had no settled reason to support the opinion, that the MacKeales—for so the name was written up to the first quarter of the present century,—were of Milesian origin, and therefore purely Irish. To this personal genealogical question he never gave any serious attention, seemingly satisfied with the traditional tales that his forefathers were Milesian.

Trivial as this subject may appear, it derives some importance from the distinguished personage whose name it is, and from the feeling of interest which Irishmen throughout the world have entertained in regard to the illustrious prelate. Two opinions have been expressed amongst recent antiquarians: first, that MacHale, as it is known at present, and MacCáille in the past—in the fifth century (489)—are the same; next, that MacHale of modern date is identical with MacCelé—a name recorded by the Four Masters in the thirteenth century. To these the writer adds a third, which, to his thinking, is the only one for which there is any fair show of proof. As to the first,—persons possessed of less antiquarian knowledge than of a ready willingness to appear compli-

mentary, hazarded the conjecture which appeared to find favour, that the name of the holy prelate MacCáille, who gave the religious veil to St. Bridget, Foundress of Kildare, was identical with that of the present MacHale or MacKeal. Those who suggested this view never for a moment reflected that in the fifth century surnames were not known, and that the patronymic of the saintly nephew of the Apostle Patrick was merely personal and not hereditary, that MacCáille for him meant simply son of one named "Cáli," just as Simon Peter was styled by our Divine Redeemer "Bar-Jona," that is, son of Jonas, because Jonas was the name of the Apostle's father.

To this day, eight centuries after the introduction of surnames amongst the Keltic clans, the custom prevails in Gaelic-speaking villages of calling young men and women by the Christian name of the father, and in numerous instances, for some special reason, by that of the mother, as in scripture history, the son of the Widow of Naim is distinguished by alluding to his mother, because of her forlorn state. This habit, existing still at the close of the nineteenth century, shows the wonderful tenacity with which Kelts cling to the customs handed down from the time of their forefathers. It was so amongst them two thousand years ago. "Morum priscorum semper tenacissimi fuerunt Celtici populi" (Zeuss. *Gram. Cel.*, p. 915).

What, then, is the origin of the patronymic? This we shall presently examine.

O'Hart, in his splendid volume of "Irish Pedigrees," is quite at sea on the subject. It was his desire to trace the family to some Milesian stirps, but his labours were all without success, although he had in array placed before him all those Milesian progenitors from whom families with "O" or "Mac" have claimed connexion or direct descent.

Dr. O'Donovan, who laboured in the field of Irish antiquities for thirty years and longer, the greatest Irish scholar and antiquarian that flourished in Ireland for the past thousand years, turned his attention to this point, yet he did not succeed satisfactorily. He gives expression to two opinions regarding the name, but propounds nothing certain. This much, however, he effected, he has unlocked the gate of difficulty, and allowed other investigators to enter into his labours, and to point out as they think, with certainty, the object sought.

Amongst the numerous works of Irish historic or genealogical lore edited by Dr. O'Donovan there are two well-authenticated compilations, one in six volumes quarto, known as the "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," or, "The Annals of the Four Masters;" the other, "The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, commonly called O'Dowd's Country." In each of these works the translator and editor, O'Donovan, alludes, notably in two places, to the MacHale family. The passage in the Four Masters is found under the heading A.D. 1257. He insinuates that from the name MacCelé, in the text, the surname MacHale of the present time may have come.

Again, in page fifty of the volume known as "Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy Fiacra," he makes a similar observation, but asserts no positive opinion of his own. He says: "This (MacCelé) is *probably* the family now called MacHale"

Further on, however, in the same volume, at pp. 225, 226, in translating and editing MacFirbis's "Record of the Welshmen of Tirawley," he gives the Irish Gaelic text, of which the following is a translation:—"The Clan Hoeil, i.e., the descendants of Hoel, or Howel." "Query," asks the editor on a note "if this be not the name now anglicised MacHale, still numerous in Tirawley?" Such are the words of

the learned father of Irish antiquities. His opinions can, accordingly, be reduced to two, that the name now anglicised MacHale comes either from "Celé" or from "Hoel," i. e. Howel. If it comes from the former, the name is Milesian; if from the latter, it is Welsh. In that case it will be manifest that the MacHales are of Welsh origin, and that the earliest progenitor of the clan who landed in Ireland came direct from Wales.

The present writer is convinced that the name MacHale could not have been formed from "Celé," but that it has been most certainly efformated from "Hoel," a well-known forename and surname to this day in Wales. It comes down to the present from the time of Howel, or "Hywell ddá," that is "Deagh-Hoel," as we say it in Gaelic, namely, *Howel the Good*, a prince who in the tenth century (A.D. 940) flourished in the principality. This prince is famous as a British Justinian amongst his countrymen, because by him were compiled those Keltic codes which have been published by Government as the "ancient laws and institutes of Wales."

From what individual of the name Hoel or Howel the Clan Hoeil have been descended the writer has not just now been able to discover. In Wales the descendants of the Howel family took the prefix *Mab* (Irish, *Mac*, son). In process of time Mab became "Map" and "Ap." Thus Mab-Hoel became Ap-Hoel or Ap-Howel, which has been anglicised into Powel.

Thus another strange fact becomes evident that the "Powels" of Wales and England, and the MacHales of Mayo, Ireland, are descended of the same British primitive progenitor.

Many readers will be pleased to see the reasons that go to prove that the family name MacHale comes from the Welsh,—Hoel.

Natives of Ireland who speak Irish Gaelic are

wonderfully correct in pronuncing words quite in harmony with their orthographic origin; and if one apply Gaelic phonetic principles to the sounds, as heard spoken by those who know the Irish language, there is not much difficulty in arriving at the correct etymology of any term.

The name of which we are treating, pronounced in Gaelic, is Clan-Hoeil, not Clan-Coeil. This shows that the word begins with initial H, and not C: therefore the word is not Celé, or Cáil: next, the sound of the name as heard is one syllable: from this it follows that Celé is not the name: thirdly, the vowel sound after *h* is broad; it cannot,accordingly, be *e* simply, but *æ*, or *æ;* for the vowel *e* is the symbol of a slender sound in Irish Gaelic. Hence it is right to draw the conclusion (taking Dr. O'Donovan's two historic names, Celé and Hoel, to be those only of which there can be question)—that the *name* MacHale did not come from *Celé*, but that it has come from *Hoel*.

It is no proof against this truth to say, that the Irish prefixes, namely, "Mac," son, and "Clan," family, or clan, are found before "Hale," and that therefore the name is of Irish origin. The fact is, that the prefixes "Mac" and "Clan" prove the contrary.

All the Welsh settlers in Tirawley take as a prefix to their respective patronymics the term *clan*, as Clan Andriú, the MacAndrews, a branch of the Barretts; Clan Wattin, Clan Ostigh, the Hostys, who are Welsh and who settled in Glen Hoest, so called from them: so it is with all the clans named by MacFirbis—the Cusacks, Lynotts, Jordans, Joyces, Stantons, Petits, Brownes, Lawlesses, Quelans, Merricks, and Walshes, which are all well known to be of Welsh origin.

Paradoxical as it may appear, the presence of the prefix "Mac," proves that the *clan* was not one of the old Irish septs, but rather some of those settlers who

came in company with the Normans, or in their wake. It is a well-known fact in Irish history that the Anglo-Norman invaders became more Irish than the Irish themselves, that the Norman families assumed Irish surnames. Every one who did so took the prefix "Mac" and not "O." On the other hand, it is a historic fact, that all the old natives preferred the "O," or "Ua" (descendant), grandson, and not Mac. The prefix "O" points to the Milesian Irish; Mac, to the late comers, the Anglo-Normans of the twelfth or thirteenth century. The Bourkes took the name MacWilliam, or Williams; and MacDavid, or Davis; MacWalter, MacPhilip, MacHibbon (Gibbons); MacPhilipin, MacRiocard (Crickard).

The Barretts of Tirawley took the names MacWatten, MacRicín, MacTomín, MacAndriu; the Jordans, Mac Jurdain; the Stantons or Standons, Mac an Mhilidh (MacEvily).

There are hundreds of names of the old septs commencing with O (Ua), as O'Brien, O'Reilly, O'Conor, O'Donnell, O'Neil, O'Malley, O'Dowd; on the other hand, very few indeed of the old stock are to be found with the prefix Mac (*son*) in MacFirbis's great work, if his own name and the names of a few others are excepted.

When the Irish people in the eleventh century and in the twelfth, began, like other nationalties, to adopt surnames by order of King Brian Boru, O or Ua was the prefix at first assumed, Mac very rarely and only at a later period, and then whenever a sub-clan had been efformated from a primary or a leading *clan;* for instance, a branch of the O'Lochlan of the northern Síol Neill, took the prefix Mac as MacLoughlin. This name is a later growth than the O'Lochlan. The O'Briens of Ara called themselves Mac Ui Bhriain, others Mac Ui Bhriain Carnagh.

Thus the use of Mac before Hoel, shows that the progenitor who first bore the name in Ireland was

not one of the old Milesian stock, but rather was relatively of modern descent.

Lastly, the Welsh settlers took up their abode in the same districts to the west and north-west of Mayo. There, too, in the west of Mayo, the Clan Hoeil have made a settlement for centuries past, side by side with the Hostys, the Joyces, the Prendergasts, Walshes, Lynotts, and Barretts, who, as all the world knows, are of Welsh or of Norman origin.

This much it has been deemed well to say on the origin of the name.

CHAPTER IV.

"The expectation of the just is joy." (*Parables of Solomon*, c. x.)

Since the days of Sallust and Tacitus more than one distinguished writer has affirmed that the course of life and the exceptional energy of character for which great men are usually remarkable have had their rise, or the exciting cause of their development in the stirring events, which, in the days of their early boyhood, they witnessed themselves, or heard related by their fathers. The pages of history are replete with examples that show the truth of this statement. Judas Machabeus amongst the Jews is a striking instance, and amongst the Romans, Julius Cæsar,—in modern times, the Emperor Napoleon I.

It is strictly true that the boy-baby, John MacHale, was born on the eve of the most troublous period that has arisen during the past eighteen centuries. Behold all Europe convulsed from the year 1790 to 1800! And France! a prey to all that is wild and terrible, destructive and doleful: man arrayed against man; father against son, and son against father; honour and virtue and truth and common honesty, and civil respect, not to speak of rightful authority and the sacredness of religion, trampled in the dust: ignorance and brutal passion and vice and wickedness triumphant. All the intelligent, noble-minded, truthful; all lovers of order, social propriety, of honour and virtue, put into prison, or led to the guillotine for slaughter. France deluged with the blood of the virtuous and the noble; Europe become a battle-ground in which the fierce uncontrolled pas-

sions of the multitude sought to satiate their longing to destroy whatever science, reason, or religion had approved and prized. And Ireland, too, during that trying period had her own share of trials. At home, as we shall see presently, events occurred that made an enduring impression on the minds of children born during the closing decade of the eighteenth century. This country was like a seething sea, within upheaving from its very depths by tides and countertides, agitated by a hurricane of fierce force from without.

It has been already stated that John MacHale was born in the early spring time of 1789. He was the fifth son, but in order of birth the sixth child of Mary Mulchiarain, whom she bore to her husband, Patrick MacHale. There were Thomas the eldest and Martin, Myles and Patrick, Anne and John, Edward and Mary, with two others who died in the days of their childhood. And here again one must dwell a little, to treat on the precise date of the boy's birth. Taken in itself, it is a little matter and apparently not worth noticing; but taken in reference to the subject of our memoir, it is to a certain extent important, tending to show the early character of the young student at school and in college, as well as in after life when he took an active public part in the political and religious warfare in which for a half century the Catholics of Ireland were necessarily engaged.

The writer has often heard the late Archbishop tell an anecdote respecting an interview which he had had with the late most Holy Father of immortal memory Pius IX. His Holiness and "Tuamensis," as the Pope called the Archbishop, conversed familiarly on the subject of the hour, offered to each other expressions of congratulation on the length of years that each had up to that enjoyed, and on their state of health at the time. The Pope remarked, however, regarding himself, that the lives published

respecting the Supreme Pontiff always made him two years younger than he really was. If he were not robbed of these two years, he said, he would be very likely as venerable for his length of days as His Grace of Tuam, while yet he was equally as hale. That which the Holy Father declared publicly in reference to himself is, the writer thinks, too true of the Archbishop of Tuam whose early life is presented in these pages.

In some short lives of him published in newspapers it is stated that he was born in the early spring of 1789. In the later lives dictated by himself, it is said that he was born in March 1791. In the diocesan book kept in the college of Maynooth, in which the names of all the students from each diocese in Ireland since the year 1795 are entered, the date of John MacKeale's baptism is registered, 15th March, 1791. Any ordinary thinker will say, why, that is proof quite enough—his own words and the entry made in the records kept in the college of Maynooth respecting the date of his baptism.

That his living relatives did not think the baptism registry correct is seen by the number of years "91" read on the engraved plate of the coffin which enclosed the illustrious prelate's remains. For, if his age in November, 1881, were ninety-one, then he must have been born, not in 1791, as stated in the entry kept in the records at Maynooth, but in 1790, thus showing that there was in their opinion an error of one year at least, in fixing, as had been done, the date of his birth

It must be borne in mind that there was no register kept in any Catholic church in Ireland at the time the infant son of Mary Mulchiarain received baptism in his father's house at Tuber-na-Fian.* In those

*The Irish scholar will note that "f" has usually the softened sound of *v* expressed in Irish by *b* aspirated, or *bh* before it in such cases as gen., plu. declined with the article.

days Catholic clergymen had no churches wherein to celebrate the sacred mysteries, to administer sacraments, to baptise, much less to have such a thing as a registry. With the advent of peace, with the withdrawal of the murky clouds of penal punishments, those useful church accessories have come to light. In the year 1790 or 1791, and of course, before that time, the local clergy blessed the marriage and administered baptism in the houses of the people, and on Sundays celebrated Mass on the hill-side, under the shadow of a projecting cliff, or in the dry-bed of some meandering stream. Of the generation of Irishmen still living, many have witnessed liturgical and devotional administrations such as those, performed by the people's clergy. The present writer, when a boy of ten years, was present at a Mass celebrated at the gable end of a house, the people kneeling uncovered in the open air; and eighteen years later, when a priest, he offered at Headford, in the county Galway, the Holy Sacrifice in the open market-square of that little town.

It is useless to speak of registers in Catholic churches in those days. There were no churches. The Catholic clergy had quite enough to do to teach the people the rudiments of Catholic faith, and to administer the saving sacraments of Holy Church.

Certainly there was no register of baptisms kept in the native parish of the child John MacHale. To the writer the Archbishop stated that he had formed the opinion regarding the time of his birth from hearsay accounts furnished by his relatives. It is certain that he was born on Quinquagesima Sunday, but it is not certain whether the event occurred in 1790 or 1789. It is certain that he was baptised on the evening of Shrove Tuesday, in his father's house, by

F is marked here to avoid crowding consonants, and to show clearly the compound parts.

Father Andrew Conry, parish priest. The particular day is known—the Sunday before Lent—the recollection of the particular year has failed in its certainty. These facts the writer has learned from one who was present at the christening ceremony. Regarding the year, however, 1789 appears to rest on stronger circumstantial evidence than 1790 as the correct date. For it is well known that the Archbishop frequently declared, that, in the year 1796, two years before the French, under General Humbert, landed at Kilcomin Head in Killala, he had been in the habit of serving at Mass. He must have been then (1796), seven years old at least; for, time after time, he has told his clergy in conference assembled, or at evening sittings, that he not only served at Mass, but he remembered distinctly, and up to the day of his death he was able to call to mind, the substance of the discourses that the pastor, Rev. Andrew Conry, delivered in Irish-Gaelic during those trying years that preceded 1798.

This good father, the parish priest, was accustomed to counsel his people to avoid any alliance with the French; "for," said he, "bad as the English are, they believe in God, but the French people, whom I know well, have no faith in God; they have no religion; in name they are Catholic; infidel in act and life. Alliance with England in the past meant persecution, penal laws, loss of liberty, loss of property; alliance with the French means not only loss of liberty, for their liberty is licensed brutality, but loss of that which alone has been our life amidst the shadows of death, our light in darkness, our hope when despoiled of all things earthly." The writer has frequently heard the Archbishop repeat those words, or words substantially of the same import.

Strange to say the Rev. Andrew Conry, who uttered language so favourable to English rule in Ireland, who exhorted his people to remain firm in their

allegiance to the English king, was the first victim led to be sacrificed on the altar of British brutality and blood-thirstiness, as shall presently be seen.

A boy who, in the year 1796, was old enough to be able to serve at Mass, moreover to understand and remember lengthened discourses delivered in his native tongue, and on whom they made such impression that he was able to tell every word up to the year of his death, must have been at the time seven years of age at the lowest calculation, showing, therefore, that he was born in the year 1789.

The writer has moreover heard from his own mother who was the early contemporary of the child, and who was seven years of age in 1789, that it was in that year John the infant son of Patrick MacHale was born.

That particular period was very remarkable, being the second year subsequent to the death of the greatest doctor of the Church since the days of St. Thomas, St. Alphonsus Liguori, the light of Southern Europe, and the glory of the Catholic world. It was the first year after the death of Voltaire, who had unlocked the sluices through which the deluge of infidelity and impiety was about to rush, and upset and destroy, as it did, before ten years had elapsed, the fair face of Christendom. George III. guided the destinies of Great Britain and Ireland, Louis XVI. those of France; the Emperor Joseph II. lost the allegiance of his subjects in the Netherlands, Pius VI. was sitting in the chair of Peter.

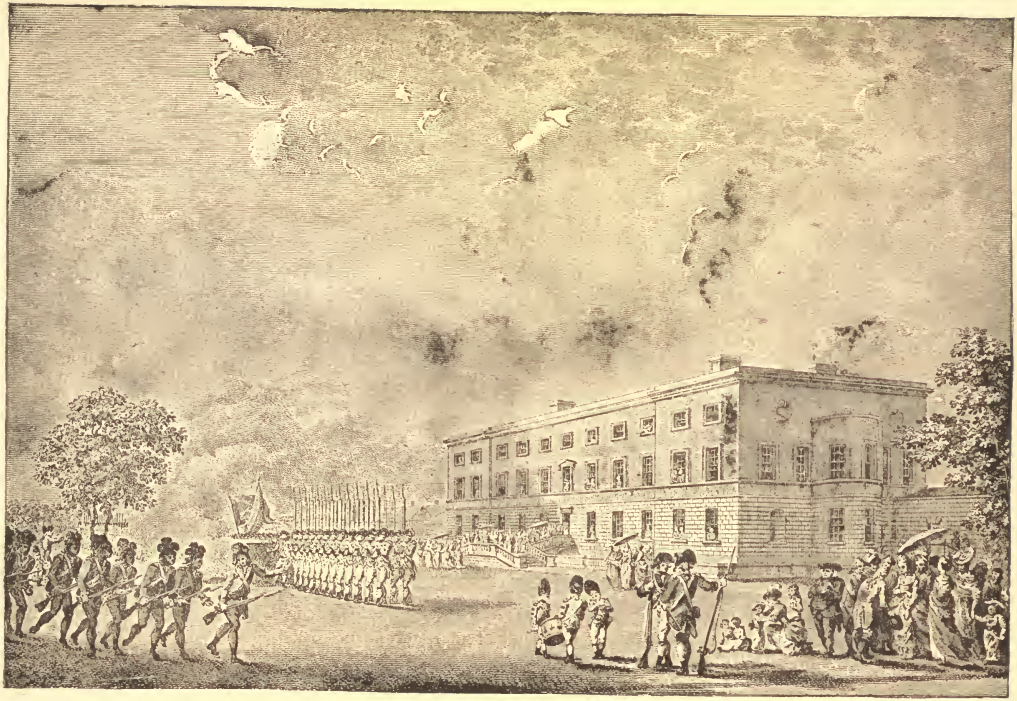
CHAPTER V.

"During the short period that has passed before my observation, revolutions have arisen that have no parallel in history."
—*Letters by Hierophilos, Feb.* 1820.

When four years of age the child, was taught to repeat the alphabet letters, and before he had completed his fifth year he was sent to a hedge-school, directed by a teacher living in a village known as Leath-Ardán, distant about a mile from home. Here he learned to read and to write, and here he commenced to acquire a knowledge of the English tongue. At that time very few persons in his native village, aye or his native country, understood a syllable of the English language. Even fifty years later the elderly natives of Tuber-na-Fian, knew the language of the stranger only very imperfectly. To-day in the same valley few, indeed, speak Irish: the National Schools and the system of anglicising every thing has banished it completely. But when John MacHale was a growing child, his parents, and brothers, and friends spoke no other language but Gaelic, for no other tongue was then understood. The boy's father was acquainted with the rudiments of English, and he had adopted the notion which prevailed then, and which prevails even to-day, that English is the only available medium through which Irishmen can, in these countries, rise to positions of trust or preferment in Church or State. This view is certainly correct; but English could be learned and a knowledge of the Irish-Gaelic tongue retained as

Welshmen hold to the Kymric, while at the same time they speak English just as well as the Fellows of Oxford or Cambridge; or as the Flemans speak French splendidly, though they retain their native Flemish. Patrick MacHale insisted that his son should speak English, not only at school but at home, although few, indeed, at home could converse with him in that language. To such a length did teachers and parents carry this meaningless desire to teach children English, that they agreed to put what was called a "score," that is, a common piece of plain stick supported by a string around the child's neck, and worn at home and at school, in order that parents at home should have the facility of "scoring" or marking with notches the number of times their child spoke Irish-Gaelic, thus giving to the teacher direct notice of the supposed fault, and at the same time power or permission to inflict punishment on the innocent lover of his mother's speech. No proceeding could have been more outrageous on the part of parents and preceptors. To us of the present period it is something quite beyond our comprehension. It is a proof that points out how deeply the rust of slavery and the act passed in the time of Edward III. at Kilkenny had, like an acid in its virulence, eaten at length into the moral soundness of the people's intelligent life. Nothing in the century past was so well calculated to destroy the love of the rising generation for the Irish language.

This barbarous custom continued to be practised in parts of Mayo up to the year 1860. The writer witnessed a case of it some twenty years ago—practised on a young girl, a native of the county Galway. John MacHale, when only six years old, was obliged to wear the "score," and to suffer in the flesh from his tyrant teacher for speaking that very language in which alone he could converse, and in which he should address his mother, father, brothers,



which he had been stowed by the good Sisters of Charity, when the myrmidons of Robespierre were scouring the convent premises for some surpliced "suspect."

Suddenly, one fine evening, about the close of the month of August, 1798, messengers came into the peaceful village, announcing the extraordinary tidings that troops in thousands—such was the report—had landed in Killala, that at Kilcomin Head were seen numberless ships; that now there was no doubt that the long-expected forces had arrived from "beyond the sea;" that now or never the natives ought to join the invading army, who had in the midst of perils by land and sea, come to their shores to offer the Irish people freedom. As a matter of history, on the 22nd August, 1798, a French force of one thousand and sixty men, besides officers, landed at Killala, under the command of General Humbert. They brought arms for distribution, and military outfits for volunteers. But the night the news of the landing reached Tuber-na-Fian, few slept in their homes. All were filled with alarm and anxiety, no one knew what was to happen. The old, the young, the married and single were all alike plunged into a sea of uncertainty and of the wildest dread.

They had heard of the rising of the United Irishmen in the south and in the east of Ireland during the previous spring, and how the blaze of insurrection, then ignited by ardent Irish patriotism on the one side, and on the other by painful parliamentary pressure, was soon quenched with the heart's blood of Ireland's bravest sons!

They bore in mind what their pastor had been repeatedly telling them, Sunday after Sunday, so that no matter how much they liked the succour which the French came to offer, they dreaded alike the gifts and the givers. The maidens and matrons feared that they at least were likely to endure wrong or

insult from the French soldiery whether the invaders had come as friends or foes. Hence, on the following days when the news of the capture of Killala and of Ballina on the 25th August, reached their ears, and when it was announced that the tricolour had been seen floating in Crossmolina, the matrons and maidens, with the young girls and boys under fifteen years of age, fled to the mountain fastnesses and hid themselves in those caves, which lie between the village and the giant mountain Neifin. John MacHale, then nine years old, was, during the term of one day and a night at least, hidden with his cousins and sisters in these wild ravines. The mother of the present writer was one of them, she was then sixteen years of age.

On the second day after their flight tidings were brought to those concealed in the caves that the French had come as friends, that they had touched nothing belonging to the natives, and injured nobody. All returned home with joy.

The youthful lad, John MacHale, was beside his father when he beheld the French troops march along towards Castlebar, up through the pass known as the Windy Gap. He may have followed the troops some short distance; for, he often said that on the day following he could hear distinctly the booming of the cannon when the French began, a mile or two to the north of Castlebar, the attack on the British lines.

The handful of French obtained a complete victory. The story of the "races of Castlebar" is known to the whole world, and does not further concern the subject of our memoir.

Some months later on, in 1798, when the French had been finally defeated, and when Mayo was once again in the hands of the English, another sight, which sickened the soul of the promising schoolboy, was seen coming down that same "Bearna-na-Gaoithé,"

or Windy Gap, through which, on the old road leading to the capital of Mayo, the French troops had advanced to an easy victory. What is this he sees? The entire population of his native parish, young and old, men and women, in crowds, darkening the highway from Leath-bhailé to Leath-ardan. What has happened? Why this mighty wail going up to heaven, loud like the angry moaning of a troubled sea before a coming storm? Oh! that piercing caoin! The whole parish are in tears, wailing as if distracted. Some dear friend has died! Who is it? Their pastor, Father Conry—has been put to death! Worse still, to add to the poignancy of their sorrow, he has been hanged on a tree. His body, now borne on the bier, is carried by loving hands down by the old Bearna to the parish he loved so well. Why has he been butchered in that way? Because, as a gentleman and a man of education, he had spoken kindly and courteously to the French officers and men, and gave them merely the show of the humble hospitality which his poverty allowed, and because the soldiers bivouaced, and that without his knowledge or leave, in the little thatched house which served as a chapel. For his acts of courtesy and charity he was reported to the Hon. Denis Browne, Lieutenant of the county; a court-marshal was held, the priest was forthwith condemned, and as quickly hanged from the tree opposite the hotel, and near the Wesleyan chapel, Castlebar, by order of the local tyrant and representative of British rule in Mayo. Denis Brown's will, or rather his savage passion, was the only law in Mayo for fully twenty-two years after the defeat of the French. The tales told of these sad times sicken the soul.

Like the Jews, in the days of Judas Machabeus the inhabitants of Tuber-na-Fiar bewailed the loss of God's anointed servant sadly and sorrowfully. In the weird cry of the Irish "caoin," so like the wailing described by Jeremias, and made plain some centuries

earlier in the loud and lengthy lementations over the the grave of Jacob, they poured forth the grief of their soul over their beloved Sagarth; they then laid his remains in the sacred dust that fill the churchyard of Eidergabhal.

The boy John MacHale was present at that sad funeral. The event made an indelible impression on his youthful mind, and assisted in moulding his views regarding the minions of English cruelty and barbarity in Ireland. He had a horror for revolutions, French or Irish.

From inclination, as well as by the promptings of grace, and in conformity with the views of his father and of his uncle, the Rev. Rickard MacKeal, Pastor of Ardagh, in the diocese of Killala, the schoolboy, John MacHale, turned the aspirations of his youthful soul to the service of God, desiring to become a priest of Holy Church.

These early inspirations were encouraged by the secret teaching of his pious mother. It was her ambition that her son should become a priest, that he might remember her one day at the holy altar, even as the blessed Monica asked at her dying hour her sainted son Augustin to think of her whenever he offered the holy sacrifice.

John prepared, accordingly, to leave his father's home, in order to study for the Church.

CHAPTER VI.

"If the Irish language were to perish as a living language, the topography of Ireland, if understood, would be a lasting monument of its significance."—*Letters by Dr. MacHale.*

BEFORE quitting his native home, it is well to take a parting glance at the territory in which the boy JohnMac Hale first beheld the light of day. The survey must be an elevated one, extending far and wide over the borders of the immediate parish. One must look towards the east and the west, and take a glance at the features of the place in the past as well as in the present, so as, from a bird's eye view of the territory, and from the ken of memory, piercing through the sombre hues of history, to take in how well the region merits, from the qualities of the country, the character of its topography, its romance, to be dearly prized by those who dwell there.

Standing on the topmost brow of Mount Neifin, and looking to the setting sun, one sees the land extending onwards, till, in multiplied projecting headlands and capes, it dips into the Atlantic, bordered by a golden girdle of waters that seem fringing the shores, to blend with the distant sky. To the north, the bay of Killala, some ten miles distant, lies before the eye, with the promontory of Killcomin, where the French landed, stretching out its pelican neck into the blue deep; and eastward, beyond the river Moy, the rich lands of Easkey rise majestically high above

the sea, that seething seeks the shore. Mullaghmore and Donegal Bay, with their golden strand and sparkling spray, reflecting the fading sunlight, bound the distant view to the north-east; while further onwards the azure sky clasps within its embrace the faint horizon's rim. Turning to the right, and looking eastward, a magnificent country, extending from Lough Melvin to Lough Conn, presents itself to view, diversified with hill and dale, rich in rivers and lakes, in mountain and meadow land, in moor and pasture fields, with villages and towns, formerly filled with industrious and happy inhabitants, and even still with an intelligent race, who live in comparative comfort. Further south, one beholds the hilly country on the borders of Leitrim and Roscommon, the elevated plateau near Tuam,—Knock Meadh, the Sidhe or site selected by Finbar, one of the conquered Danann princes, who, after the defeat inflicted on his race by the Milesian invaders, at Taillten (Teltown), took up his abode, not far from Lough Orbsen, in the county Galway. From the Danann day to this hour a romantic halo of mythical fame and fairy story plays around that majestic mound. Further west are seen the mountains of Joyce Country, and the splendid sheet of silvery waters, like a cyclopean mirror, extending from Cong to the Citie of the Tribes. At Clew Bay, and along the coast of Galway and Mayo, hundreds of islands, like handmaid attendants on some favoured sovereign, cluster around the borders, waiting upon the Emerald Queen of the west—Eire.

The view now presented embraces the whole of the counties Sligo and Mayo and part of Galway. In ancient times, from the fifth century up to the period when Connaught was divided into counties, the whole of that extensive territory just described, extending especially from Cong in South Mayo, to Cliffeny in North Sligo, was known as Tír-Fiacra, or

Fiachra's Country, just as Tír-Eoin in Ulster (Tyrone), was known as Eoin's Conutry. At the present time that barony north-east of the river Moy, and first as one crosses from Mayo to county Sligo, is alone known to this day as Tíreragh (a phonetic form of Tír Fiacrach), whilst the barony that takes in Mount Neifin and its surroundings, extending from the Windy Gap, or *Bearna-na-Gaoithe*, to the seashore at Killala is known as Tir-awley, i. e., Awley's Country. The land to the west of Neifin, reaching to the distant islands of Inis-skea, constitutes at present the barony of Erris, in ancient times "Iar-ros," or the western promontory.

Thus the land, in the topographical footprints which to this hour it bears on its surface, in the names of Neifin, Tobar-na-Fian, Tir-Errill, Iar-ros, Tireragh, Tir-awley unfolds to those who can decipher the imprints of the past, the record of the various migrations that came to find a home for their people within its borders. Treating of the ancient name of this western territory, the Archbishop of Tuam thus writes of the Gaelic tongue: "If the Irish language were to perish as a living language, the topography of Ireland, if understood, would be a lasting monument of its significance, its copiousness, its flexibility, and its force" ("Letters," p. 358, Dublin: Duffy, 1846). One may be permitted to add that Gaelic terms of historic import are to those who know their meaning like the remains of the elk, embedded in the soil of Eire, at once a sign and a proof of its highly developed living reality in days now passed away for ever.

To the eye of an antiquarian of æsthetic discernment and taste, this island is like a monster diamond, presenting in the light reflected from the past, prismatic periods of varied historic interest, arranged withal with a certain settled degree of accuracy,

pointing to the remoteness or nearness of the different colonisations that came to dwell in this land.

Thus let us view the territory of Fiachra and Awley. Who was Fiachra? Who was Amhalgaidh (Awley)? Were they real or eponymous characters? When did they flourish? What do Irish annals record regarding them? These are interesting questions for Irishmen to know; and, moreover, to learn how the names of these ancient personages remain to this hour, like fossils, petrified in the most recent stratification, which topography points out.

The "Annals of Ireland," and every reliable authentic manuscript or published record relating to the history of Ireland, tell the story of St. Patrick's coming to the shores of Eire. They tell how he was made a captive by Niall the Great, Ard-righ of Ireland, at the close of the fourth century. This Niall had two brothers, the one Brian, Fiachra the other. Fiachra (that is, the hunting chief, from "Fiach," a Keltic term, signifying hunting, and "aire," one in authority, a chief), was King of Connacht at the same time that Niall was sovereign king, or supreme monarch, of all Ireland.

King Fiachra had two sons: one known as Amhalgaidh succeeded to the Kingdom of Connacht, of course, by right of election, as was the Keltic custom; the other, Dathi (that is, the "skilled hero," for *da*, in Aryan and old Keltic, means skilful, learned; Greek, *δαὶς*, a torch, a luminous body; *ti*, like the Greek *τις*, a person, an individual), became monarch of all Ireland, and successor, at Aileach and Tara, of his uncle, Niall the great.*

Dathi and Amhalgaidh were both very famous sovereigns. Amhalgaidh was the first Christian king in Ireland; the other was famous for heroic deeds,

* *Dathi*, or *skilful hero*, was a nickname. Feradach, or the Man-of-Luck, was his original name.

for having made several hostile incursions into Alba, or ancient Scotland, to Britain, and into Gaul. It is on record that he made his way through Gaul, aided in part, by his ancient kinsmen, south of the Loire, till he reached the Alps; that he sought to conquer Helvetia, and that, penetrating further, he perished by lightning.

The son of Niall who had not been elected after his father's death, now became the chosen of the people. Leogáire succeeded his cousin, Dathi.

It was in the presence of Leogaire, on Tara Hill, surrounded at the time by the princes and people of the kingdom, that St. Patrick preached the faith of Christ, on the Easter Day, A.D., 433.

After the religious contest with the Druids, and having confirmed the truth of the Christian teaching by wonderful miracles, the apostle and his followers came with Endeus, one of the twelve sons of Amhalgaidh, to the territory around the Moy, to the western region, to the plain of Domnon and the wood of Foclut, near Killala.

The people of the principality, to the number of twelve thousand, with Amhalgaidh and his sons, assembled at Forrach-mac-Amhalgaidh,* near the Moy, between Ballina and Killala, to bid him welcome.

They and their king and his sons became converts to the Christian faith. Amhalgaidh was so beloved by his people, and his descendants became so multiplied in the third and fourth generations, that from that time to the present the whole of north Mayo is known as Tirawley, or Amhalgaidh's Country.

In the same way, the whole territory comprising the two counties and part of Galway,—was styled *Fiachra's country*, from the name of Fiachra, Amhalgaidh's father; and the smaller territory, to the north-east of the Moy was named Hy-Fiachrach, not from Fiachra the uncle of the new Christian king, but

* "Gathering of the Sons of Awley."

from Fiachra Ealgach (the illustrious), his nephew, the son of the supreme monarch Dathi, deceased, who, with his immediate descendants, settled in that special district from Ballina to Balysodare.

Amhalgaidh, Dathi, and Fiachra were of the Milesian race, who according to the Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland had two thousand one hundred years before that time, become by right of conquest, rulers of Ireland. Those Milesians, be their leaders eponymous or personal, were a Keltic colony that had migrated from the south of Europe, from Spain, as annalists testify.*

Strong extrinsic testimony, apart from Irish annals, show that a thousand years, and earlier still, Keltic tribes dwelt in Southern Europe.

Those who held possession of Eire anterior to the Milesian invasion were known as the Danann tribes. They had large territorial domains in Tirawley, and in Tireragh, in the counties Sligo, Leitrim, and Mayo.†

Two hundred years earlier the Danann defeated the olden proprietors who had held the land before their coming,—those Firbolgian Kelts, and the Damnonii, from whom "the western promontory," or "Iar-ros," is known in Irish records as Iar-ros Damnonn.

* See Pictet and Zeuss, and Prichard, and German writers of the Keltic school.

† Brón was a Danann; he was son of Alloid, and brother of Manannan. His name is at the present time found in that of Killybróne, in the townland of Backs. Killybrone, broken form of Coil-magh-Bróin, is derived from "*coill*," a wood, *magh*, a level field, or plain, and Bróin, son of Alloid, the Danann. According to O'Donovan most of the ancient names of places in county Sligo have come down from the days of the Dananna; for instance, Ballysodare, from Dara, a druid of the Danann tribes, who perished there after the battle of *Magh Tiureadh of the Fomorians*. It means town (*baile*) of the waterfall (*easa*) of Dara. The barony of Corran and the mountain Cosh Corrain, in the same county, received the name

The topographical names of North Mayo show, accordingly, to every student of Irish Archæology, that up to the coming of St. Patrick, three remarkable races of mankind, with the remains of a fourth—the Nemedian, a more archaic race, and the Fomorians, who from time to time had settled along the coast, all speaking the same language, although each may have had, it is likely, a special dialectic variety,—formed only one united people, under one Christian king—Amhalgaidh, the son of Fiachra.

These various races lived as one up to the coming not alone of the Danes, in the ninth and tenth centuries, who did not mingle with them, but to the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion, 1172, when a number of Welsh families succeeded in expelling the ancient proprietors. These late-comers became masters and owners by force of the fertile lands to the west, the north-east, and south of Neifin. The following were the chief families from Wales who settled in Mayo:

The Barretts, who took Irish names, and formed sub-families, known as MacWattin, MacRickin, MacAndrew, MacTomin, the MacQuinlan, the MacOsty, the Clan Cuiseog, or Cusack, the Petits, Browns, Walshes, or Breathnaigh; the Moores Stantons, or MacEvillys; Clan Jordan, or MacJourdain the Lynetts, Lawlesses, Carews, MacHaols, or

from Corann, a famous harper of the Tuatha de Danann. So also Tráigh Eótaile, from Eótaile, a Danann who was slain there in the closing fight with the Fomorians on the strand, in the nineteenth century before the Christian period. Tir-Erril, written also Tir-Aghrill, another barony, is a corruption for Tir-Oillil, the country of Oillil, a distinguished Danann Bel-tra, Baili-tragh, the Strand of Baili, another Danann.

The writer finds that this view is confirmed by the Ven. Charles O'Conor of Belanagare (A.D., 1710-1791). The Milesians gradually imposed new names of their own on the territories according as they were enabled from time to time, to drive out the Belgæ and the Danann inhabitants. Still some Danann names have survived.

MacKeals. The Normans were the Birminghams, or MacPeoruis (MacFeoris, or Ferris); the Bourkes, or, MacWilliams, MacDavis, MacHibbon, or Gibbon, MacPhilpin, MacRickard, and MacWalter, or Qualter.

These families took, in adopting Irish surnames, the prefix "Mac," son, never, "Ua," or "O," a grandson or descendant. And the tribe or stock are invariably called in Gaelic by the term "Clan," never by *treabh*, a tribe, or by *muntir*, a special race, or by "*síol*," seed, as is usual in speaking of the old Milesian families.

"In the seventeenth century," says MacFirbis, in his book of genealogies, "Oliver Cromwell's settlers came and deprived the original owners and the new (Anglo-Norman) settlers of the lands, and settled thereon themselves. These remain to this day."

Thus four centuries after the arrival of the Welsh settlers in Mayo (A.D. 1272) other peoples arose who, in turn, have come to take possession of the same territories. And, as the leader of the Barretts dispossessed Lochtna (or Loftus) Lord of Tirawley and of Glen Neifin, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, so the followers of Cromwell, in turn, dispossessed them and the Bourkes who succeeded them. The lords of yesterday are the peasant tillers of the soil of today. The great question of acquiring possession of the land of Ireland dates its origin very far back indeed.

It is seen also that Milesian, Welsh, and Norman blood flowed in the veins of the youth John Mac Hale, who was one day destined to act a bold and manly part in defence of his native land, and of his people, no matter of what race descended—pure Milesians, Belgian, Danann, or Welsh, Norman, Flemish, or Hanoverian.

The names Neifin and Tuber-na-fian take their origin from the Fianna, who flourished in the third century of the Christian period, either those under

Goll MacMorna, who lived in Iarros Domhnann, or those under the command of the son of Cumhal.*

Thus, to the bright colouring which the white light of history scatters over the lands of Fiachra and Awley is added the blue and violet, which the romantic creations of Oisin and his brother poets of the early period throw over the heroic exploits of Fionn and his fiery followers, over the lands to which Goll and his chivalrous heroes loved to listen to the hunter's horn, or to the blast of the trumpet, summoning the host to chase the deer or to fight the foe.

Tirawley is a home of more than ordinary historic interest, combined with associations which poets love. Few spots present a finer picture in the past, or a lovelier land for a young poet to dwell in, than the land of Oisin, of Goll MacMorna, of Awley, and of Fiachra. It is no wonder that it was a home dear to the heart of young John Mac Hale.

* *Neifinn*, a mountain, is derived from *Neamh*, heaven, or the sky, and *finn*, fair, or "*finn*," the gen. of Fionn, the son of Cumhal. Hence it is spelled with "i" before "f" to show the root to be "*neimh*." Dat. case of *neamh* heaven, and not "*né*," which is not sufficiently significative. MacFirbis writes: "Neimhthinn.—The first part, *neimh*, has a meaning, but *tinn* has not. "Finn" is in harmony with the history of the place, and with the name *Tobar-na-fiann*, a village at the eastern side of the hill in Glen Neimhfinn. *Tobar-na-fian*, the well of the Fian, that is the "Feni," soldiers of Goill MacMorna. It is more likely they were Goll's soldiers rather than Fionn's, for Fionn did not reside in the west; Goll did. In writing *Tobar-na-bh-fian* the "bh," the soft sound of "f," is omitted in the spelling in these pages to avoid, as has been said, the multiplying of consonants, which to modern readers is not agreeable. For the same reason, the words have one "n" final in conformity with the English orthography The spelling *Nephin* is merely fanciful or phonetic.

CHAPTER VII.

"One generation passeth away and another generation cometh; but the earth standeth for ever."—*Eccles.* i. 3.

THE first year of the present century brought peace to Europe: Ireland was humbled to the dust, most of her great men had perished; she lay bleeding and in bonds. England had carried the Act of Union, by which the kingdom of Ireland was made one with that of Great Britain, to be ruled henceforth by one imperial parliament sitting at Westminster.

In France, Napoleon had, in 1804, attained the summit of his ambition: he and Josephine his wife, were by Pope Pius VII. crowned emperor and empress of the French.

In that same year, 1804, the boy, John MacHale left his father's home, and came for the purpose of acquiring a rudimentary knowledge of Latin and Greek to Castlebar, the capital town of the county Mayo. Here he spent three years under a teacher named Patrick Stanton, who had deservedly the reputation of being an excellent master in imparting a knowledge of the rudiments of Latin, Greek, and English.

Stanton at the time was a man of middle age, and in stature of middle size, in mind clear and intelligent, in character and manner, quite energetic. In that district, he may fairly be reckoned amongst the last of those useful men who, before seminaries were permitted to be established by Irishmen professing the Catholic faith, did an immense deal of good amongst the people, and rendered enduring

services to the Catholic cause in Ireland. Stanton practised the profession of teacher for nigh sixty years, and lived to the advanced age of four score and ten. Forty years afterwards from the same master the present writer received, for a short time, instruction in the rudiments of Greek and Latin.

Schoolboys in those days were obliged to make learning not only a study, but a task and a labour. They had at times to endure privations and hardships of which young men of the present age have no idea. Young MacHale spent sometime at lodgings in the town; again he abode in the country districts some four or five miles away from school. At the close of each week, however, he journeyed home ten miles on foot to his father's house to spend amongst his parents, brothers, and sisters that day of the week which Christians devote to the service of God.

All his relatives, near or distant, who at that time made the acquaintance of the youthful scholar, ay, and their descendants for many decades of years afterwards, felt a sort of family pride that one so full of splendid promise had been in his school-days the friend or playmate of some member of the family. This natural feeling was heightened, and the orbit of its action enlarged to more than ordinary dimensions, when in after-life the youthful John became the distinguished writer, the famous professor, the illustrious archbishop and metropolitan. Strange and amusing claims to relationship with one deemed so renowned, were, by the simple natives of North Mayo, not unfrequently put forward.

Young MacHale was not destined like his uncle Rickard, or those men whose whole life was a martyrdom for the Catholic faith, such as most Rev. Dr. O'Gallagher, and his Grace the Lord Primate Oliver Plunket, to undertake in a frail ship a voyage to foreign lands, pursued on their way by spies, or in danger of being seized by pirates on sea or robbers

on land. Irish students who offered themselves for the priesthood from the middle of the sixteenth century to the opening of the nineteenth—should proceed to Coimbria in Portugal, or to Spain, say, to Salamanca, Valladolid, or Grenada; to Italy, at the Propaganda, Rome, or the College of St. Isidore, Agatha, or St. Clemens, if not to those countries then to Belgium, Louvain, Tournay, or to France; Lille, Douay, St. Omer, or to Paris, where the College des Irlandais was established. A voyage to France in the seventeenth century was more perilous by far than a voyage to New Zealand at the present time.

At home now for over ten years, a splendid retreat had been founded for Irish ecclesiastical students, known as the College of Maynooth, situate north-east of the county Kildare. In the closing years of the eigthteenth century England had good reasons to dread the spread of republican opinions in Great Britain and in the sister kingdom. Accordingly, at the recommendation of Edmond Burke, the Irish parliament decreed in the year 1795, to establish a college at home for Irish Levites, and to permit them no longer to roam among the republicans of France, or of any European state. A site was selected beside the old castle of the Geraldines, so famous in modern Irish history.

Thus it is seen that it was not from love so much as from fear that this boon of a national college was conferred on Irish Catholics. The forethought, wisdom, and nobility of mind possessed by the great statesman and orator, Edmond Burke, suggested the scheme, and by his attention and earnestness its success was ensured.

At that time the clerical refugees, the exiled French priests received a friendly asylum in England and in Ireland, and some few fortunately came to Maynooth, or rather were selected as fit professors in the new college.

To this *Alma Mater* for Catholic students the youthful John MacHale was, in the year 1807, promoted to a diocesan burse by the Most Rev. Dominick Bellew, Lord Bishop of Killala.

For aspirants to the honour of a free place in the College of Maynooth to-day, it may be agreeable to learn that John MacHale was for matriculation examined in Latin in the well-known elementary work *Selectæ Sententiæ;* and in Greek in the first chapter of the Gospel written by St. John. Of course he passed.

The young alumni of the present period who go to Maynooth, and come home on vacation, comfortably seated, as is right, in a railway carriage, may feel pleased to learn how students in 1807, and for decades of years later still, went as freshmen, or as seniors returned to college. They were obliged to perform the journey either on foot or on horseback. Charles Bianconi had not for seven years later fully started his famous cars, making a beginning, in 1807, from Clonmel to Cahir. It was only subsequent to the year 1815, that a complete system of public cars and coaches spread throughout the whole island. Public coaches and Bianconi's famous long cars have in their turn passed away, and of them scarcely a trace remains to tell of the wonderfully strange things that occurred both on the journeys by car, and the journeys by boat along the canals, and in the higher style of mail coach driving from the five provinces into Sackville-street, Dublin. The only thing narrated in ancient times like those quaint journeys, is that poetic narrative by Horace of his travelling from Rome to Brindisi—of the two, that by Horace must have been superior in style, if the poet's description is truthful.

In 1807, neither car nor coach from North Mayo was available; and John MacHale, accompanied by an elder brother, made the journey on horseback

from Glen Neifin to Maynooth college. So late as the years 1845 and 1846 students from the remote barony of East Innishowen, County Donegal, were accustomed to make the return journey on foot to their national *Alma Mater*.

In the diocesan book kept in the college the following entry is found:—"September 20th, 1807, entered Maynooth, John MacKeale."

During his seven years' college course, from 1807 to 1814, the Tirawley student made wonderful progress in learning. He was gifted with a ready quickness in acquiring a knowledge of languages. He mastered Latin and Greek so as to be fairly distinguished for his ready acquaintance of these ancient tongues. He studied history and the *Belles Lettres* with avidity, and during his philosophy course he turned his mind to the study of French, of which subsequently he became master, when he felt it a necessity as well as a pleasure for several years to converse in their own tongue with the French refugee professors.

The works of Addison, Goldsmith, Johnson, Young, Gray, Mac Pherson—and amongst historians, Hume, Robertson, next Junius, Paley, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Moore, Gibbon—he admired; but he was pleased in an especial manner with the stately style, the ready flow, the rhythmical elegance, the antithetical contrasts of thought and diction in which the writings of the author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" abound. It is stated that he read the whole of the "Rise and Fall" twice over; nay, that he transcribed and re-copied several portions of that famous work. His contemporaries were fond of remarking that the writings of Hierophilos wore the rhetorical costume of Gibbon—the author of the "Rise and Fall." Pleasant anecdotes, not a few, have been told amongst his co-professors on this subject. In a memoir so brief as the present the writer must

omit all the minor details that are not required, and present only the leading outlines of the Archbishop's life and character. It is well, however, not to omit to state that whenever he was preparing to write any of those letters which, in his early days rendered his name famous, he was wont to read some striking passages in the works of Gibbon. Even to his latest years, he was in the habit of taking up a volume of the "Rise and Fall" in preference to any modern English work.

In the practical science of logic, in moral philosophy, and in the Queen of Sciences, as theology is styled, John MacHale was always amongst the first.

In the study of mathematics and of the physical sciences he attained no eminence. During his early boyhood his mind had never been trained to study of this kind, and hence, when he joined the science classes he was too heavily weighted in the intellectual race with his fellows who had already acquired in the schools a fair knowledge of geometry. He found this path to knowledge difficult to tread, and therefore, like many distinguished writers of the past century, he conceived a dislike for mathematics and for the physical sciences. He could never afterwards feel pleasure in studying them; neither would he devote any serious attention to that branch of intellectual culture. The minuteness of detail, and the sharp, clear lines of defined theoretic truths of science were like slender rails—too tiny for a firm footing to one not accustomed to such keen thought. Owing, however, to his lengthened course in Maynooth, and from the fact that he mixed for a number of years with the professors of physics, he possessed a fair knowledge of the leading views of the physical sciences, and he could, during after-life enjoy a conversation on those abstract subjects.

Astronomy, especially, and the views which that

noble science presents, so vast, so boundless, and almost infinite, and thus so far the expression, so to speak, of the attributes of God—views which, in their objective vastness, are presented subjectively by theology to any student of that sovereign science—pleased him immensely.

And Geology, although not dreamed of in his day in the Catholic college of Maynooth, but now ranked amongst the inductive sciences—not noticed some fifty years ago by students—possessed charms for the Archbishop's mind. He never opposed, as some theologians of the old school were wont to do, the deep, all-absorbing views which have been unfolded by this sister science of Astronomy.

Astronomy and Geology may be ranked as twin pillars, supporting the great dome of the Almighty's work in the boundless edifice of creation. Astronomy teaches man to gaze at the height and depth and length and breadth of this mighty temple raised by the Creator's hands—the universe; Geology bids him look at the enduring, perennial character of the stupendous structure—starting from the morning of eternity, when "the wisdom of God planned the foundations" of the universe. Geology shows not only the massiveness of the Creator's work, but the primeval periods consisting of millions of years during which they were in progress, "while the earth was void and empty;" and when "the Spirit of God moved over the waters." On the other hand, Astronomy comes in to aid the revelations made by her sister science, confirming in many instances her periods of duration, by planetary and stellar progress, by the journeying of light from the orbs and suns roaming in space interminable.

The Archbishop knew eight languages, namely, Irish and English, Latin and Greek, French and Italian, German and Hebrew. He could converse and preach in four. He understood German, and

as regards Hebrew, he knew as much as the general class of Hebrew scholars.

He learned French, as has been stated, at Maynooth College with the French exiled ecclesiastics; Italian he mastered during a year-and-a-half's stay in Italy in 1831-2. Then, and at a later period, he commenced the study of German.

It is true that Irish was the first language that he spoke. It is true that from his earliest childhood to the closing days of his life, he never found any difficulty in framing his thoughts in that language; in fact he preferred it as a medium of thought to all others; he prayed in it, nevertheless he never fully acquired a grammatical knowledge of his mother tongue, much less an extended literary and a philological acquaintance with its radical forms. He declared himself to the present writer that it was only from the years 1839 to 1842 he commenced seriously to turn his attention to the literary character of his native tongue, and to see into the spelling of the words, into their etymological and syntactical construction. No one spoke correct Irish more fluently, no one mastered its correct orthography more imperfectly, and overlooked or undervalued its primitive and native poetic forms; for Keltic has moulds of poetic thought peculiarly its own. This result was only natural; for, as he did not commence to spell or pen the words of the language, and note their grammatical forms until he was fully fifty years of age, it could not be expected that he should well master the minutiæ of his native speech with the strange adaptation of English modes of spelling to Gaelic sounds, confusing his views. Gaelic, like music, has vocal sounds noted according to scale, and its symbols of sound, or letters, must be in keeping with their special vocal value. A want of knowledge on this point leads to endless mistakes in spelling and writing Irish-Gaelic. In translating

"Moore's Melodies" and "Homer's Iliad" into Irish-Gaelic, he did not follow the metre of the Irish bards, but took English poets as his model.*

At the close of John MacHale's collegiate career, in 1814, Dr. De la Hogue, professor of dogmatic theology, became an invalid, and both the professor and students selected the most promising *alumnus* to take the professor's place, and lecture on the theology course. On August 30th, 1814, he was formally appointed by the College Board of Trustees to act as lecturer. On the 25th of July, a month or more before this time—the Feast of St. Anne—at Dublin, and not at Maynooth, he received the order of priesthood, at the hands of the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, who some few years before had been consecrated Bishop of *Hieropolis in partibus infidelium*, and appointed Coadjutor to his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin. Had the Vicar-capitular the power of giving faculties in June, 1814, John MacHale would have received Holy Orders along with the great body of those usually ordained at Pentecost.

The coincidence is remarkable, and therefore worth noticing, that it was in 1814 Dr. Doyle, the famous J. K. L., was appointed to the Chair of Theology in Carlow College. It was in this year also, and by the same prelate, but not at the same time that the Apostle of Temperance, the Rev. Theobald Matthew, received the holy order of priesthood.

During the six years that the young priest acted as lecturer in the Chair of Dogmatic Theology, he had splendid opportunities of advancing in knowledge and completing the edifice of erudition for which he

* See, on this subject, "Aryan Origin of the Gaelic Race,' pp. 450, 451; and "College Irish Grammar, Prosody," in which the author discusses fully the subject of ancient Irish poetry, and the origin of rhyme in poetry of the present period.

had, during his college course, laid deep foundations.

It had been customary with Professor De la Hogue to hold conferences two or three times each week with four or more professors who, like himself, were anxious to be well made up on any questions discussed in theology. Some of his own brother refugees—Drs. Anglade and Darré—were of the number. One of the party was in turn supposed to read all that was worth reading, and to tell out at conference the respective views of the standard authorities on the subject to be discussed. Dr. De la Hogue had, at the time, written some few theological tracts. The young lecturer was admitted a member of this theological club. Association with such men was of great literary advantage to him, not only in maturing and settling his views on debatable questions of theology, or in fixing firmly in his mind the strong proofs that tend to confirm dogma, but in acquiring a ready knowledge of Latin and French. His Grace used to tell an anecdote regarding Professor De la Hogue, that on occasions of their meeting he would listen to the various opinions of the great thelogians—St. Thomas Aquinas, Suarez, Vasquez, De Lugo—put forward by the professor whose business it was on the occasion to expound the question, and that, whenever he did not hear his own works quoted, he used to ask with much simplicity, combined with a fair estimate of his own ability: "*Mais, monsieur, qu'est ce que mon opinion?*"

Dr. De la Hogue's failing health continued, and for six years the Rev. John MacHale held the position of lecturer, and taught the class with *eclat* to himself, and with much profit to the students, as the writer has heard more than one of those whom he taught, say.

After the demise of Dr. De la Hogue, in 1820, the lecturer was unanimously elected, in the July of that

year, by the Board of Trustees, to the position of Professor of Dogmatic Theology.

Like a racer, he was fresh for the course he was about to run. He prepared the lectures with care; and his style of speech and address was, at the time, fresh, vigorous, and commanding.

CHAPTER VIII.

"Man's life on earth is a warfare."—*Job.*

In one of his public letters, written February, 1820, the Maynooth Professor, Rev. John MacHale, declared that during the short period which had passed before his observation, revolutions arose that have no parallel in history.

The state of Ireland, in the opening period of the present century, may well be compared to that of the ocean after a storm. When a tornado has swept over the deep, the waters for days after their wildest rage has subsided, appear still angry, uttering wild moans, or defiant threats to renew the combat. Beneath the surface there is, amid the counter currents, a conflict which is only a subdued form of the fiercer fight witnessed while the tempest's breath blew angrily over the seething sea. Such was the state of society amongst the masses throughout Ireland from the year 1800 to 1829. The wild tempest of insurrection, with its counter repressive measures, the indiscriminate slaughter, the hanging and butchering of the nation's sons and daughters, the desperate retaliation on the part of the people and their fierce reactionary spirit, defiant from rage and madness, had passed away. The counter currents were still in conflict amongst the masses.

William Pitt and Lord Castlereagh had sufficiently ated their desire for slaughter. Ireland, at the close of 1799, lay, like a wounded hind, bleeding at their feet. She was in the hands of the hunters, and in

this state she was bound by the Act of Union to the British nation.

Through the instrumentality of the Secretary of State for Ireland, the Prime Minister Pitt, had now accomplished one of the grand schemes which he had planned to carry into effect during his ministerial career. Other projects he had in view: these, too, he intended soon to make a reality. As the leader of an aggressive anti-Catholic Government, he purposed to effect without noise that which Queen Elizabeth had failed by strife to accomplish; what James I. attempted, but did not achieve; what the Penal Laws, passed in Queen Anne's reign, proved powerless to produce, namely, to make the people of Ireland cease to be Catholic, if they would not yield to Protestant persuasion.

The Union now accomplished, the measure next in importance to the thinking of this astute statesman, was to de-Catholicise Ireland under the feigned desire of giving freedom of conscience, and liberty to worship God as they pleased, to the Catholics of the two kingdoms. A system of education, too, was to be established for the benefit of the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland. These apparent boons were to be bestowed, however, only under certain conditions —provided the Catholic party in Ireland allowed the king or his minister, first, to have a veto in the election of Catholic bishops to sees in England and Ireland; next, that the ecclesiastics would consent to be paid from the public treasury, and not to be, as ministers said they were, a burden on the people; and, thirdly, that the education about to be bestowed should be duly prepared and administered in the way which the very pious and enlightened divines of the Anglican Church deemed seasonable and suited, with a proper admixture of biblical garnishing. The year before the Union the question of giving the British minister the right of "Veto" was introduced at

Dublin by Lord Castlereagh before ten of the Irish Catholic episcopal body—the four archbishops and six suffragan bishops. A modified consent was given to the proposition: and, from that time up to the death of Pius VII., in 1823, the question of the "Veto," and indirectly that of paying the Catholic clergy of Ireland from the imperial treasury, occupied the minds of statesmen, and filled the hearts of the Catholic body with deep anxiety and well-founded alarm.

In the year 1812 the third question grew suddenly into maturity. That year a grant of £14,000 from the exchequer was given for the purpose of furnishing the Irish people with facilities of education.

Missions and schools were forthwith established in the south and west of Ireland, chiefly amongst Protestants and ostensibly for no others. After a time, it became apparent that the real object of those who guided the movement from the Biblical Bureau in Kildare-street, Dublin, was to preach Protestantism to the masses.

The Press and the preachers of the period had been for years exhibiting the Irish people as ignorant, benighted, heathenish, as untrained, they said, as the brutes that roam the forest. These enlightened censors never for a moment reflected that there was a time—from the sixth century to the tenth—when every "Scotus" (i.e. Irishman) was a scholar, that they dispensed learning and the wealth of scholarship at the court of a French emperor. If their descendants in the early part of the nineteenth century have become children of poverty and of ignorance, it was not their Catholic creed that effected the sad change. "Their creed," as Dr. Doyle eloquently wrote, was "the creed of a Charlemagne and of a St. Louis, of an Alfred and an Edward, of the monarchs of the feudal times, as well as of the emperors of Greece and Rome; it was believed at Venice, and at Genoa, in Lucca and

the Helvetic nations in the days of their freedom and greatness; all the barons of the middle ages, all the free cities of later times professed the religion Irish Catholics profess. The Charter of British freedom, and the common law of England, have their origin in Catholic times.

"Who framed the free constitution of the Goths? Who preserved science and literature during the long night of the middle ages? Who imported literature from Constantinople, and opened for her an asylum in Rome, Florence, Padua, Paris, and Oxford? Who polished Europe by art, and refined her by legislation? Who discovered the New World and opened a passage to another? Who were the masters of architecture, of painting, and music? Who were the poets, the historians, the jurists, the men of deep research and profound literature? Were they not almost exclusively the professors of the creed of Catholic Irishmen? Why, then, has the Irish nation been rebuked, assailed, reviled? Because they are a people struggling by legal means to obtain their birthright against a faction who would live by wrong, and fatten on the vitals of the country." To rob a man, and then deride him for being penniless, is a cruel outrage; to refuse the aid of light, ay, to pluck out the eyes and then upbraid the sufferer for being in darkness, is an act of tyranny. This is literally what the Protestant Press and those pompous preachers were performing. For two hundred years previously, learning in Catholic Ireland had been banned. The manuscripts found in Ireland by the English were either drowned or burned. An Irishman found with one in his possession was deemed guilty of felony. In those days there were despots in every village. By the law the priest and the teacher were regarded as felons if they should dare to exercise their office of enlightening the untaught in their own land.

It is of no use to propose arguments, however truthful and convincing, to one who will not listen nor think. It is no use to offer a light to one who is prepared to close his eyes lest he should see. Say what you will, Popery, as they are pleased to call the Catholic creed of the Irish people, was, and is, in the eyes of those civilisers, the cause of all Hibernian ignorance and misfortune.

Long before John MacHale was ordained priest, long before he received his formal appointment as Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the College of Maynooth, the "Veto" and the pensioning of the Catholic clergy had received vigorous opposition from such champions of the cause as the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin; from Most Rev. Dr. Milner, from Rev. Richard Hayes, from O'Connell, leaders and lights of the Catholic clergy and people.

The young professor perceived that during the angry contention connected with the "Veto," the proselytising spirit of the new preachers was covertly leavening the masses without attracting the special notice of the guides of Catholic thought and opinion. It was to this perilous point of attack that he directed the efforts of his potent pen, his brilliant talents, and the combined power of his rhetorical and theological erudition. Against the "Kildare-street Society," and the "Bible or Tract Society"—all kindred in cause and character—Professor MacHale, under the name of Hierophilos, raised the cry of alarm. He stood forth like another David, to encounter the Philistine fierceness and the ceaseless canting continually flung by the giant champions of the Established Church on the Catholic population of his native land. In 1820 he commenced that series of letters which, like a sudden sunburst from a cloudy sky, brought out the name of Hierophilos into the effulgence of fame.

Hierophilos wrote under cover of an "incognito;"

he wrote as the admitted, though not chosen, champion of the Catholic people; and he encountered a really clever opponent. These facts helped very much to raise his assumed name before the admiring gaze of his Catholic fellows, who, in proportion to their admiration, felt a strong desire to know who the gifted writer really was. Like the knights of a bygone age, the intellectual combatants fought as masked cavaliers. All Ireland, and perhaps England, were spectators. The cause was the old one—the truth or falsehood of Catholic dogma. The assailants wore the same kind of panoply. In rhetorical weapons, and in the ability which each displayed, they were equal. The cause, however, and the admirable skill shown by the professor in the use of his logical and theological knowledge, rendered the champion of the Catholics victorious. This result was admitted by his opponent. Professor MacHale's letters against Bibliophilos are the most polished and potent of the published productions from his pen from 1820 to 1845. Regarding those and other letters written after that period, their author, in the preface to the volume published in 1847, observes: "On the hearts and understanding of the Irish people, the interesting topics out of which they grew, are not soon likely to lose their hold. The social as well as moral blessings that follow in the train of knowledge; the malignant influence of the tyranny that first strove to seal, and of the treachery that is since labouring to poison its salutary fountains; the necessity of an education entirely free and Catholic for the Catholic people—Catholic in its conductors, in its books, in its living instructions, in short, in its influences on the senses and the hearts of the growing generation, with the like free privilege to all others of adopting their own favourite systems—the bigotted monopoly of the Protestant establishment to which the freedom of education has been hitherto, and yet continues to be,

sacrificed . . . ." These and subordinate subjects of a similar tendency and spirit form the leading themes of this series of letters.

Having entered the arena of public life, still wearing the invisible mantle which the incognito supplies, the Professor sought other opportunities for the exercise of his commanding abilities. All Ireland lay out before his view: her political, social, moral, and religious condition at the time afforded abundant materials. "These were the subordinate subjects," as he remarks, "of a similar tendency and spirit." From 1821 to 1824 he penned a number of letters to the English people on the state of Ireland.*

Stormy times those undoubtedly were when Professor MacHale launched into the waters of political life. The Irish Catholics have been for years in a ferment on the "Veto" question. Steeped withal in misery and slavery, now again their spirit is boiling when encroachments have been made on the field of their faith by the agents of the Kildare-street Society. Dr. M'Gee, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, of rampant biblical agencies, inflamed the passions of both Catholics and Protestants—the one with hate, with fanaticism the other. These were the days when the heroic struggle for Catholic emanci-

* These essays, as they may be styled, are neither in thought, in boldness of conception, nor in style, as able as the letters from the same pen written against Bibliophilos. His latent powers were brought out more fully on that occasion by the conscious knowledge that he was dealing with an opponent. The stilted style, the ponderous proportion of his periods, are better suited to polemics than to plain narrative, or to descriptive or historical exhibitions.

His polemical writings in 1820, '21 and '22, were deemed by Englishmen and by non-Catholics at the time, as bold, daring, and "audacious," to use the language of the London *Times*, like Parnell's speeches of 1881, or Sexton's in the House of Commons, Feb. 14, 1882, courageous expositions of Ireland's case, strongly vindicated by facts and figures, only plainly too true.

pation under O'Connell began to assume form; when the newly elected Bishop of Kildare, J. K. L., began to enlighten and charm the reading public on the subjects of Catholic emancipation and education. A new generation had arisen since 1798. Those former champions of freedom, who fought with the sword, had perished with the sword. J. K. L., O'Connell and MacHale, leaders of a new generation, commenced another manner of warfare to win in the race, the goal of liberty.

The Maynooth professor did not allow Archbishop M'Gee of Dublin, nor the Most Rev, Dr. Trench of Tuam, pass unchallenged. His letters penned against those doughty champions of the indiscriminate use of the Bible are racy and attractive, not unlike those written against Bibliophilos. The professor continued, in 1823, to fling off several able letters, some of which touched on the subject of Catholic emancipation. On the 12th of May that year, the first real meeting of the Catholic Association was held in a tavern in Sackville-street, Dublin, under the able direction of O'Connell. In March, two years later, it was by Act of Parliament suppressed, but re-opened in July, 1825. During that short interval the whole of the Catholic and Protestant population were aroused. In one day two thousand meetings were held over all Ireland; and thus the whole of the Catholic people of Ireland cried aloud in one universal shout to be emancipated. Their voice, like the trumpet-sound of the Israelites before Jericho, shook the walls of intolerance and Tory despotism.

In one of the letters dated 1823, addressed to the Right Honourable George Canning, Foreign Secretary to the Tory ministry at the time, Professor MacHale writes: "In appealing, therefore, to the legislature to extend the rights of the constitution to the Catholics of Ireland, we appeal to those eternal

principles of justice which human policy cannot annul; from which statesmen are no more released than private individuals, and which Britain, beyond other nations, professes to revere."

"While she extends her commerce over the world and diffuses with it the improvements of her arts, the protection of her arms, and the lights of her literature, the high character which she affects for piety and justice, is tarnished by the harshness of her treatment to this country. As long as Ireland remains in her present condition the interference of Britain in the concerns of other countries will be deemed less an evidence of her humanity than her ambition. If she interposes in the defence of an injured people her policy will be considered the result of a selfish wish to secure her distant possessions in which justice has no share; nor can she ever claim the proud position of being the avenger of freedom while the slavery of the Irish people exposes in the eyes of mankind the injustice of her pretensions."

Again, notwithstanding the boasted freedom of England, it has, as far as regards Ireland, all that was harsh, intolerant, exclusive, and imperious, in ancient republics, without being mitigated by that Christian spirit which subdued into a milder tone the genius of liberty. . . .

"Against such arguments, resting on an eternal and immovable basis, naught is opposed but the interest of the Protestant Establishment, and the bigotry which it has begotten."

His letters touching emancipation and kindred subjects—the proselytising spirit of the new gospellers are pointed and full of argument, and they supply another striking contrast to those which he wrote to the English people on the state of Ireland.

For fully another quarter of a century many of the social and moral wrongs which the Catholic Irish then suffered continued to press with galling force

on a people naturally inclined to be faithful and loyal. The Helot slavery in which the masses of the nation were sunk; the tyranny of most of the upper classes; the still abiding "spirit" of penal laws; the injustice and rampant intolerance of an alien church, imposed on a Catholic people; these evils, although much abated, have not been wholly removed. Against these and in favour of emancipation and pure Catholic education the professor, John MacHale, continued up to 1824, to wield a trenchant pen.

At that time he was always a welcome and an honoured guest at Carton House, the residence of Ireland's only duke. The French refugees, professors at the college, were frequently invited and were quite at home at the duke's hospitable board. In after years, when Archbishop of Tuam, he was fond of narrating some pleasant anecdotes regarding his French friends and their unpretending manner of speaking and acting both in the college and at Carton. At this time, from the years 1820 to 1824, the professor was remarkably vigorous and athletic. He walked not unfrequently from the college to Dublin and back on the same day. There were no railway carriages in those days. Most commonly, however, he rode to town and back whenever he required to see the city for business or recreation. He was a good horseman. His frame, though slender, was muscular, and remarkable for manly strength, presenting withal a dignity expressive of superior influence and command.

During vacation times he visited his native home, and did not forget to pay his respects to the Lord Bishop of the diocese, the Most Rev. Peter Waldron. The young professor was a great favourite with the bishop, not only on account of the brilliant services which he had been rendering to the Catholic cause, not only because he was a priest of promise, but because he was, moreover, the most famous son of

the mother church of Killala. John MacHale was not only on terms of friendship with the aged bishop, but on every important occasion the professor was prepared to tender dutiful services as preacher, priest, or theologian, whenever Dr. Waldron called him to his aid.

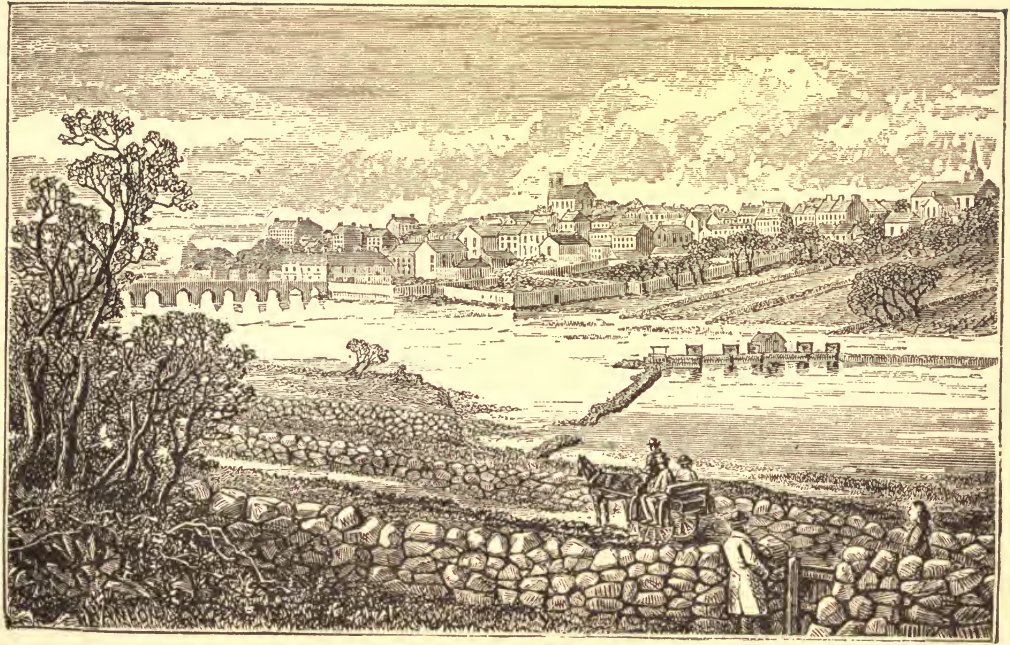
The Most Rev. Bishop Waldron had now sat in the chair of St. Muiredach ten years, from the closing months of the memorable year 1814 to November, 1824. He was called from the diocese of Tuam, of which he had been archdeacon, and pastor of Bekan, near the celebrated village of Knock, county Mayo.

Bishop Dominick Bellew was his predecessor. Dr. Bellew was a native of Armagh diocese, where he was born, in 1746. He went through his course of studies at Bordeaux, Paris, and Propaganda. In audience of December 5th, 1779, *per mortem Alexandri Irwin* (the former bishop, who had died that year) he was elected to fill the vacant see of Killala. He was consecrated in 1780. He governed the diocese of Killala for thirty-two years, and died in 1812. His death was sudden and unexpected. He drove from Ballina to Dublin in his own carriage across the whole island, from West to East. He attended at a meeting of the Irish bishops. He voted against granting the power of "Veto" to the Government in the election of bishops. Returning home he received a hurt at Mullingar. His horses became restive, and by some mishap he received a fall from his carriage. From the effects of the injuries received he never recovered. His remains were interred in the Abbey of Moyne, in a recess under the tower.

Owing to the imprisonment of Pius VII. at Fontainebleau, a successor was not appointed until the close of 1814, when the Holy Father had gained his freedom and had come back to the Eternal City. The Brief confirming the election of Dr. Waldron was dated October 4, 1814.

The Most Rev. Dr. Waldron was in early life educated at the college of Nantes of which he was a graduate. He was a prelate of great erudition and theological knowledge; he was eminent for his virtues, social and religious; he was beloved by his clergy, and in years after he had passed away, his name was always spoken of as having been a model bishop.

At the close of 1824 Dr. Waldron's health began to give way, and it was deemed fitting that the weight of the episcopal cares of the diocese should be shared in by one younger in years and more active. Whom should he select? Who more worthy for that office than Rev. John MacHale, Professor of Theology at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, a favourite and a friend of the bishop himself, and nearly of all the priests in his own native diocese of Killala? All the clergy rejoiced at the selection; his name was sent to Rome by the bishop, with the approval of the clergy.



CHAPTER IX.

"Fides tua te salvum fecit," words spoken by our Lord.—*St. Luke.*

In accordance with the recommendation of Dr. Waldron, Bishop of Killala, and agreeably to the wishes of the pastors of the diocese, Propaganda, on the 31st January, 1825, elected John MacHale Bishop of Maronia, in Greece, and Coadjutor to his Lordship of Killala, with right of succession to the See of St. Muiredach.

The appointment made by Propaganda was, on the 2nd of February, ratified by the Pope, Leo XII., in audience; and on the 12th of February the "Bulls" were issued. The letters from Rome were received by the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam and Metropolitan of the province, who in due time communicated the tidings to the Bishop-Elect and to Dr. Waldron.*

On the 5th of June following, at the College of Maynooth he received episcopal consecration. That day the college was *en fête*. A great many visitors came from the city of Dublin and its neighbourhood to be present at the ceremony.

Amongst those who witnessed the consecration of

* In this age of the penny and half-penny postage at home, and of two pence-half-penny from Rome, it may be well to learn what the postage of some letters from the Eternal City was in the year 1825: that on the letter received from Rome by Dr. MacHale in 1825, was *one pound six shillings*; in 1834, nine years later, the postage on letters of the same kind, was one pound five. What a difference between the postage of 1822 and 1882—sixty years ago.

the Bishop of Maronia, was a lady of position and wealth, of middle age, probably about forty-seven years, whose life, hidden hitherto from the world, was one of exalted virtue. Although by a special act of God's providence, she had become possessed of a splendid fortune, she did not expend any of it on the indulgence of worldly fashion, or in gratifying that craving for fame and notoriety which nature suggests. Her life, from childhood, had been one of faith and love—faith for which she fought and suffered; and love ardent, constant, true to God in all trials: love that had kept her ever ready at the post of duty, with the lamp, like that of the five wise virgins, always burning in her hands, prepared for any fresh call made known to her as coming from God.

The Archbishop whose memoir is before the reader, often told him who pens these words that in the course of that day, the first of his episcopal life, this lady was introduced to him; she was the sainted Catherine MacAuley, the future foundress of the Order of Mercy in Ireland. Her appearance as a lady of the world, so calm and so grave, her more than ordinary attractive manner, the intelligent character of her conversation, and the religious earnestness of her manner enlisted his attention, and gained the silent admiration of the young bishop. Many long years after this event he remembered the interview distinctly, and he was in the habit of telling the clergymen with whom he used to converse, or the Sisters of Mercy whom he at times visited, how glad he was that he had seen one who was destined to be like St. Paul, "a vessel of election," the chosen handmaid, selected by his providence to be a source of blessing in all times to the suffering poor, and to the houseless and ignorant amongst the faithful of his Church. Convents of Mercy are to-day found in every country in the civilised world—in Europe, in America, in Asia, in Africa, in Australia. To name

the countries specially, from New Zealand to Baggot-street, and from Calcutta to Quebec, would fill many pages. In the words of the apostle, the fame of their faith, charity, and good works has gone forth to the uttermost bounds of the earth. And yet the institute destined to do so much good in the hands of Catherine MacAuley as foundress was not established for six years and a half after the 5th June, 1825. At the time of her visit to witness the ceremony of the episcopal consecration, the foundation of the "House of Mercy," Baggot-street, had been laid; but the humble Catherine had not conceived then the faintest idea of becoming the foundress of a new religious institution. She was utilising her grand fortune in building a home for the deserted and forlorn, and to snatch Catholic children from the Kildare-street schools, against which the Bishop of Maronia, when professor, had written so strongly and so eloquently. His writings, powerful though they were, would have availed little, if hearts like those of Miss MacAuley had not beaten responsive to the call, if she and Mercy had not flung themselves with undying devotedness into the thick of the fight with the Evil One and his agents. The Order of Mercy in Ireland was founded on the 13th December, 1831; and the Rev. Mother Mary Catherine was called to her reward ten years later, November 13th, 1841, aged 63 years.

The Bishop of Maronia was held in great esteem by his brother professors, and by the students. They were glad exceedingly that one whom they venerated so much, one of their own *Alma Mater* was selected to be a spiritual ruler of the Catholic Church of Ireland. Accordingly, they presented the new bishop with a testimonial and an address on being chosen, says the Rev. T. Walsh, in p. 268 of his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," "to occupy a place among the hierarchy of Ireland, and about to depart to the

scene of his future labours in his native diocese. The regard and veneration, as well as regret, then so signally manifested, is still (1854) remembered in the college as an event accompanied with emotions of pain and pleasure, on account of his separation from this nursery of his talents and his fame, and of his elevation to the dignity of bishop."

On the day of the consecration another incident occurred, which has reference to the Bishop, and though not in itself deserving of much attention, it may still be agreeable to the many admirers of the illustrious John of Maronia.

In June, 1825, it was well known that the Most Rev. Dr. MacHale was no other than the famous Hierophilos. An Anglican minister happened to visit the college of Maynooth on that day. He had previously formed an idea of the unknown Hierophilos, and of his wonderful daring in fighting with men whom himself had looked up to as giants in intellect and learning. The ready power displayed by the great unknown Catholic champion in wielding, like an Olympian Zeus, thunderbolts, which he levelled with unerring aim at his foes, astounded the unsophisticated Anglican, so that he had really, though unconsciously, formed the notion, that any man who faced with such fortitude his biblical foes, surrounded as they were by the power and favour of a state the greatest in Europe, must have been a very Hercules in figure and form, and should show forth the external strut of conscious power. The new Bishop, with a few clerical companions were, at the time, walking on the same path, where the stranger and his cicerone were enjoying the open air and taking a view of the buildings. He was told that the Bishop who had received episcopal consecration that day was Hierophilos. His curiosity was excited. He had been taking in all that his guide, one of the senior students, was telling him regarding the institute. "Above all things,"

said he, "I should be glad to get an introduction to the new Bishop, or to be allowed even to see so distinguished and bold a champion of Roman Catholic opinion, and of Roman Catholic rights: I wish very much to see him before I leave;—will you be pleased, sir, to . . . . not precisely to introduce me, but to point him out that I may see him." "That is Hierophilos," said his guide, "the newly-consecrated Bishop, who is walking before you, he in the middle, before whom, at times, you see students and strangers kneel to receive his blessing." "Oh, bless me! is it possible," cried the admiring Anglican, "I had formed a notion of the daring writer as one fierce in look, terrible in stature, and quite unapproachable. Bless me! the reverend gentleman whom you point out is quite as humble-looking, as modest, as calm, as unpretending as the simplest student."

The important duties which the new Bishop was consecrated to discharge called him to Ballina, the capital of the diocese, where he met an enthusiastic welcome from the most Rev. Dr. Waldron, from the pastors and people of the See of St. Muiredach. He commenced directly to perform those special functions which it is a Bishop's duty to discharge—to administer the sacrament of confirmation to the faithful people, who needed very much the spiritual strength derived from its sacramental efficacy.

The death of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pope Pius VII., occurred 20th August, 1823. His successor, Leo XII., was elected in 1824; and in the following year, the first of his pontificate, the new Pontiff king was pleased to promulgate a general jubilee, which was one of the most remarkable that had been given to the faithful since the days of Urban VIII. At the present period, the Catholic faithful have been several times blessed by the spiritual benefits and graces of a jubilee. Pope Pius IX. was styled the Pope of

"many jubilees," and the present illustrious Holy Father has so far followed the example of his predecessor of happy memory that we have had a jubilee in the year just past, and a jubilee the year directly after the accession of the Holy Father Leo XIII; but in year 1825, there had not been a jubilee for fully half a century previously, from the year 1775 under the pontificate of Pius VI. According to the regulations and customs of Holy Church, there should have been a jubilee in the year 1800, and again another the year after the accession of Pius VII. The disturbed state of Europe, however, and the exile of the Holy Father from the city of the Pontiffs, prevented the promulgation of such a spiritual boon to the world. Pius VII. was elected far from his own Rome; and the events that followed in rapid succession;—his exile, imprisonment,—kept the spiritual treasury of the Church unopened. Now, however, a year of peace, and with it blessings from heaven, has come. "Never was the gate of joy into the shrine of St. Peter broken open with more exultant solemnity than by Leo XII. Never did pilgrim multitudes traverse its pavements with deeper devotion than inspired them congregating around that holy and noble Pontiff." Nor were those effusions of faith and fervour confined to Rome, or to the crowds of pious strangers that congregated within its walls. The same devout enthusiasm was felt and manifested in the most distant corners of Christendom as that felt at its centre. The pulsations of piety beat warmly and healthfully through the whole body of Christ's Church on earth; and in no place did they beat more warmly and more strongly than in the west of Ireland.

The Most Rev. the Coadjutor opened the jubilee for the faithful of Killala early in the year 1826. He shared with the pastors the duties of missionary life, and the extraordinary labours imposed on the faith-

ful clergy during that year of abundant graces and blessings. "In his new sphere," writes Father Thomas Walsh, in his Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, p. 268, "his zeal in preaching and attending to the wants of the suffering poor of the diocese was unceasing and indefatigable. In visiting the diocese he was surrounded by the people, who regarded with affection the strenuous advocate of their rights, and by the clergy, who venerated him as their parent."

From those who were present the writer has learned that the clergy, as was proper, were unremitting in their efforts to give effect to the pious zeal of their new prelate. The harvest of good results to souls which crowned the labours of prelate and priests was little short of miraculous. The Bishop renewed in each parish the ceremony of opening the jubilee for the faithful. During the time of its continuance, for weeks the sacred tribunals were crowded with multitudes of eager penitents, and in numbers without precedent. Public devotions commenced at an early hour in the morning, and the shades of evening only brought them to a close. The writer has dwelt a little on this eventful jubilee, because it was new to the people, extraordinary in its effects; because it was the first in which the new prelate of whom we write found a field on which to exercise his zeal to the full, after he had received the plenitude of apostolic powers. The year was a remarkable one, not only for its spiritual blessings, but even the earth herself shared in the benedictions of heaven. The harvest was the best that had been seen for over a half century. Corn sown at the end of May, was reaped the first week in August. For months no rain had fallen; June and July were remarkable for great ripening power.

The following anecdote the writer has heard from the lips of the late Most Rev. Dr. MacHale. It is illustrative of the faith and fervour and strong devo-

tional life of the Catholic Kelts of the west of Ireland. The case occurred at Belmullet, county Mayo, in the month of May, 1826, during the days of the great jubilee. One evening, about five o'clock, the Bishop was hearing confessions; the penitents had thronged around the chair—for there was no confessional at that time in the little church. Wearied and nigh exhausted, after work for weeks past, he essayed to arise, when at that moment he was seized by a stalwart peasant who had seen some seventy summers. He was a tall, gaunt man, who for hours that day, and the day previous, had continued sitting, and at times kneeling, opposite the prelate awaiting, like the paralytic at the pool of Bethsaida, for his turn. His time came not. He was sparsely and meanly clothed; he wore neither shoes nor coat, and of course outside the church no hat. In this unpretending dress he did not, from modesty of manner, make any effort to push his way till he could at the close quietly reach the Bishop's ear. Others, of less retiring habits—young people and persons better-to-do, but certainly not more desirous to receive the graces bestowed by the sacrament of penance—closed around, and the ever-filling throng, pressing continuously on, kept the poor old man outside the crowding circle. He was thus completely shut out from the confessional. As the Bishop arose he was grasped in the arms of this persevering, pious peasant: "Out of this," said he, in Irish, "out of this you will not stir, till you hear my confession and give me Holy Communion. I have been now three days fasting from morning till night, have walked twelve miles each day to and from home. This is my third day; it is now evening. If I come to-morrow the same crowd will surround you, and leave me excluded. I will not, I cannot wait any longer. I request confession and absolution in God's name." "Well," said the Bishop, in his native Gaelic, of which he was a master in conversation "how can

I hear you at this moment, surrounded as I am with this vast multitude: there is danger that they should hear some portion of your confession?" "Oh," said he, "I care not; I care not if the whole world were listening to me. I have come to gain the indulgence of the jubilee, and home I will not return until I shall have been absolved and enriched by the blessed presence of my God, by the graces of the sacrament, and the spiritual treasures dispensed by the Church at this period of salvation. I will not be alive to share in the blessings of the next jubilee." The Bishop sat down, heard the poor man's confession, gave him Holy Communion; and after acts of thanksgiving to God, the pious old man bounded like the cured cripple at the golden gate, and with joy made his way home.

CHAPTER X.

"Magna est veritas et prævalebit.'

"Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers."

BRYANT.—*The Battlefield.*

IN the year 1826—the jubilee year—the movement for Catholic emancipation was, perhaps, in the spring-tide of its fullest flow. The spirit of Irish Catholics to obtain freedom was positively boiling over. The Protestants themselves joined the movement; some of the most distinguished amongst the non-Catholic party in Ireland gave it the aid of their powerful co-operation, while in England, the Rev. Sydney Smyth and other writers gave the Catholic cause a good-natured and an enlightened support. The people meant action, and were determined to be slaves no longer. They set to work in the best way they could. They defeated the Beresfords at Waterford, which up to that period the Marquis had regarded as a pocket-borough. So the Tory Brownes were defeated in Mayo. Their defeat, or more properly, total route, was mainly due to the counsel, the eloquence, and the energy of the Most Rev. John Mac Hale, Bishop of Maronia, and to the combined action of the forty shilling freeholders, who voted under the banner of Catholic emancipation, and to a clergy not pensioned by Government.

Like Napoleon I., at the Bridge of Lodi, Dr. Mac Hale dashed with the people into the thick of the political fight; he roused the spirit of those that lay

dormant, encouraged the timorous by his eloquence and personal prestige, and finally routed completely the Tory party, represented by the Hon. Denis Browne and the House of Westport. The Brownes never from that day forward attempted to contest at the hustings the representation of county Mayo in parliament.

The tyrant will of the Domitian of the day—Denis Browne—was for twenty-seven years the only law known politically to the unfortunate Catholic slaves of Mayo, until they were, on this occasion, freed at length from its galling oppression. For fully thirty years after this event, the peasantry always spoke of it with pleasure, and with a feeling kindred to that which the Jews experienced on their return to Jerusalem from Babylon, in the days of Cyrus the Great. In Browne's place, Lord Bingham, the present veteran Earl of Lucan, was elected in the interest of the Liberals.

By this change the Catholics gained little, except that they taught a lesson to their former oppressors, and showed their own nascent power. Lord Bingham, like most of the Protestant Liberal party, was, and is, as intolerant towards Catholics as the most bigoted Tory could possibly be.

In 1827, Dr. Mac Hale published a work which he had composed while in Maynooth College—"The Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church," in two volumes. The book was received with favour by Churchmen of the Catholic communion, and by anglicans not a few. It has gone through two editions. A translation was published soon afterwards in French, and another version eighteen years later, in German, by Dr. J. A. Brühl. In its bearings as a work resting on history, philosophy, and theology, it was up to the intellectual advancement of the period, and at present it holds its place amongst standard Catholic works.

Throughout the diocese, the new bishop gave to

O'Connell and the Catholic Association just that amount of aid which any prelate of an earnest patriotic turn of mind would certainly bestow. He was no way demonstrative. O'Connell himself complained that the bishop did not fling himself heart and soul into the cause which was of such vital importance to the whole nation, as well as to Catholics in England and in the colonies. His habit at the time, and until the year 1840, and again after O'Connell's death, in 1847, was to give counsel rather than to lead the way in any national demonstration. If ever prelate had an opportunity of leading with O'Connell, it was in the years 1827, 1828, and 1829; and yet, John of Maronia did not act a leader's part. He was always cautious and fearful of the passions and prejudices of men in political matters, and watchful, too, not to fall, even in a good cause, into the meshes of English law, much less of English tyranny. He remembered the days when the French landed in '98, and the sad results to Father Conry. Dr. Mac Hale was bold in enunciating political, moral, and religious opinions; and the thunder of the truths propounded to the public, and at times, their lightning force, produced the best possible effects. It is true he showed himself fearless of legal consequences in 1850, when he signed his name, with his proper ecclesiastical title; nevertheless, it is true, that in his political life he exercised not only prudence but great caution in the course which he pursued, and he showed that he preferred to give general counsel rather than, Moses-like, to lead his people to the land of civil and religious liberty.

As a preacher and a controversialist his assistance was never asked in vain by the Catholic priests and prelates of the diocese of Kilmore (Cavan), of Meath, or of Clogher, to denounce and confound, in English or in Gaelic (for at the time Irish was the language of Meath, Kilmore, and Monaghan), the "salvation

army" of heretical preachers who, at this period, had flocked from Protestant England for the purpose of converting the benighted Catholics. He was a commanding, if not a ready and eloquent preacher in Irish-Gaelic. At that time his ripe knowledge of languages, of theology, and history, was called forth with profit to the people, and with telling effect against the strategic movements of the new gospellers.

What the Bishop of Maronia thought of British Protestantism, and of the insensate efforts made to pervert Catholic Irishmen, that is, to make them less intellectual, more ignorant, more debased, more devoted to matter than to mind, for every intelligent Catholic rests firmly on revelation and on reason, (as well as on authority) for the truths of faith; what he thought of the Church establishment and her law-bishops;—his views on the malignant character of the penal laws; finally, how miserably, at this time, Ireland was governed, without justice and without wisdom, will best be seen from the following summary, taken from the evidence which Dr. Mac Hale gave, November 3rd, 1826, before the MAYNOOTH COMMISSION. (See eighth report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry. London: June 2nd, 1827.)

The commissioners were, T. Frankland Lewis, J. Leslie Foster, W. Grant, J. Glassford, A. R. Blake. They visited Maynooth in 1826, and afterwards examined at Dublin, the professors and several students of Maynooth—the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Rev. Father Kenny of Clongowes Wood, S.J.; and the Right Rev. Dr. Mac Hale, who lately held the professorship of dogmatic theology.

They asked Dr. Mac Hale:—

Q. Pray, what is the origin of the title of Bishop of Maronia?
A. It was a see which was possessed formerly by Catholic bishops, until it came into the possession of the Turks. Now, of course, there is none; and when there is a coadjutor

appointed to any bishop, in consequence of infirmity or old age. he gets the title of bishop *in partibus infidelium*.

Q. In the letter to Mr. Canning by Hierophilos, published, in 1824, by Richard Coyne, there is the following observation on the character of England :—"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 phrenzy 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 profanation." Do you now feel 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?

A. This is a twofold question. 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, "whether it was expedient to make that representation to the students of Maynooth," I shall just say, that I never made the representation to the students of Maynooth. As a fellow of Trinity College giving lectures might write, perhaps, in his pamphlet or in his book some things which he would not consider very expedient to deliver in his lectures in the class-hall, though it might afterwards reach his pupils, I, in a similar manner, wrote this on my own responsibility, never intending, as a professor of Maynooth, to introduce it to the students.

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

A. 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 daresay, 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.

Q. Do you yourself believe that proposition to be true?

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

IRELAND AND THE ACTION OF THE PENAL LAWS.

Q. 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 misfortune is the *malignant* character of its laws." Will you explain the meaning of the epithet "*malignant*," as applied to the laws of this country?

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

Q. You will observe that the character that is here passed upon the laws of the country is quite general; there is nothing in the passage that appears to restrict it to the laws against Catholics?

A. As the commissioners wished to have my meaning I chiefly referred there to those penal laws which have been passed in hatred of the Catholic religion.

Q. Was it not meant also to include the laws which uphold the Protestant Church establishment?

A. No; unless negatively, i. e., as far as the laws which proscribed Catholics are deemed essential to the safety of the Protestant Church establishment. In that passage I chiefly regarded those laws which have persecuted the Catholic religion, and of which some of the venom still poisons the charities of life.

RIGHTFUL BISHOPS AND LAWFUL BISHOPS.

Q. When you mentioned Dr. M'Gee and Dr. Trench, had you any design at the time in omitting their legal titles?

A. I do not think I had; because we very frequently speak of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin simply as Dr. Murray. I will cheerfully give them any title which the law gives them.

Q. Is there on the part of the Catholic bishops any unwillingness to recognise the bishops of the Established Church as established by law?

A. Certainly not, considering the title as a lega title derived from the law.

Q. But you will observe that the title given to the prelate by law is not that of Protestant Bishop, but that of Bishop?

A. I must confess that I do not look upon any of them as the Catholic bishop of the see. There is a Catholic bishop in

each of the sees. I use the term "Protestant" as a distinctive epithet to distinguish them from the Catholic bishops.

Q. Do you recognise him to be that Archbishop of Dublin who has a right to exercise that species of power called *ecclesiastical*, which is conferred by law?

A. Yes.

Q. And to enjoy all the revenues and jurisdiction which are derived from the authority of the State?

A. Yes; and temporalities; but I do not consider him that Archbishop of Dublin who inherits the ancient apostolic doctrine of the Catholic Church.

Q. Do you consider him as of right possessing any spiritual authority whatever?

A. All that spiritual authority which he can derive from the laws; in short, I give him all those privileges which the law gives him.

Q. Do you conceive that the law of the land is competent to confer spiritual authority on him?

A. No; I do not think that the law of the land is competent to confer spiritual authority; it is not the source of spiritual authority.

Q. Do you think that he has any spiritual authority even over Protestants in the Established Church?

A. Whether that be spiritual authority or not, I know not; they may consider it spiritual authority; I will not quarrel about whatever authority is exercised over Protestants; but I distinctly state that I do not consider that the temporal law can confer spiritual authority. It is no wonder that I should doubt whether they can exercise any spiritual authority since I have doubts about its source. Valid ordination is the ordinary channel through which spiritual power is transmitted; and, as I entertain serious and well-grounded doubts about the one, I entertain similar doubts regarding the other.

The Bishop was in this manner questioned by the Commissioners concerning the power of the Church dispensing in vows and oaths: (*b*), he was asked to explain his views on the famous Bull of Benedict XIV., excommunicating all persons who assist heretics with warlike means in any war carried on against Catholics; and he was asked to say, whether or not that might be understood of the subjects of a king not in communion with the Roman Church, who might be making war against a Catholic king. They

liked to know, also (*c*), whether, in treating of the notes of the True Church, that she is One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, the Established Church came in review before his notice, as possessing or not possessing those marks? He satisfied their inquiries on this point, showing plainly that she has none of these signs or marks of the True Church. Finally, he was questioned on the well-known liberties, or immunities, claimed by the Gallican Church.

The *resumé* here presented puts before the readers of those pages the state of religious excitement that prevailed from 1800 to 1830, not only in Ireland, but in England, and in the British parliament. From the advent of the French exiles into Britain a strange awakening to the light of Catholic truth disturbed her repose. Catholicity was forcing its truths on her overshadowed intellect and her stubborn will. The Maynooth Commission was the expression, in some sense, of that struggle, and the enlightened replies of the Bishop of Maronia tended not a little, like the views of Dr. Doyle, to expel prejudice, and to put the Catholic view clearly before the world.

In 1829 was won the greatest victory achieved in modern times by the force of public opinion and by moral means—Catholic Emancipation.

In estimating the greatness of the success one must bear in mind the crushing influence of the imperial power, the intense bigotry of the British public, and the unreasoning hostility of the statesmen who in the early part of this century ruled Great Britain and Ireland.

Daniel O'Connell, a name never to be forgotten by Irishmen, was labouring in the cause of his country from the year 1800, when, at the age of twenty-five, he made, in Dublin, his first public speech against the Union. He infused a spirit into the Irish people never to tolerate that the British minister should have the right of veto in the appointment of

Catholic bishops; and at public meetings he demanded, "many a time and oft," emancipation for himself and fellow Catholics.

It was only on the 12th May, 1823, the first formal gathering of the Irish Catholic Association was held, in a tavern in Sackville-street, Dublin, when forty-seven gentlemen enrolled their names as members. On the 4th of February following, O'Connell established the Catholic rent, and so few were there present on the occasion, that, as is stated on good authority, he was obliged, in order to form a *quorum*, to force into a room where the meeting was being held, at Coyne's shop, two priests who had just arrived from the country. The following year, 1825, saw the rent coming in day by day, till it ran up to six thousand; in 1826, sixteen thousand; in 1828, Catholics showed their earnestness of purpose, and poured in twenty-one thousand pounds. The Government saw that the Irish people were in earnest, and that they meant finally to carry their purpose into effect, come what would. The Catholic cause was now, in January, 1829, like a swelling sea, heaving inland, and giving the ship of state government no rest. It was deemed by the wisest captains of the imperial bark that the best plan was to appease the fierce fury of the political elements, by removing the cause, and to grant at once the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland and of the Empire.

O'Connell was returned for county Clare by three times as many votes as were given for Vesey Fitzgerald, the President of the Board of Trade, and the nominee of the Government. This brought the lengthened contest to a close hand-to-hand fight in the House of Commons. In February, 1829, a promise was made to give full freedom to the Catholics. The Prime Minister, Peel, first suppressed the Catholic Association; and to avoid civil war, the act of emancipation was passed, and on the 13th April it received the royal assent. What a long struggle!

If Pharao, King of Egypt, merits the condemnation of every student of Bible history not only for his tyranny in not permitting God's people freedom of worship, but for his stupidity in resisting so long the will of the struggling Israelitic race, and the manifest wish of heaven, certainly English kings of the past two centuries and the English parliaments and people merit a similar condemnation for stupidity and tyranny in preventing the Irish nation from worshipping God as their conscience and religion dictated, and resisting the rightful demand of a united nation until the angel of God threatened to smite with the sword of civil war!

That same year (1829), Dr. Mac Hale laid the foundation of the Killala Cathedral Church, which now stands on the banks of the River Moy, on the Ard-na-riadh side of the town. The structure is Gothic. It is modeled on the style and shape of the Tuam Cathedral, and it was planned by the same architect, Peter Madden a native of county Galway, who first had formulated the plan and the architectural finish of the Tuam Cathedral.

CHAPTER XI.

Yet Italy, ...
Mother of arts ! as once of arms ; thy hand
Was then our guardian, and is still our guide;
Parent of our religion; whom the wide
Nations have knelt to for the keys of heaven !
Europe, repentant of her parricide,
Shall yet redeem thee, and all backward driven,
Roll the barbarian tide, and sue to be forgiven.
LORD BYRON.—*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto IV.*

IN the month of August of 1831, the Bishop of Maronia left home to journey to the Eternal City. Now six years coadjutor bishop, he had not yet visited, although it was his wish to do so, the tombs of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul. He purposed to start at the close of 1829, or in the year 1830, but in that year he was detained, owing to a partial famine under which the people were suffering. In the preface to his volume of public letters, his lordship states the reason why he did not go till 1831. "He had been," he says, "endeavouring to mitigate a calamity under which the people in the West of Ireland were suffering." The fact is they were enduring hunger and privations owing to bad harvests in 1829 and 1830. This famine, it will be seen, was the forerunner of a calamity still more terrible—that fearful scourge—the cholera which, in 1832, raged through almost every town and hamlet in Ireland. To succour his subjects in their sufferings during the year '31, the good prelate appealed to the Government, to stretch out the hand of fatherly care with bread to the starving natives of the western Irish coast. The

Prime Minister of the period lent a deaf ear to those petitions. Dr. MacHale then left home and went to England; he visited Oxford and Cambridge, and came to London. He had an interview with the Prime Minister; he explained to the members of the Cabinet the object he had in coming. All his efforts to obtain relief for the suffering peasants of Mayo and of Sligo county were fruitless. Those in power were not positively rude: they were reserved, cold, and heartless. In after years he frequently described the cheerless character of the reception which on this occasion he had received. All he obtained was some one hundred pounds or so, the fruits of a bazaar got up by some philanthropic ladies and benevolent peeresses. At the time he felt the rebuff very much, and at a later period he spoke with strong feeling of the complete indifference shown by the Government of England, for the lives of the Irish people. Paternal rulers, like those of France, or Austria, or Spain, or of England for Englishmen, would not for a moment have stood listlessly looking on at their people perishing without stretching a hand to save. That year he wrote and spoke, and by day and by night he journeyed, in order to obtain material relief to mitigate the severity of the sufferings of the poor of Killala diocese. In those days no electric telegraph, no railways were at hand to make the wants of their suffering "kith and kin" at home, known to their friends in America and in Australia.

In 1831, Providence blessed Ireland with a plentiful harvest. Then at last, the Bishop thought it was time that he should take a vacation: and how could he spend his leisure days more profitably than to leave Eire for the sunny clime of Italy, and to visit the shrine of the Apostles.

Early in September he arrived in London; and on the eighth of that month he was one of the Spectators in Westminister Abbey, witnessing the ceremony

of the coronation of William IV. His letter on this subject, and on the *Liag fáil*, or stone of destiny, is very interesting.

By another striking coincidence in his journey, he reached Paris on the very evening that the gay inhabitants of that city of fashion had received the news which told of the fall of Warsaw. It was a fine opportunity for one of æsthetic tastes and ripe intelligence to witness the depression and the rebounding joy of this intelligent but versatile people. The bishop did not forget to pay his respects to the last resting place of the King of France—St. Denis.

Versailles, with its regalia, reminded the visitor of the fleeting glory of the *Grand Monarque*, and of the infamous life, and half-tragic death of his wicked successor. Fontainbleau furnished him with a proof of the fatuity of the great Emperor Napoleon I., fighting with the Vicar of Christ, Pius VII.

Auxerre, the home and the see of St. Germanus, the spiritual father as well as the intimate friend of the Apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick—who in a vision, during the opening years of early manhood, was, while at Marmoutier, entreated by unborn babes from *Fochoill* (anciently *Fochlut*), situate in Killala diocese, the field just then of the bishop's labours—claimed his attention. He could not pass the place calmly by—nor Dijon, the birth-place of Bossuet.

He crossed the Jura Mountains, and arrived at Geneva on the fifth of October, viewing as he passed the chateau of Ferney, where Voltaire had spent the last twenty years of his life. While at Lake Leman he indulged his partiality for philosophy by visiting at Lausanne, the bower where Gibbon, on a moonlight night in June, 1787, penned the closing chapter of his immortal "Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire," and his piety, by going to see the palace of the sainted bishop and apostle of the historic town built on the opening of the lake—St. Francis of Sales.

We hasten on, passing by the Vale of Chamouni, and the dear old pastor of that happy valley whom Dr. MacHale visited. Onwards, over Mount Blanc, by the magnificent pass, the Simplon, a monument of the giant genius and intellectual grasp of the great Napoleon, as well as a proof of his energy and the greatness of his power, he enters Italy by the old route to Milan, then through Pavia, Bologna, Verona, Padua, Fiesole, Siena, until early in November, 1831, he reaches the Eternal City. Oh, how his heart bounded as he entered the city of the seven hills! How he felt his mind filled with a kind of ecstatic joy. There lay before his vision the cradle city of Romulus and Remus, the eponymous founders of the Roman name and dynasty, the city of the Cæsars, the sepulchre of Pagan power; the phœnix home of Pontiff kings, the head of the *old* world, the heart of the *new*, the centre of Christendom, the civiliser of Europe!

"Oh Rome, my country, city of the soul!
The orphans of the heart must turn to thee. . . .
The Goth, the Christian, Time, War, Flood and Fire,
Have dealt upon the seven-hilled city's pride.
She saw her glories—star by star expire,
And up the steep barbarian monarchs ride,
Where the car climbed the capitol; far and wide
Temple and tower went down, nor left a site;
Chaos of ruins! Who shall trace the void,
O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
And say "here was, or is," where all is doubly night."
BYRON—*Childe Harold, Canto* IV. LXXX.

The Bishop of Maronia, in those admirable letters written by him while at Rome, portrays the Eternal City in her ancient and modern form. His description is a kind of *Tableau Vivant*, which to every reader must appear fresh, striking, and attractive.

Behold Dr. MacHale on the day after his arrival in Rome, seated on the summit of Mount Palatine, with Rome and all its past glories, as he looked around,

stretched out before his view. With a few touches of his brilliant pencil, he sketches the double picture presented at that moment to his sight and to his intellectual vision. He casts his mental ken into the remote past, and presents departed Rome to the mind of the reader—*nunc rediviva*. Look at the word-painting presented in the annexed paragraphs selected from his letters.

"I have reached the shrine of the Apostles; one of the first and fondest wishes of my life is gratified. Seated on the summit of Mount Palatine, the cradle and the grave of the Roman Empire, the vastest and most varied picture that ever was held up to human contemplation lies before me. What a panorama revolving before the historic eye! . . . . From the first faint twilight of history and fable, through which you descry the indistinct images of the twin founders, to Gregory XVI., who now occupies the pontifical throne, what a continuous series of wonders passes in review before the Pilgrim of Mount Palatine! From the banks of the Tiber the canvas spreads over the seven hills to the Sabine Mountains. Then it gradually expands, as you descend, exhibiting with every epoch the widening conquests of the Imperial City, until the name and manners of Rome are diffused over the earth. What a number of nations, renowned in ancient and modern story, fix your attention as they pass. Tuscans, Kelts, Greeks, Goths, Franks, Germans, Sarmatians, and Britons, occupy in turn, a large space of this moving picture. Philosophers, heroes, and consuls, on the one hand; saints, martyrs, and Pontiffs on the other, as if vying with each other in prodigies of prowess and the extent of their empire."

During the five months, while the Bishop of Maronia was in Rome, he met occasionally the wonderful linguist, Monsignore Mezzofanti whom Lord Byron, in 1820, pronounced "a walking polyglot,

a master of many languages, and a Briareus of parts of speech." At that very season, in 1831, the Monsignore had settled in Rome; and to all foreigners he was a living wonder in the power which he possessed of speaking in almost every known tongue. Dr. MacHale and he were several times together, and they conversed on the Irish language and at times spoke in the Irish-Gaelic speech. Mezzofanti required only to hear the pronunciation and the accent. He noted the phonetic affinity between Irish and the languages of the East. At that time the Coadjutor Bishop of Killala had not devoted any special care to the literary cultivation of his native tongue. Some eight years later, however, he began to devote his attention to that branch of study.

With the Holy Father who then sat in Peter's chair—Gregory XVI.—the Most Rev. John MacHale had more than one interview. Those state introductions led to a settled friendship. When the Bishop was about to return home, the Sovereign Pontiff presented him with a superb suit of vestments, a gold chalice, a gold ring set with an amathyst of great value, a pectoral cross containing a portion of the wood on which the Saviour of the world was crucified.

Regarding this point, Dr. MacHale says: "On the 15th August, the Feast of the Assumption, 1832, the Holy Father favoured 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 that 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 sympathised 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 . . . The Holy Father made me a present of a magnificent gold chalice of exquisite workmanship."

While Gregory XVI. lived, he entertained the liveliest recollection of, and the warmest friendship for his Lordship, the Most Rev. John MacHale. This settled and lasting regard was shown two years later, when, in 1834, the translation of the Bishop of Maronia to the Metropolitan See of Tuam was opposed by the English Government, and all its lay and clerical agents then enlisted in their services at Rome. Some of the great charges made against the Bishop, were that John MacHale was a firebrand, inciting the nation to rebellion, a demagogue devoid of that tranquil manner which should become a disciple of Christ; that his writings were not such as it became a Catholic Bishop to pen; that if appointed to Tuam there would certainly be no peace in Ireland. In order to judge for himself, the Holy Father gave orders that the letters written by John MacHale, and all the writings of the Bishop be translated directly into Italian. The Holy Father did not of course understand a word of the English tongue. On reading in Italian the products from the pen of his Lordship, the Pope pronounced them thoroughly orthodox, and right worthy of any Catholic Bishop, and there and then *suâ sponte*, he appointed the Most Rev. John MacHale to the see of St. Jarlath, to be Archbishop and metropolitan of Tuam.

During his stay in Rome, Dr. MacHale became intimate with the renowned Count De Montalembert, Peer of France, and champion of Catholic interests, also with Abbé Lacordaire, and Monsieur l'Abbé La Menais, proprietor of *L'Avenir*. His words regarding these distinguished men, written at that time (1832), were in a sense prophetic. "Fortunately

for Monsieur De La Menais," his Lordship writes: "he was thus accompanied by two young friends who loved him much, but who loved truth and religion more. Though not sinking under the weight of years, Monsiéur De La Menais 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 to the other." Catholic France has shown her gratitude and affection towards sons so illustrious and so good.—But poor La Mennais!

Dr. MacHale visited all the towns of historic interest in northern and southern Italy—Ostia, where St. Monica, mother of the great St. Augustin, breathed her last; Albani, Frescati, Tivoli; Subiaco, where St. Benedict founded twelve convents, and Monte Cassino, where the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas, laid the foundation of that vast store of learning and knowledge which he afterwards utilised in enlightening the world.

"Here near the brink of the Anio, and under a line of frowning rocks parallel to the stream, is situated (at Subiaco), the monastery of the celebrated founder of the Benedictines. Near it is another dedicated to his sister Scolastica. I spent some days in this holy retreat, enjoying the kind hospitality of the good 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."

Like all visitors to southern Europe, Dr. MacHale made a tour through the celebrated towns and places of historic interest in the kingdom of Naples, from Terracina to Taranto. At the period when he went to see Italy, it was likely very interesting to learn all that is recorded in his published letters regarding

those sites, celebrated in story for the past two thousand years. To-day, however, every tourist who passes through Mount Cenis, or crosses the Simplon, and goes along by the course of the Ticino, or the Arno, is not satisfied till he has beheld Naples and its majestic bay, Baiæ and Cumæ, the towns of Pompeii, and Herculaneum, and the treasures which they have yielded; the Sybil's Grotto, Mount Vesuvius, Lethé, Acheron, Avernus, and the Stygian Lake, the tomb of Vergil, and those abodes of art and of learning in which men of culture find a pleasure.

In Naples he witnessed the well-known miracle of the liquefaction of the dried blood of St. Januarius, when the skull of the holy martyr was brought in proximity to the dried particles of congealed blood contained in a vase. Of this miracle he writes: "As for me, I must confess, though sufficiently distrustful of the credulity with which popular rumours of miracles are sometimes received, I entertain no doubt whatever of the miracle of St. Januarius, nor can I conceive how any individual who witnesses it and examines it attentively can reject it without a secret scepticism in all miraculous interference."

On returning from his travels through the south he remained a few weeks in Rome. He went more than once to the grave of the noble Irish exiles—the Earls of Tirowen and Tirconnell. Writing regarding these ill-fated noblemen he says: "A slab of marble, in the middle of the floor, with the names of O'Neill and O'Donnell, recalls to memory the flight of those noble chieftains on a pretended conspiracy set on foot to enable the ungrateful James I. to partition among a horde of English and Scottish calvinists, their hereditary domains, together with six counties of the province of Ulster."—"Letters" p. 283.

The Coliseum by moonlight was well worth seeing. Accordingly he went, and there in that majestic

building, on which the stars peeped down from their azure path, and the moon, floating in an apparent sea above their heads, flung such a flood of silvery light into the area of that giant court that he was enabled to see its vast proportions, and its deep interior. There in a corner of the building, looking around he was not a little surprised to find a countryman of his own, who told him that he had come to Rome only a few days previously, and that he had walked the whole of the land-journey from Mayo in Ireland. It was a surprise!

Every time that he went through the vast Vatican Basilica he was stricken with wonder, and his soul was filled with delight whenever he shared the gorgeous celebrations either of St. Peter's, or St. Mary Major's, or St. John Lateran's.

On his way home he visited Ancona, and the "Holy House" at Loreto, of which he writes:—

"The truth of this miraculous translation of the *Santa Casa* is referred to in the rescripts of several pontiffs, and the devout pilgrimage to its shrine has been recommended by the practice and example of many of the most eminent and enlightened saints, who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflected lustre on the Catholic Church. Every portion of the revered edifice engaged my attention: its interior walls left in their original simplicity; its door facing the north in its present position, its gable to the west, perforated towards the top with a solitary window,* its chancel or space behind the altar covered with plates of gold, and its fireplace now the depository of the little pious offerings of the faithful. The exterior of the house is clothed with marble and adorned with pilasters, sustaining a rich entablature tastefully designed, and crowned with an open balu-

* At which the Angel Gabriel appeared when he announced to the B. V. M. the tidings regarding the Incarnation of Our Lord.

straded parapet. Between the pilasters the walls are hollowed into deep niches, to receive the statues of the prophets and sybils who announced the mystery of the Incarnation. Over the *Santa Casa* is the lofty dome of the church which enshrines it. . . . . Its treasury has been rifled, and much of its worldly glory fled . . . . . But it is only the glitter of its wealth that disappeared, and like the hidden glories of its holy inmates, the Son of God and His Divine Mother, there is a mysterious splendour within the walls of Loreto, which would fail all the impiety of the world's tyrants to take away, and to honour which kings and queens will not cease to bring their offerings to the end of time."

The Coadjutor Bishop of Killala had now done good service for the Catholic cause in Ireland by his interviews with the head of the Christian world, Pope Gregory XVI., he had recruited too his own health. His classical knowledge of Rome, and of Magna Grecia was anew vividly impressed on his intellect and memory by this pleasant ramble, through those regions of Italy emblazoned in immortal song or story by the poets and historians of Greece and Rome

On his way to the Eternal City and home again, in France, in Germany, in Switzerland, and Italy, he beheld before his eyes standing and startling monuments of the early zeal of his own countrymen: at St. Gall, in the Helvetic republic; in Lucca, of which Frigidian, an Irish saint, is patron; at Fiesole, of which St. Donagh, or Donatus, was bishop; St. Cataldus at Tarentum, Dungal, one of the greatest theologians of the ninth century, and founder of the university in that city; Columbanus at Bobio; Vergilius the astronomer, Bishop of Saltzbourg, and Apostle of Carinthia, skilled as his eulogists write, in all manner of learning human and divine.

It is known that in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, one hundred and fifty Irish ecclesiastics,

some priests. some bishops, preached the faith in Germany, of these thirty-six were martyrs; forty-five in Gaul, of whom six received the crown of martyrdom; in Belgium thirty, in England forty-four, and likely many more; thirteen in Italy; and eight martyrs in Norway and Iceland. Irish missionaries founded thirteen monasteries in Scotland, twelve in England, forty in Gaul, nine in Belgium, sixteen in Bavaria, fifteen in Switzerland, in Italy six, besides many others in different parts of Germany and in other parts of Europe.

The violence of the cholera plague in Ireland had already fled before the cold of the winter season, and now in the middle of December, John of Maronia is at home again. On Christmas morning, in the new cathedral, with a heart full of gratitude for all God's blessings he sang the angels' hymn *Gloria in Excelcis Deo.*

CHAPTER XII.

"Melius est aliquid nescire secure quam cum periculo discere"—"It is better to remain without knowledge, safe, than with danger to learn."—*St. Jerome.*

By his travels in France, Italy, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium, the Bishop of Maronia at once enlarged the sphere of his knowledge and acquired fresh strength for renewed labour in the diocese of Killala. He had the happiness not only of visiting the shrine of the apostles Peter and Paul, but of becoming intimate with the illustrious Father of Christendom Pope Gregory XVI., with whom, during life, he continued on terms of warm friendship. It was not by words alone but in deeds the Holy Father showed the high opinion that he entertained of the distinguished Irish prelate.

At Oxford, London, Paris, Rome, Louvain, his Lordship made the acquaintance of many very distinguished scholars and savants of European fame. While in Rome the Bishop preached on several occasions to English-speaking congregations; these sermons were soon after translated into Italian by L'Abbate di Lucca, afterwards cardinal, one of those named as likely to succeed Pius IX. in 1878.

The year 1833 Dr. MacHale spent visiting the different parishes of the diocese, in administering confirmation, in teaching and preaching, and seeing the best way that the National system of education could be made use of, in advancing the cause of primary education. He did not forget to contribute,

at proper intervals, a public letter on the state of Ireland, or on the merits of the new Government scheme for educating the youth of the Irish nation. He deemed it to be a part of the duty which he owed the public and his Catholic countrymen—a duty imposed by the necessity of the times, to write, from time to time, public letters in order to show the people what ought to be done. "It is right," he used to say, "to keep the rulers of England and Ireland in mind of the wants of the Irish Catholic nation." He deemed it well to show the unreflecting amongst Irishmen, that there was one at least of their brethren who had not been unmindful of what a faithful watcher of country and creed should do for the protection and moral advancement of the nation. If Dr. MacHale's letters produced little effect on the minds of the governing authorities, they had this result at least, that in the hearts of millions of Irishmen at home and abroad, they kept alive a knowledge of the present and a remembrance of the past. Accordingly, his countrymen learned to love the heart from which such religious patriotism flowed, and to venerate the name of one who felt as they felt and who thought as they thought.

Although the system of National Education had been accepted by the bishops, nevertheless it appeared to the Coadjutor Bishop of Killala to be one fraught with evil to the youth of Ireland. On this subject much has been written. A mere outline only of the points which once formed the subject of controversy can here be presented.

Irish Catholics had, for three centuries, been debarred by the State from the benefits of education, as far effectively as the State could prevent it, till the middle of the eighteenth century, when Lord Chesterfield became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. From that time forward they received no hindrance in the pursuit of knowledge; but, as far as the State was concerned, they received no positive help. What Mr.

Gladstone said some ten years ago of University Education one can say of primary teaching in the beginning of the present century, it was for Catholics bad, ay, miserably bad. Some thousands of pounds, in 1812, were given for the object of educating the people, but that sum was expended in proselytism. Now, in 1828, the Committee of the House of Commons expressed themselves in favour of non-sectarian education in Ireland. The Irish bishops accepted the plan proposed, but with the following conditions:—That, first, Catholic teachers be appointed in all schools in which the greater number of the pupils were Catholic; second, that where the greater number were non-Catholic an assistant Catholic teacher should be appointed; thirdly, all the Catholic teachers should themselves have been taught by Catholic masters; and, lastly, that the school-books used should be approved by the Catholic prelates. All this was only fair and natural. The Government seemed to think so. Mr. Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, in a letter to the Duke of Leinster, written in 1831, stated that the Government was about to create a Board of which his Grace was to be president, to superintend a system of national education free from all sectarian bias, and intended really to promote primary education amongst all classes, Catholic as well as non-Catholic. In this letter he lays down the programme which the Government intended to follow. First, the Board must not permit the reading of Scripture by all classes of pupils; the clergy of all denominations were to be treated with perfect equality; and, lastly, the clergy were to be free to give religious instruction to the children of their respective creeds. Protestants accustomed for centuries to be lords and masters in everything relating to authority and power in Ireland, took alarm at this simple act of fair play put forward by Mr. Stanley in favour of the king's Catholic subjects in this country; and, in 1832, held a

great meeting at the Rotundo, Dublin. They protested, first, against the exclusion of the Bible from the national schools; and, next, the Anglican bishops complained that the superintendence of nationa teaching was taken out of their hands and vested in a Board composed of laymen and clergymen differing in religious belief. Suddenly, however, it happened they were reconciled to the system, and not only that but they became its most ardent admirers and most energetic supporters. The leading religious denominations had representatives on the Board. His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, represented the Catholics; Most Rev. Dr. Whately, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, the Protestants and Rev. James Carlisle, the Presbyterians. Soon the number of Commissioners increased until, finally, it reached twenty, ten of whom were Catholic, ten non-Catholic. Such was the rise of national education in Ireland.

Why, then, did Dr. MacHale oppose the system from the year 1833, directly after his return from his travels? Because he saw that the Anglican representatives on the Board began from the very start to make the national system a vast scheme for proselytising the Catholic boys and girls of Ireland. He saw that they set about this work in two ways, negatively and positively. First, negatively, by preventing the use of the Catholic catechism; by not allowing the Christian doctrine of the Catholic Church to be taught in any of the national schools under the plea that a work of that kind was, as they were pleased to style it, sectarian;—positively, by introducing Scripture lessons in all the schools, to be read by all the children attending the schools under the direction of the Board; and next, by having these books intended for the use of pupils attending national schools, composed, not by Catholic bishops or priests for Catholic children, but by Calvinists. Hence the Most Rev.

Dr. MacHale denounced the system as opposed to the teaching and the moral control of the Catholic Church, as a violation of good faith, for the proceedings of the Board were in opposition to the promise of Mr. Stanley, and to the conditions on which the Catholic bishops consented to accept the educational scheme. This contest with the National Board continued from 1833 to 1869, when, on the 18th of August, that year, at a meeting of all the bishops and archbishops of Ireland, presided over by his Eminence Cardinal Cullen, the system of mixed education in all its forms, primary as well as university, was condemned "as grievously and intrinsically dangerous to the faith and morals of Catholic youth."—(Pastoral address of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, Dublin, 1871.) This condemnation was that same year confirmed by the Holy Father Pius IX.

In the year 1837, Dr. MacHale first laid the matter before Propaganda, and had the satisfaction to find that his views even then, on this perplexing subject, received the approbation of the Holy See. The opposition, however, of Dr. Murray, whose opinion with Propaganda had great weight, and of other enlightened Irish prelates, caused the cardinals to hesitate, and not to condemn fully the system of national education. Therefore, they counselled that the schools styled National be simply tolerated, because the prelates of the Irish people had no better and because they could not then persuade the Government to give better.

The Board of National Education, in the Catholic view, laboured under two great defects. First, the Catholics of Ireland, who were nine to one, were unequally represented; secondly, those Catholics who were appointed representatives left the work, or, in the circumstances, were obliged to leave the work of active administration and control chiefly in the hands

of the non-Catholic party, who meant manifestly to make the national system a great engine, if turned to account, for making all the growing youths of Ireland if not Protestant at least non-Catholic.

What proof have we that this view of the system which Dr. MacHale saw from the start is really correct? The words of Dr. Whately, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, who was one of the first commissioners appointed to serve on the National Board. "The education," said he, "supplied by the National Board, is gradually undermining the vast fabric of the Irish Roman Catholic Church."—("Life of Dr. Whately," p. 244.) That it was his object to undermine the faith of the Irish people from the first moment he was appointed commissioner, is evident from his own words: "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."—("Life of Dr. Whately," p. 246.) After nineteen years it became evident that Dr. MacHale's views on the working of the National system had been in conformity with the spirit and teaching of the Catholic Church. Accordingly, in 1850, at the Synod of Thurles, held under the presidency of the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, then Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, the bishops assembled at the Synod disapproved without directly condemning the national schools, and demanded that all books used in them containing anything contrary to Catholic teaching should be set aside, and that books used in schools frequented by Catholic children should have the approval of the bishops."—(*Decreta Synodi Plenariæ Episcoporum Hiberniæ apud Thurles, Dublinii*, 1851.)

Dr. MacHale's reasoning on the subject of the national system was simply the reasoning put forward by the Redeemer on the subject of scandal: Better enter heaven possessed of no earthly learning, than to go to hell possessing the learning of a Socrates, an Aristotle, or a Cicero. Education of itself will not save the soul. Divine faith, the faith of Catholics, is the ship in which all who wish it will be saved. Better, therefore, hold fast to that faith, than to accept education opposed to this saving primary virtue.

This is the view, this is the reasoning that directs every Catholic prelate, every priest, every Catholic parent. Whenever any system of education presented by the State is accepted, it is when prelates and priests feel convinced that the proffered boon will not poison the stream of soul-saving faith. If some prelates have accepted the national system with all its early defects, it was because they believed or hoped they would, in their respective dioceses, be enabled to counteract the evil, or in time to destroy it entirely. Dr. MacHale thought differently, and hence he wrote vigorously and earnestly against the system. He raised the question of Catholic and non-Catholic education in this age of vicious, modern educational systems opposed to the influence of the Catholic Church and to that which in her wisdom she deems best in the training of youth. Dr MacHale has had at home and in America many zealous disciples who have, in this respect, looked to him as a master. He helped to eradicate from the national system in Ireland many of the threatened evils connected with its non-Catholic spirit.

The Catholic view here presented on the important subject of education Protestant statesmen cannot see, and will not see. Men like Pitt, and Castlereagh, the Duke of Wellington and Stanley, to whom may be added Anthony Froude and those who think like

him (the Manchester school) regard Catholic faith as folly. And, indeed, they look upon supernatural religion as only a kind of state culture, efformating men's minds to the directive force of law. They regard the highest end of man, at best, something of earth—earthly. Catholics believe, and are sure, there is a higher end awaiting them, and they actually aim to attain it; and, like the early Christian martyrs of the Coliseum, they set a high value on its possession, they esteem it above money or money's worth, or mere learning as such, or the smiles of kings and the favour of those in power.

The cause of all the contention that has been going on for the past half century between the Catholic prelates on the one side, and British ministers on the other, arises from this diversity of views, of convictions, and interests. It matters not whether the ministry is Liberal or Conservative, their Protestant antipathy is the same. Moreover, they employ officials who, like Inspector Smith, exercise a power far in excess of that which was entrusted to them by Government. Ministers have no control over the prejudice or partisan predilections of their agents in carrying out the behests of law.

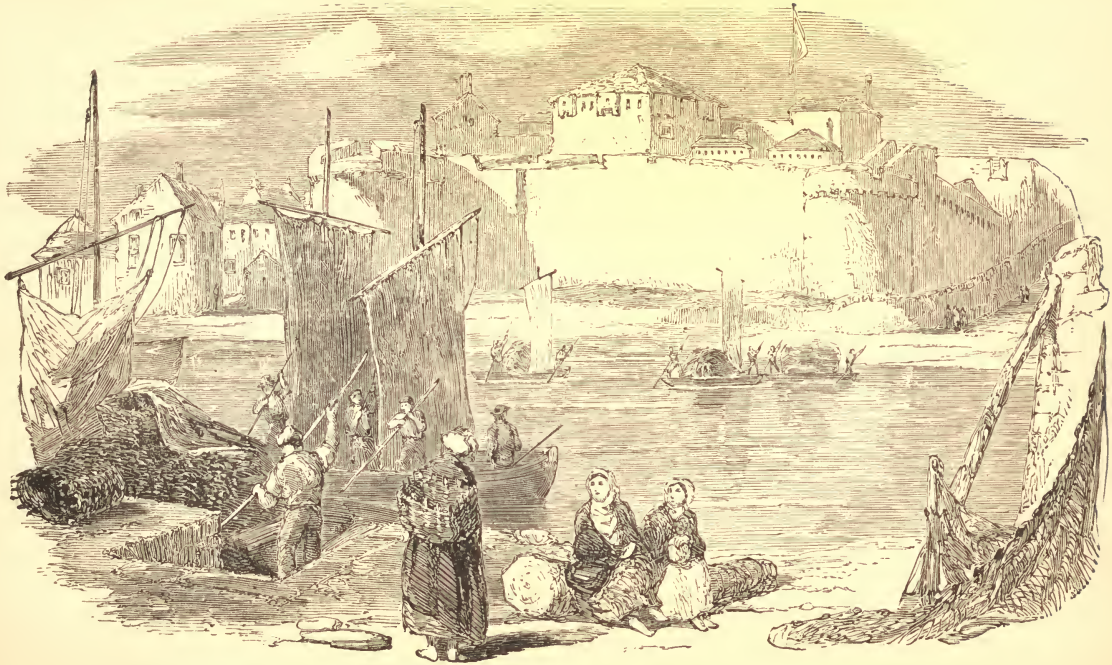
Had the Government in Ireland acted rightly at first, they would have given at once free and full education to Catholics in Ireland as they have given free and full education to their brethren of the faith in England.

Considering, then, the claims of Irish Catholics for full and free education, primary, intermediate, and university, it is not surprising that a leading Catholic prelate like Dr. MacHale, with his enlarged views, and with his firm faith in the saving spirit of the Catholic religion, should have vigorously and continuously denounced the national system. He denounced it, he said, for its secular spirit, or rather its absence of Catholic tone for a Catholic people; he knew that children

are taught by what they see and practise more than by what they hear, and, therefore, he denounced it for its barrenness, having no branch or germ of refined art, or of religion to suggest or to elevate the nascent ideas of the pupils to an intellectual, if not to a religious region of thought; he denounced it because its directors, sitting in Dublin, issued Scripture lessons compiled by Calvinists; he denounced it on account of the faulty and inelegant works for educational purposes which it supplied, and because Catholics, or men scientifically trained and of enlarged views, had no share in composing or compiling them, as they have a right to, wherever books intended for the instruction of Catholics are in question. For bishops alone, or others authorised by them, have the right to draw up, or compose works intended for the instruction of the faithful committed to their spiritual care.

The English people and the British parliament desire to be reputed just, yet in everything that affects Irish Catholics they will not listen to the simplest expression of equity or fair play.

In a letter to Earl Grey, in the year 1868, Cardinal Manning showed the relative number of Catholic children and of non-Catholics attending the national schools to be about thirty-five to one. (1) There are he said, 2,454 schools containing 400,000 Catholic children, *with not a Protestant child.* Since then, in fourteen years, the numbers in many parishes have been doubled. (2) There are 2,483 schools, having 321,641 Catholic children, and with only 24,381 Protestant children; that is, say 5,000 schools with over 700,000 Catholic children, and only 24,381 Protestant children. These statistics and the avowed views of Dr. Whately plainly prove that Dr. MacHale's warnings were well-founded.



ATHLONE CASTLE.

CHAPTER XIII.

"A good name is better than great riches."— *Prov.* xxv.

WHILE Dr. Mac Hale was thus engaged in the government of the diocese of Killala, and looking out beyond its borders to the educational interests of the rising generation all over Ireland, his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly was wisely and with zeal ruling the metropolitan Church of Tuam, founding a seminary for the ecclesiastics of the province, and erecting a cathedral, amongst the first and the greatest at that time in Ireland. It is well to go back to the early part of the century, and see how Catholic interests prospered in Tuam. The Most Rev. Boetius Egan, transferred from Achonry to the Metropolitan See, in 1787, died early in January, 1798, leaving the cathedral seat vacant. Before a year had passed, Propaganda made choice of the Most Rev. Dr. Dillon, Lord Bishop of Kilmacduagh, and his translation took place in March, 1799. Ten years later, in August, 1809, Dr. Dillon departed this life, leaving the Cathedral Church of Jarlath widowed. His Grace Dr. Edward Dillon was one of those Irish prelates who had favoured the Act of Union, and had signed his name to confer on the Government the power of veto in the appointment of bishops.

Rev. Oliver Kelly, a native of the parish of Cluainbeirne, then the energetic administrator of the parish of Tuam, was elected Vicar-Capitular. Dr. Kelly enjoyed that dignity from September, 1809, to October, 1814—five years. This strange occurrence was owing to the imprisonment, at Fontainebleau, of

the supreme head of the Universal Church, Pope Pius VII., by order of the Emperor Napoleon I. The Holy Father had resolved to confirm no appointment to episcopal sees until, as Head of the Church, he should be restored to full and perfect freedom.

On the Holy Father being set free, Dr. Kelly was elected, September 19, 1814, by Propaganda, and ten days later his election met the approval of Pope Pius VII., and on October 4th, same year, the brief for his consecration was issued by order of his Holiness.

During the period, nigh twenty years (1814-1834) that the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly ruled the diocese of Tuam, he displayed a zeal worthy of an apostle, and powers of mind that took within its grasp a range of projects, that would, if accomplished, have largely benefited the diocese which he directed.

Immediately after his consecration he made it his business to establish a seminary for the young Levites of his diocese, that they might be, according to the advice of the Council of Trent to bishops, brought up in learning and piety under his own supervision. Accordingly, in 1815, the year made famous by the final defeat of Napoleon I., he purchased a house in a street then known as the Mall, adjacent to the present Protestant cathedral, known as St. Mary's Church. A portion only of the walls of this small seminary remain.

Amongst the professors appointed at the opening of the academic year in 1815, were the Rev. John Molloy, Rev. Paul MacGreal, and Rev. John Hughes. Here they lived and taught pupils, from the town and country, till the year 1817. After them, in turn, came Rev. James MacKeal and Rev. Michael Waldron, a man of gentlemanly deportment and of admirable manners. He died at the Mall Seminary, and was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Kielty, who, at the ripe age of half a century, was ordained priest by Dr. Kelly.

In 1816, a company known as that of the "Bank of Tuam," under the directorate of Lord French failed. Thereupon Dr. Kelly gathered around him the lay and clerical supporters of education and religion. They collected nigh five hundred pounds—a goodly sum at that time—and purchased the "Bank House," namely, that known at present as the College, or the "Old" College, at St. Jarlath's. To this establishment, in October, 1817, the students and professors removed. The Archbishop himself was requested by the members of the committee to act as president. Rev. James MacKeal took the position of *economo*, or vice-president. In 1818, Rev. Thomas Feeny, who twenty years later was to be chosen to govern the diocese of Killala, was called home from the College of Maynooth, and appointed professor of rhetoric in the new establishment. The Biblical discussions common in Tuam, as well as in Dublin and Derry, in Cork, or in Cavan, from that period up to 1829, kept the new professor fresh in the knowledge of theology and of Sacred Scripture. They were called upon more than once, even in Tuam, to display their powers of debate, and to prove the divine character of the religion professed by Irish papists

With the moneys obtained from the diocese which he governed as Vicar-Capitular, and of which as archbishop he now became the rightful possessor, together with a considerable sum received from the Catholic faithful throughout the diocese, the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly built an episcopal residence immediately adjoining the bank house, or the college just established. The site selected had been before that period, a broken down military barrack.

In those days the Catholic archbishop and the priests of the college under his direction could not, even in his own home, teach a school or seminary, unless they had first obtained permission from the Protestant prelate, and unless the latter felt convinced that they

were honest men and good citizens; moreover, provided they promised to do nothing against the king or the Government of Great Britain. The Most Rev. Dr. Kelly was obliged to petition for the required leave, and to give a written promise that in his seminary the professors and pupils would be all that the State desired they should be. The letter of leave granting the requisite power is to be seen to this day in the archives of St. Jarlath's College, from which the present writer has taken the leading facts recorded in these pages.

It was in keeping with the spirit of faith that the new seminary should have been placed under the patronage and protection of St. Jarlath, the founder and the first bishop of the See of Tuam. In the fifth century Jarlath, the bishop, had a splendid establishment—a monastic university, so to speak—at Tuam, not far from where the present college stands. To this sacred abode of learning students thronged from all parts of Ireland.

Ita, foundress of a convent of nuns in Limerick, now the patron saint of that diocese, and Benignus of Armagh, and Colman of Cloyne, sent pupils to be instructed by Jarlath, Bishop of "*Tuaim-da-ulain.*" Sons of chieftains and of nobles far and near came to learn Christian knowledge and wisdom from the lips of Jarlath. Men as well as boys congregated to colleges in those days; they thought together, and in groups studied and argued, and they lived, not within halls, but in the villages of the country districts around, or correctly speaking, in small wicker cabins, cylindrical in form, constructed by their own hands. Cabins of this class constituted the cradle of the early infant development of the town of Tuam.

During the golden period of learning and Christian science in Ireland, Jarlath's monastry, like that at Clonard, or Clones, or Lismore, flourished till the ninth century, and from its halls sent forth to do

missionary work, at home and abroad, hundreds of men famed for learning and piety. With the coming of the Danes came desolation; and the fire of monastic learning once quenched was not readily ignited again. Before Brian smote the Dane at Clontarf the local monastic university founded by Jarlath had passed away. What a waste of years elapsed from that time to 1817! Learning at times found at Tuam a home, but nothing like the halo of its former glory shone around the spot again, if we except a short interval during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In the sacred volume we read, when the chosen people of God were led captives to Babylon, "that the priests, who were then the worshippers of God, took privately the sacred fire from the altar and hid it in a valley, where there was a deep pit without water," and there they kept it safe. After the lapse of many years, the Jews were permitted by the King of Persia to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild the Temple. The priest, Nehemias, who was then leader, gave orders that sacrifices be offered to God, and that the descendants of the former priests should seek for the hidden fire. They did so, and found only thick water. This he ordered to be sprinkled on the victims and the wood, and behold! when the sun shone out a great fire was enkindled, and the flame of the holocausts ascended on high. Thus it was with his Grace, Dr. Kelly: like another Nehemias, in the building up of the moral edifice of Catholic learning and piety at Tuam, he ordered that the ashes, or the thick water of the ancient Catholic fire, which once shone brightly, be brought, and, laying it on the new erection, in the form of the seminary which he had established, the brightness of the Son of God's blessing, and the warmth of a people's love, quickly beamed forth, and lo! it is enkindled once more, and it has already sent forth the light and warmth of knowledge and religion throughout the diocese and to many parts of Ireland.

In 1824, St. Jarlath's Seminary extended its area, and took in other buildings as college houses. Many young aspirants for the priesthood from Meath, Kilmore, and Monaghan came, at this period, to acquire within its halls a knowledge of philosophy and theology. When Maynooth College received, in 1844, the increased grant of twenty-six thousand pounds annually, St. Jarlath's College ceased to teach philosophy, Scriptures, and theology; and those branches were then lopped off from the collegiate tree.

In 1861, and in conformity with the decrees of the Council of Thurles, the study of philosophy and of the higher mathematics and physical science was renewed, and the teaching in those departments entrusted to the professorial care of the present writer.

The great material work planned and almost perfected by the Most Rev. Archbishop Kelly is the splendid cathedral which, in 1828, he commenced to erect. The architect of this superb structure was a young Tuam Catholic gentleman of great ability and of large literary acquirements, Peter Madden. The archbishop altered the architect's plans, and made several additions of his own choosing, so that, properly speaking, the cathedral church cannot be considered the work of any professional architect. Mr. Madden felt displeased that his plans were altered, left home, retired to the city, and declined to superintend the church of his former choice. On this account the archbishop placed on his own shoulders a herculean task—to construct a cathedral without any professional knowledge of architecture, and without money; to see that the building be carried to completion, without any scheming on the part of workmen, and to erect the edifice at the least possible cost. His Grace was crushed down with the weight of anxiety which the erection of the cathedral imposed upon him. Early in the year 1834, therefore, he set out for

Rome, to visit the tombs of the apostles, to recruit failing health, and to purchase a marble altar worthy of the sacred edifice which he was then erecting to the glory of God. On the 27th April that same year, he died at Albano, near the eternal city. A slab erected to his memory by the Rev. Dean Burke is to be seen in the halls of Propaganda. Another is placed at the entrance to the cathedral church raised by his zeal—and it may be said, at the sacrifice of his life—at Tuam.

The Most Rev. Dr. Waldron, Bishop of Killala, came to Tuam to celebrate the obsequies of the archbishop, and to be present at the election of a vicar-capitular to rule the diocese until a successor should be appointed. Before the month of May had passed away his Lordship of Killala followed to the tomb the deceased metropolitan. His death arose directly from an accident, although he had also contracted a cold by his journey to and from Tuam. It was Dr. Waldron's custom to wind the clock that 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 bannister. For two days he lay in a state of insensibility. From the effects of the fall the illustrious prelate never rallied. He re-received the last sacraments of Holy Church, and at the age of 82, on the 20th May, 1834, he breathed his last. He presided worthily over the see of Killala for eighteen years and a half. It is a strange coincidence that his predecessor, the Rev. Dominick Bellew, died from the effects of a fall. In 1812, as has been stated, while returning in his own carriage from a meeting of the bishops in Dublin, the horses took flight not far from Killucan; he jumped out, fell, and received such injuries that he expired that evening. Of the Most Rev. Peter Waldron, the archbishop, Dr. Mac Hale, often stated to the present writer, that he was a prelate of great erudition, of sound theological

knowledge, a man of great common sense, eminent for his virtues, social and religious.

The obsequies of the deceased Bishop of Killala were performed by his successor, Dr. Mac Hale, and by the clergy and people during three successive days, and his remains were deposited in a vault prepared for them under the sacristy of the cathedral.

The chief pastors of the two dioceses in the same province had now, in the space of one month, passed away to receive the reward of faithful stewards in the household of God's Church. Tuam has now no bishop; John of Maronia has been wedded to Killala.

At Tuam, the clergy assembled to select a successor worthy of the metropolitan see. The friends and admirers of the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly were desirous that Very Rev. Bernard Burke, of Westport, dean of the diocese, should be elected; not a few were anxious, amongst others, Rev. James MacKeal, Rev. James Hughes, Rev. Martin Loftus, that the young bishop, now of Killala, Dr. MacHale, should be the choice of the priests.

The election took place, according to the new mode laid down by the Holy Father, and settled in 1823. Three were selected—Very Rev. Dean Burke, *dignissimus;* Most. Rev. Dr. Mac Hale, *dignior;* Very Rev. John Nolan, Vicar-Capitular, *dignus;* and their names sent directly to Rome. After some months, the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Hale was, by the Most Holy Father, Gregory XVI., specially chosen to fill the position of Archbishop and Metropolian of Tuam. He was elected in Propaganda, July 21st, 1834; the decree confirming the election was issued August 2nd. Letters apostolic, by special order of the sovereign of the faithful Pope Gregory XVI., August 8th; forwarded September 2nd that same year. The "Bulls," as they are called, confirming the translation of John of Killala to the See of Tuam

were sent from Rome, September 2nd, and could not, by the postal arrangements peculiar to the period, have reached Dr. Mac Hale before the 18th of September. Meantime, the bishop made several collations to parishes in Killala diocese on the 12th and 14th of September. Those appointments were, in the opinion of his successor, deemed, two years later, to have been invalid, since, he said, Dr. Mac Hale must have been informed earlier than the 12th or 14th September of his translation to the See of Tuam. On this account, and for other causes, disputes arose that gave scandal to the faithful.

The translation of Dr. Mac Hale from Killala to the Metropolitan See of Tuam presents more than a passing interest.

Look back at the time, and see how deeply the minds of Irishmen of all grades were excited—(*a*) by the Bible bickerings of a host of controversialists who had come over from England and Scotland to convert, as they said, the erring Irish; by (*b*) the disturbance arising out of the tithe agitation; (*c*) the Government were maddened at their defeat on the "veto;" (*d*) at the opposition, too, which they had suffered, and were still suffering, on the national education question; (*e*) and by the clerical combinations formed by O'Connell, with prominent ecclesiastics, of whom Dr. Mac Hale was more than "suspected" to be one of the first. Government wanted to crush this rising Catholic spirit, and as a means, they deemed it well to have some emissary at Rome. Rev. Thadeus O'Malley did not decline the offer, and accordingly was sent as a secret official of the English Government.

It was represented to the Holy Father and to the Cardinals of Propaganda, that Dr. Mac Hale was disloyal, that he was a firebrand—one exciting others to disloyalty—was never at peace, and would not allow the people to be at peace. As evidence, they pointed to

his writings. "What further proof do you want." Read his works and you will see what manner of man he is.

These allegations from Tory enemies and secret betrayers received additional force from the representations of timid friends at home, and from those who did not, owing to local or personal reasons, wish to see Dr. Mac Hale promoted. They admired in a prelate a calm and tranquil demeanour; they thought that the Catholic Church in Ireland would simply be ruined if John of Killala became John of Tuam, and very kindly, in their anxiety for the good of religion, they were not slow to present their misgivings to the Holy Father.

The Sovereign Pontiff, Gregory XVI., ordered forthwith that all the writings from the pen of *Hierophilos*, John of Maronia, John of Killala, be submitted to him in an Italian dress. He read them through. He pronounced them orthodox and edifying, and of his own accord (*suâ sponte*) selected the name of John Mac Hale, and he issued letters apostolic, confirming his translation from the See of St. Muiredach to the Metropolitan See of Tuam.

Great was the joy of the Catholics of Tuam, and indeed, throughout Ireland; unbounded the exultation of the priests who had favoured the election of John of Tuam.

The unmeasured gladness of the people, and the extent to which this feeling had permeated the whole of Ireland, showed how far and how fully the national party took an interest in the appointment, and how much they had dreaded the secret influence of England at the Court of Rome.

The journey of John of Tuam from Ballina to Pontoon, and thence to Castlebar, early in October, 1834, was like that of a conqueror ascending the Capitoline Hill with myriads in his triumphant train onwards

until he reached the temple of Jupiter. For the manifestation and expression of mere earthly glory, that day, and that ovation from his native diocese to Tuam were the greatest in the life of his Grace. He received before then ovations not a few; very many after that period, both in the days of O'Connell, and on the occasion of the golden jubilee, in June, 1875; but, to speak truly, he never received, nor could well receive, any ovation greater than that which the Catholics of the province bestowed on him, on that felicitous occasion.

* A list of the priests who presided over St. Jarlath's College from the early part of this century to the present time :—

1. Rev. John Mulloy was president at the Mall School in the time of his Grace, Most Rev. Dr. Dillon, say in 1807, '8, '9.
2. Rev. Paul MacGreal left in 1812.
3. Rev. James MacKeal taught at the Mall Seminary, and was the first who, under Dr. Kelly, presided over the new seminary establishment at the Tuam Bank-House. He ruled up to 1826.
4. Rev. Thomas Feeny presided to the end of 1831; became Bishop of Killala.
5. Rev. Martin Brown from 1831 to 1840.
6. Rev. James Ronayne, for a few months, in 1840.
7. Rev. William Cullinane till April, 1842.
8. Rev. John Flannelly from 1842 to 1845.
9. Rev. Anthony O'Regan from 1845 to June, 1849; became Bishop of Chicago.
10. Rev. Peter Reynolds from 1849 to 1851.
11. Rev. John MacEvilly to February, 1857; his Grace, the present Archbishop.
12. Rev. Patrick J. O'Brien to October, 1865.
13. Rev. Ulick J. Canon Burke to 1878 (October).
14. Rev. Patrick Kilkenny presides at the present time

CHAPTER XIV.

"Episcopus et presbyter, et diaconus non sunt meritorum nomina, sed officiorum."—*S. Hieronimus, Lib.* 1, *adversus Jovian.*

"Bishop, and priest, and deacon, are not titles of merit, but names that bespeak work."—*St. Jerome.*

THE requirements of the mission and of the college claimed the earliest attention of the new archbishop on taking possession of the See of St. Jarlath. While teaching in the College of Maynooth, Dr. MacHale had proclaimed, as Hieropholos, or lover of the priesthood, what the duties of priests and prelates were towards the flocks committed to their pastoral charge; now that he has been raised to the position of chief pastor in the province, it becomes his own duty to put those behests into practice.

Although he has been officially promoted from Killala to Tuam, nevertheless, his connection with the widowed church of St. Muiredach has not wholly ceased, for, as metropolitan, he is called upon to see after its spiritual wants and interests, to the election of a fitting chief pastor; and, in case of any unsuitableness, or opposition, or appeal, to soothe, and calm, and direct to a successful issue all elements of discord or strife.

Directly after the departure of Dr. MacHale, to take possession of the church of Tuam, a kind of clerical cyclone swept around the borders of Killala diocese, and laid waste its fair fields and spiritual vineyards. An internecine moral contest arose amongst her sons, not unlike the combat waged in Judea by Absalom

✠ John,
Archbishop of Tuam

against his anointed father, King David. From October, 1834, till the election and consecration of the Most Rev. Dr. Thomas Feeny, October 13th, 1839, there was no permanent peace in the diocese of Killala. What was the cause? Unfortunately, selfishness on one side, and on the other great lack of wisdom and of governing tact.

A ruler, in order to govern his subjects well, and to make them feel in some way at ease, and therefore, happy, ought to possess at least the negative faculty of governing; that is, to allow well-disposed subjects as much freedom as the law and the voice of conscience permit. Besides this negative there is a positive faculty for governing, and this may be exercised for the happiness or for the unhappiness of the governed. The expression of the one is seen in the rule of Solomon, or of his royal father David; of the other in Roboam's harshness towards his people, whom he threatened to scourge with scorpions. With the negative faculty of governing, and with ordinary Christian prudence, the sad conflict amongst clerics would, at this time, have been avoided. Neither the light of wisdom nor the oil of fraternal charity cast brightness or balm over the troubled waters.

While the Most Rev. Dr. MacHale, in the year 1832, resided in the Eternal City, he made the acquaintance of a religious, a member of the Order of Preachers, venerable for his years, dignified in appearance, and remarkable to a degree, it is said, for refined manners. In the early part of this century, after the French had become masters of many European nations, a false idea of refined manners prevailed. Europe at present has subjected those notions of refinement to the judgment of common sense, propriety, and prudence. Frá Francis Joseph O'Finan, for that was his name, was a native of Killala. At the age of seventeen, as he told Dr. MacHale, he left

his native home near Ardnariadh, Ballina, joined the Dominican Order, and went to Rome. There he studied at St. Clement's College, finished his course, received the order of priesthood and returned to Ireland. For a time he discharged the duties of the mission in Waterford, became subsequently rector of St. Clement's in Rome, from which, after a time, he was delegated to Portugal, and appointed superior of the Dominican convent of Corpo Santo, in Lisbon; and finally, at the time that Dr. MacHale made his acquaintance at the Minerva, in Rome, he was a member of the Council to the General of the Order of Preachers. Like Saul before Samuel, Father O'Finan appeared in the presence of Dr. MacHale tall and portly. The prelate was favourably impressed with his appearance and the attractive style of his conversation. The criterion of judging from the outward form regarding the mind and its powers or acquired habits is very deceptive, and one by which the very cleverest men have, in every age, been led astray. It is quite opposed to the teaching of Truth itself, who told the Jewish people "not to judge according to appearance." Time alone and the patient practice of virtue can supply a fair test whether or no, a good man is in reality what he seems. As a rule, those who make striking impressions at first sight, possess the tinsel rather than the gold of virtue.

On the 12th of November, 1834, after High Mass in the cathedral church, Ballina, the scrutiny for the selection of bishop to fill the vacant see took place. Dr. MacHale presided. The names of three were selected—Rev. Francis Joseph O'Finan, O.P., *dignissimus*; Rev. Patrick Flannelly, *dignior*; and Rev. Bartholomew Costello, *dignus*. Not a single vote was given to Rev. John Patrick Lyons. The priests of Killala were anxious to have a bishop selected from members of their own diocese rather than an extern. For this reason, and on account of the high eulogium

bestowed on Friar Thomas O'Finan by Dr. MacHale, many were readily induced to vote for the spiritual son of St. Dominick. He received, accordingly, the largest number of votes, while Rev. Patrick Flannelly received four, and Rev. B. Costello three. At the time that Dr. MacHale was translated to Tuam, Father Costello was administrator of the cathedral parish. After considerable hesitancy on the part of the archbishop, Father Costello was recommended for election to the position of Vicar-Capitular to direct the diocese till a successor should be chosen. Rev. Thomas Walsh says, in his history: "It seems there had been some doubt on the mind of the archbishop regarding the step, as he was tardy in making the appointment."

Dr. O'Finan was selected by Propaganda, January 26th, 1835; and on the 26th of same month the appointment received the confirmation of Pope Gregory XVI. His brief was dated February 13th, and he was consecrated in the church of SS. Dominic and Sixtus on the 15th March, 1835, by his Eminence Cardinal Giacomo Fransoni, with the assistance of Monsignore Della Porta, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Monsignore Vespigniani, bishop of Tiani.

Dr. O'Finan continued to live for nigh seven months in Rome before he thought well to set out for the diocese of which he had been appointed and consecrated chief pastor. That was not a wise proceeding, especially when one bears in mind the conflicting elements that were at home creating a moral chaos. Again, before arriving in Ballina, the cathedral town, and ere he had visited the diocese which for nigh half a century he had not seen, and ere he had mixed with the clergymen amongst whom he was to live, and over whom he was to rule, and with the reluctant consent of the Holy Father, Gregory XVI., he appointed to the office of dean and vicar-general a priest whom he had never seen. Unwise proceedings

like those, and others of a kindred character, led finally to his forced resignation of the diocese.

In the opposition which the new bishop received—and in the public investigation that was on two occasions held by order of Propaganda—and in the recommendations which in consequence were sent to the cardinals and to the Holy Father, Dr. MacHale took necessarily a leading part.

Rev. John Lyons, now Dean and Vicar-General of Killala, was a native of Tuam diocese. At the desire of the late Most Rev. Dr. Waldron, who knew his family and friends, he became attached to the See of Killala. Father Lyons had the reputation amongst his brother clergymen of being, in those days, a smart English writer, one who displayed considerable energy of character and showed that he possessed good natural abilities. During the period of distress, in 1830 and 1831, he afforded all the aid that could be given to the people of the parish of Bangor Erris. His brother clergymen, however, as was afterwards publicly laid to his charge, gave him credit for habits and personal traits which render a man unfit to be a ruler. Rev. Thomas Walsh, the author of an "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," published, 1854, in New York, states: "That when Father Lyons found he was not nominated as one worthy in the estimation of the clergy of being bishop, and when he saw that Dr. O'Finan was likely to be chosen by Propaganda, he visited the sister of Dr. O'Finan, who at the time, lived not far from Ballina; he recounted his efforts and success in securing the election of her brother. Thus he laid the ground-work of that intrigue by which he attained the dignities of dean and vicar-general, by which he brought trouble and confusion to himself, ruin to Dr. O'Finan, as well as exile from the land of his birth."

Rev. Patrick Flannelly and Rev. B. Costello were men of good natural ability. Amongst his class-fel-

fellows in Maynooth College Patrick Flannelly had the reputation of being amongst the cleverest *alumni* at the time from Killala diocese, or from the ecclesiastical province of Tuam. If his energy had been equal to his mental endowments he would have shone, it is likely, as an intellectual star of considerable literary lustre; if he had put his knowledge of theology into practice, he could have been as remarkable for piety as Dr. Faber or Cardinal Newman; but he allowed the baneful passion of indolence, like rust, to corrode his natural and acquired brilliancy of genius.

Rev. B. Costello did not lack cleverness, but it partook of ordinary untrained superiority rather than of intellectual power, and it showed itself in astuteness more than in mental ability. His mind was always on the watch to find out the faults and failings of others, rather than to make the attempt himself to do anything useful. This inferior order of talent was united with great ambition. He loved to be first at every meeting of laymen or clergymen, and his opinions, according to his own views, were always right. Nothing could go on rightly, if he did not point out the way. From his great activity, which partook more of bustle than of energy, he exercised a wonderful degree of fascination over minds less intellectual than his own.

These were the two leading spirits whom Dr. O'Finan had to counsel and govern. With becoming respect for their distinguished bishop, both set out from Ballina to meet Dr. O'Finan on his arrival from Rome in Dublin, October, 1835, and there to receive him with every mark of dutiful obedience and esteem. Dr. Costello, as yet vicar-capitular, was the first to greet his Ordinary. He was there and then informed that Rev. John Lyons was dean as well as vicar-general of Killala, and assured that he himself could, without delay, enjoy the calm and quiet of his rural parish. Humbled as well as incensed at the promotion of

Dean Lyons, he communicated to Father Flannelly what he had been told. Both left Dublin directly, called on their way home to visit one or two professors at the College of Maynooth, hastened then to Tuam and made known to Dr. MacHale, their metropolitan, the result of their interview with Dr. O'Finan, and of the new administrative arrangements. It is stated that they were encouraged to oppose the appointment of Dean Lyons. All things considered, the intrigues of the new dean, the warmth of manner of Dr. Costello, who would make one believe he was right even in a worthless cause; the habits of the new archbishop, anxious to correct what he deemed to have been a blunder, and the circumstances of the times, confirm the truth of the statement. Besides, it has never been contradicted, although known publicly to have been circulated.

Rev. Thomas Walsh, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," writes: "Dean Burke, the amiable parish priest of Westport, then at Rome arranging some private business, was supposed to be another advocate in Lyon's cause, and to have formed on Dr. O'Finan's mind an impression which tended to strengthen the bishop in the resolution of constituting Rev. Father Lyons his dean and vicar-general. It was, moreover, observed that opposition to the Archbishop of Tuam might have dictated such advocacy, as Father Lyons was not in good odour with his Grace. It was improper and unjust to impute such unworthy motives to Dean Burke in the absence of any positive information. . . . " Dean Burke assured Father Thomas Walsh that he himself never conversed with Dr. O'Finan till they met in the French capital. And at that time Father Lyons was actually *Dean*.

Rev. Bernard Burke, who, on the demise of his Grace Oliver Kelly, at Albano, received on the day of nomination and election most votes from the

priests of Tuam, was descended of a branch of the Burke family living in Connemara. In the early part of the present century he received his classical teaching at the common Latin schools at Westport or Castlebar, and was sent by the Most Rev. Dr. Dillon, in 1807, to Maynooth. In due time (1814) he was ordained. He was curate at Tuam during the early episcopal years of the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly; and he must have been a man of good parts and of fair learning, as well as of acknowledged amiability and suavity of character, whereas he gained the lasting friendship of his own bishop and that of a great many of the clergy of the diocese. For a time (1831) he was Administrator of Westport, but in (1834), when Dr. Kelly set out for Rome he was appointed pastor of that mensal parish with the dignity and title of dean. On the accession of the Most Rev. Dr. MacHale to the metropolitan diocese, he wished to transfer Dean Burke to a rural parish known as Killmeena. Dean Burke, however, even without the special leave of the archbishop, set out for Rome He arrived at Albano just on the day that Theodore the confidential servant of Dr. Kelly, was destroying the papers of the late archbishop. That which had been in the servant's hands, and destined for the flames as the Dean entered, was the Brief of Pope Gregory XVI. to his Grace Dr. Kelly, confirming the mensal parish of Westport, as it was called, and conferring the dignity of Dean on Rev. B. Burke. With this document he went to Propaganda, who found its copy in the archives, and soon sent a letter to Dr. MacHale with the authority of the Holy Father, Gregory XVI., granting the mensal parish to Dean Burke during his natural life. When Rev. B. Burke returned he was restored to his rightful dignity and to the parish of which Dr. Kelly had given him possession. After his return the Dean lived twenty-five years and was called to his reward in the year 1860. Westport became then a mensal parish once more.

The new bishop arrived at last about the close of October, 1835, at Ballina. All the priests of the diocese came to pay their respects to the distinguished prelate. A day was named in the week following, to see and to hear the clergymen in a body; and it was agreed that on that day Rev. Father P. Flannelly was to tell the new prelate the opinions of the clergy of the diocese regarding the dean and vicar-general. The day came. The priests and bishop met in the cathedral church. Rev. P. Flannelly spoke out boldly the charges against Dean Lyons: "That he was a man irascible in temper, partial, prying, plotting, cunning, and crafty; that he had reached his newly-acquired position by intrigue; that, therefore, he was unfit to be the spiritual ruler of a body of intelligent, educated men, such as the priests of any diocese are."

His Lordship heard the charges patiently. At the end he replied, and told the assembled priests that they were disobedient;—insubordinate; lovers of the world and not of Christ's Spouse, the Catholic Church; that their hearts were not right and in conformity with the laws of God, nor in harmony with that meek spirit which Cnrist taught his followers to cultivate.

His mind had been fully made up not to yield. The good prelate met his new priests in a manner the opposite of conciliatory, and spoke in a tone not calculated to win regard or to gain friends. Both parties retired, the prelate and Dean Lyons to the bishop's house, the priests to a hotel. There, that very evening they drew up a remonstrance against Dr. O'Finan and Dean Lyons, and posted it directly to Propaganda, Rome.

Meantime, by the advice of Dean Lyons, the bishop made changes in the appointments of priests to parishes, removing some and installing others; and those changes were opposed determinedly by priests

and people. The flame of opposition was no longer confined within clerical centres; it spread from parish to parish amongst the people. Charges and counter-charges were uttered on all sides, and recrimination was freely indulged in. One priest was killed. Against this new clerical course of proceeding adopted by the bishop and the dean, another public protest was sent to Propaganda. On the 23rd August, 1836, an episcopal commission was appointed, by order from Rome, to investigate the causes of such painful scenes. The Lord Primate of all Ireland Dr. Crolly, his Grace, John of Tuam; and his Lordship, Dr. Denvir, Bishop of Down and Connor, constituted the Commission.

From time to time their Lordships met to hear the charges and the refutation made on either side; they went in person from parish to parish to see and hear in each place the true state of affairs, and to form their judgment from the facts, and to draw up their report accordingly. Early in the year, February, 1837, they forwarded their report to Propaganda. In May following, Dr. O'Finan was requested by Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of Propaganda, to come to the Eternal City. He went and while there he was requested to resign his bishopric. He complied with the cardinal's request. As soon as Dr. O'Finan resigned, his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, was appointed apostolic administrator of Killala.

By order from Rome, the bishops of the province of Tuam met to elect one qualified to govern the diocese, the administration of which Dr. O'Finan was requested to resign. They first selected the following three;—Rev. Thomas Feeny, formerly President of St. Jarlath's College, and at that time (1838) pastor of the parish of Kiltulla, diocese of Tuam; Rev. Martin Loftus, P.P., of Dunmore, near Tuam, in the county Galway; and Dean Durken, of the diocese of

Achonry. The Secretary of Propaganda wrote to the Most Rev. Dr. Murray to select the fittest of the three, and that his choice would be confirmed by his Holiness. Dr. Murray requested the bishops of the province to send him the name of the fittest. The matter could not be any longer permitted to remain in an atmosphere of doubt. From the lips of his Grace, Dr. MacHale, the writer has the following:—The prelates assembled at Tuam, and having offered Holy Mass to obtain the light of the Holy Spirit, they agreed to make the selection as the eleven apostles made choice of Matthias—by casting lots. The first name was that of Rev. Thomas Feeny. All the bishops, with one accord, agreed to send his name as that of their choice to Dr. Murray. Owing to the opposition offered, a delay of eight months occurred between the nomination, December 18th, 1838, and the ultimate election of Dr. Feeny. In July, 1839, he received his appointment to Ptolemaide *in partibus*, but was not consecrated until the 13th of October following, as Coadjutor Bishop of Killala, with right of succession to Killala.

The late Rev. John Griffin, P.P., of Easkey, county Sligo, sent last week (1881) before his lamented death the following letter regarding his uncle, Dr. Feeny, to the writer of this memoir. Father Griffin had learned from me that I was about to write a life of the archbishop. Dr. MacHale's letter is dated December 18th, 1838, and must have been written on the same day that Dr. Feeny's name was, as it were, by God s special choice, selected.

"ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM,

"*December* 18*th.* 1838.

"MY DEAR MR. FEENY,

"I may congratulate not you, but the diocese of Killala, on the sure prospect of your being shortly the bishop, and without any delay, the administrator of the diocese. Dr. O'Finan ceases, by a decree of the Sacred Congregation, to exercise any further episcopal jurisdiction in Killala. His Grace, of Dublin, administers the diocese provisionally. He

has been also requested to recommend an episcopal administrator. His Grace wished that the bishops of the province and I would select the person, stating that he would recommend our choice, as his own, to his Holiness. On this day we have, after invoking the Holy Ghost, unanimously agreed in recommending you. I send the recommendation to his Grace of Dublin; and you may shortly expect a communication from him to take the administration of that diocese.

"Be not disheartened by any difficulty; I trust that it will prove a happy choice for the interests of religion.

"I remain, my dear Mr. Feeny,
"Yours very faithfully,

"✠ JOHN MACHALE.

"To the Rev. Thomas Feeny, P.P.
Kiltullagh."

Regarding Dr. O'Finan, he reached the age of seventy-seven years, and breathed his last, November, 27th, 1847. His remains lie buried in the Minerva, Rome.

December 12th, 1847, his Holiness, Pope Pius IX., gave his approbation to the decree of Propaganda, by which Dr. Feeny, hitherto only administrator, was now formally translated to the bishopric of Killala. The leading facts of the good prelate's life are that, in 1790, he was born of pious and respectable parents living at Killtulla, diocese of Tuam; that at an early age he learned Latin, partly at his native place and partly at Ballaghaderin, which was then famous for its classical teachers. before the seminary at Tuam was founded. From those schools he was selected for Maynooth, from which, in 1818, having finished his course with honours, he was called by his Grace Dr., Kelly to teach Latin and Greek in St. Jarlath's Seminary. He was professor till 1825, and president and professor till 1831, when he received the collation to his native parish. December 18th, 1838, he was chosen by the bishops of the province to succeed Dr. O'Finan in the government of Killala diocese, which, as administrator, he ruled till December, 1847,

when he was formally approved by his Holiness as prelate to preside over the see of St. Muiredach. He died June 9th, 1873. His remains lie in a vault behind the high altar in the cathedral church. He ruled Killala thirty-four years, and as bishop he presided over that see twenty-six years. On the occasion of the exequial ceremonies at the Month's Mind, the Most Rev. Dr. MacCormack, Bishop of Achonry, preached the panegyric of the deceased bishop, and depicted the virtues of Dr. Feeny in the following words:—"The study of his apostolic character seems to me to bring out the gratifying picture of meekness blended with courage, of seriousness with urbanity, gentleness with firmness, zeal with discretion, charity and prudence with justice and benevolence."

Peace, at all events, and a great calm, ensued on his coming to Killala.

CHAPTER XV.

"A faithful man shall be much praised."
Prov. xxviii, 20.

"Gloria episcopi est pauperum inopiæ providere."
S. Hier. Ep. 2, *ad Nepotian.*

On April 10th, 1838, one of the most extraordinary moral movements that have for centuries past taken place in Ireland had its inception in the city of Cork. It was in every way wonderful—in its origin, in the agency employed, in the enthusiasm of the multitudes, in the glorious results that followed, in the grand moral tone which it has produced, and which continues to this hour, to tell throughout the civilised world, wherever the English language is spoken. The movement was inaugurated by the Rev. Theobald Mathew, who is justly styled the Apostle of Temperance. Before his time, and up to that year, 1840, Ireland lay, like the wayfarer who had fallen among robbers, wounded and bleeding on the road-side, her life-blood ebbing slowly but surely from the many wounds inflicted by her enemy and destroyer—the demon of intemperance.

Rev. Theobald Mathew beheld the bleeding victim; he came and bound her wounds, and has restored her to soundness and renewed vigour.

This moral and social reformer was born, October 10th, 1790, at Thomastown, situated between Tipperary and Cashel. According to the dates assigned in this memoir, he was by a year the junior of the Archbishop of Tuam, John Mac Hale. Both went to

Maynooth the same year, both were ordained the same year (1814), and by the same bishop—Most Rev. Dr. Murray—but not at the same time. The one became lecturer in Maynooth College, a Capuchin friar at Kilkenny the other.

When young Mathew had passed his entrance examination at Maynooth College, he appeared, like Joseph the patriarch, in the days of his boyhood, "a growing son—a growing son, and comely to behold." Very soon he yielded to the temptation of being present at a *commessatio*, given out of respect to him by a senior student. This violation of college discipline did not escape the vigilance of the Dean of Studies; and young Mathew was discovered, while the student who had been the cause of this private treating, being on his guard against surprise, effected his escape unnoticed. On account of this breach of discipline, young Theobald Mathew was obliged to leave Maynooth College before he had spent a year within its walls. He was, however, favourably received by the Capuchin Friars at Kilkenny, and by a singular coincident he received ordination the same year with his former class fellow, John Mac Hale.

From Kilkenny, Friar Mathew was removed to Cork, and there he continued to labour and to edify up to the 10th April, 1838, when he formed the resolution not only of taking the total abstinence pledge himself, but becoming the president of the society formed already by William Martin the Quaker. "Here goes," said he, "in the name of God." These were simple but solemn words. They were like those spoken by St. Augustin on his conversion, or by St. Ignatius of Loyola. They were the expression of the heart, the outcome of a strong conviction of the mind, accompanied with a firm resolve, and uttered with a holy child-like confidence in God's guidance and grace.

In July, 1838, twenty-five thousand persons signed the total abstinence pledge; in September, that same year, thirty-eight thousand; by the close of the year, very near two hundred thousand—one fifth of a million—total abstainers were to be found chiefly in Cork, in Kerry, in Clare, and in Waterford. Father Mathew, in the autumn of 1839, proceeded to Limerick and to Waterford, and to parts of Tipperary and Limerick. In 1840, the Apostle of Temperance was invited by a former companion in college, Rev. Richard Gibbons, P.P., of Aglish, Castlebar, and professor formerly of humanity in Maynooth, to visit the diocese of Tuam, and to hold a great temperance meeting in the chief town of Mayo County. This move brought the Archbishop of Tuam prominently to the front, and in a light shaded considerably at the time, from that bright colouring through which the people had been accustomed to behold the name of John of Tuam.

In every town of the province the Catholics regarded Father Mathew as an apostle, one chosen specially by God to effect a great work: and he was doing well the work assigned to him. The simple faithful felt convinced that his ministrations were confirmed by the exercise of miraculous powers. The good priest himself did not lay claim to any special supernatural gifts beyond those which Holy Church confers on every priest and ordained friar. Nevertheless, the people believed that he was specially gifted from on high, and several attested to the fact that they had received renewed strength from his prayers and his presence.

The Most Rev. Dr. Mac Hale did not lend the sanction of his favour or of his authority to the temperance movement, initiated, and now carried out with wonderful success by the Rev. Father Mathew.

His Grace's opinions were:—(*a*) that it were wiser,

more, too, in conformity with the views of Holy Church, and suited better to man's weak nature, to take the pledge against strong drink for a limited period, say for one year, or two, or five, than to take it for life. He went so far, in the expression of this view, that he had medals struck off in his own name, and he gave the pledge to a few, and recommended some of his priests to administer it to the people on the conditions just named. He did not, however, hold on for any length of time to this new apostolic departure. (*b*) Dr. Mac Hale did not wish to encourage the principle that any friar or priest should of himself take the liberty of going from diocese to diocese, from parish to parish, and from town to town. In favour of Father Mathew, it must be stated that he had received pressing invitations to Castlebar and Westport by the pastors who ruled over those districts. The Apostle of Temperance acted, therefore, within the lines of the normal ecclesiastical law. And on his return he paid his respects to the Archbishop of Tuam. There he received in turn from his Grace an invitation to come, at the next opportunity, to preach temperance, and to administer the pledge to the population of that ancient Catholic parish. The archbishop received his guest, as was his custom, with every mark of attention and hospitality. (*c*) Another objection to Father Mathew was found in the fact that there had been too much mercantile manipulation surrounding the progressive development of the total abstinence cause. In reply to this view much could be said in favour of the course adopted by the apostle, for the medal and the card was a sign and a reminder of the pledge taken, and a safeguard to many against its violation. And if some lay members of his suite fell into faults, that fact could not fairly be laid to the charge of Father Mathew. And, in a mercantile point of view, it is certain that he lost rather than gained.

It was alleged, lastly, that in translating the Greek ἐγκρατεία (of which St. Paul made use—speaking in presence of Felix, the Governor of Judea, on the occasion when himself and Drusilla were pleased to hear the apostle of the Gentiles expound the faith of Christ), by the English term "temperance," and not by that of "chastity," the Douay version of the Vulgate "castitas," he, as a Catholic friar, went out of his way to please Protestant predilections. This charge would have some foundation if Father Mathew had originated the movement. Now, it is well known that he took up the society with its mottoes as he found it in the hands of William Martin the Quaker.

The masses of the people looked only to the mighty results of the movement, to the apostolic life of the man, to the happiness which temperance brought home to every household, and to the general peace pervading the provinces. The archbishop did not at first see the movement in this light, and although he did not think it, yet unconsciously he felt as if Theobald Mathew should not have been the "vessel of election." Likely he asked himself, can any good come from the Nazareth of such early training. Father Mathew, like another Jeremias, went to all to whom he felt that he was desired to go and to save.

In 1842 Scotland was the scene of his apostolic labours; England in 1845; while after the Irish famine he went to America, where he enrolled the immense number of six hundred thousand total abstainers in the army of temperance. In Cork, December 8th, 1856, he was called by God to receive the reward of his labours.

O'CONNELL AND MAC HALE.

Another great event, historic in its inception and in its consequences, occurred in the year 1840. The

Liberator, Daniel O'Connell, had been, since 1827, in correspondence, renewed from time to time, with Dr. Mac Hale, on the great questions of emancipation, repeal, municipal reform, tithes, the poor law scheme, and national education. In 1840, he consulted the archbishop about founding the Repeal Association, and renewing once more the agitation for a Home Legislature.

The Liberator writes from London to the archbishop :—

[PRIVATE.]

"*London, 8th April*, 1840.

"MY EVER VENERABLE AND DEAR LORD,

"Whenever I have formed the intention of making a *great* popular movement, or a movement which I hope to be *great*, I have, in latter times, taken the liberty of announcing my intention 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 bow with submissive respect to the judgment which induced you to decline that co-operation. I have neither the right nor the inclination to complain of your decision.

"With these sentiments, embodied as they are with the most profound respect, I now lay before your Grace my present plan. It is this: to organise 'A Repeal Association.'

"The justice which I require branches into four different heads of grievances :—

"1st. The payment and support by the State in Ireland of the Church of the minority of the Irish people.

"2nd. The omission to give the Irish *full* corporate reform.

"3rd. The omission to give the Irish people the same political franchises which the people of England enjoy.

"4th. To give them an adequate share of Parliamentary representation.

* * * *

"I was to have a provincial meeting in Connaught to oppose Stanley's Bill, and to promote the association I have above sketched. But I will not invade your province without your sanction, or, at least, your previous assent. I hope to find a

letter from you before me on Monday next, at Merrion-square

* * * * *

"I have the honour to be, venerated Lord,
"Of your Grace the most humble, faithful servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL.

"To the Most Rev. the Archbishop of Tuam."

From the words of the Liberator in the foregoing letter to Dr. Mac Hale—"I got from you much excellent and very wise advice; but active co-operation you thought it fit not to give me"—it is clear that the great tribune did not receive from Dr. Mac Hale, while guiding the church of Killala, or ruling as archbishop the See of Tuam, that amount of of clerical co-operation which he expected, and which, in so Catholic a province as Connaught, could have been easily supplied. The fact is, that even then, while he was as archbishop, still young, he excelled in the power of pointing out what ought to be done, rather than taking an active, energetic part in carrying his enlightened views into effect. As the illustrious prelate advanced in years this unwillingness to co-operate, of which O'Connell complained more than once previous to the repeal movement, became a settled state of mental conviction. During the repeal agitation, however, the archbishop threw himself heart and soul into the work with an energy never before exhibited by him in any other public cause. In reply to O'Connell (April 11th) he writes:—

"We have 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. . . .

"I shall cheerfully give you all the assistance in my power; and when you come to Connaught to hold your meeting, how delighted shall I be, if you honour again with your presence my humble mansion.

"You cannot invade any part of Ireland. For you at least the boundaries of dioceses and provinces should disappear . . . You have a right to come as the conqueror of civil and

religious liberty into all parts of Ireland, and to receive the heartfelt homage of its grateful people. Come, then, among us as early as you can, and you will have a *cead mile fáilte.*

"Wishing you renewed energies for the increased struggles that shall await you,

"I have the honour to be

"Your faithful servant,

"✠ JOHN MAC HALE."

On the 16th July, 1840, O'Connell writes from Dublin, that he will hold his first great meeting in the province of Tuam, and adds:

"In short, if we had the Repeal:

Religion would be free,

Education would be free,

The press would be free."

"No sectarian control over Catholics; no Catholic control over Sectarians—that is, no species of political ascendency."

Again he says: "It is vain to expect any relief from England. All parties there concur in hatred to Ireland and Catholicity, and it is also founded in human nature that they should, for they have injured us too much ever to forgive us."

July 25th, 1840, the first great meeting was held in Castlebar. It was a wonderful gathering, There could not have been fewer than twenty thousand people assembled on that day to meet the great Tribune. They came from every town and hamlet lying within a radius of thirty miles around the capital of Mayo County, from Ballina, Swinford, Claremorris, Ballinrobe, Tuam, Westport, Newport, ay, from Belmullet, and many from Galway, Athlone, Mullingar, Dublin. The writer was present on that occasion, and holds as vivid a recollection of the great day, and of the events, as if they were only a few days ago. Nothing that he has read in history, except the triumphant march of a conqueror ascending to the Capitol, presents to his mind a picture sim-

ilar to that which rises before his view as he beholds O'Connell coming, as it were, in triumph, amidst an exulting people, into Castlebar, or any of the great towns in which he held repeal meetings. The line of footmen and horsemen who went before and followed his chariot was two miles long, composed of men in serried ranks. Each trade had its painted banner, or if not, the actual implements of the craft or calling. The ship carpenters from Westport had a large ship on wheels, drawn by four horses, and fully manned and rigged; the weavers, a loom, and one of the craft, as the procession moved along, flying the shuttle through the woof or warp, just as they have been in any of our great industrial exhibition courts at Dublin, London, Paris, or Philadelphia. The trades of each town were headed by a brass or string band. The greatest order, combined with the highest enthusiasm, prevailed; for all were marshalled under their respective leaders; and, at that time, every man, with few exceptions, was a teetotaller. In this way O'Connell went from town to town, the uncrowned monarch of the people.

In this stupendous movement, from July, 1840, to August, 1843, what co-operation did Dr. Mac Hale give to the great tribune of the Irish people? He assisted the great champion of home government (*a*) by pointing out the way calculated to attain that end, or at least he confirmed O'Connell's own views, and in this way gave the leader confidence in the cause. He rendered assistance in preaching repeal directly by his own example, and through his clergy, and indirectly by beating down opposition, if any should arise, against O'Connell or the great cause he had at heart. With all this, he threw the mantle of the Church over the political movement, and thus rendered it not only potential, but marked in the eyes of Irish Catholics as blessed by heaven.

The temperance reformation was the fortunate precurser of the "Repeal" movement.

O'Connell and Mac Hale had their political creed settled in their souls, like the dogmas of that divine faith which each professed with intellectual light and heart-fealt affection. Like the sons of Mathathias, they were the descendants of a historic race, they had a country and a creed of ancient name, ennobled by a long roll of heroes and of saints. The darkest hours of the night of bondage had passed: they awaited the dawn: meanwhile they laboured.

A prison, however, awaited O'Connell and some of his chosen captains, in 1844; and, in 1845, the first sad warning of the terrible famine that was fast approaching with giant strides resounded throughout the land. In July of that year the angel of the blight passed over the whole island. The crops, which in the middle of the month were full of promise, before the last week of summer were withered and strewn. It was a sad sight. The people did not, however, lose hope. They cried for help to the Government, but the Government heard them not.

The year 1846 came, and with it complete destruction of the potato crop. Now, the Irish peasantry began to lose all hope. The country looked as if a cloud or a dark pall had been thrown over her face. The peasants regarded each other as victims destined for destruction, or like a crew in a vessel about to be engulfed. No one could account for the blight. It was a visitation plainly from God. Scientists in England and Ireland and Germany could not discover the causes. They were like the Magi before Pharaoh, who were baffled by the plagues that afflicted the land of Egypt. The people perished in thousands. They sailed in shoals to the western lands beyond the Atlantic. Lord John Russell, unfortunately, came into power in 1846.

During the month of August that year, Dr. MacHale published two pressing letters to the Prime

Minister, calling upon him not to sacrifice the lives of the Irish people to a false or niggardly economy. In October, the archbishop addressed Lord John Russell again, and, finally, in December of that year, he published a powerful appeal, reminding the premier of his promised liberality before he came into office, and of his heartlessness since he became first Lord of the Treasury.

The history of the famine cannot well be condensed into one page or two. Two million of people perished under its pinching breath, or by pestilence, or in the emigrants' ship. Multitudes asked for bread, "and there was none to break it to them." Then, as in Jerusalem, in the days of her sorrow and mourning, "the children and the sucklings fainted away in the streets." Ireland was a land of woe and wailing before the world.

The writer saw strong men and maidens die of starvation. He remembers one case especially, that of a young girl of nineteen, the eldest of a poor family of nine, struggle in the jaws of hunger for six months, and then perish, reduced literally to a heap of bones. He saw two men lying dead with grass or sorrel in their mouths, having striven in vain to obtain sufficient nutriment for a time, at least, from the herbs of the field. Scenes like these were common from November, 1846, to December, 1848. In April, 1847, the writer beheld a boy of about nine years reduced to the appearance of a skeleton. He came to the college, Tuam, where the writer was a student, to beg a crust of the ecclesiastical scholars, who were themselves quite as starved, and nearly as meagre, as the poor child. The hair of his head stood on end, his eyes were glaring and sunken within the sockets, which appeared overshadowed by prominent eyebrows and arched forehead; hair fully a half inch long—a false growth caused by decay, brought on by hunger—covered his bare, skinny arms and cheeks.

The same month, at Castlebar, during Easter vacation, another vision, sadder still, fell under the writer's view. A thousand men, including women and children of all sizes and ages, were to be seen outside the poor-house along the highway, assembled for inspection by order of the poor-law guardians, lest any name should be on the relieving officer's list except those who were actually at the time alive, one cannot say in the flesh, for flesh they had none. Their presence at the time reminded one of Ezechiel's vision of bones.

The poor were buried usually without coffins. The remains were carried by two or three persons, sometimes by only one, and then slipped from the trap-coffin into a common grave. In many graveyards, as on battle-fields, the bodies of the famine and fever victims were only half covered with earthen mould.

Did no one stretch out a hand to save the people? Yes; there were men found with hearts and hands and head to come to the rescue; Dr. Mac Hale, notably, was foremost at the work; the Society of Friends, and first amongst them a young Yorkshire Quaker, the late chief-secretary, W. E. Forster; and the American people.

The Archbishop of Tuam appealed to the charity and humanity of the civilised world, when he found that the home government would give nothing. The good prelate's voice was heard in England, in America, in Australia, throughout Europe. Thousands of pounds were distributed through his hands to the Catholic clergymen to be doled to the people who were starving. During the late famine, in 1880, he received twenty thousand pounds. During the years '47, '48, he was the recipient of double that sum. The archbishop assured the present writer, that for the three closing months of 1846, and the whole of 1847, he spent, on an average, ten hours each day in receiving moneys from all quarters of the globe, in

reading petitions and letters demanding relief, in writing replies and giving receipts, and entering in a ledger the amount received and disbursed. During the whole of that trying period he availed himself not of the aid of any assistant or secretary in the discharge of the herculean labours which he had taken upon his own shoulders.

CHAPTER XVI.

"The one thing I know that I know nothing."
Socrates, Sen. 2.

"Si tibi videtur quod multa scis, scito tamen quia sunt multa plura quæ nescis."—*Thomas à Kempis.*

EVENTS of great importance followed in rapid succession during those years, events with which the name of the Archbishop of Tuam has been directly or indirectly associated. The world knows how it fared with the Repeal party after the Liberator and his faithful friends had been, by order of English judges, released from prison. The sentence of the four Irish judges, Pennefather, Perrin, Crampton, and Burton, was reversed by three English law lords. Lord Denham, when pronouncing judgment, undoing that which Irish judges, influenced by prejudice, had pronounced, said: "If such practices as had taken place in the present instance in Ireland should continue, trial by jury would become a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

The division of Repealers into Young Irelanders and Old Irelanders, tended to create disunion not only amongst the leaders, but amongst all classes of Irishmen. As a rule, the clergy, and those of quiet, settled views, sided with O'Connell and his son John; the ardent, the hopeful, earnest, energetic, those who were convinced that mere speech-making and petitioning would never prevail with the powers who ruled this country, sided with the Young Ireland party. The light of the noblest mind amongst them all, that

of Thomas Davis, a young self-sacrificing Protestant barrister, a poet, historian, an essayist of the first order, was soon quenched in death. The picture presenting the scenes of this sad period is by no means inviting. See O'Connell's health declining apace; behold the incipient decay of his wonderful genius, caused by softening of the brain; look back at the castrophe just described in the preceding chapter, that fell in the years '45, '46, '47 on the nation; the sorrowful fate of the people now perishing in hecatombs; the unpromising opening of the year 1847, with the pall of death stretched over the land, and the gloom of the grave saddening every soul.

O'Connell grew sick at heart witnessing this state of things, and with no hopeful forebodings, he set out to seek for health and mental relief in a friendly though a foreign shore. He wished to reach Rome, but Rome he never saw more. On Saturday, 15th May, 1847, he breathed his last at Genoa, bequeathing his heart to the centre of Christendom, his body to Ireland, while he recommended his soul to heaven. At any former period his death would have been a calamity to Ireland; as it was, in the universal loss, she appeared to be slumbering in sadness, like one, distraught with wailing and woe. Nevertheless, O'Connell's death added deeply to the cup of affliction and bitterness which Ireland was at this time draining to the dregs.

About the 22nd day of May, a week after O'Connell's death, the students at the seminary, Tuam, of whom the writer was one, observed the Archbishop Dr. MacHale, walk alone from mid-day to the third hour in the afternoon; later still, after dinner in the evening, he was alone in the college field, apparently pondering on some matter that seemed to engross all his thoughts. The students had never before seen him walk so long alone in the college grounds. He was, moreover, singularly silent and sorrowful. We inquired

the cause. Soon we learned, news had that morning reached his Grace that O'Connell was dead,—O'Connell, his greatest friend, the father of the Irish nation, the liberator of its people, the hope of the growing generation. What now was to become of this desolate land? Who would heal her many infirmities? Who would bind up the wounds of this mother of misfortune and misery? Who would dry the tears of this Niobe of nations?

That evening passed away. The archbishop had very little time free from the continuous current of duties to devote to the sad requirements of sorrow or mourning. Indeed, many of his priests from time to time observed that his character was too stoical, and in no way given to sorrow; that he did not feel moved at the death of any one, even the most distinguished friend or clerical companion. It is certain, however, that at times he felt keenly the loss of dear friends and near relatives. The writer has seen him exhibit signs of very touching grief at the death of O'Connell, and over the grave of a nephew, who soon after he had been ordained priest, died; on the death also of Anne, an elder sister, who had seen nigh four score summers, and on two other occasions.

During the whole of the year 1847, and part of 1848, the excessively pressing wants of the Irish nation, together with the daily requirements of the church committed to his keeping by the Holy See, occupied his attention. He devoted all his available time, and he taxed his abilities to the utmost, to relieve the people's wants. He was the channel through which the Catholic Irish throughout the world transmitted aid in money to their perishing countrymen.

It could not be expected that one who, as *Hierophilos*, wrote so strongly against the Kildare-street Society Schools; and over his own name against the national schools, would now permit such a system as the Queen's Colleges to be imposed on a Catholic

people without lifting his voice so as to be heard, not only in Ireland, but all over the world, from Rome to the ends of the earth. And so it came to pass.

From the year 1845, when the Act was passed creating the Queen's University, to 1869, the Archbishop of Tuam kept an ever vigilant eye on the Queen's Colleges, and with voice and pen proclaimed them to be fraught with moral mischief for the Catholic youth of Ireland.

The Queen's University, and the institutions which support it, were planned on precisely the same principles as the national schools had been, with this objective difference, that the developed and advanced character of the former presented the fruit of non-Catholic teaching more glaringly to the sight, and more palpably, as it were, to the touch, than could be made perceptible by the incipient germination of the latter.

At a meeting of the Episcopal Body, some of the Irish prelates were found to favour the Queen's College scheme, others to oppose it. Early in 1847, the matter was laid before Propaganda. A rescript came in October, stating that the Council of Cardinals considered an institution of the kind injurious to religion: "*Religioni institutionem hujusmodi detrimento existere arbitratur.*"

As usual, a process of political intringue was set on foot, in order to force the Queen's Colleges on the Catholic body. Agents were sent to Rome. The colleges were represented in a favourable light. The Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, who already had been the great supporter of the National System, was now in favour of the Queen's Colleges. The Government naturally regarded the opposition of Dr. Mac Hale, and those who thought with him, as factious, because on their side such a Corypheus as Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, supported their views.

In matters of this kind, the non-Catholic body of the nation and the Imperial Government are not to be censured severely, when they find bishops apparently of equal knowledge and zeal, fighting by their side. *In dubiis libertas*, is the dictum of St. Augustin.

By this time, in 1848, Dr. Mac Hale began to feel alarmed lest the intrigues of the English agents at Rome, and the undoubtedly great influence of Dr. Murray, should prevail, and thus, that like the "Veto" question, or the scheme of the National System, the colleges, though not sanctioned, might still be quietly imposed on Catholics without their consent, broken down, as they were in spirit, by past persecutions. He had some experience, he said to the writer at one time, of the cunning of diplomatists, commissioned by England to the court of Rome. Accordingly, he set ou to see in person the centre of Christendom, and to lay again the whole question before the cardinals of Propaganda. In the month of October that year, another rescript was issued from Rome, confirming the former condemnation of the Queen's Colleges. And, in 1849, another was issued, expressing astonishment that any Irish prelate should countenance those godless institutions after such repeated condemnations by the authority of the Holy See.

As Dr. Mac Hale was about to set out for home in October, 1848, he received the public assurance of Propaganda that by no possibility could the scheme of the Queen's Colleges meet the approbation of the Holy Father. He received a similar assurance from Pius IX., in person. On this point his mind might now rest at ease.

He remained a few days longer in the Eternal City. It was a time of great peril. He did not see the danger of his position. Providence, that directed his steps to Rome, sent his angel to guide him safe home, as Raphael had guided the feet of Tobias on his return to his father's house.

Dr. Higgins, Lord Bishop of Ardagh; Dr. Cantwell, Lord Bishop of Meath, and the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Hale, Archbishop of Tuam, made up their minds to start from Rome on a certain evening. They had secured their passports. They set out in a hired public carriage. Quite near the city their homeward journey was stopped by a number of Garibaldian volunteers, who had received orders not to allow any ecclesiastic to leave Rome. Luckily, they were dressed, not in the costume of Roman prelates but in bourgeois apparel, such as ecclesiastics wear in Ireland and England. Dr. Higgins put on an air of authority, and demanded by what right the gens d'armes should have thus stopped foreigners on their way home, furnished with passports, and protected by the power of their own country, and that of international law. He would have the matter reported. He called them cowards, and said, if these new military heroes had seen arms in the hands of the "voyageurs" they would not so readily have obstructed the public way. This language had a wonderful effect. The soldiers fell back; they allowed the unknown foreigners to pass. When next evening the three prelates arrived at Civita Vecchia, they learned the awful news, that the Pope's prime minister, Count Rossi, had been, the following day after they left Rome, shot dead as he was coming out of his carriage to enter the House of Assembly. In a day or two later they heard the news, sadder still, that the gentle and erudite Palma had been pierced through the brain by a bullet from a rifle during the siege of the Quirinal Palace. If Dr. Mac Hale had tarried one day later in the city of the Popes he would not have left for home till probably eight or ten months later. In the year 1851, the writer read the anecdote regarding Dr. Mac Hale and the soldiers of Garibaldi, in "*L' Ebreo di Verona Racconto Storico dall' anno* 1846 *al* 1848." The "Jew of Verona" states that it

was Dr. Mac Hale who spoke in words of authority and reproof to the soldiers. But the writer has heard the archbishop tell the anecdote, and he declared that it was Dr. Higgins who spoke for them on that occasion. Dr. Higgins was a prelate of considerable physical pluck as well as of power.

In a famous speech, the second delivered by him on the occasion of a great meeting, held January 7th, 1860, at Castlebar, in favour of the temporal power of the Pope, Dr. Mac Hale makes allusion to this event in the following words (from a pamphlet, p. 9, *The Voice of the West*) :—"Before the Revolution broke out, I had fortunately to return from the Eternal City. I awaited only the issuing of the decree which in spite of all the corruption that gives them a precarious support, has struck and blighted for ever the infidel colleges. On the very eve of the Revolution I took my departure from Rome in the last of the public vehicles of the Pope's government that was permitted to leave the city; and had I remained until the following morning, the fatal day on which Rossi fell by the hand of an assassin, I should have to sustain the shock of the Pope's flight, and to endure seven months of a dreary captivity; doomed to witness, perhaps to share, the constitutional blessings of the sanguinary reign of Garibaldi."

The next post brought a full account of the siege of the Quirinal Palace, the success of the republican party, the flight of the Pope, his exile to Gaeta, and the princely welcome offered him by the King of Naples, who, with his queen, received the illustrious stranger with expressions of warmest love and highest veneration.

Early in December Dr. Mac Hale reached Tuam, well satisfied with his visit. He learned of the insurrectionary attempts made in Ireland, and deplored their sad consequences.

In the springtime of the year 1849, April 6th, Dr.

William Crolly, the Lord Primate of all Ireland, and successor of St. Patrick in the See of Armagh, died. In selecting a fit successor, the priests of the diocese and the prelates of the province were divided in their views; and on that account the Holy Father, now in exile, deemed it well to appoint, by the advice of the cardinals and the Irish archbishops, the rector of the Irish college, St. Agatha's, Very Rev. Paul Cullen.

By his influence with the American minister, Dr. Cullen had just then rendered signal service to the Propaganda, in saving their college and property from the hands of Mazzini's followers.

Paul Cullen was born at Ballytore, county Kildare, about the year 1800. His father was Hugh Cullen, and his mother Judith, sister of Rev. James Maher, pastor of Graigue, Carlow. Paul was for a short time under the care, in Carlow College, of Professor Rev. James Doyle, afterwards the famous Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. When twenty years of age he went to Rome, to study for the priesthood. At the time of which we write, December 1849, he had been resident in the city twenty-nine years. In November, 1848, the revolutionists had gained possession of the Eternal City. Dr. Cullen's habits of watchfulness, combined with study and careful ecclesiastical learning, earned for him the esteem of the cardinals, and the fatherly interest of the Pope, in exile at that particular period. It was considered then by the cardinals of Propaganda that no priest was better fitted than he, and in their eyes no one more worthy, on account of his special services during the insurrectionary furore, to be put in the position of the Lord Primate of all Ireland, and successor of St. Patrick. Accordingly, he was elected by Propaganda, and his nomination was confirmed, December, 9th, at Portico by the Pope. On the feast of St. Matthias, February 24th, 1850, he was consecrated in the Church of the Irish College,

Rome, by Cardinal Castrocane, assisted by Dr. Hinds, Bishop of Demerara, and by the Archbishop of Jesi, afterwards Cardinal Morichini.

In making choice of Dr. Cullen to fill the position of primate, Propaganda consulted Dr. Mac Hale. The Archbishop of Tuam gave an honest opinion, that no better selection could be made.

In Dr. Cullen, the Archbishop of Tuam gained a champion to the cause of pure Catholic education, opposed alike to the national system and to the infidel colleges.

Immediately after the return of Pius IX. from Gaeta, in 1850, a Bull was published, convoking a national synod of the Irish hierarchy. The synod did meet August 22nd, 1850, at Thurles. In the history of the Irish Church, this was one of the most important events that had occurred since the days of St. Laurence O'Toole, or St. Malachy O'Morgair. The Queen's Colleges received from the assembled episcopacy a further condemnation. The national system received the expression of mere toleration, till something better should finally be given by Government. The synod, moreover, declared it improper for prelates to have any part in the management of these colleges; and it was prohibited to priests to have any connection with them as professors or as deans of residence. The sons of Catholic parents were warned not to enter them on account of the danger to which their faith and morals would be exposed. The bishops were, however, left a discretionary power in their mode of acting towards the parents and pupils. These decrees were subsequently confirmed by the Holy Father.

On the death of Dr. Murray, in February, 1852, Dr. Cullen was transferred from Armagh to the See of Dublin, by a resolution of Propaganda, dated May 1st, 1852. His authority as Delegate Apostolic—not Legate—was confirmed for the purpose of carrying

out the decrees of the Synod of Thurles, and of founding and erecting a Catholic University in Ireland.

In Dr. Murray's episcopal youth he was a fierce opponent of the "Veto;" in later years he went in for supporting the Government schemes. Dr. Cullen and Dr. Mac Hale were now at one on the subject of education—*primary*, *intermediate*, and *university*. It would have been a great blessing for Catholic Ireland if they had united on the great questions that essentially affected the lives and happiness of the people. It was a great misfortune to the growing Catholic youth of Ireland, that these two distinguished prelates differed so widely and so warmly, and so continuously in their views regarding what an Irish Catholic University ought to be, respecting its professorships, students, and general government. Dr. Mac Hale told the present writer that in the early stage of the Catholic University Question, in 1854, he had suggested to the Apostolic Delegate that the Board of Irish Prelates ought, as a body, to be consulted in the selection and nomination of professors; that if there were to be a university properly so called in Ireland, it ought to be "universal," under a twofold form—first, in its directive administration, and next, in its objective extension; that, therefore, in its directive aspect, all the Irish prelates ought, individually or in their representative character, have a voice in making appointments; and that their selections should be made with wisdom, having in view ability, utility, and economy. That such an arrangement was right, even on the principle of civil governments, which concede that "taxation must have its representation," and as the bishops, together with their flocks, were called upon to contribute to the sustentation of the university, it was only fair that their voice should be heard in some form in the government of the establishment, and in the expenditure of its funds; that if

this counsel were to be adopted, and put into practice, then students would come from every diocese in Ireland, ay, from every quarter of the globe in which Irishmen of means have made for themselves a home. The advice, he said, was not heeded, nay, it was treated with complete disregard. The Apostolic Delegate, Dr. Cullen, told Dr. Mac Hale that in the matter of the University, he represented the Pope. He was appointed by the Holy Father to accomplish that work, and that he would himself take the whole responsiblity; he would, indeed, accept the aid of the hierarchy, and pay deference and respect to their counsel. Having heard this reply, Dr. Mac Hale stated to many of his priests, that from that day he plainly foresaw the undertaking would never be a success. Again and again he repeated those words for fully a decade of years, whenever the University as a subject was introduced into conversation. For three years or four (1854 to 1858) he allowed the annual collection to be made in the diocese of Tuam; but after that period he ceased to give any contribution himself or allow a collection to be made for the university. Nevertheless, this seat of learning was magnificently supported by Catholic Ireland, and according to the *fifth report of the Royal Commission*, the amount collected up to 1874, was £187,000—a munificent sum. It is not too much to state that the whole amount received, or lodged in its favour, from 1854 to the present time, is close on a quarter of a million of pounds sterling.

The greatest scholar in Europe, the meek disciple of Philip Neri, deemed one of the most attractive saints on the calendar—the present illustrious Cardinal Newman, was appointed rector of the new university. Irishmen at the time were full of hope. It appeared almost impossible that an institution founded by such, distinguished prelates, fostered by their care, watched over by such an enlightened guardian as the rector, receiving abundant funds, blessed and approved by

Pope Pius IX., should not succeed. Look back to the fifth century, and the sixth and seventh: It is literally true that thousands of Ireland's sons thronged the abodes of Christian learning, then established at Bangor near Belfast, Lismore, Clonard, Clones, and Armagh, and many other monastic universities throughout this island. When the proposed end is not attained, something must be out of place in the means adopted to effect it, or in the manner in which those means are directed. In 1879, Dr. Newman expressed his opinion that there was a famous future yet in store for Ireland's Catholic University. We hope so.

After seven years' enlightened solicitude for its advancement, Dr. Newman returned from Dublin to the Oratory at Edgbaston. "Despite the prestige of his name, and the zeal which he threw into the work, the university never achieved," says Henry J. Jennings, in his life of Cardinal Newman, "a great measure of success. In the opinion of some, it was undertaken under impossible conditions."

Dr. Mac Hale regretted exceedingly the adoption of the course which he, from the start, had deemed unwise. He frequently told the present writer so. He pointed out, as if he were a prophet, the turn which subsequent events have taken. To support the university while he entertained such views would be acting against his convictions. From this contention amongst princes the Catholic people have been the real sufferers.

What has been just stated presents the merest outline regarding the Catholic University. That institution claims attention in these pages only so far as its relations were wound up with Dr. Mac Hale's life. On this account the following, which relates to the archbishop and to the University, ought not to be omitted:—

In July, 1862, it was said that Dr. Mac Hale had lacked very much in courtesy towards his Grace, Dr. Hughes, Archbishop of New York, because the Arch-

bishop of Tuam did not go to Dublin on the occasion of Dr. Hughes' coming, and did not attend at the great demonstration which took place on that grand occasion. It is well to state that Dr. Mac Hale was always exceedingly observant of the courtesies which the laws of politeness and fraternal friendship enjoin; yet he loved truth and the certainty that rests on facts much more. He considered at the time that he was honouring his Grace the Archbishop of New York much more by staying away than by going to Dublin. Dr. Hughes himself saw, later on, that this was so. On that occasion (20th July, 1862), Dr. Mac Hale was aware, as he repeatedly told the present writer, that no foundation-stone of a building for a Catholic University could then be laid; that no land had been, *de facto*, bought; at least, no money had been paid for it, or would be paid; that himself was one of the trustees, and that the purchase-money could not be given without his consent and his signature; he was determined no purchase should be made, and consequently no foundation-stone for a building for the purpose of a University could, properly speaking, be laid. When all was over, his Grace, Dr. Hughes, saw that the pageant and the ceremonial, though grand, had had no beneficial result, and no wise or well-directed purpose.

CHAPTER XVII.

'Rien n'est beau que le vrai." (Fr. prov.)

COMPARING the state of religious feeling of the British public to-day with that manifested thirty-two years ago, in their fiery bigotry towards Catholicity, a great change has certainly come over the face of that once Protestant nation.

On the 4th of November, 1850, Lord John Russell penned his famous Durham letter to protest against the authority just then exercised by Pope Pius IX., in establishing a hierarchy within the Queen's own realm of England. As soon as the letter was wafted on the wings of the public press all England, like the ocean under the angry breath of a hurricane, was thrown into wild commotion, which continued raging and uproarious during that year, and the whole of the year 1851. Nothing less than a new Act of Parliament could satisfy the proud spirit of Protestantism. The Pope might, if he pleased, appoint bishops to new sees; but British statesmen like Lord John Russell would take good care, that under the home Government, the favoured prelates would not be permitted to assume episcopal titles. This course, though ungracious and unwise, was quite natural even for lords out of temper. In their fury and folly they brought Catholic Ireland under the prospective operation of the act;—Ireland, in which the native prelates assumed no new titles, quite contented with those which in the past they had been permitted nominally to enjoy, and which the British Govern-

ment in this country had, up to that time, recognised. It is well known in political circles that the Most Rev. Dr. Murray was several times addressed Archbishop of Dublin by Liberal viceroys, and that he was invited more than once to accept a place in the privy council.

To meet the violence of this religious outbreak, and to prevent its spirit from again renewing excesses, so familiar to Irishmen during the seventeenth century and the eighteenth, a Catholic Defence Association was founded in Dublin, on the 23rd August, 1851. The leading Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland met at the Round Room, Rotunda, to protest against the proposed legislation, known as the "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," by which a bishop could be fined five hundred pounds the first time for claiming the title of his see, and for the second legal offence, be accommodated with a Government steamer to seek some place of exile in Tasmania or in Western Australia. The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Lord Primate of Ireland, and Delegate Apostolic, presided. His Grace Dr. Mac Hale was present, together with a splendid gathering of all the noblemen and gentlemen of Catholic heart, or of liberal mind. Conspicuous amongst the learned professions, and amongst the clergy of Ireland, was John Sadlier, Esq., M.P., one of the secretaries of the meeting. Mr. William Keogh, afterwards known as Judge Keogh, was one of the speakers. There were few amongst the distinguished gathering more eagerly gazed at on that day than the Archbishop of Tuam; and when he arose to speak the enthusiasm of the audience became intense. He addressed the vast throng in words of truth, earnestness, and eloquence. He alluded in terms of withering contempt to the premier's projected legislation, and foretold that the bill, if passed, would be despised. When it had passed, there was much speculation as to the course Dr. Mac Hale would pursue, when next

signing his letters to the public. His Grace did not keep them long in suspense. A few days later a public letter appeared from St. Jarlath's bearing in full the accustomed signature, John, Archbishop of Tuam. This defiant attitude which his Grace took at once was regarded throughout Ireland with unmixed delight, and it was felt that thenceforward "the worthlessness of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was irrevocably fixed."

Six months have not yet elapsed since the passing of the act, and Dr. Mac Hale, fearlessly, and in the presence of the world, in a public institution in London, signs his name with his title—JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

Six years later, July 4th, 1857, before a committee held in the House of Commons, to inquire into the proceedings connected with the election of George Henry Moore for county Mayo, and the rejection of Colonel Higgins, Dr. Mac Hale, under examination as witness, was asked :—

Mr. JONES.—What position do you hold in the Catholic Church ?

HIS GRACE.—Archbishop of Tuam.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. Scholefield).—You are aware, Dr. Mac Hale, that is a title which this committee cannot recognise. We know you are Archbishop Mac Hale, and are perfectly willing to recognise that as your title, but we cannot recognise the other.

HIS GRACE.—I shall do or say nothing offensive; but as the question has been put to me. I do believe, nay, *I am certain, that I am Archbishop of Tuam;* at the same time, if that should not be my legal identification here, I am quite satisfied with the title Archbishop Mac Hale, as far as this committee is concerned.

Other events with which the name of Dr. Mac Hale are associated, possessing a national importance arose in the year 1852.

In 1851, the principle of "independent opposition," or rather, of an independent Irish party, having for

its object (*a*) the amelioration of the condition of Irish tenant-farmers; (*b*) the advancement of national interests in the House of Commons, exercising legitimate influence with each successive government—Liberal or Conservative—and, if needs be, offering opposition with a view to win concessions favourable to the Irish race, not alone in matters of religious interest, but of university education and of home legislation, was first formulated by George Henry Moore, Member of Parliament for Mayo. Other earnest men suggested this new plan, and joined in it with the intention of obtaining measures beneficial for Ireland. Dr. Mac Hale adopted the scheme as the best and the most feasible that could, in the circumstances and in those times, be legitimately carried to a successful issue. O'Connell was dead; monster meetings were now impracticable. The physical force attempt of '48—four years before—proved abortive. Nevertheless, something should be done for the body of the nation—the farmers. An independent party in parliament was plainly the only effectual agent which human intelligence and the necessity of the case suggested. The scheme or plan is sound in philosophy, in politics, in morals, calculated, if employed efficiently, to attain the desired end. Dr. Mac Hale saw all this. He knew that it is better to be an independent body, under one's own control and one's own power; to work as one man for a fixed and worthy purpose, than to be dependant, to be used at the beck of any political party, to be swamped by Conservatives or Liberals, just as a river, no matter how wide, and deep, and powerful in its flow, is swallowed up and lost in the embraces of the ocean's gulping waters.

The doctrine of an independent Irish party in parliament was received with delight by the masses. The heart of the archbishop was glad beyond measure at its great success. An opportunity was

soon presented to prove the sincere belief of Irishmen in the new policy. A general election was at hand. Now was the time to enrol a phalanx of independent patriot members. Excitement and expectation ran very high. No candidate had a chance of success unless he promised to be one of the independent party. What was the result? Fifty tenant-right members were returned to represent the cause in parliament. Dr. Mac Hale was delighted: the wish of his heart had now been realised. Better still, the leaders of the cause had secured seats in the new parliament. Amongst the first, Frederick Lucas, a convert from Quakerism, the most accomplished scholar, and, at that time, one of the ablest writers in the Catholic ranks. He established the *Tablet* in the year 1840, and had edited that paper for twelve years with singular ability and success. Next, Charles G. Duffy, editor and proprietor of the *Dublin Nation;* and John Francis Maguire, of the *Cork Examiner*, together with George H. Moore, member for Mayo.

The policy of independent opposition was now a fact, recognised and adopted by the Irish nation. The end was noble, the effort praiseworthy, the means the best that could then be adopted, and if worked well, adequate to attain the object. *Omnis homo vero mendax.* The fault lay in the men. The effort was, as it were, too much for men who, as a body, were untried, and of whom many loved self more than their country's good. Mr. William Keogh, at an entertainment given in his honour at Athlone, praised Dr. Mac Hale to the stars in his very presence, and asseverated that he "would not support any party which does not make it the first ingredient in their political existence to repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, to settle the land question, and to abolish the Established Church." He called God to witness the truth of his words, and pledged himself solemnly never

to betray the people's cause. It will be seen how he kept his promise.

At the close of 1852, the independent patriotic party had reached the height of their greatest success. As in all great undertakings, the truth and value of the principle on which they grounded their hopes must be tried in the crucible of adversity.

Everybody knows how that phalanx of fifty was shattered to pieces, early in 1853, by John Sadlier, M.P., and William Keogh, M.P. The one became Lord of the Treasury, under the Aberdeen administration; the other Solicitor-General for Ireland; and under the same government, Edmond O'Flaherty accepted the position of Commissioner of Income Tax. That, however, was not the worst feature of the injury done the Irish independent party. These men, who had acted the part of Judas, were condoned by their own prelates and by many of the priests. At Athlone, William Keogh, the Solicitor-General, was received like a conquering hero, and re-elected. John Sadlier, the Lord of the Treasury, sought re-election in Carlow, and received support from the Rev. James Maher, P.P. But he was defeated. Again he sought to represent the borough of Sligo, and succeeded; not without bribery and a certain amount of clerical support.

"Stunned, alarmed," says A. M. Sullivan, barrister, in his splendid work "New Ireland," recording this trying event, "at the probable effects of this approval of a disregard for public obligations, the league leaders appealed to the Catholic bishops and clergy of Ireland to speak out promptly and say, was it conducive to public morality that pledges so solemnly and explicitly made to the people should be violated on the first opportunity with the sanction of Catholic ecclesiastics. From the most Rev. Dr. Mac Hale, Archbishop of Tuam, came a ready and emphatic response. Standing as he did at the head of the Irish episcopacy in political weight and influence, it was

not unnaturally expected that a pronouncement from the 'Lion of the Fold of Judah,' as O'Connell had designated him, would have been accepted as decisive. No Catholic prelate in Ireland had filled so large a place as he in Irish affairs for more than a quarter of a century; none at all approached him in popularity. He had been fondly looked up to by the Irish Catholic millions as an Episcopal O'Connell, a guide who was always right, a champion whom nothing could dismay." He addressed to George Henry Moore, M.P., the following letter:—

"St. Jarlath's, Tuam,
"*January* 15*th*, 1853."

"My dear Mr. Moore,

"As you are anxious to have my opinion on a grave question of morality, I give it to you without any hesitation. At the same time, allow me to express some surprise at your consulting me on a clear case of conscience which, when stripped of all the other relations of policy, or expediency, or private interest, or prophecies of increased good, or probabilities of qualified evil, with which it is sought to obscure and confound it, is too clear for debate or conflicting decisions. With all these extrinsic private or public relations I have no concern. I have only to deal with the obligation of faithfully fulfilling lawful and honest covenants, freely and deliberately entered into, by different parties, and so precisely and explicitly worded as to leave no room for misapprehending their meaning.

"On the strict and religious obligation of fidelity to such covenants there can be no controversy, an obligation the more sacred and binding in proportion to the numbers committed to such engagement, and to the magnitude and sacredness of the interests which they involve. Dissolve the binding power of such contracts, and you loosen the firmest bonds by which society is kept together. There is now no question about the prudence or imprudence of having contracted those engagements that were honest and legitimate. There was perfect freedom to adopt or decline them at the time of treaty, and if one party should find them rather inconvenient to be observed, that is no reason why they should be released from their observance, to the injury of the other contracting parties, to whom they bound themselves by a strictly reciprocal obligation. If the proposed pledge be considered hard or inconvenient, then the honest course would have been respectfully

to decline it, rather than occupy the place of others who would be ready, in return for their share of the benefits of the contract, to fulfil all the correlative obligations which it imposed. 'For an unfaithful and foolish promise displeaseth God, and it is much better not to vow, than after the vow not to perform the things promised.'

* * * * *

"Your faithful servant,

"✠ JOHN MACHALE."

Their Lordships, the Bishops of Meath and Killala, expressed their views in similar terms; nay, Dr. Feeny declared that the audacity of Mr. Keogh surpassed that of Judas Iscariot.

The moral tone of which the prelates and priests were, up to that period, the exponents, was nigh destroyed. From the effects of the stunning blow which the hierarchy of Ireland, from the highest to the lowest, on that occasion received, the clerical body has not yet recovered. A. M. Sullivan's words, rather than the writer's own, are quoted here for the nonce: "It seemed for a moment as if almost a schism would ensue in the Irish Catholic Church over the issue thus precipitated. An open war waged between the sections of the clergy and people who ranged themselves under the banners of Dr. Mac Hale and Dr. Cullen respectively . . . . No more violent, no more painful, internecine conflict agitated Irish politics in the present century than that which arose out of this clerical and episcopal condonation and reprobation of the Keogh-Sadlier defection from the Tenant League" (vol. ii., p. 35).

What came next? In 1854, John Sadlier resigned his position as Lord of the Treasury. He was found tobe even then a swindler. Edmond O'Flaherty. Commissioner of Income Tax, disappeared with fifteen thousand pounds filched. He has not been seen to this day. Frederick Lucas, that same year, appealed to Rome against the ecclesiastical supporters

of Sadlier. He failed, became broken-hearted, and died, November, 1855. Few nobler spirits guided the fate of Irishmen within the past century than the gifted convert and the proprietor of the *Tablet*. In October, 1855, C. Gavan Duffy left Ireland to find a position and to seek a home and fortune in Australia. In February, 1856, with a weight of debt, amounting to a million and a quarter pounds sterling, pressing on his conscience, with his pet Tipperary Bank Limited, closed, all the savings of the poor farmers and struggling workmen, robbed and squandered,—John Sadlier, the guardian Lord of the Treasury, terminated a strange career by committing suicide.

George Henry Moore kept the flag of the "independent party," still flying. A few sterling representatives clung with fidelity to the cause of the people. Early in April, 1857, another general election came on. Dr. Mac Hale wished again to show his horror of political pledge-breakers, and accordingly he exerted his great influence, and that of his clergy, to return Moore and Palmer members for Mayo, and to oust from its representation Colonel Higgins, a follower of J. Sadlier.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"Magna est veritas et prævalebit."

Owing to some exciting scenes that occurred in county Mayo during the election, a petition was filed by Colonel Higgins against the return of Mr. George H. Moore, and a committee of inquiry was held in Westminster the July following (1857).

The testimony given by Dr. Mac Hale on this occasion in the House of Commons acted like a sudden sunburst on an overspreading mass of dark clouds, which for days had covered, in a moral sense, the fair face of Mayo. In public circles and in private—ay, through the agency of the English and anti-Irish Press—it was circulated throughout the world, that the Catholic clergy of Mayo had, during the election, deported themselves in total disregard to fair play and those civil rights, which the electors should be allowed to enjoy. Even good Catholics were, in a measure, forced to believe it, or at least to be silent, so strong did the current of public opinion run against Dr. Mac Hale and the priests of Tuam diocese. Partisan feeling and prejudice, even amongst Catholics, lent a bias and a weight to the momentum of the flood of obloquy poured on the clergy of Tuam and their illustrious leader.

His Grace's testimony points out the purity of their motives, and at the same time, their earnestness in favour of candidates pledged to defend and to be faithful in fighting for the people's cause. Dr. Mac Hale pleaded, like Tertullian, for himself, his priests, and

people with ability, great moral and intellectual power, and with a settledness of purpose which a conscious feeling of being in the right always bestows. He certainly confessed the Catholic faith openly in the face of his foes, and the foes of the religion of the Irish race; and he bore witness, in word and deed, of the purity and moral grandeur of the ethics of the Christian faith even in politics. The world looks to the outward act, as the Saviour told the Jews; God beholds the intention; Catholics strive, as a rule, to keep the intention pure, even though the act may not seem pleasing to those who view it from a worldly standpoint. The enemies of priests in politics, like the Pagan philosophers of the second century, were foiled.

His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Hale was examined by Mr. James.

The following is summarised from the report in the *Freeman's Journal*, July 4th, 1857:

MR. JAMES: Was there a meeting held in March last, of the bishops and priest's connected with Mayo, at which you presided in Tuam?

HIS GRACE: There was. There were some of the bishops present.

MR. JAMES: Can you give me the date of that meeting?

His Grace: I think it was the 22nd.

MR. JAMES: Where was it held?

HIS GRACE: It was in my own house. There was no meeting convened by requisition. It was a casual meeting of some of the bishops and clergy who assisted on that day, it being the occasion of the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Mac Evilly, Bishop of Galway.

MR. JAMES: Did you sign the following resolution —"At a meeting of the bishops and several of the clergy held in Tuam, it was resolved that all the

energies of the people should be directed to the rejection of G. O. Higgins, the unfaithful representative, and the return of G. H. Moore, who has been the honest, faithful, and uncompromising representative of the people,"—did you sign that resolution?

His Grace: If you give me the autograph of it I will answer you. The resolution read is not a faithful copy of that put at the meeting. As far as I can recollect there was no mention made of Col. Higgins.

Mr. James: What do you, Dr. Mac Hale, call this, "May the curse of God come down on anyone voting against his country and his country's cause—and voting for Colonel Higgins would be doing so,"—do you call it altar denunciation?

His Grace: I will give my opinion on it when I find the case come before me.

Mr. James: Is it not before you now?

His Grace: No, there is an assumption of truth there which remains to be proved.

Mr. James: Well, supposing it to be true, and that the Rev. Mr. Ryan does not contradict it?

The Archbishop: You must consider my position that I am here as a witness, and that case, or a case like it may come before me in my judicial capacity hereafter; of the truth or falsehood of what is stated in that expressed just now by you, I know nothing: And as it is inconvenient for a person to give an opinion in one capacity, which may compromise him in another, I must beg leave to decline giving any answer except in a general way, that such conduct would be reprehensible, and I should not like it.

Mr. James: If all those facts alleged were proved, would you suspend a priest charged with the offence?

The Archbishop: I will answer that when all the circumstances come before me.

Mr. James: Well, did any persons apply to you about becoming candidates for the county Mayo?

Dr. Mac Hale: Likely.

MR. JAMES: Do they generally apply to you?

DR. MAC HALE: Well, sir, I have no electioneering office; I have never gained anything by an election. I have a right to say this, for, I have not been brought here except I had been supposed to be very much implicated in what are termed political transactions; but under no possible respect, either of patronage, or of money, or any other means have I gained by elections: I think it will be apparent to all that I have been prompted by no other feeling than a sense of duty (murmurs of applause).

MR. SMITH, Q. C.: Your Grace was asked whether you had been applied to by a gentleman who was a candidate; I assume you have a right to express your own opinions in the county Mayo?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Certainly; and not only that, but I consider it my duty to do so. I speak my opinions in public.

MR. SMITH: And you express your opinions of the merits of one candidate, and, as far as you can judge, of the demerits of another?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Not only that, but if an election were to occur to-morrow, I should deem it my duty to do the same thing, because I look on it as a question of morality and not mere politics. I believe that the selecting of worthy persons to fill important offices is a moral question, involving serious responsibilities with regard to the public weal. And there are no persons who have more important duties to perform than members of parliament—legislators. On the laws of a country depend very much the public weal and morality; and on the tone of the legislature and the principles of the persons who compose it, depends very much whether a country is to be governed by wise and beneficent laws, or that it is to be afflicted with such a penal code as it was the misfortune of the Catholics of Ireland to be doomed to so long (applause).

MR. SMITH: At the election of 1852, did you support Colonel Higgins?

HIS GRACE: I did, I am sorry to say. I voted on that occasion for Mr. Moore, and for Colonel Higgins.

MR. SMITH: And did the professions of Colonel Higgins, made at that time, agree with the political opinions which you entertained?

DR. MAC HALE: Yes, they did.

MR. SMITH (reading from a paper): Were these some of them: "That impressed with the importance of co-operation and the value of union, I was an early promoter of the formation of an Irish party in the House of Commons, and a short experience has demonstrated the importance of such a union. A united band may dictate conditions to Whig and Tory alike;"—that is from his address to the electors of Mayo, in 1852. Were these professions which he then made to the effect that he would be one of an independent Irish Party?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Yes, and also in 1851. There was a meeting at the Rotundo, at which there was a great number of ecclesiastics: there were three archbishops; four bishops, and a vast array of clergy; and it was expressed either at that meeting or a previous one that we deemed a parliamentary party the best means under heaven to secure the rights of the Catholics of Ireland; and the questions, particularly of having the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill rescinded and also of obtaining a just measure of tenant right for the poor people.

MR. SMITH: Well, right or wrong, was your Grace under the impression, that Colonel Higgins had violated his pledges?

THE ARCHBISHOP: I had not nor have I the slightest doubt of it; because one of the conditons imposed was, that those gentlemen returned, should never cease until they obtained those measures on which they insisted, and that they should not be the

recipients of any profit, favour, or patronage from any minister as long as that minister was hostile to those measures. But he has been the medium of obtaining a great deal of patronage, and he has been opposed to the tenants' right; there is no doubt then on my mind that he has violated his pledges, whereas he supports a minister who treats tenant right with derision.

MR. SMITH: Do I understand you to decline to say what your opinion would be on any case, which might hereafter be brought before you as head of your diocese?

THE ARCHBISHOP: That petition of Colonel Higgins is fraught with so many and with such grave accusations, that if I have hesitated to pronounce on it, it is from the conviction which I feel from an intimate knowledge of the character of my clergy, that they would be incapable of such acts; and if they were capable of doing such things, and they came before me, I would not fail to animadvert on their conduct in every way by which I am authorised by the canons of the Church. I do not, however, believe these accusations which have been brought against them, or rather, strictly speaking, I believe that generally they are not true.

MR. SMITH: Your Grace has referred to former pastorals; did you address one on the occasion of the general election in the year 1852?

HIS GRACE: I have no distinct recollection; but I know I did in the year 1842, and in the year 1835.

Further reply: On the question of selecting candidates; I am convinced that I never in the whole course of my life said to any candidate, that I would adopt him or ensure his return; on the contrary, my answer to any candidate was, that I was indifferent to the personal pretensions of any; that I had no anxiety for the success of any candidate, but as far as I believed that candidate capable of doing service

to the country. All the influence I pretend to is not to put forward any candidate, but to endeavour to secure the success of a good one, and to have a proper feeling among the clergy and people, and to make them faithful to their own resolutions, and not to be split into different parties.

MR. SMITH: You are of opinion, I presume, that your position in the Church does not prevent you from exercising your civil rights?

HIS GRACE: St. Paul was an Apostle, yet that did not prevent him exercising his rights as a Roman citizen: and there is no law in the Church or State that deprives me of any right as a citizen which I hold, and having a vote from exercising the right of voting. I shall propose a candidate or not, exercise the right of voting or not, as I shall deem fit in the circumstances. There have been some elections at which I did not assist, although I had a vote, for it was a matter of indifference to me who would win, believing them all to be equally worthy or worthless.

His Grace Dr. Mac Hale examined by Councillor O'Malley.

MR. O'MALLEY: Did not Colonel Higgins vote for tenant right?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Yes, but he did not support it.

MR. O'MALLEY: What do you mean?

HIS GRACE: Well, I will just illustrate what I mean. I heard of a gentleman, the time of the Emancipation who was obliged to promise his constituents that he would vote for Emancipation; and so well he might, for, there were so many opposed to it that he might always do that, and still do nothing to obtain Emancipation (laughter). He might vote for the minister who opposed Emancipation, whenever a trial of strength between the administration and the opposition arose. In the same way Colonel Higgins voted for tenant-right, while at the same time he supported the minister, opposed to it: votes of this

kind are a mere mockery, a delusion, and a snare (laughter). Many members who come from Ireland, support the ministers, who are opposed to those popular measures, and they are only deluding the people. He broke his pledge, by which he had professed that he would not support any minister who would not grant those measures.

MR. O'MALLEY: Do you mean that the Catholic proprietary of Mayo voted for him (Colonel Higgins) only under the expectation of patronage or place?

THE ARCHBISHOP: That is my firm belief founded on facts and observations.

MR. O'MALLEY: Do you mean to say that the Catholic proprietors of the county Mayo voted for him in the expectation of patronage or place.

THE ARCHBISHOP: If they gave their own individual votes and said to their tenantry, "You are free to vote as you like; I receive your rent, but I have no control over your consciences," then indeed, I should not suppose them to be so actuated. But when instead of adopting this just course, I find those persons violating the laws of the Church, and the rights of freedom, I am brought to the conclusion that nothing else but a sordid desire of patronage or pelf could prompt them to violate those obvious duties (applause in the committee room).

COLONEL NORTH: Did it come to your knowledge, Dr. Mac Hale, that any of your clergy had acted in the way you describe those gentlemen to have acted?

THE ARCHBISHOP: My impression in regard to the action, or coercion if you will, of the Catholic clergy is, that it is only the effect, as far as it is exercised of the coercion of the gentry, and that if the gentry were not to violate the laws of the country and of religion in forcing the consciences of the people, you never would hear of the interference of the clergy. In illustration I may refer you to what took place in Castlebar ten years ago. I went to the election to

propose one of the candidates (in 1847), and a question arose regarding sacerdotal coercion, and I made a proposition then, which I now repeat, and have at every election since then repeated—that a certain barrier be drawn round the hustings, than that all the landlords and bailiffs, and police, and priests and bishops, if you will, should all retire and name the candidates, and let the voters come up and vote for whom they pleased; then it would be seen on whose side the coercion lay (applause).

MR. O'MALLEY: Are those the conditions on which the Catholic clergy are willing to leave the voters free? Indeed they are. At that election in Castlebar there was a man going to vote. He looked at a clergyman. The clergyman made no sign, and did nothing that could draw on him the reprehension of any officer; but the man with the book in his hand, and ready on the witness-table to swear, saw the clergyman; and then being asked did he take a bribe, he declared that he had; and threw the money on the table, and then brought it over to me.

MR. O'MALLEY: Then the mere look of a clergyman made the man not vote?

HIS GRACE: No, it made him refuse the bribe.

MR. O'MALLEY: Did he not vote the priest's way?

HIS GRACE: No; but for the man to whom in his conscience he gave a preference, and whom, for a sordid bribe, he was induced to abandon.

MR. O'MALLEY: You have spoken largely in your pastoral about the rights of conscience as distinguished from the rights of rent?

HIS GRACE: Yes.

MR. O'MALLEY: Who has the keeping of the peasant's conscience?

ARCHBISHOP: The ministers of religion as far as he consults them.

MR. O'MALLEY: Then I understand the pastoral by that answer, the meaning is—for the landlords to

take the rent and to leave the conscience of the voter to the priest?

ARCHBISHOP: No; but to leave it between himself and his God.

MR. O'MALLEY: And that is a right which I understand you openly and boldly to say you have a right to?

ARCHBISHOP: What?

MR. O'MALLEY: Of influencing the conscience of the voter? No, but of leaving the conscience of the voter free.

MR. O'MALLEY: Well, that is, to leave it subject to the influence of the Ecclesiastical minister.

ARCHBISHOP: No, but subject to the influence of religion.

MR. O'MALLEY: And of the ministers.

ARCHBISHOP: Yes, if they wish to consult the ministers of religion, but the ministers will not coerce any one, nor should they.

MR. O'MALLEY: At all events, you say, the influence which you have used is one, which you are prepared to exercise always.

ARCHBISHOP: Decidedly; because I am not conscious that I violate the laws of God or of the constitution. I reprehend violence; I reprehend fraud, and I reprehend intrigue.

SIR JOHN HANMER: Did your Grace intend to convey this impression, that you think the conscience of a man in civil matters ought to be in sacerdotal keeping?

DR. MAC HALE: By no means.

SIR JOHN: I rather thought, you meant that? no I did not; but if a man chooses to consult a clergyman, and takes his advice, the result then will be a free vote.

SIR JOHN: But you did not mean that the clergyman had a prior right?

DR. MAC HALE: Oh, by no means.

MR. O'MALLEY: Do you mean to say that you do not think that the Roman Catholic peasantry ought to be guided by their clergymen?

DR. MAC HALE: They ought to be guided by their own free will and conscience.

MR. O'MALLEY: Answer my question; Do you believe that the Roman Catholic peasantry ought to be guided by the clergymen in the votes which they give at election?

DR. MAC HALE: Your question is one of a very captious kind.

MR. O'MALLEY: It is a very precise one, and unfortunately for you, Dr. Mac Hale you must answer it.

MR. KARSLAKE: This is really most objectionable. The Archbishop is my learned friend's own witness, and it is most irregular and most improper to speak in that way.

MR. O'MALLEY again repeated the question.

HIS GRACE: It is my principle, that the Catholic peasantry like the Protestant peasantry, are to follow the dictates of their own conscience.

MR. O'MALLEY: Answer my question.

HIS GRACE: If a peasant is in doubt he cannot get a better adviser than his clergyman.

MR. O'MALLEY: Then do you think he ought to be guided by the priest?

HIS GRACE: No, unless in cases of doubt.

MR. O'MALLEY: Well now, you told us of some sort of legerdemain by which his conscience is to be ———?

MR. KARSLAKE: I must appeal again to the committee. This is most offensive, and I must repel this insinuation.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee are of opinion that the last answer, given by his Grace, is sufficiently distinct and intelligible.

MR. O'MALLEY: I fail to see the distinctness.

HIS GRACE: When there is a mist before the eyes it is very hard to see objects distinctly (great laughter).

COLONEL NORTH: I think your Grace objects, to the same man applying to his landlord in cases of doubt?

HIS GRACE: No; I do not: but I know that he could not consult in cases of doubt a worse casuist than his landlord (roars of laughter).

MR. PALLER; You mentioned that on former occasions you issued pastorals. Did you ever dismiss or suspend any of your clergy for using coercion, or for misconduct at former elections.?

HIS GRACE: No; no complaints were ever made to me; and I can assure you, that if one half of what has been here alleged, were brought home to any clergyman, I would not fail to use all the authority with which I am invested to bring him to a sense of his duty, and to save society from scandal.

This closed his Grace's examination (July 5th); he then withdrew.

George Henry Moore was unseated, notwithstanding the clear, truthful evidence resting on sound moral principles, in favour of the people's choice, pronounced by Dr. MacHale.

On the death of Frederick Lucas and the departure of Charles Gavan Duffy, in 1855, Mr. Moore became virtually the commander of the shattered forces of the tenant-right brigade. "If genius, courage, and devotion," says A. M. Sullivan, "could have defended what perfidy had destroyed, that gifted son of Mayo had retrieved all." . . . He refused several offers of other constituencies; he watched silently and sadly the course of events up to 1868" —eleven years.

The action of priests in politics would have been completely set aside in 1857, as was done, to a great extent, in 1854, were it not that the lawfulness of the coursethe priests had pursued was plainly proved to have been right by the testimony of the Archbishop of Tuam.

Again, in 1858, when legitimate agitation ceased, secret societies sprang up, witness the Phœnix Society in the south of Kerry and north of Cork. Secret organisation at that period, is at this day, seen to have been the natural result of the sudden stoppage put to the flow of legitimate patriotism. If surface-flow in a stream is stopped the water percolates at times through the hidden under-lying strata.

March 22, 1857.—Most Rev. Dr. MacEvilly was consecrated bishop by his Grace Dr. Mac Hale, assisted by the Bishops of Killala and Elphin. The consecration sermon was preached by the Most Rev. Dr. Derry, Lord Bishop of Clonfert. There were present also their Lordships, Dr Patrick Fallon, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, and Dr. Gillooly, Coadjutor Bishop of Elphin.

John MacEvilly was born April 15, 1818, of respectable Catholic parents in Louisburgh, a small town near Westport, county Mayo. He received his early classical education in the local school, and entered the seminary of Tuam, January, 1833. The Most Rev. Dr. Kelly appointed him to a place in Maynooth, September of the same year. He became a scholar of the Dunboyne establishment in 1839, and, at the close of his Dunboyne course, in June, 1842, he was appointed professor of sacred Scripture in the Tuam seminary. After nine years service as professor and dean, he was appointed President of St. Jarlath's College by Dr. Mac Hale, the Archbishop. He continued president until his appointment to the See of Galway in 1857.

Dr. Mac Evilly was always opposed to the Queen's Colleges, the model schools under the National Board, and the system of mixed education. He tolerated the Galway Model Schools until, at great cost, he built and furnished schools, and secured the co-operation of the Sisters of Mercy, of the Presentation Nuns, and the Monks of St. Patrick. After the opening of these

schools, the bishop denounced the National-Board Model Schools as dangerous to faith and morals. His lordship's warning had such an effect that, in 1865, scarcely one of the four hundred Catholic pupils who once had frequented the Model School was found within the condemned institution.

Dr. Mac Evilly was the third bishop appointed to Galway since the see had been erected, in 1831. The first was George J. Plunket Browne (39th July, 1831, translated to the See of Elphin March 26th, 1844); the second, Dr. Laurence O'Donnell (1845-1855). After the death of Dr. O'Donnell, the clergy of the diocese chose three ecclesiastics for selection of his successor, but they did not receive the recommendation of the prelates of the Tuam province. A long correspondence between the Holy See and the provincial bishops ensued, and at length the prelates named several candidates, one of whom Dr. Mac Evlly, was recommended by the majority of the bishops.

After the great battles of Magenta and Solferino, and the sudden peace of Villafranca, the Cession of Nice and Savoy to France, of Lombardy and the Romagna to Victor Emanuel, it was apparent that the integrity of the temporal power of the Holy Father was in danger. The regal wolf was lapping at the head of the stream, and the republican current was dashing on, and soon a pretext would be offered to swallow up the Lamb's life—the entire Papal dominions.

Great sympathy for the Holy Father was awakened throughout Ireland, and the Catholic faithful determined to give him all the support in the power of dutiful sons to bestow. These consisted in the public expression of devotedness to the Sovereign of Christendom, and of abhorrence at the illegal and unrighteous course adopted in filching from him his temporal dominions; next, in remitting vast sums of money to the Holy See from every diocese in Ireland; and thirdly, in fitting out an army of volunteers ready to offer their young lives in his defence.

The public meetings held in 1859 and 1860 were splendid. They were a fair specimen of the revival of the O'Connell gatherings. To the Archbishop of Tuam they were exceedingly welcome, because since 1853 he had attended none of a public or demonstrative character.

At a magnificent meeting held at Castlebar on the 7th January, 1860, his Grace remarked on the occasion of his speech that evening at a public banquet:—"Thanks, then, to the Sovereign Pontiff, whose cause has awakened the country to a knowledge of its own sufferings, and reanimated its people with the desire to have their own grievances redressed." Again, in the same speech: "If political apathy had not existed for some years back in Ireland, we would not have been obliged to assemble to defend the cause of the Holy Father."

The Diocese of Tuam contributed over three thousand pounds, which was duly forwarded to Pius IX.; whilst the parishes supplied more than an average contingent of Catholic volunteers to fill up the ranks of the Pope's new army.

CHAPTER XIX.

"He asked life of Thee: and Thou hast given him length of days."—*Ps.* 20, v. 5.

In this chapter the leading events that remain to be told regarding the life of the Most Rev. Dr. MacHale must be summarised, as the projected size of the present volume excludes full historic details.

Dr. MacHale visited the Eterna City five times during his singularly long life; first, in the years 1831-2, an account of which has been presented already to the reader; again, in 1848, when he went to plead before Propaganda the cause of pure Catholic education. His third visit was on the grand occasion when the dogmatic decree regarding the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary was promulgated in presence of the Catholic bishops assembled at St. Peter's Basilica from every clime in the known world, by his Holiness Pope Pius IX. A historic account of the accomplishment before mankind of that event which, before the foundations of the world were laid, was decreed in the Eternal Council of the Three Divine persons—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—and was their joy, is well worth dwelling on. The writer, however, has already written a small volume on the subject (the Bull, "*Ineffabilis Deus*," in four languages). Pope Pius, amidst the assembled prelates, of whom Dr. MacHale was amongst the most venerable, had been pleased to "*declare, and pronounce, and define*, that the doctrine which holds that the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instance of her con-

ception, has been, by a special grace and privilege of Almighty God, and in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the saviour of the human race, preserved and exempted from every stain of original sin, is revealed by God, and consequently, is to be believed firmly and inviolably by all the faithful." The fourth occasion was in 1860, when he presented to the Holy Father the offerings of the faithful; and his last visit to Rome was when he was present at the Vatican Council in 1869-70.

The same spirit that influenced Dr. MacHale to aid O'Connell with all the political influence which at the time he could command, urged him to assist by his sanction and encouragement the cause of HOME LEGISLATION advocated by Isaac Butt, M.P. It was enough for the archbishop if Ireland were "great, glorious, and free," or that she once possessed the power, as she has the right, of making laws to guide her own destiny; for, he was certain, as he often declared, that then and only then, when free, she could become great and glorious. Amongst his priests, he declared again and again that no measure, no matter how good—tenant-right, and all the other aids of a subordinate kind—could fully or adequately satisfy Irishmen, or render Ireland prosperous, as she ought to be, without home legislation. Irishmen alone, which is quite natural, know Irish wants; Irishmen alone, like Sir C. Gavan Duffy in Victoria, or Thomas D'Arcy Magee in Canada, have the head and the heart to fully legislate for Ireland's sons. Anything less bestowed upon Ireland is a mere pittance doled to a pauper nation; anything less sinks her below the level of her peers throughout the world. English statesmen, therefore, act unwisely for their own nation and for the peace of the humbler sister kingdom, as long as they refuse to give back what they unrighteously, and by force and fraud, took from Ireland. They bow to prejudice, and act without wisdom as long as they cling to the

injustice committed. "Come what may," he said, "Ireland must one day be free and self-governed." This decree is written in the page of her destiny.

Many of the chapters of "New Ireland," written by A. M. Sullivan, should have been altered in their political aspect, if Dr. MacHale had accepted, about the year 1854, when offered to him by his Eminence Cardinal Barnabo, the position or office of Ecclesiastical *Internuncio* between the Irish Catholic Church and Propaganda. His Eminence asked him, more than once, as the archbishop frequently assured the writer, to send to Rome accounts from time to time regarding the position, the progress, or the privations of the Irish Catholic Church. His Grace courteously declined, saying that he had enough to do to govern the Church of St. Jarlath; and that on the last day he would deem it quite enough to give an account of his stewardship of that metropolitan see.

His Grace regarded displomacy, even amongst good men, as a kind of chicane, and hence he never advanced in that art. The Most Rev. Dr. Murray, one day in the year 1840, brought him, arm in arm, as far as the gates of Dublin Castle; asked him quietly in by invitation of the Lord Lieutenant; but Dr. MacHale declined the honour.

One must merely allude here to the great "Nolan Election" of 1872; to the Galway petition case; to his Grace's examination before Jude Keogh; the Judge's extraordinary speech; how Ireland arose, as one man, at the voice of the archbishop, and recouped Colonel Nolan for the loss he had sustained by the fiat of an unjust judge, and how she showed the greatness of a nation's gratitude whenever a brave, a learned, and a good man, like the Colonel, stood forth nobly in the people's cause.

An account of the semi-centenary, or the golden jubilee celebrated at Tuam, in June, 1875, in honour of Dr. MacHale's election in 1825, to the dignity and

office of bishop, a celebration in which the present writer was a leading agent, would form an interesting chapter at the close of this biography; but, fortunately, the events are yet very recent, and they need not at present any historic record.

In March, 1881, Dr. MacHale had entered on his ninety-third year. It was plain to any observant eye that the end of the archbishop's life was fast approaching. On Thursday, 20th October, during the great fair of Tuam, the present writer went to see his Grace, and remained to dine. The archbishop was very feeble, just barely able to move to table. Even then the glare of approaching dissolution was visible in his eyes, which appeared sunken and sepulchral. His giant mental power still exercised its mastery over the weak frame, and at intervals he indulged in kind words of enquiry, and took part in the passing conversation. This was the last time he ever sat with others at table. The Wednesday following, namely, October 26th, he had an airing in an open carriage. The day was chilly and cold. For twenty-five years he had had a bronchial affection, which, from time to time, with change of temperature, showed troublesome symptoms under the form of a fresh cough and copious expectoration. On this occasion he had a renewal of his old lung-complaint; and on Thursday evening, the 27th October, it was thought that he could not survive that night. His confessor was sent for. He rallied, however, the following day, and during the ensuing week he was not so bad; yet, of course, he was exceedingly weak. On Sunday, and on Monday, November 7th, the bronchial attack became worse, the expectoration profuse; the prostration of the once powerful frame, alarming. It was now evident the end was at hand. His confessor and other clergymen were present. He received, with faith and fervour, the last rights of Holy Church; he joined in the responses for a happy death; made acts of faith, of hope,

love, and of resignation to God's holy will; and felt fully conscious up to the moment he breathed his soul into the arms of Jesus his Redeemer and Judge, before whom, in a second, he appeared to obtain, we piously trust, the reward promised to the good and faithful servant: "Euge serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam, intra in gaudium Domini tui;" "Well done, good and faithful servant, because you hath been faithful over a few things, I will place you over many; enter into the joy of your Lord."

On the following Sunday, 13th November, his remains were interred within a "square bricked vault in the heart of his cathedral sanctuary." Prelates and priests from the five provinces were present. The solemn *mass de requiem* was chanted by his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. MacEvilly.

JOHN MAC HALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

Air—"The Harp that once through Tara's Hall."

I.

In our green isle of old renown,
From many a by-gone age,
Full pure and clear the fame comes down
Of soldier, saint, and sage;
But high amidst those glories bright
That shine on Innisfail,
'Tis ours to write in lines of light,
The name of John Mac Hale.

II.

A pastor fond and true is he,
Beloved by rich and poor,
A patriot spirit bold and free
To do or to endure;
No traitor's wile, no force or guile,
With them can e'er prevail
Whose watch and ward, whose guide and guard,
Is noble John Mac Hale.

III.

Ah, men will come and pass away
  Like rain-drops in the sea,
And thrones will crumble to decay,
  And kings forgotten be ;
But through all time, in every clime,
  The children of the Gael
Will guard the fame and praise the name
  Of glorious John Mac Hale.

IV.

Long may he live to bless our land,
  And glad our hearts as now,
The crosier in his manly hand,
  The mitre on his brow ;
And when God's love calls him above,
  For us will still avail.
The gracious cares, the potent pray'rs,
  Of sainted John Mac Hale.

T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.

St. Patrick's Day, 1876.

TRANSLATION.

Seán Mac Haoil Árd-Easpoc Ṫuama.

Fonn—" An ċruit a scap ṫrí ṫallaiḋ an ríġ."

I.

'Nn ar d-tír ġlas, úr, faoi ċáil a's gean,
  Feaḋ iomad cian gan sgiṫ,
Thriall ċugainn anuas glé, glinn, a's glan,
  Clú gaisgiḋiġ, naoiṁ, a's saoi ;
Aċt árd ameasg na reul go léir,
  'Las riaṁ air Inis-Fáil,
Is againn an ṁian ṡé ċur mar ġrian,
  Seán lonraċ, mór, Mac Haoil.

II.

Fíor ṫreudaiḋ dil ṡé, d' a b-fuil graḋ,
  Aig saiḋbir a's daiḋbir araon,
Spiorad tír-ġraḋaċ, croḋa, caḋ,
  Do' saoṫar tíre claon ;

Ní'l feall no beart, nó fós oll-neart,
  A béarfaḋ ṡiad' taob ṫall.
D' ar giolla-treoir, maor faireaċ, cóir
  Seán réimeaċ, mór, Mac Haoil.

III.

Oċ! beiḋ fir ann, a's imeoċaid leo,
  Mar braoin 's a' ḃ-fráiġ a' teaċt,
Beiḋ riġeaċta síonta mar an g-ceo,
  A's riġṫe féin gan leaċt;
Aċt feaḋ gaċ saoġal, béiḋ clann na n-Gael,
  Air faġail gaċ am 's gaċ dáil,
Aig cosnuġaḋ cliú 's a' foilsiuġaḋ fiu
  Sheáin ġlóirṁair, ṁiaiḋ, Mhic Haoil.

IV.

Fad' saoġalaċ, buan, go raiḃ sé ann—
  Faoi ḃairín beannaċ, buiḋe,
A ḃaċull ann a láiṁ go teann—
  'Cur áṫais air ar g-croiḋe;
'N uair is mian lé Dia a ṫabairt ó ġliaṫ
  Beiḋ sinn-ne fós aig fáġail,
'Nn guais, nó 'nn gleo, bríġ urnaiġe teo
  Sheáin naoṁṫa, ċaoiṁ, Mhic Haoil.

John Glynn.

CHAPTER XX.

Quis ascendet in montem Domini, aut quis stabit in loco sancto ejus? Innocens manibus et mundo corde qui non accepit in vano animam suam nec juravit in dolo proximo suo, *Ps.* xxiii.

WOULD you know, asks the poet, the manners of an age? Study with care one family. *Sufficit una domus.* Dr. Mac Hale's character is singularly illustrative of the generations past since 1800. As a *camera obscura*, flings on a pure page the reflected images of the myriad objects that are passing along the extended plain, and around in the world outside, so the mind of the archbishop reflected the great events that arose and passed away in his early youth, in his middle age, and ripe manhood. It reflected, as was natural it should, the complex character of the conflicting events connected with the past century, illumined, however by the light of great natural genius, of acquired knowledge glowing with the effulgence of Christian truth which lit up the whole soul of one so gifted.

HIS FAITH.

For supernatural faith he could be compared to Abraham, having an ever-ready belief in God's presence and guiding power; he was ever simple and undoubting. He possessed that power of divine faith peculiar to the great teachers of the middle ages, when St. Bernard lectured or preached, and Duns Scotus astounded the intellectual giants of the period by his vast erudition. With this strong Catholic faith

he was settled as a rock, firm as a pillar in the Christian Israel, a very lion in the fold of Christ to defend the lambs and sheep over whom he kept faithful watch against all intruding foes.

HOPE.

As divine faith is the foundation of the virtues of hope and charity, so the edifice of hope and confidence in God, erected in his soul, was vast; he looked with a subjective certainty to those objects which faith has in view; because faith is the substance, says St. Paul, of things to be hoped for; *sperandarum substantia rerum fides.*

CHARITY.

His love of God must accordingly have been immense like the faith and confidence which filled his soul. Of his charity towards the poor there can be no doubt, for during every day of his life, he was always and at all times, whenever he appeared abroad, surrounded by every class of poor. The present writer told him more than once, that it was strange to give the same persons relief in money, sometimes three times a day, and particularly to a class of people some of whom had been over thirty-five years following him asking alms. His reply was, that he gave with a good intention, and if the intention were good, the act could not be wrong, although it may not have been wise. Out of his own resources he gave marriage portions to his grand nieces, who had been in humble positions; and to his poor relatives he was always kind, never giving much, but in all cases manifesting a paternal and a charitable heart. He often assisted distressed families not only in his own diocese but even in parts of Ireland entirely apart from the province of Tuam. It was in the spirit of charity and zeal, that like the patriarch Joseph, he stood up to relieve his brethren in 1847-8, and 1880.

HIS ZEAL.

His great zeal was shown in his advocacy of pure Catholic education, in his defence of the rights of the Catholic poor; in his noble championship of the faith of his countrymen. It prompted him on all occasions to stand up, as Moses did when he slew the Egyptian—the protector of the poor and of the oppressed.

HIS POLITICAL COURSE.

His ecclesiastical, social, and patriotic policy partook largely of the character of his enlightened mind, and settled supernatural faith, and Christian conscience, adjusted or altered by the action of times and circumstances. The course of his life was therefore not shifting nor unsettled, not veering with the events of the passing hour. He never liked bursts of enthusiasm, or fits of transient zeal: he preferred as a rule quiet steady uniform labour. St. Paul writing to the Christians of Colossa, tells them to have a relish for the things that are above, not for things of earth, *quæ sursum sunt sapite non quæ super terram*, and then adds, let your "modestia"—that is your moderation or rather your settled uniform mode of acting, for that is the radical meaning of modestia, —be known to all. In this respect the Archbishop's settled way of acting towards his priests and people was known to them all. He used to say, that he never gave judgment in any case referred to him, without fully hearing both sides of the question—*audi alteram partem*,—and in a matter of doubt h leaned on the side of clerical authority. In minor points he sided with liberty.

PRIVATE LIFE.

In his private life, Dr. MacHale was simplicity itself. As a rule he arose at six in the morning made

his meditation, recited his canonical hours, offered Holy Mass in the cathedral, usually at eight o'clock; he celebrated every day for the last sixteen years of his life, before that time only three times in the week. Daily Mass had not then been so much the custom in Ireland, as it is at present. He studied until twelve o'clock or one occasionally. He indulged in a walk after breakfast. He took a drive in the middle of the day from one to three in the afternoon; wrote letters till five o'clock, dined always at five, and then read the daily papers; recited the divine office at eight o'clock. After coffee, he conversed for a time, and at nine read a portion of Butlers' "Lives of the Saints." He retired to rest usually at ten o'clock. Such, generally speaking, was the routine of his daily life, broken at times by the arrival of guests or friends, to whom he extended as became a bishop, the rights of hospitality.

HIS FASTING.

During Advent and Lent his fasts and acts of mortification were always excessive. Whenever he became ill, it happened commonly, that his illness arose from excessive fasting. For thirty years he was, at the end of each Lent, and during Easter week, when the fasting days had passed by, unable to walk firmly owing to the emaciated condition of his fine frame from continued severe fasting and mortification. For eleven years after his consecration, he never ate meat in Lent.

HIS AFFABILITY.

All admit that his manner was always exceedingly courteous and respectful. He was kind and natural, a child with children, a fellow-sufferer with those who came to pour their complaints into his ear, a philosopher with the philosopher, a travelled seer with one fond of recounting his voyages, a theologian

with theologians, and a statesman with a prime-minister. He was very genial in society, and no one enjoyed an anecdote or a story better than he. He was a fair narrator of stories himself.

MEEKNESS AND HUMILITY.

He possessed the virtues of meekness and humility, yet, it was only at times, that they seemed to receive expression, for, they appeared lost in his intrepidity of soul in defence of faith, fatherland, and the fortunes of the poor, or of the youth of Ireland;—"virtue is bold and goodness never fearful." Longanimity he exercised to the fullest extent. During a period of twenty-three years, he allowed his character to be decried in adverse home journals, although he well knew who, at the time, penned the diatribes against his reputation; moreover, he possessed to a great extent the power of preventing their repetition. The present writer witnessed Dr. Mac Hale treat with marked courtesy and attention his adversary, who never suspected that his identity had been known to his Grace. Some clergymen in his diocese fancied that he carried this virtue to great length, so far, that they used to complain he was more kind to his foes than to his friends; that he conferred favours on the former, and like James II., King of England, allowed the latter to provide for themselves.

AS A LEADER.

As a leader, Dr. MacHale was for a length of years the embodied voice and spirit of the Catholic faithful of Ireland. In political movements the masses obeyed, and in most instances followed him as their guide. He should be compared to Aaron rather than to Moses, and to Saint Benignus rather than to Saint Patrick in his directive control over the Irish race. He often repeated that he did not wish to lead, that he only pointed out the way. In everything, however, regard-

ing divine faith and the religion of the Irish people, he was like a lion ever ready to pounce on any heterodox intruder. He was certainly a faithful sentinel on the watch-tower of the Israel of the Catholic Church in Ireland. This feature in his character is quite compatible with the virtues of mildness and gentleness. St. John the Evangelist in his old age could not tolerate the idea of holding any converse with those like Cerinthus, or the followers of Simon Magus, of Menander or Nicholas. Viewed in the light of the manners of the present age, the Beloved of our Lord—St. John, would positively be pronounced rude, considering his expressions to Cerinthus. Beholding the innovator enter the bath-house, John cried out: "Let us flee hence, away! lest we be swallowed alive along with this enemy of Jesus Christ." With the abettors of the godless system of teaching Catholic youth, the archbishop, like St. John, would hold no converse.

Strange to say, he was opposed to organisations unless they were wholly under the control of the church. Asked one day by the present writer, why he refused permission to have a young men's sodality established in Tuam; he replied, that meetings of that kind unless well governed and fully and constantly under the guardian care of a Catholic clergyman, would finally become centres of insubordination to church and state.

HIS CONSERVATIVE SPIRIT.

In politics, Dr. MacHale was regarded as an advanced liberal, and so he was; yet, paradoxically, few men of the present century have been in fact so strangely conservative. The truth is, he carried his conservative views to excess. This was one of his leading and most striking faults. His liberalism in politics extended so far as it conferred benefits on the Irish people, or gave promises of fair play in matters

connected with education, or with church or state. On the other hand, he was by nature and by profession thoroughly conservative. On account of this dominant feeling he could only with difficulty be induced to make any improvement. He was opposed to change even when to others, the change seemed for the better. He did not seem to think with a certain sage, that tradition and innovation are the two legs of humanity. Society cannot rest on tradition alone, or an innovation alone, for then it would stand on one leg. If society kept to tradition alone, and was so conservative as that it clung always to what has been handed down and to nothing else, then we could never have had the superior advantage which steam and electricity confer on the present generation. If society rushed along as it did during the French revolution, 1795, with an innovating spirit, and clung not to tradition, all the old land marks of settled inheritances would soon be strangely altered. This conservative spirit was the secret of his opposition at first to the apostle of Temperance and to the total abstinence movement; and, it may be said, it was the secret of his opposition in 1870, to the opportuneness of the dogma of the Pope's Infallibility, to which his deep faith prompted him to yield—as he did directly with the docility of a child—ready consent when defined by the voice of authority and of truth.

HIS LITERARY LABOURS.

In the midst of continuous excitement of a public kind for Holy church or for country, Dr. MacHale found leisure for the lighter labours of literature. From the year 1840, to 1875, he turned his attention to the translation of Homer's Epic regarding the fall of Troy—The Iliad. He finished twelve books, and published eight of that world-famed poem. He clothed *Moore's Melodies* in an Irish Gaelic dress. He published a catechism of the Christian Doctrine in

English and in Irish, and also a Book of Prayers. His public letters in one volume, since 1845, are well known; and his "Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church," went through two editions in English. His letters and pastorals since 1844, would fill two volumes octavo. His unpublished sermons in English and in Irish would form another volume; and his Speeches could well make the fourth of a series. The five Books of Moses or the Pentateuch he translated into Irish, and presented to the public. It is to be regretted that he did not himself translate, or dictate to others, a plain Irish rendering of the Vulgate Version of St. Jerome, or even the Septuagint which he understood quite as well; then scholars would have a version of the original in pure modern Irish Gaelic. Instead of that, he took the Irish version made two hundred years ago, and corrected it to suit the sense and wording of the Vulgate. This process entailed an immense deal of trouble on himself, on the copyist, and editor without presenting a translation worthy of himself, of the language as spoken in the days of James I., and Charles I., and Victoria.

It is true that the students of his class in Maynooth were formed to piety and knowledge by Dr. MacHale, and that for sixty years the whole Irish nation at home and abroad have received from his lips and pen "lessons of duty to God and country," and that a few possessed of a kindred spirit have followed in the footsteps of his grace, yet neither in politics, nor for the cultivation of the Irish language, nor for creating a persevering, an intelligent patriotic spirit amongst the growing Irish nation, did he care to gather around him a school of thought that would keep alive and extend the special principles or truths which he inculcated so well and admired so exceedingly.

SUMMARY.

The archbishop was the senior of all the prelates of the Catholic church in the world. From the days of St. Patrick to the present, he as a prelate governed longest. He was contemporary with seven Popes, six of whom he saw ascend the Chair of Peter. During his life there were eight successors of St. Patrick, primatial prelates—ruling in turn the diocese of Armagh. Dr. MacHale witnessed three rebellions; four famines; nine land agitations; the struggle for Emancipation (from 1823-29); the struggle for primary education from 1812 to 1830, and that struggle continued (from 1830 to 1881) for pure Catholic education; and for University Education (from 1845 to 1881). He lead the stand-up fight between religion on the one side, and godlessness protected by the state on the other. He shared in the tithe war, and fought a hundred fights from 1812 to 1881, with the hydra of proselytism. He opposed the poor laws which tend to punish poverty as if it were a crime, to lay a burden of taxation on honest men, without making the paupers useful citizens or contented. In the great repeal campaign, he was second in command, next to O'Connell. He joined Isaac Butt in the national demand for Home Rule. To gain land rights for an oppressed peasantry, and political freedom for the clergy, he directed and blessed the New-Ireland triumvirate, Frederick Lucas, George Henry Moore, and Charles Gavan Duffy (1851). Dr. Mac Hale took part in the greatest ecclesiastical events of this century at home and abroad. His public documents on Irish matters for the past thirty years would fill a volume. At the Definition of the Immaculate Conception he ranked fifth amongst the assembled archbishops and bishops of the world. At the Vatican Council, he was a remarkable representative; he delivered his

views publicly, but bowed his head in obedience to the dogma of Infallibility as soon as defined. At home he was present at the National Councils held at Thurles (1850), and Maynooth (1875). He was president at one provincial council held at Tuam (1858). Since the period of his birth (1789), there have been not only a New Ireland, as A. M. Sullivan, has written, but a New Europe, and a New America, ay, there has been a New World, in material and social developments. Behold all things are new. He has shed lasting lustre on the See of St. Jarlath, by the purity of his life, by his sterling principles, and his splendid labours. And like St. Columba of the sixth age, Caledonia's apostle, the most ardent lover of Eire amongst the Irish saints—John MacHale from the ripening moments of his early manhood, and from the days of his ordination to the hour of his death has had his hands raised in prayer or in sacrifice beseeching God to bless Ireland.

CHAPTER XXI.

"Quantæ hujus sunt gloriæ qui tantorum filiorum sapientia et devotione lætatur? In Christo enim Jesu per Evangelium ipse nos genuit."—*S. Maximus Episcopus. Hom.* 56.

THE following series connects, in one continued line of succession—a few breaks in the early centuries excepted—the present illustrious archbishop and metropolitan with St. Jarlath, the founder of the See of Tuam. The names of the prelates and the order and time in which they received consecration are taken from Gams' celebrated work, "*Series Episcoporum, quotquot, etc., à Beato Petro Apostolo,*" collated, however, with the accounts furnished by Harris, by Dr. Renehan, and Maziere Brady.

Although St. Jarlath was founder of the See of Tuam, nevertheless St. Benignus, the disciple and companion of St. Patrick, was the first apostle of Tuam and of the surrounding country, from Dunmore to Cong. Benin, about the year 440-4, built a church, and established a monastery at Kilbannon, that is Kill-Benin, the church of Benin, situated two miles north-west of Tuam. It was there St. Jarlath, son of Loga, of the royal line, (descended from Madhbh, or Maud, Queen of Connacht) and of his mother, Mongfinnia, that is fair-haired—"mong," a head of hair, and "fionn," fair—was educated, together with a great number of cousins and companions—young princes and noblemen of the period; for Jarlath, means an "under-prince," or "earl," or western prince: *flaith* signifies prince or chieftain, hence "flaitheas,"

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	Died.
	A.D.
St. Jarlath (son of Loga) c.	530
Ferdomnach	781
Eugen. MacClerigh, episc. de Connacht	969
Murchad O'Nioc (Comorban)	1033
Aidanus O'Hoisin (Hessian)	1085
Ercad O'Maelomair	1086
Cormac O'Carrol (Cairil)	1091
Catasach O'Conail	1117
Murgesius O'Nioc	1128
Donald O'Dubhai	17. iii. 1136
Maurit O'Dubhai, 1144 cel. syn. 12 episc. et. 500 presbyterorum	1150
ARCHIEPISCOPI.	
Edanus O'Hoissin. 1152. acc. pallium; 1158 syn. cel. in Roscommon	1161
Catholicus O'Dubhai, 1179, adfuit Romæ	1210
Felix O'Ruadan Cist, 1238 res.	1235
Marian O'Laghnan	24. xii. 1249
Florent MacFlyne	1256
Walter de Salerno Lond. med.	iv. 1258
Thomas O'Conor. Sedes vacat 7 annos	vi. 1279
Stefan de Fulburn	3. vii. 1288
20 Guilielm de Bermingham (Mac-Feoris)	i. 1311 (12)
Malachias MacAeda (Sedem de Enachdune unit Sedi suæ)	10. viii. 1348

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TUAM (TUAMENSIS EP).

Year and day of election or of translation.		Died.
A.D.		A.D.
455	St. Jarlath (son of Loga) c.	530
	Ferdomnach	781
	Eugen. MacClerigh, episc. de Connacht	969
	Murchad O'Nioc (Comorban)	1033
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	Murgesius O'Nioc	1128
10	Donald O'Dubhai	17. iii. 1136
	Maurit O'Dubhai, 1144 cel. syn. 12 episc. et. 500 presbyterorum	1150
	ARCHIEPISCOPI.	
1150	Edanus O'Hoissin. 1152. acc. pallium; 1158 syn. cel. in Roscommon	1161
1161 succ.	Catholicus O'Dubhai, 1179, adfuit Romæ	1210
1201 succ.	Felix O'Ruadan Cist, 1238 res.	1235
1235 succ.	Marian O'Laghnan	24. xii. 1249
1250. 25. i. cons.	Florent MacFlyne	1256
prov.	Walter de Salerno Lond. med.	iv. 1258
1259 tr. Elfin	Thomas O'Conor. Sedes vacat 7 annos	vi. 1279
1286. 12. vii. tr. Waterf.	Stefan de Fulburn	3. vii. 1288
1289. 2. v. prov.	20 Guilielm de Bermingham (Mac-Feoris)	i. 1311 (12)
1312. 19. xii. tr. Elfin	Malachias MacAeda (Sedem de Enachdune unit Sedi suæ)	10. viii. 1348

Year and day of election or of translation.		Died.
1349 cons.	Thomas O'Carroll; tr. Cashel	1365
1364 cons.	Joannes O'Grady	19. ix. 1371
1372 tr. Elfin	Gregorius	1384
(1385	Gregor. O. Mogan	1392)
1386 succ.	Guilielm O'Cormacain, res.	1394
1394 tr. Clonf	Maurit O'Kelly	29. ix. 1409
1409 prov.	Joannes Babynge, O.S.D., c. 1427, sed.	vii. 1418
1411. 18. ix. prov?	Cornelius, O.S.Fr.	
	30 Joann. Camere. O.S.Fr. xi. 1421. ep. de Enachdune	
1427 prov.	Joannes Batterly (Barley), O.S.D. scriptor eccles.	1437
1438 tr. Clonf.	Thomas O'Kelly, O.S.D.	1441
1441 ex. ann.	Joann. de Burgo (Burke)	1450
	(Redmund Bermingham prov., non intr.	1451)
c. 1458 prov.	Donatus O'Murray, O.S.A.	17. i. 1488
1485. 15. v.	Guilielm Joyce 1493., celebr. conc. Tuami	28. xii. 1501
	(Petrus Burgund, O.S.D., sed.	1486-87)
1503. xii. admin.	Philip Pinson, O.S.Fr. Card., Anglus	
1506. 6. iv. Jam non	Walter Blake (sed. vac. 2½ annos; cf. Clonmacnois)	
1506. 26. vi. prov.	40. Maurit de Portu (O'Fihely), O.S.Fr. "Flos. mundi" scriptor eccl. 1512 adf. Romae.	25. iii. 1513
1513 tr. Clonmacnois (succ.	Thomas O'Mullaly syn. praeest 1523, in Galway	28. iv. 1536
	Richard Nangle)	
1536. 15. ii. tr. Kilmacd.	Christof. Bodkin, episc. per 25 annos, ✠ in Tuam	ii. 1573
	Nicolaus Skerrett expulsus Lisboæ	1583
1594 sed.	Jacob O'Healy	
1608	Florent Conroy, O.S.Fr.	1629
	Malachias O'Quely (Kealy) occis.	25. x. 1645

Year and day of election or of translation.		Died.
1647 tr. Clonf.	Joannes de Burgo	1666
1669 el.	Jacob Lynch 1691. exul.	1715
1726 sed.	50. Bernard O'Gara sed.	1732
1742 sed.	Michael O'Gara	1750
1756 sed.	Mark Skerret	1775
1780 tr. Achonry	Philip Philips	1787
1787 tr. eodm.	Bœtius Egan	1798
1799. 20. iii. tr. Kilmacduagh	Edward Dillon	1809
1814. 4. x. el.	Oliver Kelly. Albani	iv. 1834
1834. 5. viii. tr. Killala	Joannes MacHale	Nov. 7, 1881
1881	Joannes MacEvilly	

TUAM.

A word regarding the origin of the name Tuam. Its Irish original is "Tuaim," which means a tomb, or *mound*, and is the same as "*Tum*," in the Latin *tumeo*, to swell; and in *tumus*, Greek *τύμος*, and the diminutive form *tumulus*, a mound; *tumor*, a swelling. In pre-Christian times, a mound was raised over the remains of every one of note. Witness the tomb of Achilles amongst the Greeks, of Absalom amongst the Hebrews; and every page of Irish manuscript story tells that it was the custom amongst the Danann and Milesian Irish to erect mounds over departed heroes. One of this kind gave, in the pre-Christian period, its name to "Tuam," pronounced correctly *Tooim*, not Thume, which is the common pronunciation at present.

The difficulty regarding the ancient name of this town does not arise from the first, but from the second portion of the designation by which this part of the county Galway was known in the ancient annals. It is styled (*a*) *Tuaim-dhagualann*, or mound-of-the-two-shoulders (*b*). In the martyrology of Donegal it is called "*Tuaim-da-Ualann*," Mound-of-

the-two-Boasters, or Vaunters. It is plain that the former (*a*) is a phonetic error, and that *g* of "gualann," is the continued guttural sound of *d* (aspirated) in "da," coming before the vowel sound *u* of "ualann." The explanatory term "da gualann," *two shoulders*, has no special meaning. Lastly, it is the writer's opinion that the form, "da ualann" is another phonetic attempt for "*da uladhain*," or "da úláinn," i. e., Mound-of-the-two-altar-tombs." *Ulaidh*, diminutive "ulán," signifies a penitential station, or mound, or stone altar, before which people knelt or prayed. The ancient "Tuaim," with the two mounds annexed, was in the rere of one of the central houses in the main street, looking in towards the present Protestant Episcopal palace in that town. "The spot which tradition says, originally gave name to *Tuaim* is still pointed out in John Costello's garden. It is called the chair of Tuam, in which sat, after election, the member formerly returned by Tuam as a borough to the Irish *Parliament*."

Letter written September 3rd, 1838, by O'Connor, who with O Donovan wrote for the Ordnance Survey, the story of the topography of Ireland. Ordnance Survey MSS., Library R. Irish Academy, Dublin.

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