The Clansman

Total Separation. Ireland an Independent Republic.

1867 — 1911

Clanna Gaedeal Ag Obair

SOUVENIR

—OF THE—

Monster Athletic Carnival

—OF THE—

CLAN-NA-GAEL

OF BROOKLYN AND QUEENS

—AT—

CELTIC PARK

Long Island City

JULY 16th

1911

The Brooklyn Weekly News, 139 Third Avenue.

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The Clan-na-Gael

Of Brooklyn and Queens

THE best friends of the cause of Irish nationality are those who, when the occasion offers, are ready to help in a material way. The members and sympathizers with our cause are requested to keep in mind the business houses that have advertised in "The Clansman" of 1911, and on every possible occasion to patronize those who year in and year out have proven their sympathetic fidelity by practical support of the various undertakings of the Clan-na-Gael. By united effort only can we achieve success, and the wider the circle of our influence the brighter the prospect of ultimate victory.

A Dhia Saor Eire!

The Physical Force Policy

What has Ireland ever gained by resorting to armed resistence? The question is mentally asked of themselves, by some believers in peace methods, and answered always in the same way, that such efforts have been productive of nothing, but rather have been the cause of much misery, by reason of their utter failure. So argues the man who has never examined the records of the past, the man whose knowledge of Irish history is limited to a reading of unreliable newspaper articles or perhaps a book of lectures on Ireland, by some sympathetic writer, who paints the beauties of the land in the choicest English, glosses over the faults of the race, eulogizes the great men and women of Irish birth, but in speaking of 1782, 1798, 1803, 1848 and 1867, glides over the events of those years in such a manner as to convey the impression that the revolutionists were well meaning fanatics who suddenly arose in rebellion, without a definite idea, were defeated and by their folly the county was denied many concessions, that were about to be granted by the British Government. One or two of the popular histories of Ireland, it seems to the writer, create this same impression, even though the historian may not have intended it so; the attempt to crowd into a few pages the important happenings of the last one hundred years has only helped to confuse the reader, and false ideas are created concerning men and events. A striking instance of this is the treatment of the Repeal Movement and the dispute between O'Connell and Young Ireland. Instead of boldly stating the truth, as they see it, some historians in their attempts at boiling down facts, apparently try to show that both were right, and yet make you suspicious that some one was wrong, but you are puzzled as to which was the guilty party. The average man who has to depend on these sources of information, readily falls into error concerning important historical transactions, and when once misled, especially by an authority known to be friendly to the Irish race, it is not always an easy task to change his opinion.

To properly understand some great movement in history it is, of course, necessary to become familiar with works that treat entirely of the particular movement, and this must be remembered by Irish men and women, who wish to understand the motives of the men who fought for Irish Freedom; and some attention must be given to the statements of those who either opposed them at the time, or who in writing at a later period, were not in sympathy with armed rebellion, whether Englishmen or Irishmen. Did such resistence accomplish any good end? It is the intention of the writer to prove entirely from hostile English and Irish sources, that the policy of armed resistance was always the best for Ireland; that any concessions, temporary or final, ever yielded by England, were prompted by fear of revolution, or in consequence of it; that even where no immediate concession was gained, the government were scared sufficiently to make them respect the national spirit and courage of the Irish people. That resort to revoluntionary methods was necessary and justified. I will show by quotations from authorities who are not advocates of Irish Independence.

In a book entitled "Historical Memories of the Irish Rebellion in the Year 1641," written by a Protestant, John Curry, published in London in 1767; he writes as follows:

"The Conquest of Ireland (as it is called, improperly enough)" was effected in the days of Barbarity and Ignorance. This nation, long wasted by its own aristocratical confusion, and little mended by the too weak monarchy erected on its ruins, yielded to a foreign government, planned on the Guilt, and introduced by the Fraud of one of the National Chiefs. Our people changed from bad to worse; instead of Protection, they found a wanton exercise of lawless Power;

instead of Peace, a merciless War, made upon human nature, for three hundred and fifty years, without intermission; instead of clement Governors, purchased at the expense of exorbitant possessions, a set of truculent freebooters, who denied the natives the benefit of the English laws and of all law. Thus hath this Nation been treated; and thus delivered over to utter excision, no wonder if a people so devoted, sought redress in frequent insurrections. As far as the cruel state of anarchy established amongst them permitted, they fought and found some redress in resistance. They made efforts to gain the blessings of liberty and government, by the means of Force, when they found it vain to seek those blessings by any other. In Truth, all the little Happiness they enjoyed, for nearly four hundred ears, they owed to the sad expedient of insurrection alone!"

James Anthony Froude, who cannot be accused of friendship to Ireland, in a lecture delivered on October 23, 1872, at Association Hall, New York, said:

"I have described to you the principles of government which prevailed in Ireland during the greater part of the last century. (Meaning the eighteenth century). We have no right to be surprised that the result was not satisfactory. The natural remedy was revolution, had they possessed sufficient unity of purpose, sufficient national virtue, sufficient patriotism in the proper sense of the word to have risen up and sworn that they would end their servitude or all die, the whole world would have clapped their hands and cried out that it was well done; but, whether people are strong enough to make revolutions or not, the laws under which society is allowed to exist do not fail in one way or another to punish injustice. Misgovernment, like curses, always comes home to roost."

William Cobbett, the famous English statesman and author, says, in his History of the Reformation in England and Ireland, (Page 296):

"Alas! that it should be said of England that the Irish have never appealed with success but to her fears."

When Henry Grattan asserted the independence of the Irish Parliament, and the English Government in 1782, was forced to surrender, the strong right arm of the Irish Nation was wielding the sword. The Volunteers of 1782, a body of citizen soldiers recruited from every class and creed of Irishmen, had been organized a couple of years earlier to repel a supposed French invasion. This splendid army, officered by the leading men of the country, well drilled and thoroughly equipped, ready to take the field, impressed the English statesmen, where the eloquence of Grattan, Flood and other Irish leaders would have failed.

Here is what Sir Jonah Barrington says in his book, "The Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation." (Pages 32 and 33) speaking of the Volunteers:

"The sound of arms and the voice of freedom echoed from every quarter of the Island—distinctions were forgotten, or disregarded—every rank, every religion, alike caught the general feeling,—but firmness and discretion characterized her proceeding:—she gradually rose from torpor and obscurity—her native spirit drew aside the curtain, that had so long concealed her from the world; and exhibited an armed and animated people, claiming their natural rights, and demanding their constitutional liberty."

And again in his "Personal Sketches of His Own Times," (Page 68), Barrington says:

"The British government saw that either temporizing or an appeal to force would occasion the final loss of Ireland. One hundred and fifty thousand independent soldiers, well armed, well clothed, and well disciplined, were not to be coped with; and England yielded. Thus the Volunteers kept their oaths: they redeemed their pledge, and did not lay down their arms until the independ-

ence of Ireland had been pronounced from the throne, and the distinctness of the Irish Nation promulgated in the Government Gazette of London."

We will now hear what the loyalist, Edward Hay, says of 1782. History of the Irish Insurrection of 1798. (Page 94):

"The saviours of their country quickly discovered that they existed in a state of thraldom to the British Parliament. They demanded a redress of grievances; it could not be refused; and the national legislature was consequently declared independent. This great event took place in 1782, and a rapid increase of national prosperity succeeded; our commerce, being less shackled, became more extensive, and the capital of the island improved in splendor and magnificence. But it was with the utmost reluctance and under circumstances of imperious necessity, that these concessions seemed to be made by the British Cabinet, while the most malignant envy ranked in the bosoms of the enemies of Ireland. But there was no alternative. A difference of liberal sentiment and a unity of interests had combined men of all ranks and persuasions in the common cause."

John Richard Greene, Ll. D., in his "History of the English People," Volume 4, page 325, states that

"From the close of the American War, when her armed Volunteers had wrung legislative independence from the Rockingham ministry, Ireland had continued to be England's difficulty."

Here is another English authority:

"The Life of Henry Grattan," by Robert Dunlop, Fellow of Owen's College, Manchester, England. (Page 202):

"Grattan like to attribute the Act of Inrepeurence to the patriotism of the Irish Parliament; but the real authors of it were the Volunteers. This is indisputable, and is the key to the whole situation. The Irish Parliament was notoriously corrupt anr notoriously ignorant. But this fact Grattan refuser to recognize until it was too late."

The disbanding of the Volunteers a few years later was a grave mistake. The English Government had retermined to wipe out Ireland's independent Parliament. William Pitt, the Prime Minister, found plenty of men willing to sell their country's independence, and after the failure of the 1798 rebellion, was soon able to affect the infamous Union, which ruined Ireland. Of course, the Irish Parliament did not represent the whole of the people, no Catholic could be a member of it, and it did notrepresent the Protestants either. The goodly number of pocket boroughs aided materially in carrying out Pitt's plan, and the year 1800 saw the end of Ireland as a somewhat independent country.

"The agitation for Catholic emancipation was quite brisk after the year 1790, the leader of the Irish Catholics at this period, Mr. John Keogh, was a very able man, and the movement gained the sympathy and support of a portion of the public men of opposite religious convictions. In 1793 the Catholic Relief Act was passed. This act granted the voting franchise to the Forty Shilling Freeholders. Rev. Father J. O'Rourke, M. R. L. A., says in this book "The Great Irish Famine," (Page 44):

"That act, it is said, was the result of the fears excited in England by the French Revolution."

In the year 1791 The Society of United Irishmen came into existence. In 1795 it became an oathbound organization pledged to gain Irish freedom. Among its leaders many of whom died for the cause or were exiled, we find Theobald Wolfe Tone, Samuel Neilson, Henry Joy McCracken, Thomas Russell, Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, Oliver Bond, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, John and Henry Sheares, Rev. William Jackson, James Hope, General Corbett, James Napper Tandy. Nearly three hundred thousand men had been sworn into the

organization, and the failure in 1798 was due largely to the fact that they had to take the field before they wre prepared to fight.

In that year when Ireland again attempted to shake off the English yoke and failed, the fighting spirit of the peasantry, particularly those of Wexford, proved that with proper military leaders, victory would have rested with them. If Ireland, said the Englishman Harwood, had two Wexfords, there never would have been a secret committee reporting on the well-timed measures adopted to make the rebellion explode.

(Wexford and Ninety-Eight, by William P. O. Ryan.)

Again we quote from Barrington's "Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation," (Page 349):

"It is equally clear that had the insurgents possessed arms, officers and discipline, their numbers would soon have rendered them masters of the kingdom."

In speaking of The Insurrection of 1803 and Robert Emmet, we can quote no better authority than J. Cashel Hoey. Here is an extract from a sketch of Emmet, by the latter. See "The Speeches of Lord Plunkett," Page 83.

"I doubt if any man can examine his masterly plan of attack, check and defense in Dublin, the calculations upon which it rested, and the accidents by which it was baffled, without feeling that the government had almost a miraculous escape. The rebel depot had been for months in the immediate neighborhood of the Castle, yet until a few hours before the actual explosion of the insurrection the Lord Lieutenant had no information, and was quite unprepared when it burst upon him. The only force that could be got together to guard the Castle was a police patrol and a lieutenant's guard of Fencibles. It was even without military stores at the time. Emmet, on the other hand, had certainly provided more than sufficient force in men and armament. His supplies of arms and ammunition were immense. At the depot in Thomas Street alone, Lord de Blaquiere found nearly 12,000 pikes, and abundance of powder, rockets and grenades. Within the last few hours, however, beginning with the explosion of one of his magazines, everything fell asunder through a series of accidents and mistakes, which no human sagacity could have forseen or ingenuity repaired. Napoleon Bonaparte might have failed in the same circumstances.

"Had Emmet reason to suppose that if he could seize on the capital he would be supported by the country? I think he had. The disaffection in Ireland at this date was more intense and pervading than it ever had been in Tone's time. The Union was ruining Dublin. The national gentry remained disgusted with the government. The Catholics perceived that they had been deceived. The whole country was again ripe for revolt. 'If Ireland be not attended to it will be lost,' wrote Lord Charles Bentinck to his brother, (Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras), in India, "these rascals are as ready as ever for rebellion," I hope to see you next year," wrote Lord Grenville by the same mail to the Marquis of Wellesley," "supposing at that period you have still a country to revisit." Shortly after Emmet's arrival in Ireland, he dined with John Keogh, at Mount Jerome. Keogh was a cautious, but resolute and forecasting man. He agreed that if Emmet could rely upon even two countries rising the experiment might succeed. Emmet counted upon nineteen, and he certainly had the zealous co-operation of five or six. General Tarleton's evidence is that "the conspiracy extended to the south, beyond Cork, where the rebels learned, by means of telegraphic fires the ill-success of the insurrection in Dublin, before the king's officers knew it in Cork. It was by this information only that the insurrection was prevented from being general over the country. Again, Emmet did not rely merely on the

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masses. In his speech from the dock he declared that in this design he was only the subaltern of men before whose virtue and genius he bowed with respectful deference. He referred, I dare say, chiefly to the United Irish leaders in France. But perhaps, he also included men like Keogh, Lord Wycombe (afterwards Lansdowne), Colonel Plunket, Colonel Lamm and Mr. Fitzgerald, of Glyn, who were, if not compromised, at least in direct communication with him. I need only add on the subject of foreign assistance, of which Emmet, however, had always a strong suspicion, that in 1803 Bonaparte had really taken up the cause of Ireland—was organizing an Irish legion—had agreed to the future relations between the two republics—gave Emmet a long interview before he left for Ireland, and was also cognizant of several conferences between him and Tallyrand.

From "The History of Ireland," by John Mitchel, (Page 420), (Mitchel quotes from Madden's United Irishmen, Third Series, Page 315).

In an extract of a letter to General Clinton, of the 2nd of June, we find the following:

"I have learned from them (Irish people in England), with regret, that the lower classes of the men inIreland were more disaffected than ever, even more than during the last rebellion, and that if the French could escape from our fleet, and land their troops in the north of Ireland, they would be received with satisfaction and joined by a great number."

Letter from Mr. Finers to General Lake, July 14th, (1803):

"The invasion which has been so long the favorite project of the First Consul, (Napoleon), will certainly take place."

Letter from one of the Directors of the East India Company, Thomas Faulder to Mr. J. Ferguson Smith, Calcutta, August 3rd:

"I have learned from the first authority, that if the French can land in Ireland with some troops, they will be immediately joined by one hundred thousand Irish."

When Catholic Emancipation was granted in 1829, to Daniel O'Connell's eloquence it was freely declared, that credit for the measure was due. But the fear of physical force had a great deal more to do with it, and O'Connell would never have pleaded successfully but that the government felt convinced that Ireland would be lost. In 1828, O'Connell, after a bitter fight, was elected to Parliament from Clare; the people were thoroughly aroused and were ripe for revolution.

Speaking of the Clare election, R. Shelton Mackenzie says:

"The result of this election was that the Duke of Wellington became convinced that the choice lay between Catholic Emancipation and Civil War. (See "Sketches of the Irish Bar," by Richard Lalor Shiel, Edited by Mackenzie, Page 302).

Charles Gavan Duffy in "Four Years of Irish History," (Page 209), writes:

"Independence was granted in 1782 solely to escape a war for separation. The Duke of Wellington yielded Catholic Emancipation to evade an insurrection in which he believed the gentry and the Established Church would be destroyed."

The following evidence is quoted by Duffy in "Young Ireland," Pages 137 and 138:

"The Duke of Wellington wrote to Sir Robert Peel on September 12, 1828 regarding Catholic Emancipation. If I could believe that the Irish nobility and gentry would recover their lost influence, the just influence of property, without making these concessions I would not move."

To Dean Philipots, who urged him to concede nothing, the Duke wrote:

"They (Parliament) will not put down the Association (meaning the Catholic Association), they will not even put down rebellion, if it should occur, unless concessions should be made."

To the King he, (the Duke), disclosed the imminent danger of delay:

"I do not suggest an impossible hypothesis to your majesty, when I state the possibility (I might state it more strongly), of the Roman Catholic tenantry of the country refusing to pay tithes or rents. The clergy and the landlords might have recourse to the law. But how is the law to be enforced How can they distrain for rent or tithes upon millions of tenants? This measure which will most probably be the first of resistence and rebellion in Ireland, will occasion the ruin of all your majesty's loyal subjects residing in that country, and of many in this; and it must be observed that it will give the rebellion a vast resource of money of which your majesty's loyal subjects will have been deprived."

(From The Duke of Wellington's Despatches and Correspondence, Volume 2, Page 135).

The Duke's Irish correspondents took a still gloomier view of the situation. The Knight of Kerry, an Irish proprietor and Privy Councillor warned the Duke that there was grave danger of an insurrection headed by Irishmen from America, whether the leaders desired it or not, and that on this occasion the Catholic gentry could no longer be counted on as allies of England.

"Every parish," he said, "is a regiment. We hold our lives at the mere discretion of the Catholic population. I never know the Protestant mind of Ireland dismayed before." He advised immediate concessions, "without which this country was lost, or only to be retained by means and in a condition worse than it loss." (Same work, Volume 4, Page 213).

John Mitchell in his "History of Ireland," Page 507, gives further evidence:

In a letter in reply to the Protestant Bishop Jebb, of Limerick, who wrote him protesting against Catholic Emancipation, Sir Robert Peel said:

"It is easy to blame the concessions that were made in 1782 and 1792, but they were not made without an intimate conviction of their absolute necessity in order to prevent "greater dangers." And again in the same letter Peel says: "I can with truth affirm that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829, I was swayed by no fear except the fear of a public calamity." (Memories of Sir Robert Peel).

Even any temporary relief Ireland ever secured was by meeting force with force. The Tithe War in the "thirties" is an instance. The Irish peasantry were forced to pay a tax toward supporting the Established Church in Ireland.

A movement had sprung up to abolish the tithe; it soon spread over Leinster, Munster and Connaught. Cattle seized for tithe arrears could find no purchasers, attempts to make seizures were resisted.

Charles Gavan Duffy says:

"In 1831 a dozen men were shot and a score wounded by the police at Newtoun Barry. Next year eleven policemen were killed by the people at Carrackshock. In 1833 Church rates and the ten bishoprics were abolished. In 1834 a new massacre of the people took place at Rathcormac. In 1838, the act converting the tithe into rent-charge became a law. (Young Ireland, Page 26).

The abolition of Chuch rate and of the ten bishoprics was due to the Newtoun Barry and Carrackshock disturbances. The final defeat of the people in 1838, when the tithe was converted into a rent charge was due, in a measure to Daniel O'Connell, who supported the Whig Government Act, and he was severely criticized by Mr. Sharman Crawford, a Protestant of liberal fortune and demo-

cratic opinions, and also by the Rev. Father Davern, a Tipperary priest of remarkable courage and ability.

The Repeal Movement inaugurated in the year 1840, had reached its crisis in 1843, and when the Government prohibited the holding of further monster Repeal meetings, and Daniel O'Connell dropped agressive tactics, the movement soon began to wither.

The famous Nation newspaper founded by Thomas Osborne Davis, Charles Gavan Duffy and John Blake Dillon, in October, 1842, had aroused the people and united them behind O'Connell. The writings in prose and poetry of Davis, Duffy, McNevin, Doheny and others were decidedly national and have ever since influenced the youth of Ireland, and kept them in the right path nationally. The death of Davis, in September, 1845, was a severe blow to the movement, as he was the leader who inspired all of the others.

The Young Irelanders failed in 1848, the collapse of the revolution, being due partly to lack of military leaders, but in the main, can be attributed to the state of the country after the terrible famine of 1846 to 1847, when one million people perished. No further concessions were made by the British Government, they feeling more secure as a result of the faint resistance offered. Then followed the "Famine Clearances," so well described by A. M. Sullivan, in his book "New Ireland." The Tenant Right Movement, (1850-1852), a purely moral force agitation, accomplished nothing, and died within a short time after its betrayal by Sadleir, Keogh and the rest of the notorious "Brass Band." But the failure of Young Ireland in "Forty-eight" had not destroyed the idea of rebellion, and it was not long until Ireland was again preparing to make another try for freedom. The Irish Republican Brotherhood came into existence in the year 1855, its object of course was the severance of the yoke that tied the old land to England. Many of its leaders had taken part in the Forty-eight movement, among them the Chief Organizer, James Stephens, John O'Leary, Thomas Clark Luby, Charles J. Kickham and in the American wing were Michael Doheny, John O'Mahony and others. The organization is better known as the Fenian Brotherhood, a name given to the American body by O'Mahony. In a few years Fenianism took Ireland by storm, the country being strongly organized, East, West, North and South.

The close of the Civil War in America, (1865), brought valuable aid to the cause, as hundreds of Irish-American officers in the Federal and Confederate Armies, and thousands of the rank and file, were eager for the chance to strike a blow at England. The people in the Northern States were angered at assistance rendered by the Briton to the Southern Confederacy, allowing privateers to be fitted out in English ports, (manned by English seamen), which destroyed much of the American merchant marine, and the equipping of the Confederate Army with up-to-date arms. There was every possibility of war between the two countries, and Ireland's hopes ran high. That distinguished commander, General Philip H. Sheridan (Matchless little Phil) offered his services under certain reasonable conditions to the Fenians and so did General Slocum. In Ireland, the spirit of Fenianism intruded everywhere, even into the British Army, where perhaps fifteen thousand men were sworn in, by Patrick O'Leary, (known as Pagan O'Leary), William Roantree, John Devoy, John Boyle O'Reilly; even Dublin Castle did not escape, there being a number of sworn Fenians there, too. Several of the regiments in Ireland, composed almost entirely of Fenians, were ready in 1865 to take the field, as it was confidently expected that the fighting would commence that year. The postponing of the rising was a fatal mistake; within a few months most of the active leaders were arrested. The Irish People

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Jersey City Friend

newspaper (the organ of the Fenians), was seized and the editor, O'Leary, chief writers Kickham and Luby, business manager O"Donovan Rossa and others on its staff were taken into custody. The arrest of James Stephens and his escape from Richmond Prison (aided by men inside its walls, government officials, but members of the revolutionary body), proved that the "do and dare spirit" was strong in the hearts of those sworn to fight for Irish freedom. The "rising" on March 5, 1867, was quelled in a short time and the movement, to all Government appearances, had collapsed. Such was not the case, however, and England soon learned the truth. The Manchester Rescue in September of the same year, and the Clerkenwell Explosion in December, proved the Fenian corpse to be a lively one. At Manchester Colonel Thomas Kelly, who held the command of the organization after Stephen's escape, and Captain Deasy were arrested. They had crossed over from Ireland to investigate the conditions of the movement there. The smashing of the prison van and escape of Messrs. Kelly and Deasy accomplished by a picked force of men in broad daylight in the heart of the city, startled England, and her statesmen soon realized that the spirit of rebellion had not been stifled. The judicial murder by the English Government of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, whose innocence was manifest, shocked lovers of justice the world over. The unfortunate killing of Sergeant Brett was made the excuse for this action, though it was clear that the "martyred three" were not guilty. At Clerkenwell Jail were Fenian prisoners and a barrel of gunpowder was exploded in the hope that the wrecking of the place would enable the men to escape. The loss of life was considerable, at least a dozen people being killed and one hundred injured. Every concession granted afterward to Ireland was due to the effect of the Fenian movement. The Disestablishment of the English Church came in 1869. Years before that time, William E. Gladstone had declared he would never support any plan to disestablish that church in Ireland. Fenianism changed his mind. Other English statesmen openly admitted that the revolutionary party had drawn attention to Irish grievances.

The following is taken from an "Irish History Reader" published by the Christian Brothers, (Page 328).

The Fenian Movement compelled the attention of the English Ministers to the question of Irish discontent. Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, wrote to the "Nineteenth Century," (a periodical) "A few desperate men, applauded by the whole body of the Irish people for their daring, showed England what Irish feeling really was, made plain to us the depth of a discontent of whose existence we had scarcely suspected, and the rest followed of course."

And Lord John Russell, another Prime Minister, said:

"Your oppressions have taught the Irish to hate your concessions, to brave you; you have exhibited to them how scanty was the stream of your bounty, and how full the tribute of your fear."

The next is an extract from "A Hundred Years of Irish History," by R. Barry O'Brien, (Pages 115 to 118):

In the House of Commons in April, 1868, in reply to Mr. Hardy, Mr. Gladstone said:

"The Right Honorable gentleman says: Why did you not deal with the Irish Church in 1866, when you asked for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act? My answer is, for a perfectly plain and simple reason. In the first place circumstances were not ripe then as they are now. Circumstances, I repeat, were not ripe in so far as we did not then know so much as we know now, with respect to the intensity of Fenianism."

In 1879 Mr. Gladstone said at a meeting at Dalkeith: "What happended in the

case of the Irish Church?" That down to the year 1865, and the dissolution of that year, the whole question of the Irish Church was dead. Nobody cared about it; nobody paid attention to it in England. Circumstances occured which drew the attention of the people to the Irish Church. I said myself, in 1865, and I believed that it was out of the range of practical politics. When it came to this—that a great gaol in the heart of the metropolis was broken open under circumstnces which drew the attention of the English people to the state of Ireland, and when in Manchester a policeman was murdered in the execution of his duty, at once the whole country became alive to Irish questions, and the question of the Irish Church revived. It came within the range of practical politics.

Lord Dufferin said:

"I entirely agree with the noble Earl (Granville), and with the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Lord Kimberley), that the attention of this country and the conscience of England with respect to this question (the church), were much stimulated, if not altogether awakened by the fact of Fenianism."

In "William Ewart Gladstone, His Life and Times," by Lewis Apjohn, an Englishman, (Page 176), the writer says:

"In the course of the last few years the Fenian conspiracy had caused Englishmen to look more and more seriously into the condition of the sister kingdom and it had come to be generally acknowledged that the carrying out of reforms which were clearly and urgently needed was after all the best way of counteracting popular discontent.

From a History of Our Own Times, by Justin McCarthy, (Page 128).

"The phenomena of the Fenian Movement did not fail to impress some statesmanlike minds in England. There were some public men who saw that the time had come when mere repression must no longer be relied upon as a cure for Irish discontent."

And again on the same page, McCarthy says of Gladstone:

"One statesman was already convinced that the very shock of the Fenian agitation would arounse public attention to the recognition of substantial grievance, and to the admission that the business of statesmanship was to seek out the remedy and provide redress."

Now we will hear from an American authority; John Clark Ridpath in his "Life and Times of William E. Gladstone," (Page 413), states:

"The Fenian Society, having its bifurcations in America and Ireland, did not spring up without adequate cause. That great political organization which has been the subject of so much animadversion, and the very memory of which is so profoundly detested in England, had true cause of its existence. Many of its acts, no doubt, were lawless, and some were criminal. But it is in the character of Great Britain to pursue toward her subject peoples a long course of oppression and spoliation, and then, when her subjects thus wronged, turn upon her, she calls them rebels, revolutionists, incendiaries and assassins."

Speaking of Gladstone and the Irish Land Bill of 1870, Mr. Ridpath further states (Page 447):

"The outrages which had sprung from Fenianism, and in general the disturbed and distressed state of the Irish nation, would all, as he believed, pass away if Parliament should go boldly to the task before it and destroy the evils that were preying on the sister island by reforming the laws of land tenure and cultivation in that country."

Surely sufficient testimony has been given to prove that by physical force alone has Ireland ever gained anything from Britain. The authorities quoted

in every instance are opponents of the idea of armed revolution, even Gavan Duffy and Justin McCarthy. Could we have any better defense to offer for the Clan-na-Gael than these statements of our enemies? Certainly no stronger evidence could be offered. If those who honestly support so-called moral force principles would examine not alone Irish history, but that of other European nations, they would find that armed resistance was ever the only means of forcing tyrants to do justice. Even when defeated, the people of other nationalites have not given up the fight; they have renewed it again and again, until victory was finally won.

Byron truly expresses it:

"For Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

And Ireland should not despair; her great mistake has been turning from the extreme policy to the begging one, gaining nothing by the latter, and the national spirit of her sons and daughters has been broken by the false teaching of those who would have them looked to a foreign Parliament for redress. While this continues, little can be done toward making the race self-reliant. The building of Irish industries and general development of the country, stemming the tide of emigration, can never be successful until the cowardly political policy of so-called moral agitation is thrown aside. The Irish nation must unite along other lines, religious differences must not be permitted to interfere with national principles. The country must be kept in such a state as to be ready at any time to take advantage of England's difficulty; at the time of the late South African War, the moral force element hindered any chance of Ireland stirring herself, and the opportunity was lost. That must be guarded against in the future The only solution of the Irish question is complete separation, and that can only be accomplished by armed force. England will not grant any satisfactory measure of self government to Ireland; she will not and she cannot afford to allow Ireland's industries to build up and the developing an Irish market that would compete with her own. The Irish people will never be prosperous without having the right to fix a tariff for the protection of home industries. She had that in the days of the Old Irish Parliament and the country prospered. And England will never grant anything until she is forced to her knees, beaten on the battlefield and has to relinquish her hold on the country.

No matter how long a time elapses the people must patiently await the opportunity to strike a blow. It may come during our own time, it may not come until a generation has passed. But if the idea of independence is kept alive, and the people not led into "will o' the wisp" methods, success will eventually be gained.

The Clan-na-Gael has for nearly forty-five years past held true to the principles of the United Irishmen, Young Ireland and the Fenians, and it can have much to do with the shaping of Ireland's future along these same lines. And let us hope it will ever remain the one powerful force in keeping alive the fight for Ireland a nation.

(JOHN F. BENNETT.)

He Said He Was Not Our Brother

(By John Banim)

He said that he was not our brother—
  The mongrel! he said what we knew.
No, Eire! our dear Island Mother,
  He ne'er had his black blood from you!
And what though the milk of your bosom
  Gave vigor and health to his veins?
He was but a foul foreign blossom,
  Blown hither to poison our plains!

He said that the sword had enslaved us—
  That still at its point we must kneel.
The liar!—though often it braved us,
  We crossed it with hardier steel!
This witness his Richard—our vassal!
  His Essex—whose plumes we trod down!
His Willy—whose peerless sword tassel
  We tarnished at Limerick Town!

No! falsehood and feud were our evils,
  While force not a fetter could twine.
Come Northmen—come Normans—come Devils!
  We give them our Sparth' to the Chine!!
And if once again he would try us,
  To the music of trumpet and drum,
And no traitor among us or nigh us—
  Let him come, the Brigand! let him come!

Bear witness, blood-stained Mullaghmast
  And Smerwick's crimson tide,
Limerick, by your treaty stone,
  Proclaim it far and wide,
That he who trusts in British faith
  And has not been betrayed,
Must always keep his stalwart hand
  Clasped on his ready blade.

Why Irishmen Should be Proud of Their Country—Civilization and Learning in Ancient Ireland—Services to the United States

By Hon. James Graham, Springfield, Ill.

I would be pleased indeed were I able to give complete expression to my feelings on this occasion, for I assure you I have strong feelings and firm convictions on matters pertaining to the natural endowments of the race to which we belong.

I know that when the Irish race was mistress of its own destiny its intellectual progress was the marvel of the time; I know its capacity is as great as ever, and that all it requires is a fair chance to enable it to again take its place in the forefront of intellectual endeavor, and I regard this occasion as appropriate on which to emphasize the virtues and recall the glories of the children of the Gael. In doing this I do not intend in any way to disparage the achievements, or belittle the importance of those who are of other lineage. I am not dealing with others to-day, but I would like to make clear the fact that our Christian civilization owes a great debt of gratitude to Irishmen and that they have been robbed of the credit fairly due them by the same malignant enemy which has robbed them of their liberty and their rights as men.

It is a long story and a sad one but it is one which every man, woman and child of Irish blood ought to know, and one that when known will make them proud of the fact that Irish blood flows in their veins.

What manner of men were these Irish ancestors of ours? What were their characteristics? And what of their country, its soil and climate, and their general environment?

Oh, what a country it is! Nestling in the lap of the Atlantic, warmed and caressed by the waters of the great oceanic current, the Gulf Stream, which breaks on its Western shore; with a temperature rarely below 20 and rarely above 80 degrees; with "a climate soft as a mother's smile, and a soil fruitful as God's love," lying in the very pathway of commerce between America and Europe, all nature conspires to make it the home of a great, a happy, a prosperous and a free people gifted with splendid physical and mental endowments.

And the Irish are such people. Their splendid physical qualities are conceded. Strength, endurance, courage, quickness of brain and hand and eye, all combine to make the Irishman the world's greatest athlete. And I firmly believe his mental qualities are of a higher grade than his physical ones.

He has in liberal measure and natural qualities that make for intellectuality. Color, form and music are the basis of all artistic excellence, and all these are his.

The ancient Irish delighted in bright colors, and well understood their effective combination.

The Scotch and Irish plaids of to-day are but the legacies which have come down to us through twenty centuries, and they are as popular to-day as they ever were.

Under the old Brehon law a man's social standing was indicated by the

number of colors he might wear. Princes of the Royal blood wore seven, historians and learned men six, nobles five, great warriors four, and so on, thus showing not only their love of color but their great respect for learning.

James Fergusson says: "The true glory of the Celt in Europe is his artistic eminence. Were it not for the Celtic influence, there would not be a church in Europe to-day worthy of admiration, or a picture we could look on without shame." And as for music, the Irish harp and the Irish harpers have ever been renowned. Thomas Moore rendered Ireland a service which will some day be better appreciated when he fitted words to those grand old Irish melodies which have come down through the ages, pearls of music that might have been lost had he not furnished most appropriate verbal threads on which to string them.

So that, I repeat, our ancestors had the basic qualities which must ever constitute the foundation for literary and artistic excellence.

And is not the Irishmn's quick wit proverbal? Is not every really good story, every truly witty saying attributed to the Irishman? Now I readily concede he is sometimes innocent of this charge, but the charge itself is an admission that on general principles he is most likely to be the author, at least more likely to be so than anyone else.

True wit is a species of mental athletics. It is the ability to see all sides of a question with lightning rapidity, to measure and weigh the merits and demerits of the matter quick as a flash, to see also the incongrulties of it, to bring together the sublime and the ridiculous in it and in a moment to draw a conclusion, and formulate it quickly into an apt retort. Wit is not mere humor. Wit is the concentration of reason, the very essence and epitome of logic, one of the very highest qualities of the human mind. And when they vote the Irishman precedence in the field of wit they pay him the higest kind of intellectual compliment.

It was to such a people Patrick came with that grand, touching and most eloquent story of the Gospel of the Crucified One.

What was its affect on them? Just what would you expect it to be on such a people? They received it with an enthusiasm which could not be confined within the narrow limits of their island home.

Churches, monasteries and schools sprang up everywhere. Durrow, Armagn, Bangor, Clonard, Clonmacnoise, Lismore and many other seats of learning sprang into existence, and were attended by students from all parts of Europe. And to the great credit of our ancestors let it be said that foreign students were furnished absolutely free of cost, not only food and lodging, but also the use of the manuscript or parchment books of that day, some of which were almost worth a King's ransom. The venerable Bede, the Frenchman Montalembert and every writer who deals with this subject tells us the same story, a story filled with the glory of the past and, infallibly pointing to their future achievements when they have succeeded in throwing off the horrible English incubus which has so long continued to oppress and repress them.

I said, the zeal and enthusiasm of the Christianized Irish was too great to be confined within the narrow limits of their island home, and so it was that during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries many saintly men of great attainments and greater courage went out from Ireland to stem the tide of Pagan barbarism, then overwhelming Western Europe, and to bring to them the Gospel of Christ.

Columcille, "the dove of the cell," converted the Picts and established the great School of Iona. Aiden penetrated to Northumbria and founded the monastery of Lindisfarne. Columbanus went to France, Colman to Austria, St.

Gall to Switzerland, where the Canton of that name still preserves his memory, and the local tradition told how at the sound of his voice the evil spirits of flood and field fled wailing over the placid waters of Lake Constance.

Montalembert in his "Monks of the West," says that 155 Irish Saints were venerated in Germany, 76 in Scotland, 45 in France, 44 in England, 30 in Belgium, 13 in Italy, and 8 in Sweden, besides others who made their way to Iceland and other countries even more remote.

These were the times and those the men who earned for Ireland the proud title of "Insula Sanctorum Et Doctorum," the "Island of Saints and Doctors."

I am aware that many persons who have given the matter little thought, and little or no investigation, decline to believe this, and assume it is due to heated imaginations, or to Irish rhetoric, as they sometimes phrase it. But the facts of the case are with us and the truth should be made known. Indeed there is neither miracle nor marvel connected with it. There are reasons which, taken in connection with the Celtic temperament, the "Celtic sense of literature as an art," as Henry Morley puts it, which make the matter perfectly clear and natural.

I cannot better avail myself of this splendid occasion than to call your attention briefly to those reasons.

In the centuries preceding the time of St. Patrick, Rome was the mistress of the world. All political power was in the hands of the Roman Empire. Its power extended from the Euphrates on the East to the Atlantic on the West; from the Danube and the Rhine on the North to the African deserts on the South. The Mediterranean Sea was but a Roman pond. At various points along its shores the Christian religion had made some headway, and the old Pagan civilization was slowly giving way to the newer and better one.

But soon, out of the Northeast, vast hordes of wild, half-savage men began to appear, and were pushed forward by others still wilder and more savage, who were pressing them on. These barbarous hordes kept crowding the frontiers of the Empire. At last they broke over. Then that great political organism, already undermined by too much luxury, by corruption and immorality, began to go down before the overwhelming numbers and the repeated assaults of these barbaric hosts. In order to make the matter plain, please bear with me while I recite some of the contemporary events, which were then occuring.

I call your attention to the fact that Patrick was born near the end of the fourth century, and lived practically through the fifth century. What were the conditions on the continent of Europe during that time? In the year 406, when Patrick was about entering manhood, some of these barbarian invaders overran the Roman province of Gaul, now France, and destroyed the Roman power there. In 409 they overran and took possession of Spain; in 410 Alaric the Goth overran Italy, captured Rome and pillaged the city for six days. In 418, when St. Patrick probably was a captive and slave in Ireland, the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain to defend the Imperial city, and Britain was left a prey to the Picts, who then inhabited Scotland. In 430, the year which marks the death of St. Augustine, the vandals crossed from Spain into Africa and took possession of the Roman provinces there. Two years later—in 432—Patrick reached Ireland as a missionary. In 446 the Saxons and Angles invaded England and practically wiped out the civilization established there by 400 years of Roman occupation. Five years later, in 451, Attilla the Hun, known as "The Scourge of God," captured Rome and was only prevented from sacking the city by the venerable appearance of Pope Leo the Great; but its respite was short, for Genseric, the vandal, at the head of a vast horde of his followers took

possession of the Imperial city four years later, in 455, and for fourteen days it was devoted to relentless pillage. In 476 Rome ceased to be the capital of the Empire and the Government was moved to Constantinople.

Seventeen years after Rome ceased to be the capital of the Empire, on March 17, 493, St. Patrick, full of years and honors, peacefully died at the spot where he celebrated his first Mass in Ireland.

During the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries conditions improved very little on the continent. Successive waves of Goths, Vandals, Huns, etc., rolled over Western Europe until almost every vestige of the old civilization disappeared. The Popes fought valiantly to stem this tide of Pagan ignorance, but it was a painfully slow work. Schools disappeared, learning was at a low ebb, and war was the normal condition.

Ireland, separated from Europe by hundreds of miles of ocean, entirely escaped this cataclysm, and enjoyed a season of profound peace.

By their conversion to Christinity the Irish were stimulated to great intellectual endeavor, as might be expected from people of their temperament. Schools sprang up everywhere, but more especially along the navigable rivers. Students from every clime hastened to the Western Isle where they might pursue their studies uninterrupted by the clamors of war or the clash of arms, and they were furnished not only with free manuscript books and free tuition, but also free board and lodging. The princes and nobles of other countries were then students in the schools of Erin. An old English writer of the ninth century says of some great scholars of his day:

"Athirst for knowledge they the well-known road,
Toward Erin by our fathers trod, pursued,
And found supernal wisdom in her blest abode."

A recent German writer, Zimmer, in an admirable little book entitled "The Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture," conveys this idea very clearly. He says: "Thanks to this incessant immigration, Ireland from the fifth to the eighth century, became one of the principal countries in the world, and not only of Christian holiness and virtue, but also of knowledge, literature, and that intellectual civilization with which the new faith was about to endow Europe. Then, delivered from heathenism and the Roman Empire, Ireland can indeed lay claim to a great past; she cannot only boast of having been the birth place and abode of high culture in the fifth and sixth centuries, at a time when the Roman Empire was being undermined by the alliances and inroads of German tribes, which threatened to sink the whole continent into barbarism, but also of having made strenuous efforts in the seventh and up to the ninth century, to spread her learning among the German and Roman people; thus forming the actual foundations of our present continental civilization." Bede, Montalembert, and every impartial writer who treats of this subject agrees with Zimmer on this point. Indeed it is the great German universities of the present day that have been, and are furnishing the most irrefutable proof of the great intellectual attainments of the Irish of those days. Hundreds of Irish missionaries and of others graduated from the great Irish institutions, preached and taught in Germany, Austria, France and Italy, and their writings are in many cases preserved and are being studied by leading scholars of Europe, and to this study may be attributed in a great measure the present revival of Gaelic literature. And so when we think of the chaotic condition of affairs on the continent of Europe and of the peace and quiet which prevailed in Ireland during those centuries, and think also of the nature of those Gaelic Celts, of their love for learning, their enthusiastic natures, their intense Christianity, it at once ceases


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to be matter of doubt, and becomes matter of course that the Ireland of those days was indeed "the Island of Saints and Doctors."

But the thought comes to us, Why did it cease to be such? The sad story is soon told and brings no credit.

The barbarians who overwhelmed Roman civilization were not a sea-faring people. They moved by land, hence they did not reach Ireland; but about the beginning of the ninth century, the Norsemen, who were sea-faring piratical barbarians, reached the Irish coast and explored some of its harbors and navigable rivers.

Delighted with its mild climate, its wonderful verdure and fertile soil, they came in great numbers and established themselves at various points on the South and East coasts.

As most of the monasteries and institutions of learning were near the sea or on navigable rivers so as to be easy of access to foreign students, they were the first to suffer from these incursions. Many of them were constructed of combustible material and, with their precious manuscripts, were soon destroyed in the fierce conflicts which followed between the Irish and these Danish invaders, a conflict which lasted for more than 200 years, till finally on Good Friday in the year 1014, the Irish completely defeated their Danish tormentors at the great battle of Clontarf, and drove them out of Ireland. After the death of King Brian, who was killed at Clontarf, the country was torn by internal dissensions for a century and a half, when fresh troubles and greater ones were in store for it.

Some time before these Norsemen began coming to Ireland, large numbers of their kindred went by sea to Britain and settled on the Eastern side of that Island. They soon took actual possession of the throne, furnishing two kings, Canute or Knut, and his son.

Another branch of the race migrated, partly by land and partly by water, to France, where they took possession of one of her fairest provinces, called after them, Normandy.

Just about fifty years after the Danes were driven out of Ireland, that is, in 1066, these French Northmen set up a claim to the English Crown, and under their leader, William of Normandy, known in history as William the Conqueror, they invaded England, and in a single battle at Hastings in the Southeast of England, William succeeded in winning the English throne.

The land of England was parcelled out among his Norman followers, the Saxon English being for the most part treated as chattels. Just a century after their conquest of England these adventurous land-hungry Normans, in 1167 invaded Ireland, under circumstances so well known as not to need description.

They found a vast difference in the Celtic Irish and the Saxon English. In less than five years after their victory at Hastings, Saxon England acknowledged their supremacy, and gave up the struggle; but such is the Irishman's inherent love for independence and liberty that 740 years have elapsed since their first invasion of Ireland and the conquest is not yet complete, and with the blessings of God, and the aid of faithful Irish hearts it never will be.

They were a strong, sturdy, brave, war-like race, these Normans, and land-hunger seemed to be their ruling passion. Since their coming to Ireland it is scarcely exaggeration to say that it has not known peace, except as they made a solitude and called it peace. Very many of them soon became racy of the soil, and, as was truly said of them, they became more Irish than the Irish themselves.

War and its accompaniments are not conducive to study or to the development of literature and art and science, and so it soon came about that the land, which a few centuries before was studded with universities and schools, now had

gone. Ireland had sent to the continent great scholars, zealous missionaries, eloquent and fearless preachers of the Gospel, and in return there came to Ireland a swarm of fierce and greedy adventurers whose sole object was plunder. There is little doubt that if the Irish had quietly submitted to Norman domination as Saxon England did, and had quietly settled into a condition of virtual slavery, that Ireland would have had peace sooner, but that was not the Irish nature, they stubbornly and resolutely refused to be slaves, and are as firm in that determination to-day as they ever were. They have suffered persecution such as no other people have endured with the possible exception of the Jews, but with this difference, that the Jews are found everywhere, except in Judea, but while the Irish are also found everywhere, they still hold the fort in Ireland, and they still cling to the idea of national autonomy as fondly and as vigorously as they did 700 years ago.

What is there among the races to compare with this matchless record? You might search the pages of history in vain for a parallel. Assyria and Egypt rose, flourished, fell and passed away. Greece, the home of Art and Eloquence, suffered defeat at the hands of the Roman Legions and became dead to the glorious traditions of Marathon and Thermopolyae: "'Twas Greece, but living Greece no more." England yielded up her crown with shameful haste successively to Saxon, Dane and Norman; and Scotland, the land of Wallace and Bruce, although largely peopled by men of our grand old Celtic race, like Esau, basely traded a glorious national birthright for a mess of pottage. But Ireland stands out in bold relief, beaten, but not conquered; tortured and robbed, deprived of liberty, property and education, yet always clinging with tenacity to the idea of a free and independent nationhood.

Why do the Irish people revere the memory of that gallant youth who in the City of Dublin, in 1803, gave his life for his country? Why is it that no other name is so close to the Irish heart, that no other name is so close to the Irish heart, that no other name so thoroughly awakens Irish patriotism as the name of Robert Emmet? It is because that name is the very embodiment of Irish aspirations. When standing on the brink of the grave, freely offering his young life as a sacrifice to Irish nationality, he said he had nothing to a- of the world but the charity of its silence, and requested that his tomb should remain uninscribed until other men and other times could do justice to his memory.

"Let no man write my epitaph," he says, "for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not ignorance or prejudice asperse them * * * When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written." Where is the man or woman of Irish blood who does not hope to see that epitaph written; who does not hope to see the day, "When Ireland a nation can build him a tomb."

It is said, "a good thought is usually credited to him who gives it the fittest expression." So of Emmet. He did not create the Irish desire for nationality, but he did embody the aspirations of a race in earnest, forceful, concrete form, and sealed it with his life blood, and for this he stands out in bold relief as the man whose very name and memory are the personification of Irish National sentiment.

The story of Ireland during the terrible centuries which follow the English occupation is a story of bitter, relentless warfare, a warfare rendered even more bitter by the fact that England, in the sixteenth century, adopted the new religion, whereas Ireland clung with desperate tenacity to the old. Henry the Eighth was the first English monarch to assume the title of King of Ireland, but

the title was all the Kingship he enjoyed there. During the reign of his daughter, Elizabeth, the great Hugh O'Neill and his able ally, Red Hugh O'Donnell, repeatedly defeated the armies sent against them, but in the end were compelled to seek safety in flight. Elizabeth's successor, the canny James I., son of Mary, Queen of Scots, when he secured a seat on the throne resolved to forever dispose of those brave Ulster Clans, and at once began the depopulation, or, as it was then called, the Plantation of Ulster. That fair province was parcelled out among various companies organized in London and elsewhere, and English and Scotch settlers were put in the place of the Irish. It was during the reign of James that the foundations of the penal code were laid. Trinity College was then endowed with lands taken from the Irish, the theory of its foundation being that by giving the Protestant minority collegiate education and depriving Catholic Irish of all education, the latter would soon become servile dependents of the former, and be reduced to the condition of mere serfs.

During successive reigns this idea was developed, additions were made from time to time to this infamous code, all such additions being carefully and intelligently intended to degrade and impoverish the Irish people. The Catholic religion was forbidden, the priest was branded as a felon and a price set upon his head. The trade of priest-hunter became not only common but remunerative. The teacher was transported, and if he returned, he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered.

The mere Irishman had no right whatever. No matter what outrage he suffered he could not appeal to the law. No court in Ireland would recognize his existence. He could not even start a lawsuit. To rob him was a work of merit, to kill him was no crime.

The wife who betrayed her Catholic husband at once had a separate allowance out of his property. The child who renounced the Catholic religion was redeemed from his parents' control, and the law made him heir of his father's property.

"They bribed the flock, they bribed the son,
To sell the priest, to rob the sire.
Their dogs were taught alike to run
Upon the scent of wolf and friar.
Among the poor, or on the moor,
Were found the faithful and the true,
While traitor, knave and recreant slave,
Had riches, rank and retinue."

If a child attended a Catholic school he thereby forfeited all property present or prospective, and it was the same if he attended a private school or went abroad to school.

If a Catholic parent sent his child abroad to be educated or remitted any money to his child for educational purposes he forfeited all his property thereby.

These are but a very few of the provisions in that system or code of laws devised by English statesmen for the destruction of the Irish people, who in their day of prosperity had been the light of Europe; whose homes and schools were open without money and without price to those who loved learning, regardless of where they came from.

I envy not the man who can think of these things calmly and philosophically. England made it a crime for an Irish Catholic to go to school and then pointed the

finger of scorn at his ignorance. What her Government did not appropriate, she permitted the landlord to seize, thus putting an insurmountable tax on his industry, and then held him up to the contempt of the civilized world as an example of willful poverty and wretchedness. She legislated for famines, and while the people died of hunger she insisted they had plenty.

Every device which malice could invent or ingenuity suggest was resorted to in order to make the Irishman a stranger in his own land, or as the mouthpiece of the English aristocracy, the London Times, expressed it, "to make an Irishman as rare in Ireland as a red Indian on the shores of Manhattan."

Bear in mind this penal code was not the result of a spasm of passion, or a temporary outburst of fury. It was brimful of purpose, of malice aforethought. As Walpole says, one of the effects of these penal laws was, "to insure the withdrawal from the hands of the mere Irish of the fragments of land to which they still clung, and to make it impossible in future that they should ever acquire title to a single acre."

As the historian Lecky says: "It required four or five reigns to elaborate a system so ingeniously contrived to demoralize, degrade and impoverish the people of Ireland."

Another Protestant historian of Ireland (Godkin) says: "It was framed with almost diabolical ingenuity to extinguish natural affection to foster perfidy and hipocrisy—to petrify conscience—to perpetuate brutal ignorance—to facilitate the work of tyranny."

Edmund Burke calls ot "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

Montesquieu, the great French publicist, says: "It should have been written by Devils and registered in Hell."

Can anything more diabolical be conceived than this deliberate attempt to assassinate the Irish intellect? Oh, the wonder of it, that poverty and illiteracy rigidly enforced by law for generation after generation did not utterly crush the Irish people. And yet we know to-day that in a single generation fair opportunity places their children in the very front of intellectual endeavor, thus showing beyond question their splendid vitality, their marvelous recuperative powers.

If the penal code did not succeed in destroying the Irish intellect or in completely depopulating Ireland, as it was intended to do, it did at least succeed in driving Irishmen and women from their native land by the wholesale.

As Macaulay says, speaking of those penal days: "Irishmen of great ability were found in every country of Europe, except Ireland." There were Irish Prime Ministers in Spain, Irish Marshals in France, scattered through Europe were brave Irish Generals, dexterous Irish diplomats, Irish Counts, Irish Barons, Irish Knights of the Order of St. Leopold, of the White Eagle and the Golden Fleece. But had they remained in Ireland, they could not have been ensigns in marching regiments.

Many of those exiled Irish, England afterwards met under circumstances which gave her cause to remember the meeting.

She met them on the field of Steenkirk, where they snatched from her grasp the fruits of a complete surprise of the French army, and changed her promised victory into a crushing defeat.

She met them a little later at Landen, where a stray bullet from her routed and fleeing troops took the life of the gallant Sarsfield. And she met them at

Fontenoy, glorious Fontenoy, which has made the fame of Irishmen imperishable: which, as Thomas Davis says:

"Had been a Waterloo,
Were not these exiles ready there,
Fresh, vehement and true."

But it is not to the Irish whom the penal laws drove to the continent of Europe, I particularly desire to call your attention. It is rather to those of them (and they were many) who from choice or necessity came to the American Colonies.

I deliberately assert, and I propose to prove, that it was the presence of large numbers of Irish men and women, and the descendants of Irish men and women in the colonies which made the struggle between England and the colonies in 1776 a War of Independence.

At once you ask: Were there enough Irish in the colonies in those days to sustain your contention? Yes, there were.

History is a plexus, a web, woven in the loom of time, and we cannot well understand it unless we know something of the threads from which the web is woven.

Let us look briefly at the conditions in Ireland at the time the colonies were being settled and up to the time of the Revolutionary War.

The first English settlement was made at Jamestown, Va., in 1607. The first settlemen in Massachusetts was in 1620. James I. died in 1625, and was succeeded by Charles I., who was King when Maryland was settled in 1634 by Lord Baltimore. He took this title from his estate at Baltimore, in the County Cork, Ireland. The Carolinas were settled in 1663, Pennsylvania in 1683, and Georgia in 1732.

What were the conditions in Ireland during the 125 years between the settlement of Virginia and Georgia?

When Jamestown was settled in 1607, Queen Elizabeth had been dead four years. O'Neill and O'Donnell had just fled from Ireland, and James I., her successor, was busy "planting" Ulster; that is, murdering or driving away the Irish inhabitants and supplanting them with English and Scotch adventurers.

When the Catholic Lord Baltimore was establishing a precedent for that religious freedom we enjoy to-day, in his little colony at St. Marys, Charles I. was King of England.

In 1649 Cromwell had Charles' head removed from his shoulders, and from that time till 1660 controlled the destinies of England, and tried, with some success, to make a desert of Ireland. Charles II. followed, and then his brother, James II.

James and his son-in-law, William Orange, had a dispute, and the Irish foolishly took James' side. The battles at the Boyne and Aughrim decided the contest in William's favor, and the treaty of Limerick closed the war in 1690, just a few years after the settlement of Pennsylvania. I need not stop now to speak of the deliberate violation of that solemn treaty which guaranteed civil and religious rights to the Catholic Irish, nor to tell how the Irish army went into voluntary exile, nor how the unfortunate and unprotected people were the easy victims of their persecutors. William was followed by Anne and the Georges, and George III. was on the throne during the Revolutionary War.

It was during this period of settlement in the colonies that the penal laws were begun and developed, and fortunate indeed was the Irish man or woman who could get away from Ireland, and escape their awful rigor. You are, no doubt, aware that the penal laws against Catholics were enforced in the colonies

almost as vigorously as in the mother country, and as a result very few of the Irish Catholics who reached the colonies retained their religion, but although they ceased to be Catholics they did not forget their native land and its travail.

How many Irish reached the colonies during the settlement period to which I have referred?

I'll first call Mr. Bagenal, an Englishman. In "The American Irish," he says:

"On November 21, 1620, the Mayflower arrived at Cape Cod, and a few weeks later the 103 souls on board landed at the historic rock of Plymouth. Twenty-three years later an Irish immigration took place which in numbers alone put the small Plymouth colony altogether in the shade."

Describing the Cromwellian regime in Ireland a quarter century later, 1653, Prendergast says:

"The Commissioners of Ireland gave orders on the Governors of Garrisons in Ireland to deliver to the Bristol merchants the prisoners of war; they also gave orders on the masters of poorhouses to deliver to them all men of an age fit to work and all women of marriageable age, and they gave authority to all to seize those who had no visible means and deliver them to the agents of these Bristol merchants."

Again quoting Bagenal:

"In 1653 Captain Vernon contracted with those same Bristol merchants to furnish 250 Irish women between the ages of 12 to 45 and 300 men between the ages of 12 to 50, and transport them into New England."

The French Jesuit, Thebaud, says:

"In four years about this time 6,400 Irish men, women, boys and maidens were sent to New England."

Again, Bagenal says:

"In 1727 there landed in Philadelphia 1,155 Irish. In 1728 there landed in Philadelphia 5,600 Irish. In 1772, 17,500 Irish came to the colonies. In first half of 1773, 3,500 Irish landed in Philadelphia alone."

And he says the majority of early settlers in Georgia and the Carolinas were from Ireland.

Again quoting Bagenal:

"From December, 1728, to December, 1729, immigration to the Pennsylvania colony was as follows:

"Scotch, 43; Palatines, 243; English and Welch, 267; Irish, 5,655; or nearly ten times as many as all the others put together; and he says this proportion was doubtless maintained down to the Revolution."*

Thus we see the conditions in Ireland during the period of colonial settlement and up to the time of the Revolutionary War were such as made it very probable that the Irish would come to America if they could. We see many of them came voluntarily, many more were sent, to get them out of Ireland, and also to furnish labor in the New World. Many of them came as "Redemptioners," that is, they were sold for a term of years to any one who paid for their passage over, and many as Prendergast says, were sent out virtually as slaves.

What, I ask you, were the feelings of these exiles towards the British Government? What sentiments did these Irish fathers and mothers entertain and instil into the minds of their children?

And when the trouble which led to the Revolution began, what was their attitude? * * * Again I say it was this element in the population which made the Revolutionary War a war for independence. In proof of this I cite the fact, that with some exceptions, men of English descent contended merely for

their rights as British citizens. When the Stamp Act was passed Ben Franklin wrote to his Irish friend, Charles Thompson, saying: "We must now light the lamps of industry and economy." "Be assured," replied the gallant Tyrone man, "we will light torches of a very different character." About the same time Samuel Adams was invited to make an address in Philadelphia, and he was warned he must not even mention separation, that it was more unpopular than the Stamp Act itself.

In 1770 some British soldiers fired into a crowd of citizens in Boston, killing three of them. One of the three was Patrick Carr.

Certain of these soldiers were indicted for murder and were defended by John Adams. In his address to the jury in their defense he referred to the rioters as a lot of Irish Teagues.

In September, 1774, the first Continental Congress convened in Philidelphia. John Sullivan was a delegate from New Hampshire. This convention adjourned at the end of October, having first prepared an address to the King. Sullivan did not like the form of the address.

On December 11, 1774, soon after he reached his home in New Hampshire, he made a peculiar address of his own to his Brittanic Majesty. He organized a band of New Hapshire Irish, made an armed attack on Fort William and Mary, near Portsmouth, captured it, and with it 15 pieces of artillery, many small arms and 100 barrels of powder; all of which were afterwards used by the patriots at the battle of Bunker Hill.

This was the first act of open and deliberate hostility against England, and was nearly five months before the battle of Lexington, which was fought on April 19, 1775. In the next month—May, 1775—Jerry O'Brien and his five brothers attacked and captured a British sloop in the harbor of Machias, Me., and later captured a frigate sent to punish their first offence. This was the first overt act of resistence on the water. On the 31st of May, 1775, the Irish of the Carolinas adopted the famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

In 1770 the Philadelphia Irish organized the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and the records of the society show that on December 17, 1775, they expelled one Thomas Batt from the society because "he opposed the cause of Independence."

Soon after Bunker Hill, Washington besieged General Gage in Boston, and just 131 years to-day, on March 17, 1776, Boston surrendered to the patriot army. John Sullivan was officer of the day and the countersign was "St. Patrick."

These facts fairly illustrate the attitude of men of Irish blood up to the time of the Declaration of Independence.

What does the record show, on the other hand, as to men of British origin or descent?

Far be it from me to detract one jot or tithe from the fame of those brave men who bore a conspicuous part in that memorable struggle whatever their race or origin, but the fact remains that a very large part of the colonists clung tenaciously to the British Government and opposed Independence with ferocious bitterness. These British sympathizers were known as Loyalists or Tories.

Sabine, Ellis, Bryce, Murdock and indeed all the writers on the subject agree that not less than 25,000 of these Tories fought on the British side during the struggle for Independence, and more than 50,000 of them left the country after its successful termination, most of them going to Canada and Nova Scotia, where their descendants still entertain feelings of great hostility towards the United States. It sheds some light on the strength of this Tory element to state that of the thirty newspapers then published in the colonies thirteen were

Loyalist—almost one-half. So strong were they that when General Sullivan made his campaign in Long Island in 1776 he suffered as severely from the Tories as from the British soldiers. A whole brigade of Loyalists was organized in Long Island about that year.

When Washington made his famous retreat across New Jersey in the face of an overwhelming British force the Tory sentiment along his route was so strong they would not sell him needed supplies for his army.

In 1777 the British General Burgoyne stated that Tories joined his ranks to the extent of doubling his forces.

In 1779 the Tory refugees in London held a meeting and adopted an address to the King in which they say their countrymen in arms for his Majesty "exceed in number the troops opposed to them."

In 1781 Lord Germain in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton said: "The American Tories in the Kings service are more in number than the whole of the enlisted troops in the service of Congress.

There were a great many distinctly Loyalist military corps with such names as "The King's Rangers," "The Royal Fencible Americans," "The Prince of Wales' American Volunteers," etc., etc. In 1780 the British Parliament voted half pay to the officers of 21 of these corps. Bryce, in his "History of the Canadian People," says there were at least 25,000 organized Loyalist forces during the war. Sabine agrees with this estimate.

The Southern colonies suffered as badly as the Northern ones from these Tories. Sir Guy Carleton had 12,000 of them on his hands at one time from Georgia and the Carolinas awaiting transportation to the Bahamas and the West Indies.

Benjamin Franklin's son, William, who had been Colonial Governor of New Jersey, was a Tory. He went to England to live; he received £18,000 from the British Government to reimburse him for property lost in America, and in addition an annuity of £800 a year. It scarcely requires argument or authority to show the fact that very few of these Tories were Irish either by birth or descent.

The part which men of Irish blood took in the Revolutionary War will always be a source of pride to men of their race.

They were as loyal, as devoted to the cause, as they had been active in bringing it about. Not alone in the rank and file but among the leaders as well, were found men who first saw the light in Ireland. John Dunlap, a native of Ireland, first printed the Declaration of Independence. John Binns, another Irishman, was the first to print the Declaration with the names of the signers. Charles Thompson, from the County Tyrone, was the Secretary of Congress. Four of the signers were natives of Ireland and eight others were of Irish blood.

Our first Commodore, John Barry, Generals Montgomery, Hand, Moylan, Irvine, Stewart, Dan Morgan, William Maxwell and Richard Butler were all natives of Ireland, as were also Colonels Thompson, Fitzgerald (Washington's favorite aide), Ephraim Blaine (the ancestor of James G. Blaine), George Ewing, and my namesake, James Graham, who participated in 15 battles before he was 23 years of age.

The Sullivans, Knox, Wayne, Stark, Fitzsimmons, Clinton, Meade, Lewis, Porter and many others, were of American birth, but of Irish descent.

How would the history of the Revolutionary War read with these names omitted? Nay, without them had it occurred at that time at all—which is very doubtful—would if not be the history of a rebellion instead of a Revolution.

As to the part played by the rank and file in that glorious struggle, I can-

not forbear calling a few witnesses and producing some unquestionable evidence.

Joseph Galloway, who had been a delegate in the Continental Congress, became a Tory and deserted to the enemy. He testified before a Parliamentary committee in London on June 16, 1779, that the Continental army was half Irish. Here is the committees' record:

Q. By Edmund Burke—"What were the troops in the service of the Congress chiefly composed of? Were they natives of America, or were they mostly English, Scotch or Irish?"

A. By Joseph Galloway—"I can answer that with precision; there were scarcely one-fourth native Americans, about one-half Irish, the other fourth English and Dutch."

On August 19 of the same year Major-General Robertson was a witness before the same committee, and in answer to a question by Lord George Germain, he said:

"Some of the corps consist most of natives, others, I believe, the greater number are enlisted from such people as can be got in the country, and many of them may be emigrants. I remember General Lee telling me that half the rebel army were from Ireland."

Lord Mountjoy in a speech in the House of Commons at the close of the war taunted the Ministry with their cruel treatment of Ireland, and said: "You have lost America through the Irish."

G. W. Parke Curtis, Washington's adopted son, writes as follows: "Of the operations of the war—I mean the soldiers—up to the coming of the French, Ireland had furnished in the ratio of 100 to 1 for any other nation whatever. Then honored be the old and good service of the sons of Erin in the War of Independence. Let the Shamrock be entwined with the laurels of the Revolution, and truth and justice guiding the pen of history inscribe on the tables of America's remembrance eternal gratitude to Irishmen."

In 1779 when the patriot cause was darkest, when the army was encamped in Valley Forge, when Washington had neither food nor clothes nor shelter for his men, nor yet the money wherewith to get those essentials; when the timid were deserting and the irresolute had given up hope, the patriotic merchants of Philadelphia suscribed £300,000 in coin to aid the patriot cause. Of this amount £103,500 was subscribed by the members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

On December 17, 1781, Washington was made an honorary member of this society. On that occasion, among other things, he said "I accept with singular pleasure the ensign of a society so distinguished for adherence to the glorious cause in which we are engaged."

The estimony is all to the same effect as to the attitude of the Irish.

The historian Ramsey, says: "The Irish in America were almost to a man on the side of Independence."

Plowden says: "Most of the early successes in America were immediately owing to the vigorous exertions and prowess of the Irish emigrants who bore arms in that cause."

In view of this evidence, which is but a mere suggestion of what exists, and which is so fully borne out by the collateral and correlated facts, can there be any doubt either as to the part which men of Irish blood took in precipitating the Revolutionary War and in bringing it to a successful conclusion?

How proud we men of Irish blood ought to be of the record thus made from the beginning to the end of it, and we should be equally proud of the fact that since then down to this very moment men of our race have always been ready

and willing to sacrifice everything, even their lives, for the preservation of that Republic which the men of their race so materially contributed to establish.

But these facts are not known as generally as they should be. English history and English literature have been one great conspiracy against the Irish race.

The awful incubus of the penal laws and the enforced illiteracy which resulted caused the mental prostration of the Catholic Irish. They could not write history, and if they could, there were none to read what they wrote.

The penal laws had done their work too well for that. And so our enemies told the story their way, taking the glory to themselves and giving the odium to us.

This condition has lasted too long. In every way possible from the rostrum, in the press, in the magazines, and more than all in the school books, the truth should be told, and the public forced to listen to it, and the knowledge of the true facts of history will inevitably rebound to the credit and the glory of our race. And the Revolutionary period was not exceptional. When the flag was in danger the Irish were never called to the rescue in vain. In the War of 1812, in the war with Mexico, and in the lamentable Civil War when we needed soldiers or the flag needed defenders, when "Kelly and Burke and Shea" were not ready, there, has been no battlefield where their bones do not lie bleaching in the sun, where their blood did not enrich the soil.

The time is not far distant when Ireland's gallant struggle for national control of her own destinies, and the same mental qualities which once made Ireland the school of Europe will again put her in the very forefront of intellectual endeavor. No one who knows the history of the Irish race can doubt this. We should stimulate the study of Irish history in home and school, for the more our people know of that history the prouder they will be of the fact that they have Irish blood in their veins.

Wherever the flag needed defenders, wherever the struggle for the preservation of the Union took place, on every battlefield from Machias Bay to Mexico, from Lundy's Lane to Santiago, Irish bones whiten in the sun, Irish blood enriches the soil.

Paupers in Ireland

It appears that there are in Irish Workhouses 100,000 people—an army of 'paupers twice as large as the army with which the Irish and French defeated the English at Fontenoy—and one-third larger in size than the two forces that fought the Battle of the Boyne. In the same institutions or in the grip of the Workhouse system there are 8,000 children. And yet we are progressing if the wise acres are to be believed. Strange kind of progress is it not?—Roscommon Herald.

The Irishman

The savage loves his native shore,
  Though rude the soil and chill the air,
Well then may Erin's sons adore
  Their isle which nature formed so fair
What flood reflects a shore so sweet,
  As Shannon great, or past'ral Bann?
Or who a friend or foe can meet
  So gen'rous as an Irishman?

His hand is rash, the heart is warm,
  But principle is still his guide—
None more regrets a deed of harm,
  And none foregives with nobler pride,
He may be duped, but won't be dared;
  As fit to practice as to plan,
He dearly loves his poor reward,
  And spends it like an Irishman.

If strange or poor, for you he'll pay,
  And guide to where you safe may be;
If you're his guest, while e'er you stay
  His cottage holds a jubilee;
His inmost soul he will unlock,
  And if he should your secrets scan
Your confidence he scorns to mock,
  For faithful is an Irishman.

By honor bound in woe or weal,
  What e'er she bids he dares to do;
Tempt him with bribes, he will not fail;
  Try him in fire, you'll find him true.
He seeks not safety, yet his post
  But where it ought in danger's van;
And if the field of fame be lost,
  'Twill not be by an Irishman.

Erin, loved land! from age to age,
  Be thou more great and fam'd and free!
May peace be thine; or shouldst thou wage
  Defensive war, cheap victory!
May plenty flow in every field;
  With gentle breezes softly fan,
And cheerful smiles serenely gild
  The breast of every Irishman!

Is England the Irishman's Mother Country

She our mother? she who crushed us
  Helpless in her grasp of steel?
She our mother? she who ground us
  Hopeless 'neath her iron heel?
By what bond of blood, or friendship—
  By what ties of time or place—
Does she claim that holy title
  From the men of Irish race?

Is it by the better memories
  Of the thousands famine-slain?
Is it by the cries of exiles,
  Weeping for their home in vain?
Is it by the ruined cottage,
  Or the rooftrees blazing bright?
Is it by the fires of vengeance
  Kindled at that lurid light?

Is it by the ruined cloister
  Is is by the "gallows high"
Where the gallant sons of Ireland
  Showed the world how patriots die?
Is it by the men imprisoned
  For the love they bore their land?
Is it by a tardy "Justice."
  Wrung from her unwilling hand?

Speak, ye men of Irish lineage,
  In what land soe'er ye be,
Do you own her for a mother,
  This proud "Mistress of the Sea?"
Will you pledge her your allegiance?
  Will you clasp her blood-stained hand?
And forget her long oppression
  Of your own beloved land?

From the glens and vales of Ireland,
  Where her martyred children lie;
From the shores of the Atlantic,
  Echoing to the exile's cry.

From the plains of far Australia,
From the prairies of the West,
From the sunny southern hillside,
With the vine and olive dressed.

From the deep Canadian forests,
From the distant Indian strand,
From the far Andean highland,
From fair Argentine's land.
From the islands of the ocean,
From each spot, remote or near,
Where an Irish heart is beating,
Comes the answer, loud and clear:

Never; while old Ireland's mountains
Lift their foreheads to the sky!
Never; while her emerald valleys
'Neath the bended heavens lie!
Never; while her sparkling rivers
To the blue Atlantic trend!
Will we call proud England mother,
Will we greet he as a friend,
By God's help and with God's blessing
We are "rebels" to the end.

Just a Little Mother

She's just a little mother in a cabin far away;
Since I kissed her in the gloaming 'tis forever and a day.
In my dreams I hear her calling, calling o'er the weary sea,
"Come ye back to Ballyshannon, Katy dear, come back to me."

She's standing in the doorway, filling up the space,
With the kerchief o'er her bosom and the frills around her face;
She is smiling as Our Lady smiles above the Holy Child,
And my heart runs forth to meet her o'er the waste of waters wild.

Do you know our Ballyshannon, where the very winds are sweet
With the saltness of the sea foam and the tang of smoldering peat?
Do you know our mists that fold us in a blanket soft and gray,
Do you know our Ballyshannon in the red rose dawn of day?

Then you see the little mother, just herself, so small and old,
With a look I'm sure would warm you were you shivering with the cold.
O, so mirthful, O, so patient, she whose work is never done,
O, so ready with her laughter at the rise and set of sun.

In the great house where I'm serving folk are ever kind to me,
But they do not guess my yearning for the cabin over the sea.
Wage I earn and wage I send her, yet I cannot longer hide;
I must seek my little mother, I must nestle at her side.

She's just a little mother in a cabin far away;
Since I kissed her in the gloaming 'tis forever and a day.
In my dreams she's calling, calling! "Mother darling, yes, I'll come;
I'll go back to Ballyshannon, to my mother and my home."

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