PENIANISM AND THE CELTIC RENAISSANCE

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INTRODUCTION

At the outset of the project in hand I would like to indicate the scope, method and purpose of Fenianism and the Celtic Renaissance and to explain the terms used in the title.

Purpose

The purpose of the ensuing research is to study the interrelation between the exponents of physical force and the literature produced in, or about, Ireland during the period between 1858 and 1916.

Scope

"Scope" I understand to mean extent, limitations and internal relations. Accordingly, I shall briefly indicate these three aspects of Fenianism and the Celtic Renaissance. Furthermore, I shall discuss the temporal, ideational and geographical implications of each, respectively.

Extent

a. The measure of time to be covered in the present thesis is approximately 116 years, that is, from 1800 to 1916. In 1800, by an Act of Parliament, Ireland became incorporated into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Previously
it had been relatively independent and had its own legislature. Since the Fenians wanted Ireland to be a sovereign independent state and since the Celtic renaissance sought to revive various elements of an earlier Irish civilisation, the date when Ireland's independent Parliament ceased to exist may well serve as a starting point for an introduction to the two. The year 1916 is also chosen because of its significance both to Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance. In this later year, the Fenians were responsible for an insurrection in Dublin which aroused the sympathy of such celebrated authors as W. B. Yeats, George Russell, James Stephens, Joyce Kilmer and Lady Gregory; and, of course, was the inspiration for Sean O'Casey's play, *The Plough and the Stars.* And 1916 is important for the Celtic renaissance because by that date it had very nearly run its course (see pages xxxiii-xxxv) although one need not agree with John Eglinton who wrote:

> While Yeats was busy and successful in raising the whole standard of literary expression in the English language, the youth of Ireland was zealously employed in overcoming the primers of another language. And in 1916 it was suddenly demonstrated that the Irish people did not wish to have its name associated with the so-called Irish Literary Renaissance.  

b. The range of the ideas explored in the following study will cover the doctrines of those who believed in the worth of the union of Ireland with Great Britain and those who advocated separation, either by the use of moral suasion or of

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a knock-down fight. These ideas will be dug out of the poetry and prose which is pertinent.

c. The geographic considerations of the research will not be limited to Ireland, or to those countries which are described as Celtic by Webster's *Universal Unabridged Dictionary* but will extend to the places in which Fenianism took root.

**Limitations**

a. Except for certain material, introductory in nature, I intend to limit the scope of *Fenianism and the Celtic Renaissance* to the interval between 1858 and 1916, and to concentrate upon the period between 1870 and 1914. The earliest of these four dates is the year in which the Fenian Brotherhood was founded and the latest is that of the most significant appeal to arms for which it was responsible up to that time. In 1870 not only were several leading Fenian political prisoners released by the British Crown, but also the *Irish World* was founded. The year 1914, of course, is significant because of the outbreak of the World War.

b. The ideational content of the material chosen for consideration will be limited to poetry and prose which inspired or was inspired by either Fenianism or the Celtic renaissance. As an example of material which has been excluded, the omission of an account of the scholars in the field of ancient Celtic linguistics may be noted.

c. Geographically, this investigation of *Fenianism and the Celtic Renaissance* will be limited to the phenomena which preceded, accompanied or followed and was directly concerned
with either the physical force movement or the Irish revival or both in Ireland, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany.

**Internal Relations**

a. Within the period upon which I shall concentrate the years between the death of Parnell in 1891 and 1914 will be treated with the greatest fullness because it was during these years that the Celtic renaissance reached its highest point, and its most famous leaders attained the summit of their powers. The period between 1870 and 1890 will be treated in considerable detail because of the importance of Charles Stewart Parnell who, aided by the Fenians, reached the peak of his influence, and because the Celtic renaissance was slowly maturing at the same time. Outside the period upon which I intend to concentrate, the two decades immediately preceding 1870, being those which marked the formation and first efforts of the Fenian Brotherhood, will be treated with the greatest fullness. Less attention will be paid to the first fifty years of the nineteenth century; and specific, older Irish phenomena which were revived by the Celtic renaissance will receive passing notice.

b. The form, spirit and content of pertinent political, economic and literary thought will be treated in *Fenianism and the Celtic Renaissance*. Of the various forms in which Irish political thought expressed itself, such organisations as the following will be used for illustrations: the United Irishmen, the Young Irelanders, the Fenian Brotherhood, the Irish Parliamentary Party, the Clan-na-Gaeal and Sinn Fein. Of the forms in
which Irish economic thought expressed itself, the Land League, the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, and the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union may be cited. As examples of the organisations through which Irish thought on literary matters reached the public, the Roman Catholic Church, the Abbey Theatre and the Gaelic League will be used.

The discussion of the political spirit will be enriched by the use and explanation of such terms as the "Skirmishing Fund" and the "Union of Hearts." The influence of Henry George and of syndicalism upon the spirit of Irish economic thought will be considered. And, in addition to a veneration for Irish anti-quity alongside an attitude of amusement which changed to rage against the "stale Irishman," it will be noted that, among other things, republicanism, pre-Americanism, anglophobia and a decided interest in the language and culture of the under-privileged agricultural workers of Ireland are characteristic of the spirit of the literary thought which falls within the scope of Fenianism and the Celtic Renaissance.

The content of political thought will be found to revolve around moral suasion and such isms as Fenianism, nationalism, and unionism. The content of relevant economic thought will be amplified by discussing favorable Irish reaction to the single tax, socialism, the cooperative movement and other schemes of a similar nature. And, finally, the content of Irish literary thought in its relations with Fenianism and the Celtic Renaissance will be amplified by the use of quotations from the writings of well-known Irish writers, such as W. B. Yeats, George
Russell, George Moore, Lady Gregory, Sean O'Casey, and James Joyce.

From a geographical standpoint the present research will devote most of its attention to Ireland with the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany, respectively, receiving increasingly lesser consideration.

Methods

The methods which I shall adopt may be outlined by answering three questions: (1) How shall I determine what sources to use? (2) How shall I select evidence from these sources which I have chosen? (3) How shall I arrange the evidence to bring out the interrelation between Fenianism and the Celtic Renaissance?

1. To determine what sources I shall use will require considerable research. First, I shall collect/bibliography of books which seem on a cursory examination to have some bearing upon either, or both, of the two terms which appear in my title. Next, with the help of this bibliography, I shall compile lists of the most frequently mentioned writers, leaders, periodicals and books. At this point, if I find that no history of the Fenian movement from 1858 to 1916 is in existence, I may have to compose my own by the use of histories, biographies and similar sources. Then, I shall seek the advice of those in New York and Dublin whose familiarity with the field has been brought to my attention. In this way, the wheat may be gathered. The winnowing will follow.
2. Having determined my sources, I shall use the following methods for selecting relevant, coherent, albeit biased, evidence. First, I shall call Irish and Irish-American periodicals which were controlled by, or sympathetic to, the Fenians for accounts of contemporary events, pertinent editorials and campaigns, contributions and contributors to them. Such periodicals were: *Irish-American*, *Irish People*, *Irish World*, *Irish Fireside*, *United Irishman*, *Irish Review*, and *Irish Freedom*. I shall also examine periodicals which published works of well-known figures of the Celtic renaissance, such as *An Caodal* and *Irish Monthly*. In selecting evidence from such periodicals, I will be motivated by the belief that others, especially those hostile to the Fenians, will not only fail to emphasize those aspects of a given phenomenon which were of greatest importance to the development of the doctrine of physical force, but also may prove confusing because of a tendency to lend sporadic and irrational air to the same phenomena. Incidentally, I may discover new sources, publishers who specialized in material which would be of interest to Fenians, for example.

Next, I shall interview those who may assume a new significance as a result of the preceding studies: W.B. Yeats, Padraic Colum, Ernest Boyd, Lennox Robinson, Maud Gonne, Mark Ryan, Tom Clarke's widow, Joseph Mary Plunkett's nearest of kin, and James Connolly's friends. From such interviews I may be able to assess the interrelations between individual exponents of the doctrine of physical force and celebrated figures in the Celtic renaissance. Furthermore, I shall be able to reconstruct the friends and sympathies of such men as O'Donovan Rossa, John
O’Leary and Tom Clarke.

Finally, with this new evidence, I can return to the writings of the most significant figures in Irish literature and employ them to explain matters which had formerly been obscure.

3. The question of how, suitably, to arrange the facts which I shall gather so as to demonstrate my thesis may be answered by a chronological or comparative method. First, I shall list all the events of each year between 1888 and 1916 which seem to be relevant either to Fenianism, or to the Celtic renaissance or to both. As a result I may notice that the organisations, individuals, techniques and so on can be grouped in two currents of thought, such as separatism and unionism. Next, I will attempt to construct a history of such currents so as to show the rise, fall and constant interaction between the individual elements within them, and at the same time to show the interrelations between each current.

In this manner I expect to learn, and then seek to demonstrate, that the writers and writings of the Celtic renaissance were usually of a separatist character. An example of the manner in which this method may bring out the interrelation between Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance follows; the early leaders of the revival -- W.B. Yeats and Douglas Hyde may be cited -- looked upon the Fenian veteran, John O’Leary, as their inspiration, but one of the best known of the chiefs of the Fenian insurrection of 1916, Patrick Henry Pearse, traced the influence which was eventually to compel him to accept the principle of physical force back to the Gaelic League which was founded in 1893 and which was one of the most important of the organisa-
tional expressions of the Celtic renaissance.

Explanation of Terms Used in the Title

The two terms in the title of the present research which require explanation are "Fenianism" and "the Celtic renaissance." I will take them up in that order.

Fenianism

"Fenianism" is the belief that Irish grievances can be redressed only by an organized group which is prepared to use physical force. It is, of course, the policy of Fenians. According to Webster's Universal Unabridged Dictionary, the word "Fenian" is derived "from the Fianna or Fianna, a name applied to the old militia of Ireland, who were so called from Fiann, Fionn, a hero of Irish tradition." According to the Encyclopædia Brittanica, this hero, Finn MacCumaill, "was probably the general to whom Cormac mac Airt, king in Tara (fl. c. A.D. 250) entrusted the task of organizing a standing army, whereby he sought to establish a suzerainty over the whole of Ireland." According to the same authority, "Fenians" was the name of an "Irish-American revolutionary secret society, founded in America by John O'Maheny (1816-1877) in 1858" and bound together "by an oath of allegiance to the Irish Republic, now virtually established." The indebtedness of the Fenian Brotherhood to the scholar, John O'Maheny, for its name has never been disputed, but

in 1877 an obituary notice in the New York Irish World, describing O'Mahony as "the Father of Fenianism," exaggerated somewhat when it said: "He is one of the chief authors of the Irish revolution which is now in progress. He claimed to be the originator of the 'Fenian idea,' which is to employ the devotion of the 'Irish nation in America' to aid the 'men in the gap.'"

The Irish-American society immediately found sympathisers in Ireland who, appropriately, were also called "Fenians" in spite of the fact that they did not formally adopt the title "Fenian Brotherhood," and, indeed, at first had no name. After 1865, however, the members of the organisation in Ireland spoke of it among themselves as the I.R.B., but disagreed as to the meaning of these initials: some took them to stand for "Irish Republican Brotherhood," others thought they meant "Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood," and still others thought they meant "Irish Revolutionary Body." But, whatever the initials may have stood for, all members of the I.R.B., like the Fenians, took an oath of allegiance to "the Irish Republic, now virtually established." Hence, in view of this disagreement among the members of the I.R.B., whenever it is necessary to refer to the Irish organization, the initials alone will be used and the reader may choose whichever of the three meanings above indicated he wishes.

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* See p. 247.
2. Ibid., p. 121.
Although "Fenianism," strictly speaking, is the policy of the Fenian Brotherhood, or the I.R.B., it has also a broader meaning. In this broader sense it has come to stand for rebellion against English domination in any sphere whatever. In 1874 an anonymous contributor to the Irish World said:

Whatever hostile action is taken by Irishmen against England in our day will be called 'Fenianism.' Let the Hibernian Society organise to strike her, it will be called 'Fenianism.' Let the St. Patrick's Alliance strike, it is 'Fenianism.' Let the Temperance men strike, it is 'Fenianism.' Let all together strike, as we hope they will, and as the present council of the Fenian Brotherhood contemplates they should do, the word cannot be got rid of in our generation. England hates the name, and...as the Irish have ever hated what she loved, and loved what she hated, we may well cherish it.

Fenianism, then, symbolized that hatred of England which dwells in the heart of every man who drew his first sustenance in life from the breast of an Irish mother. Our duty is to vitalise that hatred by action, and make it practical towards the destruction of that rule which has cursed our motherland, and cursed every land that ever felt its blighting influence.]

From this interpretation of Fenianism as a sort of romantic Irish nationalism to the identification of it with any and all forms of Irish separatism is but a step. Thus, by synecdoche many people who were not ready to kill or be killed but who did use moral suasion in an effort to win Home Rule for Ireland might be described as Fenians. It is only by this rhetorical device that Sinn Fein, which became confused with Fenianism after 1914, and on the eve of the historic Fenian insurrection of Easter week, 1916, can be considered as a "revolutionary secret society."

1. See pp.245-6.
Celtic Renaissance

The term "Celtic renaissance" is not as easy to explain as the word "Parnianism." In the present research I have used the word "Celtic" as a synonym for "Irish" in spite of the fact that Webster's Universal Unabridged Dictionary defines a Celt as: "One of the earliest Aryan inhabitants of the south and west of Europe. Of the Celts there are two great branches, viz., the Gaelic, comprising the Highlanders of Scotland, the Irish and Manx, and the Gyaric, comprising the Welsh and Bretons." The obscurity of the phrase "Celtic renaissance," then, lies in the use of the word "Celtic." Therefore, it seems necessary to demonstrate why I have not employed the term "Irish renaissance"; and when the reason for my choice has been clarified, the phrase itself will require elucidation. While admitting the possibility of confusion as a result of the use of the word "Celtic," I claim the justification of distinguished precedent for this procedure.

To demonstrate the confusion which surrounds the word "Celtic," I would like to show how Cornelius Weygandt and William Sharp used it. The former has written:

In 1895 all the English-speaking world that needs letters was talking of the Celtic Renaissance, so quickly did news of it find its way to men, when it was once more than whispered of abroad. It was as frequently referred to then as 'The Irish Renaissance,' because Ireland contributed most to it and because it was in Ireland that it acquired its most definite purpose. This purpose was to retell in English the old Irish legends and the still current Irish

1. C. Weygandt, Irish Plays and Playwrights, p. 8.
folk-songs, and to catch and preserve the moods of Irish men and women of today, especially those moods which come to them out of their brooding over Ireland, its history, its landscape, the temper of its people.

Proceeding in the same vein, Weygandt confessed that he could not "account for the less quickening of the other Celtic countries by the forces that brought about the Renaissance." His difficulty lay in a too literal definition of "Celtic" and the assumption that "it is hardly true... to say that Ireland had a greater sense of nationality than Brittany or Wales.

Renan, in his 'Poetry of the Celtic Races' (1859), and Arnold, in his 'On the Study of Celtic Literature' (1867), had ceased all the Celtic countries to an interest in their old literature, an interest that extended much further than discussion of the authenticity of Macpherson's 'Ossian' or of the proper treatment of Arthurian stories, until then the Ultima Thule of talk on things Celtic. Frenchman and Englishman both had spoken to Wales and Brittany, the Highlands of Scotland and the Isle of Man, as well as to Ireland, and it does not altogether explain to say that Ireland listened best because in Ireland there was a greater sense of nationality than in these other lands.

Yet, he could only name four men outside Ireland who were influenced by this Celtic renaissance -- Neil Munro, T. E. Brown, Ernest Rhys, and William Sharp. And, it would seem, on the strength of an essay by one of them, the female impersonator, William ("Fiona Macleod") Sharp, Weygandt repudiated Irish separatism as the sine qua non of the Celtic renaissance. The name of this celebrated essay was "Celtic" and in it "Fiona Macleod" condemned "a prevalent pseudo-nationalism," saying,

1. Weygandt, op. cit., p. 3.
2. Ibid., pp. 4-6.
3. Ibid., p. 252.
"I would be more proud to be British" than "to be Highland, or Scottish, or Irish, or Welsh, or English...." In short, the essayist proposed that the Celtic renaissance should be a force to magnify the British Empire:

The Celtic element in our national life has a vital and great part to play. We have a most noble ideal if we but accept it. And that is, not to perpetuate feuds, not to try to win back what is gone away upon the wind, not to repay ignorance with scorn, or dullness with contempt, or past wrongs with present hatred, but so to live, so to pray, so to hope, so to work, so to achieve, that we, what is left of the Celtic races, of the Celtic genius, may permeate the greater race of which we are a vital part, so that with this Celtic emotion, Celtic love of beauty, and Celtic spirituality a nation greater than any the world has seen may issue, a nation refined and strengthened by the wise relinquishments and steadfast ideals of Celt and Saxon, united in a common fatherland, and in singleness of pride and faith.1

Although there may have been some in Ireland who agreed with these sentiments, one of the Irish leaders of the Celtic renaissance, George Russell, described the celebrated essay to W. B. Yeats as "an abomination":

I have declared war on Fiona Macleod. Rolleston wrote for the All Ireland Review a review of her book, with his usual infallible instinct singling out the essay Celtic as the noblest utterance of the loftiest mind in the Celtic literary movement. O'Grady did not like it and brought the proof of T.E.R.'s article round to me, I volunteered to write a note to be placed alongside Rolleston's as another point of view. I wrote the devil of an article which I believe will sever Fiona from Ireland for evermore. Then Rolleston grew afraid of his opinions when opposed by mine and wrote this morning to O'Grady to

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2. E.A. Sharp, William Sharp (Fiona Macleod), a Memoir Compiled by His Wife, p. 332.
withdraw his note. What magnificent intellectual convictions he possesses. Anyhow I believe O'Grady will print mine and I hope you will enjoy it. It is brief and savage and I expect no more gushing letters will flow hitherward from Fiona Sharp. By the way, O'Grady was very funny on Rolleston. He said when Rolleston was a young man he (O'Grady) influenced him so far as to make him an Irishman, but with his peculiar temperament he went further himself and became a Fenian. Now in later days O'Grady gave him some lessons on Imperialism and Rolleston has advanced so far that he has become a Briton.

Fiona's book makes me sick. I wound up my note by hoping if she wrote semi-political letters in the future she would speak solely for the Scottish Celt. We here in Ireland are a peculiar people and dislike being lectured by foreigners. I hope you do not mind my speaking some plain truths about Fiona's style and general methods of confused thought. July, 1900.

Admitting the confusion caused by Weygandt and Sharp, I justify the identification of "Celtic" with "Irish" by the distinguished precedent of W. B. Yeats, Douglas Hyde, George Russell, George Moore and Lady Gregory. The names of these renowned Irish writers are martialed in the foregoing sequence for chronological reasons. Therefore, W. B. Yeats, who seems to have been recognised in the United States before he was heard of in England, comes first. From August 6, 1887, to November 19, 1892, he contributed to the Boston Pilot and from a slightly later date articles by the famous Irishman appeared in the Providence Journal. In the Providence paper as early as 1888 Yeats referred to Irish peasants as "the Celts," and in the Pilot at a slightly later date he said in connection with another

2. Ibid., P. 4.
Irishman:

May many fellow in the road Dr. Todhunter has chosen. It leads where there is no lack of subjects, for the literature of Ireland is still young, and all sides of this road is Celtic tradition and Celtic passion crying for singers to give them voice. England is old and her poets must scrape up the crumbs of an almost finished banquet, but Ireland has still full tables.

Some of his contributions to the Boston paper, it is true, were entitled "The Celt in London," but readers of the Pilot knew that this caption meant "an Irishman who is at present in London," because one of Yeats' letters began: "With Irish literature and Irish thought alone I have to do." After Yeats, Douglas Hyde, who certainly was aware that Scotchmen had displayed an interest in the folklore of the Highlands before ever he began his collecting in Ireland, may be quoted. In The Story of Early Gaelic Literature, Hyde said:

It is at this literature, which flourished so long and was extinguished so suddenly, that I desire to glance in this little volume; it is, roughly speaking, the literature of the entire Irish race down to the year 1600, of ninety-nine hundredths of the race down to the year 1700, and after that of an ever-diminishing portion of it, which was attempted to about one-half at the time of the Great Famine, after which death-blow, if the Celts did not quite "go with a vengeance," as the Times boasted, their literature, songs, traditions, and language did.

Third, George Russell, whose blast against Sharp is particularly interesting because in it he distinguished between "Scotch" Celt

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3. Ibid., pp. 157-158.
and "Irish" Celt, may be noted. Elsewhere he invariably identifies "Celt" with "Irishman" and a striking example, which is dated 1899, follows:

The faculty of abstracting from the land their eyes behold another Ireland through which they wandered in dream, has always been a characteristic of the Celtic poets...This mystical view of nature, peculiar to but one English poet, Wordsworth, is a national characteristic; and much in the creation of the Ireland in the mind is already done, and only needs retelling by the new writers.

Fourth, George Moore confessed in Hail and Farewell that he had thrilled "all over at the thought of an Irish Literary Theatre" and of his "own participation in the Celtic Renaissance brought about by Yeats" in 1899. Straightway his "impulsive" nature envisioned an Irish-speaking Dublin as the Celtic capital:

And a vision rose up before me of argosies floating up the Liffey, laden with merchandise from all the ports of Phoenicia, and poets singing in all the bowers of Merrion Square; and all in a new language that the poets had learned, the English language having been discovered by them, as it had been discovered by me, to be a declining language, a language that was losing its verbs.

Later, when his enthusiasm had somewhat palled, Moore expostulated with Yeats and Martyn because he had not found poets and painters "burgeoning on every bush" in Ireland and still later,
equating the phrase "Celtic renaissance" with "Irish revival," he became involved in an argument with Edward Martyn:

For Edward had decided that the revival of drama which the success of The Heather Field had started in Ireland must be accompanied by a revival of all the arts -- painting, sculpture, and music. For landscape and portrait painting he thought he could rely on Dermot O'Brien, who had decided to come to Ireland. A number of chapels had been spoilt by German stained glass, but Miss Purser had promised to engage a man whose father had been intimately connected with the Pre-Raphaelite movement in England, and under her direction ecclesiastical art would flourish again in Ireland. John Hughes would revive Donatello and Edward Palestrina. He told me that Archbishop Walsh had been approached, and that he would be able to persuade him to accept a donation of ten thousand pounds to establish a choir in the cathedral upon the strict understanding, of course, that the choir was only to sing Vittoria, Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso, Francesca de Prés, and the other writers...who had...gravitated round the great Roman composer.

It seemed to me that the analogy he drew between the Italian Renaissance and the Irish was a false one. The Italian had imported nothing, but had re-created all the arts simultaneously. This view was, however, not acceptable, and...Edward pointed out that the Italian Renaissance was not as original as it seemed at first sight. It was indebted largely to antiquity, and its flavour was due to the spirit of the Middle Ages which still lingered in the sixteenth century...1

And last, to explain the use of the word "Celtic" in the statement of the purpose of the Irish Literary Theatre which she composed with the help of W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory said:

I think the word 'Celtic' was put in for the sake of Fiona Macleod whose plays however we never acted... I myself never quite understood the meaning of the 'Celtic Movement,' which we were said to belong to. When I was asked about it, I used to say it was a movement to persuade the Scotch to begin buying our books, while we continued not to buy theirs.2

3. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
Thus, there is excellent precedent for the use of the word "Celtic" as synonymous with "Irish" in the phrase "Celtic renaissance" but the use of the phrase remains to be explained. This, it seems to me, can be most readily accomplished by a chronological approach which takes into account American and English, as well as Irish, interest in the revival.

In 1845 an Irishman who was in Boston, Thomas Mooney, laid the basis for a revival of ancient Irish civilization in a book which he published there. Twelve years later, in 1857, John O'Mahony's translation of Keating's History of Ireland was published in New York. Coming upon Keating's account of the Fianna of Finn Mac Cumhaill, O'Mahony was moved to write the following footnote:

The tales here mentioned, as well as all the other documents relating to the Fiann which still remain, are now in a fair way of being published by the Ossianic Society of Dublin. If the Irish public, both at home and in America, will only support that society as it deserves, our Fenian literature will soon be placed within the reach of Irish students. Until these Tales of the Fiann, with the Ossianic Poems, be given to the public in a translated form, nothing like a correct picture can be drawn of the state of Ireland, during the days when Finn and his warriors flourished — days which may be said to constitute the heroic speech of our history.

O'Mahony was more interested in the wide Irish public than in a select group of Celtic antiquarians and in his Preface he wrote:

1. See pp. 61-2.
2. John O'Mahony, Foras Feasa Ar Eirinn. Do Reir An Athair Seathrun Ceitig, Ollamh Re Diadhachta. The History of Ireland, from the Earliest Period to the English Invasion, by the Reverend Geoffrey Keating, p. 345, note 64.
The book is not specially designed to please literary people. It is more designed for the purpose of conveying, in plain and simple terms, certain information about the country and the usages of their ancestors, to those of the translator’s own race and kindred who have not much time to devote to the perusal of books, and whose early opportunities have not enabled them to become critics in the elegancies of a language which has been forced upon them by their enemies.

O’Mahony hoped that his translation would arouse in its readers a love for Ireland and a hatred for England:

If it be the mark of a partisan to be thoroughly Irish in heart and soul; to love men of Irish name and blood more than men of any other; to abhor the destroyers of his nation and kinsmen, who are also the desolators of his own paternal hearth, with a hatred that neither time nor distance can mitigate; then is this the work of a most undoubted partisan. And again, if an ardent desire to perpetuate like feelings amongst the men of his nation be the part of a partisanship, then has he edited this book in a spirit of thorough partisanship.

A year after this translation appeared, the Fenian Brotherhood was formed. In 1867 the Fenian movement was responsible for its first insurrection in Ireland and it is significant to observe that at the same time the Irish-Americans in the Brotherhood were talking about the “Irish Regeneration” which they were to effect. Ten years later, after considerable agitation in America and Ireland, the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded in Dublin. Shortly thereafter the headline of an Irish paper heralded: The Proposed Celtic Revival.

1. O’Mahony, op. cit., P. 8.
2. Ibid, pp. 16-17.
3. See p. xvi.
5. See p. 92.
7. See pp. 235-236.
8. See p. 238.
This is the earliest use of the word "Celtic" in connection with
a renaissance which I have come upon.

In 1894, an Irishman in London, W. P. Ryan, discovered
that an Irish literary revival had arisen not "in the Ireland
at home, but in Southwark, a district of London":

A young civil servant, born in Kinvara, Co. Galway,
and author at a tender age of an Irish drama (The last
of the O'Leary's), here began in conjunction with a
few enthusiastic friends, an Irish revival which led
to many such awakenings in Great Britain...Francis Pahy
himself, and his young friends, were, I must admit, as
daring politicians as any, but they had far-reaching
literary and educational projects as well. There were
in existence when they took up their new work a couple of
Junior Irish Literary Clubs, and a central council...
The work in hand was a wide one. Notwithstanding the
political ferment, thousands of Irish children in
London were growing up Irish in nothing but in name.
Now came an effort to make them Irish of the Irish,
to teach them Irish history and many things kindred,
to brighten their minds with national songs, stories,
and traditions, to develop their new Irish talents. Francis Pahy in those days was an enthusiast
and a tireless worker. Very soon under his management,
and that of his friends, the Southwark branch of the
Junior Literary Club was far and away the most effective
of all of them. In 1892, despite the growing political
stress, its fame had travelled a long way beyond South-

Ryan then traced the growth of this group into the Southwark
Irish Literary Club and ultimately into the Irish Literary So-
iety of London. It is such an explanation of the origin of
the Celtic renaissance which led George Bernard Shaw, with more
wit than accuracy, to declare in the Preface for Politicians to
John Bull’s Other Island:

   and Possibilities, pp. 11-16.
2. Ibid., pp. 12-126.
The great movements of the human spirit which sweep in waves over Europe are stopped on the Irish coast by the English guns of the Pigeon House Fort. Only a quaint little effusion of English pre-Raphaelityism called the Gaelic movement has got a footing by using Nationalism as a stalking-horse, and popularizing itself as an attack on the native language of the Irish people, which is most fortunately also the native language of half the world, including England.  

While the aforementioned interest in Ireland was being displayed by Americans and Englishmen, the forces which were responsible for the Celtic renaissance were at work in what might be called the mother country. At the time when Thomas Moore had sought to lay the foundation for a revival of Irish antiquities, the leaders of "Gaelic scholarship" in Ireland were Eugene O'Curry and John O'Donovan. In their researches these two antiquarians were encouraged by a Celtic Society and in 1854 another such group was formed, the Ossianic Society, of which Standish O'Grady was to become president in 1856 and in which John O'Mahony was to express his interest a year later. The increasing popularity of Celtic studies was evidenced by the publication of Sir Samuel Ferguson's Lays of the Western Gael in 1864 and the appearance two years later of The Story of the Irish before the Conquest by Ferguson's wife. The formation

1. G. B. Shaw, John Bull's Other Island and Major Barbara, p. xxxvi.  
2. See p. xxviii.  
5. Ibid., p. 576.  
7. See p. xxviii.  
of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language has already been mentioned. In 1879, the Gaelic Union was established and in its Report for 1880, under the caption Gaelic in Dublin Journals, the new organisation announced:

The Gaelic Union has been for a considerable time conducting a 'Gaelic Department' in the Irishman and Shamrock; 'Lessons in Gaelic' in Young Ireland; and a 'Grammar Course' in the Irish Teacher's Journal... Besides these, 'Gaelic Departments' are conducted in the Tusa News and Cork Examiner weekly.2

In 1880 the publication of Standish J. O'Grady's history of ancient Ireland was completed and from that date Ernest Boyd traces the Celtic renaissance although of The Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland, 1886, he says:

This slim little book, in its white buckram covers, will always be regarded with special affection by lovers of Irish literature, for it was the first offering of the Literary Revival.3

Another historian of the renaissance dates it from 1889:

In 1889, the year in which both Allingham and Ellen O'Leary died, William Butler Yeats published his Wanderings of Oisin and Douglas Hyde his Leabhar Scoilighsaicht (A Book of Gaelic Stories) and it is from the publication of these two books that both the revival of Gaelic and the revival of Irish literature in English date.4

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Lemax Robinson, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Cornelius Weygandt, and George Moore, may be listed as among those who found the

1. See p. xxiv.
2. See p. 352.
5. L. Robinson, Bryan Cooper, pp. 46-47.
7. See p. xxii.
8. See pp. xxvi-xxvii.
origins of the Celtic renaissance in the "nineties."

After 1900, the forces which were causing the revival of the civilisation of ancient Ireland reached their apogee and new developments began. The biographer of James Joyce, Herbert Gorman, insists on comparing his subject with Yeats and J. M. Synge:

He has established a new form, a form that differs in relation to the new forms established for Ireland by William Butler Yeats and John M. Synge in that it is more universal. As those two men represent modern Ireland's finest achievement in poetry and drama, so does Joyce represent its finest achievement in the novel form.

Yet, of Chamber Music, "Joyce's solitory volume of verse," which was published in 1907, Gorman says:

Joyce, it is rumored, took his poetry seriously, speaking of it in an arrogant manner and comparing himself to the Elizabethans. No more indelible proof of his careful refusal to be swallowed up in the vast pool of the Celtic Renaissance is needed.  

Again, referring to certain unpleasantnesses in 1911, Gorman writes: "Could anything have more fortified Joyce in his deliberate alienation from the Irish Revival (then, of course, slowly coming to a halt) than the treatment afforded 'Dubliners' by Dubliners?" In short, Herbert Gorman finds in Joyce the end of Ireland's "literary rebirth" and a new departure in Irish letters:

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1. H. B. Gorman, James Joyce, His First Forty Years, pp. 11-12.
2. Ibid., pp. 14-16.
3. Ibid., pp. 34-38.
4. Ibid., p. 38.
5. Ibid., p. 5.
From the obvious, though intense, outcries of the school of Davis and Mangan, Ireland has passed through a sudden literary rebirth in the belated recognition of its own huge province of native material. Exhausting (or rather being satisfied) with this rich heritage the modern writers have turned to the depiction of Man's spiritual destiny. An inward groping was the natural corollary. Man progresses through God to man by a most reasonable road. It is but a consistent step, after all, from the exalted mysticism of A.E., and the mournful symbolism of William Butler Yeats to the meticulous spiritual analyses of James Joyce.

As evidence for Gorman's contention that the Celtic Renaissance had run its course, the appearance of Ireland's Literary Renaissance by Ernest Boyd in 1916 may be cited. Again, a year later, in The Contemporary Drama of Ireland, Boyd used the term to designate a body of literature "written during the past thirty years." Yet, in the same book he clearly indicated a preference for the phrase "Irish Literary Revival," and lest anyone might think that he differentiated between "Celtic renaissance" and "Irish Literary Revival," the following excerpt from the same book should put an end to the suspicion:

W.B. Yeats was born in Dublin in 1865; he belonged, therefore, to that younger generation of poets and prose writers who attained manhood in the early 'eighties,' and initiated the movement commonly known as 'the Celtic Renaissance.' He was the first of his contemporaries to obtain the recognition of a wide public, and he has come to be regarded as the embodiment of all that was, and is, represented by the Irish Literary Revival.4

From the numerous dates which appear in the foregoing chronological discussion of the phrase "Celtic Renaissance," I

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2. E. A. Boyd, The Contemporary Drama of Ireland, p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 47.
should rather not be asked to choose one as that of its beginning and another as that of its end. I would prefer to state that sometime about 1850 there may be observed certain phenomena in America which indicate that Irish-Americans, at least, were beginning to take something more than an academic interest in Irish antiquities. Subsequently this phenomenon can be noted in Ireland and finally among the Irish in London. Suddenly, various literary persons discovered that there was an important "Celtic renaissance" taking place. The literary aspects of this revival did not long survive this discovery and early in the twentieth century the "Celtic renaissance" was supplanted in the writings of eminent Irishmen by something quite different, which may be clearly seen in the work of James Joyce.

To recapitulate: In the present investigation of the relations between Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance, the word "Fenianism" will be used to describe the doctrine of those members of the Irish separatist movement who believed that Irish independence could only be won by physical force. In the phrase "Celtic renaissance" the word "Celtic" has been used as though it were synonymous with "Irish," or, even, "Gaelic"; and "renaissance" has been taken to mean the revival, by individuals and organisations, of various practices of the ancient Irish. Finally, the dates 1858 and 1916 have been adopted because they are important in the history of the Fenian movement, the earlier being the year in which the Brotherhood was founded and the later being the occasion of the celebrated Easter week insurrection for which it was almost solely responsible.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCING UNIONISM AND SEPARATISM

When the legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland coalesced in 1800 as a result of the Act of Union, the victors climaxed a long series of wars, confiscations and prohibitions. It is not within the scope of the present research to tell that story. A beginning will be made, rather, by indicating some of the more important devices which the Unionist party adopted in order to perpetuate itself. Four main techniques may be noted: the retention within the group of government posts; a reliance upon the propertyed classes; the dissemination, especially through the educational system, of anti-Irish and pro-English sentiments; and the establishment of a national church. Resistance to these techniques of the Unionists came from Roman Catholic, agrarian and political quarters but before this opposition is discussed, it seems appropriate to write in more detail about the four principal devices used by the rulers of Ireland to assure their retention of power after 1800.

Unionism

Dublin Castle

In 1565, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Lieutenant of Queen Elizabeth to Ireland, decided to make Dublin Castle his residence
while in Ireland. Until 1800 it was occupied by Sidney's successors for the same purpose. Thereafter, the Unionists used it as a technique for the government of Ireland in their interests. How successful they were may be learned from the following description of the functions of those employed in the Castle in 1909:

The administration in Ireland...centers in Dublin Castle, and the name of that institution is the popular and accurate designation of the power that controls the destinies of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, physically speaking, is a collection of buildings in the heart of Dublin. It is the palace of the Viceroy, or Lord Lieutenant; it is also the seat of administration, a military depot and headquarters of the constabulary and secret police... At the head of Dublin Castle is the Viceroy, invariably a Protestant peer... He is appointed by the Crown, and in turn appoints a Privy Council of about sixty members, consisting of royal personages, retired chief secretaries, high judges and other persons of distinction. This is an advisory board...

The real head of the government is the Chief Secretary for Ireland, a member of the Imperial Parliament and responsible to it, and holding a seat in the cabinet...

Then, after a sketch of the Under-Secretary's duties, the description ends:

Under these three officials -- one a figurehead, one a member of the English cabinet, one a resident secretary, all appointed by the British government -- the affairs of Ireland are administered by a great nest of bureaus, departments and boards. There are sixty-seven of them -- sixty-seven costly, complicated, irresponsible bodies conducting the governmental business of the poorest nation in Europe, and not a single one of them within the remotest reach of public opinion.

3. Ibid., p. 231.
The Propertied Classes

In 1922, the last Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was succeeded by T. M. Healy, the first governor general of the Irish Free State; and, since the present research is concerned only with the events up to 1916, it is hardly necessary to point out that Dublin Castle remained a stronghold of Unionism during the period under consideration. The reliance of the Unionists upon the propertied classes was similarly tenacious. An indication of the manner in which the latter acquired their property may partially explain this tenacity. From the time of the invasion of Ireland by Henry II in 1155, till the final victory of William III over the Irish Jacobites in 1690, titles to the land had gradually been acquired by these English invaders and their Irish sympathizers:

There was one purpose and policy in all the 'conspirations,' 'settlements,' 'plantations,' and 'feudal foires' carried out by the English invaders, and that was to seize and own the land of Ireland. To this end the Celtic peasantry and their chieftains were to be despoiled. Every means that could effectively secure this object was justifiable. The interests of true 'religion' in one reign, of 'law' and loyalty in the next, of the blessings and enlightenment of English domination always. Nothing of the kind was ever avowedly done for the purposes of vulgar plunder.4

The Anglo-Irish landlords created in this manner formed the bulk of the propertied classes upon which the Unionists relied. Nevertheless, the landlords were slightly more responsive to

3. Ibid., p. 602.
public opinion than Dublin Castle was. Two members of this
privileged class were responsible for introducing the coopera-
tive movement into Ireland, John Scott Vandeleur and William
Thompson. In 1823 Vandeleur heard Robert Owen speak to a
Unionist audience in Dublin on Utopian Socialism. At that
time there was considerable agrarian unrest in Ireland and
Vandeleur decided to convert his estate at Ralahine, County Clare,
into a cooperative farm. He induced E. T. Craig, an English-
man and a friend of Owen, to manage it. William Thompson was
another Irish landlord who was acquainted with Owen. When he
observed the success of Craig’s work at Ralahine, Thompson de-
cided to attempt a similar experiment on his own estates, but
he died before his objective was achieved. The end of
Ralahine was more spectacular. Vandeleur, as the result of
gambling debts, went into bankruptcy and the Irish courts
turned the cooperative over to his creditors who immediately dis-
solved it.

Anti-Irish and Pro-English Teachings

In their dissemination of anti-Irish and pro-English
sentiments, the Unionists were aided at first by Englishmen and
later by an educational system of their own creation. Irish
World, personifying the Gaelic Irishman as a clown and the

2. E. T. Craig, An Irish Co-operative Farm, the History of Ralahine,
   pp. 6-7.
3. Ibid., pp. 111-119.
5. Craig, op. cit., p. 128.
Unionist Government as hiskeeper, in two rhetorical questions indicated the probable object of such teachings: "Does not this clown need a guardian? Is it any wonder that I am sometimes forced to coerce such a savage into quiet and submission?" Thackeray, Macaulay and Carlyle aided the Unionists by disseminating anti-Irish literature. One of them referred to the British Empire as an "elephant," and to Ireland as a "starved rat": "Ireland," said Carlyle, "is a starved rat that crosses the path of an elephant: what is the elephant to do? Squeal it, by Heaven! squeal it!" Macaulay's disparagement of ancient Irish literature enraged Matthew Arnold:

The invaluable Irish manuscripts in the Stowe Library the late Sir Robert Peel proposed, in 1849, to buy for the British Museum; Lord Macaulay, one of the trustees of the Museum, declared, with the confident shallowness which makes him so admired by public speakers and leading-article writers, and so intolerable to all searchers for truth, that he saw nothing in the whole collection worth purchasing for the Museum, except the correspondence of Lord Melville on the American war. That is to say, this correspondence of Lord Melville's was the only thing in the collection about which Lord Macaulay himself knew or cared.

And Thackeray even stepped so low as to suggest that Irish surnames are ridiculous:

For the greater part of the journey the little guard sat on the roof among the carpet-bags, holding in one hand a huge tambour-frame, in the other a band-box marked 'Foggarty, Hatter.' (What is there more ridiculous in the name of Foggarty than in that of Smith? And yet, had Smith been the name, I never should have laughed at or remarked it.)

Thackeray, Carlyle and Macaulay had their imitators in Ireland of whom, perhaps, Samuel Lover and Charles Leger were the most famous. As an example of the Unionist audience to which these latter appealed, Doctor Brinkley of Trinity College, Dublin, may be cited. Brinkley on one occasion said to the antiquarian, George Petrie:

Surely, sir, you do not mean to tell us that there exists the slightest evidence to prove that the Irish had any acquaintance with the arts of civilised life anterior to the arrival in Ireland of the English?  

Lever, whose comedies enjoyed great popularity, used for a stock character an amazing anthropoid who came to be known as the "stage Irishman." In *Il Paddy Whack in Italia*, Lever incorporated a typical name of one of these supposedly Gaelic Irishmen into the very title of the play. Lever not only helped to disseminate this amazing anthropoid legend, as in the character of Mickey Free in *Charles O'Malley*, but he also reviled the Irish republicans of 1798. In his novel *Maurice Tiernan* the hero told of the French expedition which landed at Killala in '98. Of the Irish insurgents who joined the French forces after they had disembarked, Tiernan observed:

...all those who joined us were utterly indifferent to the great cause of Irish independence; their thoughts never rose above a row and a pillage. It was to be a season of sack, plunder, and outrage, but nothing more! That such were the general sentiments of the volunteers, I believe none will dispute. We, however, in our ignorance of the people and their language, interpreted all the harum-searum wilderness we saw as the buoyant temperament of a high-

3. *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 188.
spirited nation, who, after centuries of degrada-
tion and ill-usage, saw the dawning of liberty at
last.

Had we possessed any real knowledge of the country,
we should at once have seen that of those who joined
us, none were men of any influence or station. If,
now and then, a man of any name strayed into the
camp, he was sure to be one whose misconduct or bad
character had driven him from associating with his
equals; and, even of the peasantry, our followers were
of the very lowest order.

It is striking testimony to the effect of Fenianism and the
Celtic renaissance to point out that William Butler Yeats, who
was a member of both movements, was to write of these same men
in his play, *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*:

> They shall be remembered for ever
> They shall be alive for ever
> They shall be speaking for ever
> The people shall hear them for ever.  

And that George Moore, boasting of his ancestry in *Hail and
Farewell*, was to tell of his grand-uncle, John Moore, who had
met the French at Killala: "John, the first President of the
Irish Republic, was arrested at Athlone and driven along the
roads with other rebels to Castlebar. He died in prison."

In addition to the help which these English and Irish
authors gave to the Unionists, the latter were aided by an edu-
cational system of their own creation. Previous to 1833,
elementary education in Ireland had been no concern of the
government. In that year a National Board, consisting of five
Protestants and two Catholics, was appointed to create a uni-
form school system:

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1. See pp. 412-413; p. 692.
The effect of this was seen in the persistent efforts to Anglicize the children. The use of the English language was enforced, although many thousands of children spoke Gaelic. This might be justified... but as much could hardly be said for the use as text books of histories which extolled the conquest of the country by English sovereigns and lauded the defection of England from the Church to which Ireland clings...

Even the 'readers' were carefully edited with a view to bend the youthful mind toward sentiment... Said one book, 'On the east of Ireland is England, where the Queen lives. Many people who live in Ireland were born in England (two or three per cent, possibly), and we speak the same language and are called one nation.'

The English educational censor, too, had a fatherly interest in the tender minds under his care. He condemned and suppressed a 'reader' which contained Scott's verses, beginning:

'Breathe there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself has said;
This is my own, my native land!'

...an account of 'their tendency to promote seditious feelings,'... verses inserted in the 'reader' in place of Sir Walter's incendiary lines... ended with the teaching couplet:

'I thank the goodness and the grace which on
My birth have smiled,
And made me in these Christian days a happy
English child.'

The extent to which this school system was prepared to go to abolish the Gaelic language is difficult to believe:

...Irish was a badge of inferiority, and schoolboys in many parts of Connacht had to carry, hung from the button-holes of their jackets, small sticks on which their parents cut a notch for every word of Irish spoken in their hearing at home, and the schoolmaster gave them a slap for every notch.

1. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 179.
2. J. Devoy, Revolutions of an Irish Rebel, p. 263.
The Established Church of England and Ireland

In addition to enlisting the power of education, the

propertied classes and Dublin Castle, the Unionists sought to

perpetuate themselves through organized religion. The Act of

Union wedded the Church of Ireland with the Church of England

in "one Protestant Episcopal Church." Article V of this Act de-

clared, "that the continuance and preservation of the said

United Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland,

shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental

d part of the Union..." Some popular support for this national

crunch was won in the north of Ireland where agrarian discontent

had taken on a religious aspect in the eighteenth century and

the Orange Order had been formed to protect certain economic

privileges enjoyed by Protestant farmers. Following the Act

of Union the religious character of these differences was to be

exploited. Thus in 1823, when Daniel O'Connell, secretly aided

by members of the cabinet, formed the Catholic Association, Sir

Marpurt Lees proposed to make the Orangemen the nucleus of an

opposition party:

The maniac Lees went so far, about this time, as to

recommend 'a great military consideration' of the

Protestants of Ulster, and to say that he would 'pass

in review the entire Protestant forces' of that pro-

vince; to talk also 'of protecting the island for his

venerated sovereign' and to style himself the 'ack-

nowledged protector' of the Protestants. He defies

at the same time 'the infatuated and ignorant cabal

of His Majesty's cabinet."

1. D. P. Connolly and J. O. O'Boyle, Ireland, Past and Present,
   pp. 361-362.
2. Davitt, op. cit., p. 16.
Ulster Orangemen remained belligerently Unionist throughout the period to be investigated in the present research, Sir Edward Carson being its latest protagonist. Yet they were unable to prevent Parliament from disestablishing the Church of Ireland in 1871 and thus the national church was the first of the devices, adopted by the Unionists, to perpetuate themselves, to parish.

**Separatism**

Opposition to Unionism came from religious, agrarian and political quarters. Political foes of the Act of Union may be divided into those who were willing to seek to repeal it by moral suasion and those who believed that it could only be annulled by physical force. For the most part those who favored the creation of an Irish republic fell into the latter class. It is convenient to take up the three types of opposition to Unionism in the order named.

**The Roman Catholic Church**

Before 1800

This is no place for a history of the differences between the English Crown and the Church of Rome. It seems necessary, however, to indicate that these differences were magnified in

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1. See p.588-592.
2. See p.88.
Ireland when King William III signed the Treaty of Limerick with the defeated Irish Catholic Jacobites in 1691. It is from this time that the so-called "Penal Laws" may be dated. This code did not merely bar priests from Ireland, but also discriminated against the Roman Catholic laity:

The acts that concerned the landowners forbade them to acquire freeholds other than by inheritance or to take leases of more than 31 years at a crushing rent. By the 'Gaveling Act' if the eldest son conformed he succeeded to the whole estate, otherwise it was equally divided... The Catholics in general were barred from trades and professions, education, office (great or small), juries, the electoral vote, the right to arms and a horse.

A Lord Chancellor succinctly summed up these laws when he declared from the bench: "The law does not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic."

The first important blow against this code was taken in 1793 when Irish Catholics were given the right to vote for candidates to the Irish Parliament. Further remedial legislation followed in 1793. A most interesting law passed by the Irish Parliament at the later date enabled Roman Catholics to have their own schools:

It repealed portions of the Acts of William III, and Anne inflicting on any Catholic teaching school or privately instructing youth the same pains, penalties, and forfeitures that any Papish clergyman was liable to, viz., transportation, and, in case of return, death.

2. Ibid., pp. 609-610.
3. Ibid., p. 51.
4. Ibid., p. 93.
As a result, Saint Patrick's College at Maynooth, commonly referred to as "Maynooth," was founded in 1795 and became the most prominent seminary in Ireland. This law was not adversely affected by the Act of Union and in 1808 the Christian Brothers established their elementary school system. Later, the college of Saint Jarlath's was founded at Tuam and in the same year, 1824, the Jesuits opened Clongowes Wood College. Thus the sub rosa hedge schools wherein Irish Catholics had received a smattering of education were supplanted by schools openly controlled by the Roman Catholic Church.

Tom Moore and Daniel O'Connell

Although these new schools reflect the interest which the priesthood took in Irish culture, it would seem to be fitting for chronological reasons to postpone a consideration of this interest while the activities of two prominent laymen are discussed: Thomas Moore and Daniel O'Connell. In 1793 Trinity College, Dublin, first began to admit Roman Catholic students. A year later, Thomas Moore's name was entered. Although Moore "was never an ardent Catholic," his *Melodies* may have hastened Catholic Emancipation, and "perhaps the best of all his songs,

1. L. Paul-Dubois, Contemporary Ireland, p. 461.
2. Ibid., p. 369, note 2.
5. L.A.G. Strong, The Minstrel Boy, p. 188.
"The Irish Peasant to His Mistress" records the love and honour he gave to the martyred Church of Ireland. In addition he supported O'Connell in the latter's efforts to have the "Penal Laws" abolished and in the Memoirs of Captain Rock he advocated the alteration of the system whereby Irish Roman Catholic peasants were forced to pay tithes to the Established Church. In addition to these activities which involved his church, it may be noted that Moore admired the Irish republicans; and by his Irish Melodies gave unmistakable evidence of a deep, if slightly erroneous, concern for the music of his native land. Furthermore, whatever his qualifications as a musicologist may have been, Moore, himself, was aware that he was not qualified to write the History of Ireland which he undertook:

He undertook it with laudable intentions; but only after it was far advanced did he discover by meeting Petrie and other scholars that long, ancient histories of Ireland in the Gaelic tongue existed, and that men could read them. 'Good God,' he said, 'Why did I ever undertake to write a history of Ireland?'

Although Daniel O'Connell, unlike Moore, was not friendly with Irish republicanism or land reform, by virtue of his efforts to ameliorate the condition of his fellow Irish Catholics, he became the leading figure among Irish separatists in the first part of the nineteenth century. The Catholic Association of Ireland which he founded in 1825 was the first mass organisation to appear after the passage of the Act of Union for the

1. Brooke and Rolleston, op. cit., p. 34.
5. S. Gwynn, Irish Literature and Drama, p. 45.
purpose of benefiting Irishmen by an appeal to moral suasion:

He formed the bold design of combining the Irish Catholic millions, under the superintendence of the native priesthood, into a vast league against the existing order, and of wresting the concession of the Catholic claims from every opposing party in the state by continuous agitation, embracing almost the whole of the people, but maintained within constitutional limits... O'Connell stood at the head of this great national movement which, controlled from the first to last by himself and the priesthood, was essentially conservative in character.¹

When the Catholic Association was suppressed in 1835, two Dublin papers were friendly -- *Freeman's Journal* and the *Morning Register*. After it had been reorganised, a third O'Connellite organ appeared, *The Pupil*. Then, in 1833, O'Connell was elected to Parliament to represent County Clare. At that time the nature of the oath of office required was such as to exclude Catholics from sitting at Westminster. When O'Connell refused to take it and preferred to seek re-election, Parliament passed the so-called "Catholic Emancipation Act." In his *Recollections*, Aubrey De Vere has told the story:

When the 'Clare Election' was won by O'Connell, my father expressed his certainty that Catholic Emancipation must follow inevitably. It proved so. Before another year had passed (that of 1839) the hills were covered with bonfires celebrating the passing of 'The Bill.' I was then fifteen, and I well remember climbing to the top of a high pillar on the summit of a hill opposite our house, though how the feat was achieved I cannot conceive, and standing upon it for many minutes, waving a lighted torch round my head in the gathering darkness.²

Of the political aspects of O'Connell's agitation, further mention will be made, but his connection with the Oxford Movement and his mild interest in the Irish language deserve mention in this place. Of the former, only a few words would seem to be necessary: "Catholic emancipation and the Reform Bill had deeply stirred, not only the political spirit at Oxford, but also the church feeling which had long been stagnant."

Of his interest in the Irish language, it may be reported that O'Connell was a native Irish speaker and among his numerous adherents was the Kerry poet, Tomas Ruia O'Suilleabain: "Tomas expressed his faith in a Gaelic-speaking nation liberated and rejuvenated as a result of O'Connell's efforts. He hailed him in Irish lays..."

Yet, all things considered, Douglas Hyde is probably right in charging that O'Connell neglected the "racial customs, language and traditions" of Ireland. Incidentally, it would be interesting to have O'Connell's opinion of Thomas Furlong, a prominent Irish Catholic layman and O'Connellite, who could have supplied the former with what he was wanting:

He was a member of the Catholic Association and a strenuous agitator for emancipation. He was the intimate friend of O'Connell and often assisted the 'Liberator'... The labor of giving to Irishmen the songs of their beloved bard Carolan in English occupied his attention for a time, and his translations in the 'Remains' claims for him the grateful remembrance of his countrymen. In 1835 he wrote a few songs for Hardiman's 'Book of Irish Minstrelsy.'

The Irish Language

The interest which the Roman Catholic priesthood took in Irish culture has been criticized by the Irish revolutionary, Thomas Francis Meagher. Meagher condemned his alma mater, Gonzaga's Weed, for neglecting Irish history, especially for its indifference to the United Irishmen and their attempt to set up an Irish republic in 1798: "It is an odd fiction which represents the Irish Jesuits as conspirators against the stability of the British empire in Ireland. With two or three exceptions they were not O'Connellites even."

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Meagher's church displayed an interest in the Irish language. Indeed, in many parishes English was unknown, and for that reason, if for no other, a course in Gaelic was given at Maynooth. The most notable Irish ecclesiastic to espouse the cause of his native language was the Reverend John MacNale, Archbishop of Tuam, who encouraged the teaching of Gaelic in his diocese, notably at St. Jarlath's College. His greatest obstacle was a lack of reading material. Unfortunately, Bishop Bedell's translation of the Bible into Irish, 1641, could not be used by Roman Catholics. However, there were some texts of a religious nature which were available:

Few books had been published in the language — Dr. Denlevy's Irish Catechism and Dr. Gallagher's Irish Sermons — both of the eighteenth century — were almost the only books available, at least till 1822 when

Fr. Sullivan's fine Irish version of the 'Imitation' came out; and if we except the few fragments in Miss Brooks' 'Reliques,' none of our poetry had appeared, prior to all events to the publication of Hardiman's 'Irish Minstrelsy' in 1831.1

And in 1834 this meager list was slightly enlarged when Connellan's Irish Grammar appeared with a passage from the Iliad translated into Irish by John O'Donovan. Still later, Doctor MacHale, who was a native Irish speaker and was, like O'Donovan, interested in translating the Iliad into Irish, helped to increase the number of texts in print:

These works were a Teagasc Cristaidhe or Irish Catechism, an Irish Prayer-Book, Crachn Urnaigh Oraibbhchige, a translation of some sixty of Moore's Melodies, a translation of Homer's 'Iliad' (twelve books, of which eight were published), and an Irish version of 'Pentateuch'... The works then are mostly translations; indeed, the only original work of his in the language is, we believe, the hymn or sacred poem he wrote in Rome in honour of the Immaculate Conception.2

In view of the preceding remarks about the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, two prominent laymen and Irish culture, it is perhaps not an exaggeration to suspect Aubrey De Vere of hyperbole when he asserted:

It was after the lapse of many years that the meaning of Irish history flashed upon me. It possessed unity, although not a political one. Religion was Ireland's unity. That had not been a series of frustrations. A great destiny had been working itself out, not from the time of Strongbow, but from that of St. Patrick. The Norman time and the time of the Penal Laws had both of them been but episodes.3

2. Ibid., pp. 20-31.
The Land

In 1800 "the great bulk of the population" of Ireland worked the land. This peasantry was Roman Catholic, Gaelic speaking and illiterate. Yet it was the involuntary inheritor and unconscious custodian of an ancient culture of which the rest of the world was ignorant. For in 1800 the Protestant minority had the ear of the world. And the writers for this ruling caste delighted in portraying the Irish landlord as dwelling in a big house which was well equipped with arms and ammunition to withstand any outbursts of the barbarous natives. Thus, in one of Charles Lever's novels, the following dialogue reported:

"Could they force their way up?" asked Walpole.
"Not if the people above have any courage. Just come and look at the stair; it was made in times when people thought of defending themselves." They issued forth now together to the top of the landing, where a narrow, steep flight of stone steps descended between two walls to the basement-story. A little more than half-way down was a low iron gate or grille of considerable strength.

Again, the world was told by Maria Edgeworth in Castle Rackrent, which was published as early as 1800, that the decline of one of these big houses was a veritable Irish tragedy. Yet Miss Edgeworth criticised the results of absentee landlordism:

Sir Kit Rackrent, my young master, left all to the agent; and though he had the spirit of a prince,

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and lived away to the honour of his country abroad, which I was proud to hear of, what were we the better for that at home? The agent was one of your middle men, who grind the face of the poor..."

Even more critical was William Carleton whose Valentine McClutchy, published in 1845, caused "a howl of disapprobation...from the Conservative organs" and, although he wrote for a Unionist audience, his *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* has been praised for its accuracy by one unusually quick to resent the attitude of the ruling class toward the "mere Irish": "This work constitutes the completest and most authentic picture ever given to us of the life of the peasantry in the first quarter of the last century."

Opposition to the landowners was not well organized, but its existence is indisputable. Michael Davitt in his *Fall of Feudalism in Ireland* has reviewed the story of Irish, agrarian, secret societies in the eighteenth century. For the most part they sought the redress of specific ills but in the nineteenth century there was a new development. It came about as the result of opposition to the payment of tithes to the Established Church and was in part responsible for expressions of physical force at Castlepollard, Newtonbarr, Carrickshock and Rathcormac. When Parliament passed the Tithe Commutation Act, presumably as a result of this violence, the new development was strengthened:

The Ribbon organisation, which came into prominence at the later stages of the anti-tithes movement, became the most powerful of all the Irish secret societies of the middle of the nineteenth century, and exercised very considerable influence upon the subsequent upbuilding of the Fenian Brotherhood. It absorbed almost all the existing agrarian bodies after 1830, Whiteboyism being largely transformed into the better organised and more widespread Ribbon combination.

This anti-tithes agitation was significant also as the first agrarian movement to have a newspaper devoted to it. Thomas Browne, co-author with John Sheehan of the anti-tithes Parson’s Horn-Book, which was illustrated by Samuel Lover, edited The Comet. The period of Browne’s journal was brief. Established in 1831, it disappeared in 1833 when its editor was forced to leave Ireland by the Lord Lieutenant. Significantly, shortly afterwards, Browne received a government job in the United States. In the same connection it may be noted that Browne’s most distinguished contributor, James Clarence Mangan, was, perhaps, familiar with the poetry of Edgar Allen Poe as early as 1831.

It must be emphasised that agrarian discontent was not limited to Roman Catholic separatists. In Protestant Ulster the “Oakboys” were organised on economic rather than religious or political lines. Yet the economic status of the Ulster peasantry was superior to that of the farmers in the south of

5. See p. pp. 74-78.
Ireland and thereby an effective union between the two groups was inhibited.

Political Separation

Advocates of political separation for Ireland can be divided into two groups whether this division be made along economic, social or philosophical lines. Thus, as far as economic, or social problems are concerned, as Grattan pointed out, the mere well-to-do favored threats rather than the republican revolution preached by Wolfe Tone:

...Grattan always spoke of the Volunteers of this period as 'the armed Property of the country,' while he stigmatized those of a later time -- the men with whom Wolfe Tone effected an alliance -- as 'the armed Beggary of the country'...\(^2\)

As the nicest distinction may be made between the philosophies of moral suasion and physical force this means of distinguishing between the two groups may be used with the reservation that not even here is the line of division so clear as to prevent some blurring along its edges.

Moral Suasion

The moral suasion movement will be treated chronologically with a glance backward into its status prior to 1800, a discussion of O'Connell's interest in it and some mention of the Young Ireland movement. At the outset, however, Sir Jonah Barrington's Personal Sketches of His Own Time, first published in 1837, may be quoted as an early example of the perennial

1. P. Paul-Dubois, Contemporary Ireland, pp. 246, 113, 103.
3. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 128.
appeal to the middle class of the average moral visionary.

Perhaps I write warmly myself: I write not, however, for distracted settegers, but for proprietors and legislators; and I have endeavored honestly to express my unalterable conviction that it is by encouraging, consolidating, reattaching, and recalling the higher, and not by confusing and inflaming the lower orders of society, that Ireland can be renovated.

The Irish Volunteers' Parliament

In 1776, when the American Revolution began, an Irish Parliament subservient to the English House, was in existence. Then England withdrew troops from Ireland for service in America and the Irish Parliament authorized the formation of a militia to take their place. By 1779 this new force, known as the Irish Volunteers, had enrolled over 40,000 men and had adopted a flag with a gold harp on a green field. In the same year, an Irish journalist, Matthew Carey, published a pamphlet denouncing the laws which oppressed Roman Catholics: "It showed a comprehensive survey of the freedom which America was just then making such efforts to secure...and called on other nations to emulate her example." The pamphlet caused so much displeasure to the rulers of Ireland that Cary moved temporarily to France where he met Lafayette and Franklin. Lafayette consulted with him on the revolutionary sentiment in Ireland and Franklin employed him in his printing office at Passy. In 1783

Carey was able to return to Dublin in safety and he became editor of the *Freeman's Journal*.

Meanwhile, as the result of a convention at Dungannon in County Tyrone on February 15, 1782, the Volunteers had won many rights for the Irish Parliament. And Carey, who admired the militia, soon left his post on the *Freeman's Journal* to start the *Volunteer's Journal*, "the object of which was to defend Ireland, economically and politically..." However, the leadership of the Volunteers, finding the rank and file to be too radical, dissolved the organization and as a result Carey emigrated to America in 1784.

The independent Irish Parliament survived the dissolution of the Volunteers by seventeen years. In 1786, it helped to create the Royal Irish Academy, a society "for the encouragement of science and learning" which was to become the repository of a famous collection of Irish antiquities. But in the following decade, it became increasingly a house divided and in 1800 it finally voted for its own extinction by passing the Act of Union with Great Britain. In conclusion it may be pointed out that among those who opposed its passage the author, Sir Jonah Barrington, and the orator, Henry Grattan, have already been mentioned.

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Daniel O'Connell

Daniel O'Connell, immediately after the passage of the Act of Union, set to work to have it repealed. His agitation for Catholic Emancipation obscured this but when he returned to Clare to seek re-election in 1839, he promised to renew his efforts and he began to look for more supporters. In Ireland he gained the backing of various groups including the National Trades Political Union and sympathy for his endeavor was expressed in America by the New York Truth Teller. In spite of this assistance, his motion for the repeal of the Act of Union was defeated in the House of Commons and in 1855, as the result of an agreement with the Whigs, he agreed to lay it aside for the time being. In 1860 he revived it and established the Repeal Association in order to organize his followers.

To O'Connell's delight in 1841 he received 500 pounds from pro-repeal organizations in the United States. His connections with America can be traced back at least to 1835 when meetings in favor of his cause were held in New York and elsewhere. Indeed, President Jackson was believed to be sympathetic but O'Connell alienated many in America by his outspoken opposition to negro slavery. On the other hand, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and the other Abolitionists regarded him as their friend, and they particularly were pleased by the

2. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 1366.
7. Ibid., p. 296.
peroration of a message which he sent to all Irish-Americans:

Irishmen and Irishwomen! treat the colored people as your equals, as brethren. By all your memories of Ireland continue to love liberty, hate slavery, cling by the Abolitionists, and in America you will do honor to the name of Ireland. Signed by Daniel O'Connell, Theobald Mathew, and sixty thousand other inhabitants of Ireland.1

Recognizing that there was a field for O'Connellite propaganda in America, one of his followers, Thomas Neveey, not long after the receipt of the money mentioned above, took it upon himself to cross the Atlantic in the interests of his chief:

Two days after my arrival, I was introduced to the New York Repeal Association... In the course of a few weeks, a remittance of a thousand dollars was sent from that city. It was soon followed by a second sum of an equal amount.2

Neveey toured the United States and was well-received everywhere, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, James Buchanan, John Tyler and his son being among those who welcomed him. In 1842, when the weekly Nation was founded in Dublin by John Blake Dillon, Charles Cavan Duffy and Thomas Davis, Neveey was still in the United States. He was soon drawn to the new paper, which was to become the organ of the Young Ireland movement, and wrote of his connection with it:

Mr. Duffy wrote to me to America to become the American correspondent of the Nation, to which I heartily complied under the term 'exile', and thus I became for seven years a writer upon the same paper with Duffy, Davis, Dillon, and Mitchel.4

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3. Ibid., pp. 1465-1466.  
When the Nation first appeared in 1842, it was merely another paper which favored the repeal of the Act of Union. Stimulated by such support, O'Connell hailed 1843 as the "Repeal Year" and addressed a series of monster meetings which were assembled for him at various historic places in Ireland by his young and somewhat radical lieutenants, Michael O'brien, Thomas Davis and John Blake Dillon. The climax might have been the meeting at Olentangy where Brian Boru (Bercie) won his "great victory" over the Danes on April 25, 1014, but O'Connell was arrested and sent to jail.

At about this time O'Connell had written his vigorously anti-English Memoir of Ireland, Native and Saxon:

It was indeed what the author intended it to be, an indictment of England, for seven centuries of pillage and butchery; and well was it sustained by fact and proof. Never, perhaps, did any work on Ireland produce such an effect on the mind of Europe and America. Several editions were circulated in Ireland and England, and two extensive editions were published in the United States, which afforded the American repealers ample and fearful texts for their harangues. 2

Nevertheless, upon receiving his appeal, the House of Lords ordered his release in 1844.

O'Connell's acquaintance with prison may have assuaged his ardour. At any rate, in 1845, his difference with the younger and somewhat more radical members of the Repeal Association was emphasised in connection with Peel's proposed educational measures for Ireland. Peel's proposal to increase the subsidy of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, was unopposed but his "Colleges

Bill" which sought to create non-sectarian Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway was resisted by the Roman Catholic hierarchy which looked on mixed education of Catholic and Protestant with disfavor. Thomas Davis supported the "Colleges Bill" ardently. O'Connell decisively called him and his friends "Young Irishmen," and along with other "Old Irishmen," sided with his Church.

The death of Davis in September healed the breach temporarily but the friendship of O'Connell for a new Whig Ministry, and the fiery pen of Davis' friend, John Mitchel, who had succeeded him on the editorial staff of the Nation reopened it. For the Nation sided with another Irish member of Parliament, William Smith O'Brien, who flatly repudiated any agreement with the Whigs and in it Mitchel wrote kindly of physical force in an article on the new Irish railroads:

In November...the London Standard commented on the new Irish Railway as enabling the authorities to mass troops rapidly if necessary. Mitchel immediately wrote a 'few practical views' on the subject, and this is one of them: 'Troops upon their march by rail might be conveniently met with in divers places. Hofer, with his Tyroleans, could hardly desire a deadlier ambush than the brink of a deep cutting upon a railway. Imagine a few hundred men lying in wait upon such a spot, with masses of rock and trunks of trees ready to roll down; and a train or two advancing with a regiment of infantry, and the engine panting near and nearer, till the polished studs of brass are distinguishable, and its name may clearly be read. Now, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost! Now! But 'tis a dream, no enemy will dare put us to realize these scenes. Yet, let all understand what a railway may and what it may not do."

Outraged, O'Connell had the Nation expelled from the Repeal Association.

The final break between the Young and Old Irishers came when the Association passed a resolution which called on its members to subscribe to the opinion that physical force was never justified. It was on this occasion that Thomas Francis Meagher made his celebrated "Sword Speech," but it did not prevent the passage of the resolution. However, O'Connell did not long survive his victory for he died in Geneva on May 15, 1847.

Thomas Davis and Young Ireland

The Young Ireland movement may be divided into two parts. The earlier, of which Thomas Davis may be considered the protagonist, may be dated from the founding of the Nation in 1842. In that it called upon Irish members of Parliament to absent themselves from Westminster, proposed an Irish convention to legislate for Ireland and did not propose to appeal to physical force, this earlier phase of the Young Ireland movement foreshadowed the Sinn Fein party. The original aims of the Young Irishers have been summarized by Charles Gavan Duffy as follows:

I am entitled to answer for myself and my fellow-labourers alone; but I believe it is substantially the creed of the Irish Confederation. They do not demand Republicanism — they demand the legislative independence of Ireland, and will guard it jealously if it can come by free negotiation. If independence must come by force, a Republic is inevitable and wel-

1. Doheny, op. cit., p. 56.
Partly //Heathfield and so call it the Heathfield. That explanation by any one would sound as if we were to be //

put to advantage. Any engagement, and had served an apprenticeship, then be father met John Brown and thought about the house.

In 1895 Daily Gates this job and presented to return to study law.

George Underwood took the position of //

some one in the same show, Jones and Jervis were known by reputation by reputa-

tion. I met a person who, being a person of //

done to see the face of the manager, when in Oxford. But I longed to see it over in England. In my office //

there was a portrait Joseph was a successful //

A second party was interested in Oxford then.

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A second party was interested in Oxford then.
paid his contributors well:

Davis, and after him Mitchel, received from the Na-
tion more than twice as much as Macaulay received
from the Edinburgh Review, or Southey from the
Quarterly, these two being the only men who devoted
their entire time to the journal."

In addition, he contributed parts of his anthology, _Ballad Poetry
of Ireland_: "I had a passion for ballad poetry from the time I
read 'Robin Hood's Garland' secreted in a lexicon at school,
and longed for Irish ballads of the same scope and spirit."

It must be emphasised that Duffy looked to Great Britain
for his models. He wished the Nation to be like the London Ex-
mains or Spectator. He fancied himself as the Irish Robert
Burns and, indeed, as late as 1893 he seems to have been un-
aware that there was a considerable body of literature in the
Irish tongue for at that late date he was still hoping that "a
national literature would spring up." This characteristic of
Duffy was almost as true of _The Spirit of the Nation_, an anthology
of poems collected from its pages, and _The Voice of the Nation_,
a companion prose anthology. And when after 1894, the _New Spirit
of the Nation_ and _Poems and Ballads by the Writers of the Nation_
appeared, the latter-day anthologists revealed the same charac-
teristic. Even the arch-rebel John Mitchel was willing to adapt
English literary models for his revolutionary purposes. In

2. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 132.
3. Ibid., p. 59.
4. Ibid., p. 73.
5. Ibid., p. 66.
A Treasury of Irish Poetry T.W. Rolleston described how for "the most part" the "intensely patriotic" contributors to the Nation missed "the Gaelic note";

This was the ancient literature of the Gaels — the one literature of modern Europe which grew up spontaneously, untouched by the mighty influence of classic culture. And Mangan and Ferguson are the progenitors of those writers of our own day, like Standish O'Grady and Yeats, who are the representatives of the old Gaelic tradition, though they hand it all forward in the English tongue. The Nation writers, however, recall not the Gaelic but the English tradition. Davis's 'Lament for Owen Roe' has a certain Gaelic afflatus, and Edward Walsh knew how to 'turn a simple verse true to the Gaelic ear'; but for the most part, though the poets of The Nation loved to sprinkle their verses with Irish phrases, the qualities which remind us that there was once a Gaelic literature lie rather on the surface than in the substance of their work.

Thomas Osborne Davis was more interested than Duffy in "the Gaelic note." Duffy has reported: "The ideal of an historic nationality embracing the whole people of whatever creed or origin was a topic to which Davis constantly applied himself." Michael Doherty, whose poetic talent has been praised by Yeats, said of the source of Davis' inspiration for various items which appeared in the Nation:

Historic memories, forgotten stories, fragments of tradition, the creole in the mountain, and the fossil in the bog, supplied him substance and spirit wherewith to mould and animate nationality. Native art, valor, virtue, and glory seemed to grow under his pen.

And of his efforts elsewhere than in the Nation, Doherty added:

2. C. G. Duffy, My Life in Two Hemispheres, p. 63.
The Art Union, the Archaeological Society, the Royal Irish Academy, the Library of Ireland, the Cork School of Design, the Mechanics' Institute, and every effort and institution having for their aim the encouragement of the nation in arts, literature, and greatness engaged his vigilant and embracing care. Of each of these institutions he became the great attraction, the real centre and head.

Perhaps, then, the following tributes to the Nation by Thomas Moorey and Stepford Brooke belong to Davis:

The writers in the Dublin Nation have suggested the publication of a weekly newspaper in the Irish language, as one of the means which ought to be resorted to for its revival. And they reason on the revival of the language thus: "The bulk of our history and poetry is written in Irish; and shall we, who learn Italian, and Latin, and Greek, to read Dante, Livy, and Homer, in the original, -- shall we be content with ignorance, or, perhaps, an ignorant translation of Irish?"

And Brooke asserted: "In reality, the beginning of the Gaelic movement was contemporaneous with the rise of the political poetry of the Nation."

Samuel Ferguson was attracted to Davis by the latter's interest in "the Gaelic note," and under his influence Ferguson was so far alienated from Unionism as to become the prime mover of the Protestant Repeal Association. He even ceased contributing to the Dublin University Magazine because of his distaste for Charles Lever:

Different memoirs of Lever mention the name of Sir Samuel Ferguson among the men of mark whom he gathered around him on undertaking editorial duties; but so annoyed was Dr. Ferguson with him - as he assures us - for accepting Thackeray's dedication of the 'Irish Sketch Book,' that he declined to join the magazine under Lever, and did not care to meet him.

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1. Doheny, op. cit., p. 43.
The "Library of Ireland" brought Davis into association with James Clarence Mangan, William Carleton and John Mitchel. Mangan was so interested in the proposed series as to write:

Did it ever occur to you that Maturin's 'Milesian Chief', the most intensely Irish story I know of - might be brought out in a cheap form to advantage? Did you ever hear of Gamble, the author of 'Northern Irish Tales'? He made a powerful impression on me...

The first volume of the "monthly shilling volumes of Irish history, poetry, biography and literature, bearing the title of the Irish Library" to be published was a History of the Volunteers of 1798. The second was Duffy's Ballad Poetry of Ireland and Davis was at work on the third, a Life of Wolfe Tone, when he died of scarlet fever. Ironcally, Carleton's Parra Satha was substituted of which a celebrated Fenian, O'Donovan Rossa, was to declare:

When I was young I got hold of a book called 'Parra Satha; or, Paddy-go-easy.' Looking at the name of the book I did not know what Parra Satha meant; but as I read through it I learned that it was meant for Fadruig Satha - contented, or satisfied Paddy. The whole book is a dirty caricature of the Irish characters; but the writer of it is famed as an Irish novelist, and died in receipt of a yearly literary pension from the English government. He earned such a pension by writing that book alone. England pays people for defaming Ireland and the Irish.

When Davis died, Mitchel was at work on The Life and Times of Aodh O'Neill for the "Library of Ireland" and he dedicated the finished work to "The Memory of My Dear Friend, Thomas Davis,

1. Doheny, op. cit., p. 25.
3. Ibid., pp. 58-59.
5. O'Donovan Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, pp. 122-129.
With Deep Reverence." But of all the numerous eulogies, Samuel Ferguson's "Lament for Thomas Davis" is the most moving.

Perhaps the most beautiful poem to appear in The Nation was "The Dark Rosaleen" in which Mangan versified Samuel Ferguson's prose version of an Irish poem by Costello of Ballyhaunis. The "Rosaleen" of the poem, of course, symbolised the spirit of Ireland upon when the poet called for aid in fighting the Saxon:

Your holy, delicate white hands
Shall girdle me with steel.

In a figurative sense Mitchell, when he succeeded Davis as editor of the Nation in 1845, girdled the Young Irelanders with steel in preparation for a revolt against England.

As a result, O'Connell drove the Nation and the Young Irelanders out of the Repeal Association. Mitchell was unrepentant and welcomed the contributions of the militant land reformer, James Fintan Lalor, to the paper. Lalor was ready to resort to arms to achieve Repeal:

As regards the use of none but legal means, any means and all means might be made illegal by Act of Parliament; and such a pledge, therefore, is passive obedience. As to the pledge of abstaining from the use of any but moral force, I am quite willing to take such a pledge, if, and provided, the English Government agree to take it also... Let England pledge not to argue the question by the prison, the convict-ship, or the halter; and I will readily pledge not to argue it in any form of physical logic.

Lalor proposed as a plan of campaign that the Irish peasants keep their harvest. But when Mitchell twisted this into a proposal

3. Ib., p. 168.
that Irish landlords should refuse to pay the tax whereby the poor were supported, a division was created in the ranks of the Young Irelanders and when he introduced race prejudice into the pages of the Nation, he was forced out of the editor's post:

In one article he defended the perpetual slavery of the negro, and in another objected peremptorily to the emancipation of the Jews. He had learned these opinions from Thomas Carlyle, but they made a strangely unsuitable equipment for a spokesman of Irish liberty.

It seems fitting to end this consideration of the moral mission movement at this point and in conclusion it may be said that although Mitchel's anti-Semitism may correctly be ascribed to Carlyle, his attitude toward the negro probably originated in his desire to win powerful friends for the Irish cause in America where Robert Tyler and Andrew Jackson, both of whom had indicated their sympathy for Ireland, were pro-slavery. Thus, when a war between England and the United States over the Oregon territory seemed imminent in 1845, Mitchel wrote:

Now, there had sprung up, within two or three years, a close correspondence and allegiance between the Irish in America and the Irish at home; and encouraging and inspiring addresses were regularly sent over, accompanied by large remittances of money. The addresses were generally written by Robert Tyler, who was then, as he is yet, a warm and disinterested friend of the Irish face. O'Connell was glad to get the money; but the tone of the addresses sometimes made his old brown wig stand on end... The Nation gave unmistakable notification that in case of war about Oregon, the Americans might count upon a diversion in Ireland.

Physical Force

To link the period of the United Irishmen with that of the Young Irelanders there was little but the memory of the dead. Yet in the following some attempt will be made to show other connections beside the obvious fact that both groups were willing to resort to an appeal to arms in order to gain their objectives.

The United Irishmen

In writing of the United Irishmen, it seems convenient first to discuss some of the leaders, especially Theobald Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet, and then briefly to mention some literary aspects of the movement.

Wolfe Tone, who had been called to the Irish bar in 1789, was one of the founders of the Society of United Irishmen in 1791:

The original purpose of this society was simply the formation of a political union between Roman Catholics and Protestants, to secure parliamentary reform; it was only when that object appeared to be unattainable by constitutional methods that the majority of the members adopted the more uncompromising opinions which Wolfe Tone held from the first, and conspired to establish an Irish republic by rebellion...Wolfe Tone was a revolutionary whose principles were drawn from the French Convention... Tone was a disciple of Danton and Thomas Paine.1

Tone, whose father, like Thomas Hearne in Yeats' play, The Unicorn from the Stars, was a coachmaker, welcomed recruits from all ranks of society to the United Irishmen: "Our freedom must be had at all hazards. If the men of property will not help us they must fall; we will free ourselves by the aid of that large and respectable class of the community -- the men of no property." Accordingly, he encouraged the United Irishmen to prepare to wage war:

Inspired by the French Revolution, this society set itself to overthrow the English domination, armed its members, and organised drilling on a large scale up and down the country. Tone was an implacable enemy of England, and there was abundant discontent upon which he and his supporters could work.

In addition to consolidating anti-English sentiment in Ireland, Tone looked abroad for help. For centuries Irishmen had hoped for French aid as the translation of an Irish Jacobite song by Jeremiah Joseph Callanan, "the first to give adequate versions of Irish Gaelic poems," has told. In 1794 Tone prepared a memorandum for the newly established, republican, French government in which he described Ireland as "ripe for revolution." When Dublin Castle came into possession of the paper, Tone emigrated to the United States where in Philadelphia he met the French minister who gave him letters of introduction to the Committee of Public Safety in Paris. Thereupon he went to

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5. J. B. O'Reilly, ed., The Poetry and Song of Ireland, p. 588.
France, arriving early in 1798:

The French directory, which possessed information from Lord Edward Fitzgerald... and Arthur O'Connor confirming Tone, prepared to despatch an expedition under Rocha. On December 15, 1796, the expedition, consisting of 42 sail and carrying about 15,000 men, sailed from Brest.1

The French expedition of 1796 was destroyed by a hurricane. In 1797 a Dutch fleet, which Tone by an accident was prevented from accompanying, set out to help Ireland, but it was destroyed by the British in a naval engagement at Camperdown. In 1798 the French made three more attempts. The first under Humbert effected a landing at Killala which has been celebrated in song and story. The second under Napper Tandy who, like Tone, was one of the founders of the United Irishmen and became their first secretary, was forced to retire after landing in Donegal. The third, under Admiral Bampart, was accompanied by Tone. It was defeated by an English squadron near Lough Swilly and Tone was taken to Dublin to be court-martialed and sentenced to death:

The Government allowed the body to be carried away by a relative, and it was buried in the little churchyard of Bodenstown, County Kildare, where Thomas Davis squashed a monumental slab to be erected in his memory.2

The year in which Tone was executed, 1798, witnessed the

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3. See pp. 6-7.
6. Ibid., p. 562.
gradual emergence into the public eye of another revolutionary, Robert Emmet. It was a year of insurrections in Ulster, Dublin and Wexford, where the rebels were most successful. Indeed, one Wexford chief, Michael Dwyer, carried on a guerilla warfare in the Wicklow mountains until 1803. Elsewhere the insurrections were short-lived and ended in the law courts where many of the captured United Irishmen on being brought to trial were defended by an able lawyer, John Philpot Curran:

Curran's fame rests most of all upon his speeches on behalf of the accused in the state trials between 1794 and 1803, the most notable being those in defence of Hamilton Rowan, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone. Curran came under suspicion on the arrest of Robert Emmet, but an examination before the privy council was acquitted.1

According to Tom Moore, Emmet had been known as a rebel even in his college days. He had entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1793, a year earlier than the poet, and the two seem to have been drawn together by a mutual love of music. Both were particularly enthusiastic about the Irish folk melodies which Bunting had recently collected:

These were airs only, with no words to them; but the young Moore got the airs into the marrow of his bones, as he played them over and over at the piano. He himself tells us that as he was playing 'Let Erin Remember,' Emmet sprang up and cried, 'Oh, if I was at the head of thirty thousand men marching to that air!'3

Then, in 1797, the United Irishmen established their own newspaper in Dublin, The Press, under the editorship of Arthur

2. See p. 12.
O'Connor, Emmet, Tom Moore and William Drennan contributed to it:

It was a medium-sized publication of two sheets, appearing every two days, and costing twopence-halfpenny. The first page contained as a rule a political letter signed 'Mortanum', Robert Emmet's pseudonym; an article; and several advertisements. The middle pages carried general news and more advertisements, and the back page was given up to the 'French Republic,' with an article or two on the leading figures in the Revolution.¹

The events of 1796 did not deter Emmet from his revolutionary activities. Encouraged by the result of an interview with Napoleon in 1802, he returned secretly to Ireland in 1803 and got in touch with the surviving United Irishmen, especially Michael Dwyer whose niece, Ann Devlin, acted as his servant. Of the subsequent uprising, James Connolly has written:

All students who have investigated the matter are as one in conceding that Emmet's conspiracy was more of a working class character than its predecessors. Indeed, it is a remarkable fact that this conspiracy, widespread throughout Ireland, England, and France, should have progressed so rapidly, and with such elaborate preparations for armed revolt, amongst the poorer section of the populace right up to within a short time of the date for the projected rising, without the alert English Government or its Irish Executive being able to inform themselves of the matter.²

After the rising had failed, Emmet refused to leave Ireland because of his love for Sarah Curran, daughter of John Philpot Curran. Ann Devlin, being captured, was tortured but refused to reveal his whereabouts. Nevertheless he was soon

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¹ Strong, op. cit., p. 47.
³ J. T. Camion, Michael Dwyer, pp. 96-97.
captured and brought to trial. He concluded his speech from
the dock before sentence of death was passed, as follows:¹

When my country takes her rank amongst the nations
of the earth, then only can my epitaph be written,
and then alone can my character be vindicated. I
have done.

Of the three poems in which Moore celebrated the memory of his
dead friend, one alludes to these long-remembered lines:

O, breathe not his name; let it sleep in the shade,
Where, cold and unhonored, his relics are laid;
Sad, silent, and dark, be the tears that we shed,
As the night dew that falls on the grass o'er his head.²

The other two refer to his love for Sarah Curran but Moore's most
glowing tribute occurs in his Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald:

Were I to number the men among all I have ever known
who appeared to me to combine in the greatest degree
pure moral worth with intellectual power, I should
among the highest of the few place Robert Emmet.³

Although the United Irishmen were not excessively pro-
liptic writers, some literary aspects of their movement should be
mentioned. In addition to The Press in Dublin, to which refer-
ence has just been made, they published the Northern Star in
Belfast with which Tone was associated. Particular interest is
due to two other names which are also associated with the Northern
Star. The first is that of Charlotte Brooke whose Laoi Na Sealghe,
a volume of translations from the Gaelic, was printed at the
Northern Star office in 1795. She had already evidenced her in-

1. T. Moore, A History of Ireland, p. 1087.
2. C. A. Read, and K. T. Hinson, The Cabinet of Irish Literature,
   vol. 2, p. 169.
terest in Gaelic in an earlier volume of translations, Reliques of Irish Poetry, and she even attempted to publish a magazine in the Irish language, Bolg Taulair. The second name associated with the Northern Star was that of Thomas Stott. Like Charlotte Brooke, he was interested in Gaelic and in 1825 a volume of his verse was published entitled The Songs of Deirdre, and Other Pieces.

Better known, perhaps, than their newspapers was Lady Morgan's novel about the United Irishmen, The O'Briens and the O'Flaherties:

The novel is the story of a young patriot who, expelled from Trinity College along with Robert Emmet and others, becomes a volunteer and a United Irishman, and is admitted to the councils of Tone, Napper Tandy, Rowan, and the rest. After '98 (which is not described in detail) he goes to France, where he rises to be a General, and marries the heroine.

Best known of the literary aspects of the United Irishmen was the popular poetry which resulted from their movement. Although "The Night Before Larry Was Stretched," "Johnny I Hardly Know Ye," and "The Shan Van Vocht" are familiar ballads, it may not be an exaggeration to say that every literate English-speaking person knows "The Wearin' of the Green." And almost as many have heard Ireland referred to as the "Emerald Isle" which was a phrase coined by William Drennan, an enthusiastic United

2. Ibid., p. 441.
Irishmen:

Let no feeling of vengeance presume to defile
The cause or the men of the Emerald Isle.¹

The Chartists

Less than fifty years after Emmet's death, John Kells
Ingram wrote, "The Memory of the Dead" for the Dublin Nation.
The second stanza pictures the United Irishmen as almost legendary figures:

We drink the memory of the brave,
The faithful and the few;
Some lie far off beyond the wave,
Some sleep in Ireland, too;
All, all are gone; but still lives on
The fame of those who died;
All true men, like you, man,
Remember them with pride.²

Yet two men helped to link the period of the Young Irelanders
with that of the United Irishmen -- Feargus O'Connor and John
Mitchel. O'Connor, son of a United Irishman and nephew of
another, Arthur O'Connor, became a famous Chartist leader in
4 England. He, too, advocated physical force and to popularise
his principles established the Northern Star, taking the name
of the old United Irishman's paper. O'Connor was an energetic
6 foe of landlordism and even in this he was following in the
footsteps of his uncle of whom Daniel O'Connell declared:

² Robinson, op. cit., p. 935.
³ Ibid., p. 145.
⁴ R.W. Postgate; Feargus Edward O'Connor, Encyclopaedia
⁵ R.W. Postgate, Chartism, Encyclopaedia Britannica,
I had, indeed, admired him until Curran disclosed to me that he had a plan for an agrarian law, dividing the land in equal portions among all the inhabitants. That, I saw at once, involved consequences so antiscial, that it greatly cooled my admiration.1

Mitchel's link with the man of 1798 was not so close, but in 1848 when he founded his short-lived physical force journal, he called it United Irishman and, like Wolfe Tone, appealed to "that numerous and respectable class of the community -- the men of no property."

The Young Ireland Rising, 1848

In discussing the physical force phase of the Young Ireland movement, it seems appropriate to mention the journals which called for a revolution and then to speak briefly of what followed their suppression. The first paper to preach open war in 1848 was, of course, Mitchel's United Irishman:

Mitchel published in the paper many military articles -- articles on pike making, upon street-fighting, in the recent revolutions, hints upon military discipline, military formation, military manoeuvres, hints for pikemen receiving cavalry, and so on. There was no organisation in the sense in which the United Irishmen and the Fenians had one, but revolution, war and heroism were in the air.

In this connection, a series of articles on the continental revolutions of '48 was especially pointed. Mitchel's paper, of course, advocated complete separation from England. While the Nation, assuming a certain community of outlook between Ireland

1. T. G. Luby, Life and Times of O'Connell, p. 118.
2. See pp. 36-37.
5. O'Hegarty, op. cit., p. 78.
and England, reported the activities at Westminster under heading, "The Imperial Parliament," United Irishman printed only the Irish debates. In the same spirit it recorded England's foreign affairs as "The Enemy in Africa," "The Enemy in Asia," and so on -- a defiant note which was to persist in separatist journals after Mitchel's day.

The new paper was an instantaneous success. James Clarence Mangan not only left the Nation to write for it, but in a letter to Mitchel he said:

To the Editor of the 'United Irishman,'
My Dear M. -- There is a rumor in circulation, that the government intends to commence a prosecution against you. Insignificant an individual as I am, and unimportant to society as my political opinions may be, I, nevertheless, owe it, not merely to the kindness you have shown me, but to the cause of my country, to assure you that I thoroughly sympathise with your sentiments, that I identify my views of public affairs with yours, and that I am prepared to go all lengths with you and your intrepid friend, Devin Reilly, for the achievement of our national independence.

I mean to write you, in a few days, a long letter, explanatory of the course which I think it becomes the duty of every Irish patriot to pursue, at the present eventful epoch. Meanwhile you are at liberty to make what use you please of this preliminary communication.

Yours, in life and death,
Jas. Clarence Mangan.

The Government tolerated United Irishman until May, 1848. Then Mitchel was arrested, tried under a newly passed Treason-Felony Act, and sentenced to transportation beyond the seas for fourteen years. As he relates in his Jail Journal, which is an account of his experiences in British prisons, just before he was taken

2. Cavanagh, op. cit., p. 90.
from Ireland Mitchell was visited by an admirer who has been associated with Mangan, Ferguson and Davis as a precursor of the Celtic renaissance:

...he was Edward Walsh, author of 'No Chraeibhia Chne,' and other sweet songs, and of some very musical translations from old Irish ballads. Tears stood in his eyes as he told me he had contrived to get an opportunity of seeing and shaking hands with me before I should leave Ireland...He stooped down and kissed my hands. 'Ahi!' he said, 'you are now the man in all Ireland most to be envied.' I answered that I thought there might be room for difference of opinion about that...

After the suppression of United Irishman, two journals sprang up in its place and the Nation became more and more interested in physical force. But on July 22, 1848, the government suppressed all three. Of these papers Irish Folks deserves mention because it received Mitchell's special approval. James Pintan Lalor, who had refused to contribute to United Irishman, was a distinguished contributor to the newspaper. In his first article he reaffirmed his belief that Ireland could only be successful in its struggle against England when the separatists made full use of agrarian discontent:

Repeal is the question of the town population; and the tenure question is that of the country peasantry; both combined, taking each in its full extent and efficacy, form the question of Ireland - her question for the battle-day.

The principle I state, and mean to stand upon, is this, that the entire ownership of Ireland, moral and material, up to the sun and down to the centre, is vested of right in the people of Ireland;

3. Ibid., p. 51.
that they, and none but they, are the land-owners and law-makers of this island; that all laws are null and void not made by them, and all titles to land invalid not conferred or confirmed by them; and that this full right of ownership may and ought to be asserted and enforced by any and all means which God has put in the power of man.

Incidentally, Michael Davitt, an outstanding leader of agrarian reform himself, said of later:

The wonderful little luncheon from the village in Queen's County powerfully influenced the minds and convictions of two noted men, as dissimilar as two virile minds could well be... He made John Mitchel an agrarian revolutionist, and, indirectly, gave Henry George the social gospel of land nationalization...

And Standish James O'Grady, whom Ernest Boyd called the "father of the Revival," agreed with Davitt.

The second journal which sprung up after the suppression of United Irishman was the Irish Tribune. Among its contributors were Michael Doheny, William Carleton and Richard D'Alton Williams.

Michael Doheny has already been mentioned. Carleton found the company too radical for his comfort:

William Carleton, the Irish novelist, contributed the first chapter of what was intended to be a serial story—called 'Suile Ealaín' or 'The Evil Eye'; but, his name being placed on the Literary Pension List, most opportune, by the government, he, discreetly withdrew from his rebellious associations, and awaited less distracting times for the publication of his completed story.

A sample of the verse of Williams, whose ability as a poet was greatly esteemed by Samuel Ferguson, invites comparison with

2. Ibid., p. 65.
5. See pp. 31-32; p. 25.
Longfellow's "A Psalm of Life":

Lives of poets all remind us
We may write 'demition' fine,
Leaving still unsolved behind us
The problem, 'How are bards to dine?'

Problem which perhaps some others,
As through life they dodge about,
Seeing, shall suppose our mothers
Did not know that we were out.

Incidentally, it may be suspected that Ferguson himself admired the American's treachery as the following quotation from one of his poems will reveal:

Bear the cup to Sanchan Terpest: Yield the bard his poet's mead;
What we've heard was but a foretaste; lays more lofty now succeed,
Though my stores be emptied well-nigh, twin bright cups there yet remain,-
Win them with the Raid of Cualigne; chasten us, Bard, the famous Tain!

When Mitchel left the Nation, that journal sought to offset his message of physical force by advocating a policy of independent opposition to English parties by a coalition of the Irish members of Parliament. This scheme had been suggested as early as 1846 by George Henry Moore. The general principle was to obstruct Parliamentary business until Ireland's grievances were settled — a policy that Parnell was to make famous. But the success of United Irishman seems to have persuaded Duffy, who had taken Mitchel's place as editor of the Nation, to become more

1. R. D. Williams, Poems, p. 89.
2. S. Ferguson, Lays of the Western Gael and Other Poems, p. 13.
5. See pp. 382-383.
militant. The final number contained an editorial by the mother of Oscar Wilde, entitled, "Iacta Alea Est," which indicates how far the Nation had gone towards endorsing physical force:

Oh! for a hundred thousand muskets glittering brightly in the light of heaven, and the monumental barricades stretching across each of our noble streets, made desolate by England—circling around that doomed Castle, made infamous by England, where the foreign tyrant has held his Council of treason and iniquity against our people and our country for seven hundred years. 1

Following the suppression of these journals, there was an abortive rising in Tipperary which was followed by a period of alarms and excursions. Of the names which survive from this interlude those of William Smith O'Brien, James Pintan Lalor, Thomas Francis Meagher, Michael Doheny, Thomas Clarke Luby, James Stephens, John O'Mahony and John O'Leary are notable, the latter six because they were to be associated subsequently with the Fenian Brotherhood. When Meagher and Doheny, encouraged by a pro-Irish demonstration in New York, addressed 50,000 on the summit of Slievenamon on July 16, 1848, Dublin Castle became alarmed and on July 22 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Two days later word reached Dublin that Tipperary was in arms. On the twenty-fifth, Meagher, O'Brien and Doheny arrived in Carrick where John O'Mahony was collecting volunteers but being impatient the three former pushed on to Cashel where James Stephens joined them. At Ballingary the Royal Irish Constabulary dispersed the forces which they had gathered.

3. Ibid., p. 96.
O’Brien and Neagh were brought to trial and sentenced to exile for life. John O'Leary and some others were captured while attempting to rescue the prisoners but O'Leary escaped punishment. Then John O'Mahony began a guerilla war but becoming discouraged, he went to France. As late as September, 1849, Thomas Clarke Luby and John O'Leary and James Fintan Lalor were still vainly trying to start an insurrection in Tipperary. At last they gave up hope and Lalor returned to Dublin to launch a paper on more advanced lines than the revived Nation. However, he died before the project came to anything and John O'Leary, evidently despairing for the physical force movement, went to medical school.

Summary

The preceding introduction to Unionism and separatism has been divided into two unequal parts. In the first part the four principal devices used by the Unionists to perpetuate the Act of Union, which was passed in 1800, have been indicated. First, by securing control of Dublin Castle they were able to administer the internal affairs of Ireland through their power over the military, constabulary and secret police. Second, by an alliance with the propertyed classes, they were assured of the financial support of the wealthiest people in Ireland. Third, they sought to disseminate the opinion that the "mere Irish" were an inferior

2. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
cultural group which needed the care of a superior race in order to prosper; and in this they were aided not only by Thackeray, Macaulay and Carlyle, but also by certain Irish writers of whom Samuel Lover and Charles Lover were typical examples. Furthermore, they set up an educational system in which the Irish language was taboo and every Irish boy or girl was taught that he was "a happy English child." Fourth, the Unionists sought to perpetuate the Act of Union by combining the Church of Ireland with the Church of England into "the Established Church of England and Ireland." Of the four techniques, the last was the least effective.

In the second part of the introduction to Unionism and separatism, it was shown that separatism drew its strength from Roman Catholic, agrarian and political quarters. The Roman Catholic Church had been legally persecuted in Ireland since the early days of the eighteenth century but in 1793 remedial measures permitted Roman Catholic educational institutions to have a legal status. Further ameliorative legislation was temporarily halted by the passage of the Act of Union and two lay figures, Daniel O'Connell and Tom Moore, arose to protest. The latter, who was on friendly terms with Irish republicans and preached land reform, was "never an ardent Catholic," but he attempted with his pen to help his co-religionists. Daniel O'Connell founded the Catholic Association of Ireland and was able with its support to put an end to the legal handicaps which were imposed by the Crown on believers in the supremacy of the Pope in spiritual matters. O'Connell's neglect of the "customs,
language, and traditions" of Ireland has been criticised but this was not equally true of his church. Indeed, in many Roman Catholic parishes the English language was unknown and, accordingly, Irish was taught at Maynooth. The most ardent supporter of Irish culture in the hierarchy of Ireland was the Reverend John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, who encouraged the study of Gaelic in his see and most notably at St. Jarlath's College. Likewise, Archbishop MacHale sought to spread the knowledge of Irish by his writings in that language.

Separatism drew more strength from agrarian discontent than from the Roman Catholic Church, however. Although this discontent found little sympathetic expression in the press or in books in the first half of the nineteenth century, Maria Edgeworth and William Carleton hinted at its existence and a sublimated form of it, the struggle against paying tithes for the support of the Established Church, was responsible for a short-lived periodical which attracted the pen of James Clarence Mangan.

In introducing the political aspects of separatism, two philosophies were observed. The first was embraced by those who sought to oppose union with Great Britain by moral suasion. Prior to 1800 this was supported by the existence of an independent Irish Parliament and fortified by an Irish Volunteer militia which was formed as a result of the outbreak of the American War for Independence. Following the dissolution of this militia, the leading journalist who advocated it, Matthew Carey, emigrated to America in 1784. In the brief interim between that time and the passage of the Act of Union, the Irish Parliament
encouraged Irish science and learning and won the support of the middle class and such Protestants as Henry Grattan and Sir Jonah Barrington.

After 1800, the first distinguished advocate of moral suasion to appear was the renowned Roman Catholic, Daniel O'Connor. In 1835, with Irish and American backing, he unsuccessfully introduced a motion for the repeal of the Act of Union in the House of Commons. In 1840, he revived his efforts and established the Repeal Association for his followers. Aided by Thomas Keenan, he again received American support in spite of his outspoken hostility to negro slavery. In 1842 the Dublin Nation was established to help his cause. A year later his agitation reached its peak. Thereafter he began to have difficulties in the Repeal Association with those whom he called Young Irelanders. The first difficulty arose because the Young Irelanders took issue with the Roman Catholic hierarchy on a political issue. The Young Irelanders expressed their opinions in the Nation and when, after the death of its editor, Thomas Davis, this paper gave evidence that it favored physical force, O'Connor had it disowned by the Repeal Association and then expelled those who continued to support its policies.

The Young Ireland movement began among supporters of the middle class policy of moral suasion, but later turned toward physical force. The leading figure in the earlier period, which may be dated from the foundation of the Nation in 1842, was Thomas Davis. Other protagonists in the moral suasion era of the Young Irelanders were Charles Gavan Duffy and John Blake.
Dillon. The Nation for the most part sought to model itself after English precedents but occasionally it foreshadowed the Celtic renaissance with a "Gaelic note" supplied by James Clarence Mangan and Samuel Ferguson. Thomas Davis, who also motivated Sir Samuel Ferguson to found the Protestant Repeal Association, was partially responsible for this "Gaelic note" and he also had a hand in another literary project, the "Library of Ireland." This was to consist of "monthly shilling volumes of Irish history, poetry, biography and literature." John Mitchel, who succeeded Davis as editor of the Nation after the latter's death, was less interested in "the Gaelic note" but he won the devotion of two of its exponents, Mangan and Edward Walsh.

Under Mitchel's direction, however, the Nation encouraged physical force and welcomed the contributions of the land reformer, James Fintan Lalor.

The second philosophy to be observed in this introduction to the political aspects of Irish separatism was that which was embraced by those who sought to annul the union of Great Britain with Ireland by physical force. The earliest exponents of this philosophy to be considered in the present thesis were the United Irishmen. Then, after a passing reference to the Chartists, the physical force era of the Young Ireland movement was discussed.

The United Irishmen were republicans. The two most popular leaders of this movement were Theobald Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet. Both sought the "aid of that large and respectable class of the community -- the men of no property" and both sought military help from the French. Both failed and both were executed
by the forces loyal to the Crown. Emmet is of additional interest because of his friendship for Tom Moore which led the latter to celebrate him in both poetry and prose. The United Irishmen published two papers, *The Press* and the *Northern Star*. With the latter two writers who were attracted by "the Gaelic note" may be associated, Charlotte Brooke and Thomas Stott. The United Irishmen also inspired a contemporary novelist, Lady Morgan, and numerous anonymous balladists.

The Chartist link the United Irishmen with the Young Irelanders principally through the person of Feargus O'Conner.

The Young Irelanders did not endorse physical force until 1848. In that year, John Mitchel started the *United Irishman*, a weekly paper to which James Clarence Mangan contributed. After five months' existence *United Irishman* was suppressed; and Mitchel, as he has told in his *Jail Journal*, was sentenced to fourteen years of exile from Ireland. Two new physical force organs sprang up in its place and the *Nation* was drawn towards its policies. The two new papers were short-lived. *Irish F felon* was the vehicle in which James Pintan Lalor expressed his revolutionary opinions on land tenure. The other newspaper, *Irish Tribune*, published writings by William Carleton, Michael Doheny and Richard D'Alton Williams. The *Nation* has also a literary interest because it printed an inflammatory endorsement of physical force by the mother of Oscar Wilde.

Following these suppressions there was an unsuccessful ris- ing in Tipperary and elsewhere in Ireland. The most celebrated supporters of physical force at this time were William Smith O'Brien, James Pintan Lalor and six others who later were to become Fenians: Thomas Francis Meagher, Michael Doheny, Thomas Clarke Luby, James Stephens, John O'Mahony and John O'Leary.
CHAPTER II
INTRODUCING FENIANISM

For the purpose of introducing Fenianism it seems logical to first describe the Irish-American scene prior to the formation of the Brotherhood in 1858; next, to tell how the organization came into being; and to conclude with an indication of some later developments which occurred between 1865 and 1870, after the Fenian Brotherhood had been firmly established.

The Irish-American Scene Prior to the Formation of the Fenian Brotherhood

The subject matter presently to be discussed may be broken into two parts. The earlier will be devoted to the intercourse between Ireland and the United States before 1849; and the later will describe the interval between 1849 and 1858.

Intercourse between Ireland and the United States before 1849

In 1866, John Bright, the famous English Liberal, made a speech in Dublin. During the course of his remarks he said:

You will recollect that when the ancient Hebrew prophet prayed in his captivity he prayed with his

2. Ibid., pp. 53-54.
window opened towards Jerusalem. You know that the followers of Mohammed, when they pray, turn their faces towards Mecca. When the Irish peasant asks for food, and freedom, and blessing, his eye follows the setting sun; the aspirations of his heart reach beyond the wide Atlantic, and in spirit he grasps hands with the great Republic of the West.

Evidence of Irish interest in "the great Republic of the West" as early as 1776 has already been presented. Following the termination of the American War for Independence this interest was to be heightened either by emigration or by visits to the United States; by the attraction of American ways of thought for Irish writers who were never to cross the Atlantic; and by the writings or actions, of Americans, especially Irish-Americans, which were designed to appeal to an Irish as well as an American public.

Irish emigration to the United States, which reached such enormous proportions in the nineteenth century, is too well known to merit elaboration. Perhaps it is not as well known that Tom Moore visited America in 1803 and 1804, 2 Charles Lever in 1824 and 1829 and Samuel Lever, who, like Richard D'Alton Williams, parodied Longfellow, in 1846 and 1847. A fourth visitor to the United States, Thomas Moore, deserves further consideration but first the writings of some Irish stay-at-homes may be mentioned.

1. See p. 22.
6. See p. 29.
American influences in the poetry of Aubrey De Vere,
Sir Samuel Ferguson and William Allingham have already been
recorded or will be. James Clarence Mangan also expressed him-
self as an admirer of "the Far Green West" across "the Atlantis's
waves." The case of the Reverend Caesar Otway requires some
elaboration. Otway was a vigorous defender of the Established
Church which, it will be remembered, was one of the devices
adopted by the Unionists in 1800 to perpetuate the United King-
dom of Great Britain and Ireland. Furthermore, he undoubtedly
believed that this Established Church was menaced by Roman
Catholicism. Accordingly, in his Sketches in Ireland there is
a long attack on the popular Irish Catholic belief in the exist-
ence of Saint Patrick's Purgatory on an island in Lough Derg,
County Donegal. In Otway's opinion this belief was typical of
the superstition which the Church of Rome insinuated in its ad-
herents and it justified the creation of an Established Church
which would propagate the more enlightened theology of Oxford
or Cambridge or Trinity College, Dublin. It was this hos-
tility towards the Roman Catholic Church which brought Otway and
William Carleton together in 1823; and as a result, Carleton
wrote "The Lough Derg Pilgrim," a story which resembled Otway's
attack in Sketches in Ireland, for The Christian Examiner, a

1. See p. 114.
2. See p. 43.
3. See p. 188.
6. C. Otway, Sketches in Ireland, pp. 189-190.
   pp. 1-4.
Dublin periodical edited by the latter. Carleton was a convert from Roman Catholicism and in an essay on him W. B. Yeats asserted:

Carleton and Otway came across each other somehow. The lean controversialist was infinitely delighted with this peasant convert, and seems to have befriended him to good purpose. By his recommendation, 'The Lough Derg Pilgrim' was written. A few years later, Carleton cleared away many passages. Caesar Otway would hardly approve of its present form. As we have it now the tale is a most wonderful piece of work. The dim chapel at night, the praying peasants, the fear of a supernatural madness if they sleep, the fall of the young man from the gallery -- no one who has read it forgets these things.  

Yet, according to Seumas O'Sullivan, this same violent Unionist and foe of the Roman Catholic Church, Caesar Otway, could overlook the fact that by their revolution the American separatists had not only ended the union of the thirteen colonies with the mother country but also had sought to prohibit the existence of an Established Church in the United States of the future. For Otway was an admirer of American Poetry:

With regard to Irish interest in American writers of an earlier day it may interest you to know that in 1834 Caesar Otway published in Dublin a little volume of 'Selections from the American Poets' (Sm. 8vo, Wakesman), it is a rather poor collection and apart from Bryant, Longfellow, Willis and Whittier contains few names of any note.  

Incidentally, Carleton was less interested in America than Otway and, indeed, one of his better known novels, The Emigrants of Abadara, published in 1847, tells of the heartaches of immigration.

2. Letter from Seumas O'Sullivan, dated April 10, 1939.
3. S. J. Brown, Ireland in Fiction, p. 56.
In connection with the name of William Carleton the actions and writings of Americans, especially Irish-Americans, which were designed to appeal to an Irish as well as an American public come to mind. For D. J. O'Donoghe, Carleton's biographer, has told how the Irish-American actor, Barney Williams, popularized another of Carleton's novels in the United States:

...Barney Williams...who had made Carleton's acquaintance during a professional visit to Dublin...dramatized another novel of Carleton's, or, rather, utilized it for stage purposes. This adaptation was called 'The Cannie Sogah,' from the character of that name in 'The Tithe Proctor' of which Carleton seems to have got the idea from the traditions of the Mangerie Sugach, or Jovial Pedlar, a personage named Andrew Magrath, who was an itinerant Munster poet and humorist, and some of whose poems are still well remembered in the South of Ireland.1

Incidentally, a third novel by Carleton, The Double Prophecy, which was published in 1863, first appeared as a serial in the New York weekly Irish-American.

An extensive bibliography of Irish-American periodicals and publications prior to 1848 is non-existant. Among the earliest periodicals may be mentioned two edited by refugees United Irishmen, Shamrock, 1815, and Exile. To these may be added the O'Connellite papers Truth Teller, which was founded in New York in 1822, and Pilot, which first appeared in Boston in 1838. To this number most Catholic periodicals of that time

4. D.J. O'Donoghe, The Poets of Ireland, p. 84.
probably should be added, since most of the Roman Catholics in
America before 1848 were Irish.

Of the Irish-American books published prior to 1848, the
most significant was Thomas Meany's History of Ireland which was
published in Boston, 1848. Meane had a high opinion of Irish
culture and objected far more strenuously than Maria Edgeworth,
or Lady Morgan, to the "stage Irishman." Indeed, with a pointed
reference to Samuel Lover, author of Handy Andy, he declared
in his History:

There cannot be too many of good and cheap historical
books circulated among the people. Formerly, they read
the degrading narratives of Captain Flanagan, Moll Flagon,
and Redmond O'Hanlon, because they could get no better
for sixpence or a shilling. Nor were the Handy Andy's,
or the creations of Mrs. Hall, much better. These ex-
hibited Irishmen but to be laughed at; and ridicule and
contempt are akin. Laughing-stocks and slaves are trans-
mutable.5

Horace Greeley was one of the subscribers for the History which
entered its second edition within four months after its publisc-
tion. A friendly critic wrote:

But the great merit of the book is, that it is written
by an Irishman who loves his country, and boldly de-
nounces its enemies. With such works as this at your
command, you will no longer be obliged to read the
tale of Erin's wrongs through tory spectacles.6

In eleven "special features, never before presented in any Irish
History" the militant Meane laid the very foundations for an
Irish renaissance, as a perusal of the first six will reveal:

1. The Newspaper Press, op. cit.
7. See pp. 260; 685.
THE IRISH LANGUAGE

FIRST. — A special essay on the antiquity, nature, history, and present condition of the Irish language... and a brief account of the patriotic efforts now being made to revive the language in Ireland.

SECOND. — A special survey of Irish music...

THIRD. — As connected with, and illustrative of, the foregoing, ... ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY IRISH MELODIES...

IRISH POETRY

FOURTH. — A special essay (historical) on the nature of Irish poetry. Various specimens of versification in the Irish language, with translations, are introduced. It is shown that the Irish bards first invented harmonic versification...

ARCHITECTURE

FIFTH. — A special history of Irish architecture, from the early erections of ormlaeghs and round towers to the building of the Parliament-House in Dublin... It is proved in this essay, that the sublime style of architecture miscalled Gothic is in fact Irish...

RELIGION AND LITERATURE

SIXTH. — The history of the ancient worship of Ireland, and of the introduction of Christianity into that kingdom, with some reflections on its nature — the extensive universities in Ireland — the state of literature at various periods — the establishment of universities by Irish scholars, in the sixth and seventh centuries — the revival, by these pious missionaries, of the learned languages, writing, literature, religion, arts, science, and music, through Europe, after the barbarous violence of Goth, Vandal, and Saxon had subsided.

In 1848 American sympathy for Ireland was stimulated. This sentiment was not deterred by the prospects of a revolution in the latter country. Agencies appeared for the collection of funds to help the rebels. In Philadelphia Robert Tyler was conspicuous in this activity. All funds raised were turned over to the Directory of the Friends of Ireland in New York of which Horace Greeley and John Hughes, the Roman Catholic Bishop, were members. Irish-American enthusiasm reached its peak at the

2. See pp. 25; 35.
time of the impassioned speeches on Slievenamon by Meagher and Doheny. A sum, variously estimated at $55,000 and $150,000, was collected. After the fiasco in '48, the Philadelphia Dispatch attacked Irish-Americans responsible for collecting these monies from ignorant serving-girls under false pretenses:

Stimulated by the impassioned but simulated eloquence of patriots of the tongue, hundreds of Irish people in this city, laborers, chambermaids, ostlers and servants -- poor, but ardent and warmhearted friends of their native country -- lavishly contributed from their little means towards the independence of Ireland. The money was all grasped, eagerly grasped, and continued agitations at consecutive meetings at the Chinese museum asked for more. It was given, and thus, week after week, the excitement was kept up, until the Slievenamon swindle was exploded, and the deluded victims refused to give any more.

Nevertheless, many of the Young Ireland chiefs took refuge in the United States after this failure.

1849 to 1858

Irish-American

Of the periodicals which were designed to appeal to an Irish-American audience of separatist sympathies, the earliest and most long-lived was the Irish-American, edited by Patrick Lynch, which first appeared in 1849. For the present purpose its contents may be considered from a political and literary point of view.

From the political standpoint, although it was critical of the Directory of the Friends of Ireland, Irish-American

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1. See p. 49.
favored "a Red Republican Revolution" for Ireland:

We shall instil into the minds of our people, in Ireland, that their country will never be blessed— that themselves will never enjoy true liberty, till they will back the confiscated estates by a Red Republican Revolution, and deliver them over to their lawful owners, The Irish People. 1

Since Lynch was interested in revolution, it is not surprising to discover in Irish-American an interest in Irish writings of a separatist nature, in the Young Irishmen, in evidences of American sympathy for Irish revolutionists and in enlisting military support for Ireland in the United States. Lever's Roland Cashel appeared as a serial. Roland Cashel was by no means seditious, but it was the novel in which Lever attacked the Unionist Thackeray for the latter's Irish Sketch Book. From the Dublin Nation, Irish-American reprinted poems by Dehony, Elizabeth Willoughby Varian (Finola) and Thomas Moore's eighteen propositions "for the regeneration of Ireland." Moore's views on land reform are of particular interest:

The law of property must be remodelled, and such legislation must recognize and protect the people. The land must be the people's, if they do not desert it. 5

The Nation's view of how the Irish might win the friendship of the United States was reprinted:

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5. Ibid., October 23, 1839, p. 4.
6. Ibid., October 26, 1839, p. 4.
7. Willoughby Varian (Finola) and Thomas Moore's eighteen propositions. "For the regeneration of Ireland." These views on land reform are of particular interest.
8. The United States was reprinted in the Nation. Irish-American, September 23, 1849, p. 4.
In America there is the greatest freedom of intercourse between the social classes — the greatest liberty of speech and speculation — yet the greatest love of order, and respect for the rights of each. These things, if Ireland could acquire, she might then be America's European ally.

From the Dublin Irishman similar pro-American sentiments were reprinted. In keeping with Lynch's hatred for the Crown, Irish-American observed in the same paper the following comment on the occasion of Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland in 1849:

"The nation should be dewed with tears, decked in mourning, and biding its time for vengeance, instead of making a silly exhibition in public, in honor of Majesty." Even the mild Dublin Evening Freeman was quoted when it drew a parallel between Ireland and Hungary by comparing John Mitchel with Louis Kossuth, although the Hungarian rebel's "extravagant...unjustifiable praise of England" was not admired.

Irish-American was interested in the Young Irish as living Irish expatriates of "a Red Republican Revolution." Terrence Beflow McManus' escape from penal servitude was exultingly reported. Books by John Savage and Michael Doheny were acclaimed. And in discussing the causes of the failure of the '48 movement, Irish-American praised John O'Mahony for having given his volunteers "liberty to feed on the food of the enemy"

7. Literature, Irish-American, April 14, 1850, p. 5.
whereas other leaders had regarded such foraging with disfavor as an attack on private property. In connection with the Young Irish, it may be pointed out that Daniel Webster won Lynch's approval by consenting to present to President Millard Fillmore a petition on behalf of a number of them whom the British Government had sentenced to penal servitude. Included in this petition were the names of Meagher and Mitchell.

So far as America was concerned, Irish-American was pleased by such evidences of American sympathy as were revealed by Daniel Webster and Horace Greeley. The latter was particularly admired for friendly remarks made during his visit to Ireland in 1851 where he was received by Thomas Moorey. It was also interested in enlisting military support in the United States. Thus it reported with approval Doherty's dedication of The Felon's Track to General James Shields, an Irish-American who had served with distinction in the Mexican War. It urged the formation of completely Irish regiments in the United States Army because the military training might prove useful to the immigrants when they returned to Ireland to take part in the anticipated revolution. Incidentally, Irish-American reported that the 9th and 78th regiments were composed of volunteers who wanted "to become citizens of an 'Irish Republic'" and were "sworn to free their country some day." And an anonymous contributor, drawing an analogy between such oath-bound soldiers

3. The Irish Exiles' Petition, Irish-American, November 22, 1851, p. 5.
and the "clubs in Paris...organized on almost a similar basis," added:

No one I think will question the propriety of being prepared to take advantage of any event that might occur in Ireland. For instance in '48, if instead of preparing when we were wanted, there were 10,000 men ready AND SWORN to go to Ireland when called on, how different might have been the result. ¹

Furthermore, the Irish-American was pleased that the 69th Regiment of the New York State Militia, of which Dehny became Lieutenant-Colonel, called itself "the Irish Brigade." ² Needless to say such activities were noted in Ireland. Thus, Irish-American was able to report that a New York Company which called itself "The Caucasus Rangers" had been hailed by the Kilkenny Journal, and that the Dublin Nation had said of its members: "They do not arm as Irish settlers, but as Irish Rebels." ³

Undoubtedly it was the political outlook of the Irish-American which led to the seizure of an issue by Dublin Castle. Certain literary aspects of the paper, however, are of even more interest to the student of the Celtic renaissance: the opinions which Lynch had of Irish and American writers, the attention which he paid to the Irish language, the Irish dialect, the "stage Irishman" and the plays designed for an Irish, or Irish-American, audience. The critical judgments of Irish-American are of peculiar interest because American writers through its medium were to become better known in Ireland. In

¹ Correspondence, Irish-American, June 28, 1851, p. 4.
² Unquestioned note, Irish-American, December 6, 1851, p. 2.
³ The Wearing of the Green, Irish-American, November 22, 1851, p. 4.
⁴ The Irish Post-Office, Irish-American, August 19, 1849, p. 49.
this connection Oliver Wendell Holmes, Whittier, Patrick Henry, and Poe may be mentioned. Indeed, poems by Poe ("The Conqueror Worm") and James Clarence Mangan suggest a possible knowledge of one by the other. Some, if not all, of these poets were already known in Ireland, of course, and part of an article about Longfellow was reprinted from the Dublin University Magazine. Indeed, Irish-American published a letter from an Irish refugee which asserted that America was hesitant in recognizing its own intellectuals: "Longfellow and Emerson would have lived and died in obscurity if foreign criticism had not trumpeted their praises."

Irish writers, other than Mangan, who were admired by Lynch, were Allingham and Davis. Meeney's name appeared in Irish-American at intervals, on one occasion with a sly allusion to the New York Herald which had attacked him "mercifully." Of a similar interest to the scholar were poems by Delia Stewart Parnell, mother of Charles Stewart Parnell, and Charles Kickham, the future Fenian chief. Mrs. Parnell's poem, "The Irish Emigrant's Adieu," was not signed but her authorship may be surmised from the description of the author as "the daughter of Commodore Stewart," and from the poem being "dated Avondale,

1. Post's Corner, Irish-American, June 29, 1850, p. 4.
3. The Irish Exiles, the Emigrants, Irish-American, November 22, 1851, p. 4.
4. Post's Corner, Irish-American, August 2, 1851, p. 4.
5. Ibid., December 3, 1849, p. 4.
6. T. MacDonagh, Literature in Ireland, p. 60.
10. Dublin Board of Trade, Irish-American, June 7, 1851, p. 2.
County Wicklow, Ireland, August, 1849." Likewise Kickham's poem, "A Remonstrance," did not bear his name but may be ascribed to him by virtue of the signature, "X. Ballinahone, November, 1850."

The attention which Lynch paid to the Irish language and the Angle-Irish dialect of English prior to 1852 deserve attention because in this he anticipated Hyde, Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge by half a century. Irish-American reported Archbishop MacHale's concern for native Irish speakers, was similarly concerned for Gaelic speakers who had emigrated to New York and suggested that the Roman Catholic diocese of the city should sponsor sermons in Irish:

A great many of our countrymen and countrywomen in and about this city, but imperfectly speak and understand the English language. To them Religious instruction on their native tongue would be of the deepest interest and importance. As the alumnus of a hedge school, Lynch probably spoke Irish himself. At any rate he printed a poem in Irish in his paper and several translations, most interesting of which was a poem in the form of a Psalm which was prophetic of the verse form to be adopted by Walt Whitman.

So far as the Angle-Irish dialect of English is concerned,

2. Ibid., January 22, 1850, p. 4.
5. Correspondence, Irish-American, October 19, 1850, p. 3.
7. Poet's Corner, Irish-American, June 21, 1851, p. 4.
it is curious to observe that Lynch, criticized for having
encouraged the belief that English was mispronounced in Ireland
by the ignorant Irish people, denied that he "calculated to hold
his countrymen up to ridicule;"

Spelling words, spoken by a genuine Irishman, ac-
cording to sound, has been pursued by Banin, Griffin,
Lover, Carleton; and they have never been accused of
this charge. Scott, Burns, Hogg, and other Scottish
writers have done likewise...

The interest which Irish-American took in the theater is
of considerable significance to the student of the Celtic renais-
sance. Lynch did not hesitate to condemn the "stage Irishman"
when he was given an opportunity. In September, 1849, Tyrone
Power's O'Flannigan and the Fairies was produced at the Broad-
way Theater, New York. Two members of the audience made a dis-
turbance and were ejected. Lynch commented on the episode:

We hope our Irish American friends, when they visit
the theatres and there behold caricature representa-
tions of their native land, will have the manliness
to hiss or otherwise disapprove.

Two years later, commenting on another play, a correspondent
declared:

It is a sad but true fact that, in the Irish drama,
on the stage, the grossest caricatures and most exag-
gerated misrepresentations are had recourse to. Even
the great Tyrone Power, himself, could not squeeze
out the guffaw, till he had transcended the boundary
of nature and gone over into the province of the absurd
and ridiculous. Nothing will cure this but the produc-
tion of sterling dramas, and the taste, ability, and
patriotism of an accomplished actor, and the opinion
of a discerning public.

1. To Correspondents, Irish-American, October 7, 1849, p. 2.
4. An Irish Drama at the Bowery Theatre. Irish-American,
September 6, 1851, p. 2.
In this vein, Barney Williams and Samuel Lover were also criticized but not all plays and playwrights with an Irish background were repudiated. Tyrone Power and his Impressions of America, John Brougham and Dion Boucicault received friendly notices.

Of the various separatist periodicals alluded to, Irish-American is of peculiar significance because under a later editor, P. J. Meenan, it became an unofficial New York organ of the Fenian Brotherhood. Also noteworthy were the New York Nation, edited by T. D. Megee who had been Mitchell's assistant on the Dublin Nation, and another New York paper, The Citizen, founded in December, 1853 by Mitchell and Thomas Francis Meagher. An extract from the prospectus of the latter shows the temper of its editors:

They refuse to believe that Irishmen at home are so obdurate as to be 'loyal' to the Sovereign of Great Britain, or that Irishmen in America can endure the thought of accepting the defeat which has driven them from the land of their fathers, and made that beloved land an object of pity and contempt to the world.

But, perhaps, if The Citizen is important at all it is because Mitchell's Jail Journal was originally published in it from

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1. Irish Actors, Irish-American, October 23, 1849, p. 3.
2. See p. 53.
4. New Irish Drama, Irish-American, November 11, 1849, p. 3.
7. Mr. Hudson at the Broadway, Irish-American, December 2, 1849, p. 2.
8. See p. 53.
9. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 56.
11. Ibid., Irish-American, December 20, 1849, p. 2.
12. Ibid.
15. Ibid., cit.
January to August, 1854. By 1856 Meagher may have grown weary of Mitchel's pro-slavery views, for in that year he launched his own paper, the Irish News. Finally, in 1869, the Phoenix was founded in New York and became the official organ of the newly organized Fenian Brotherhood.

P. M. Haverty

Of the book-publishers who catered to the same audience, P. M. Haverty may be singled out for special consideration. An unsigned obituary in An Gaidal, a magazine edited by Geraldine Haverty, tells of his birth in Dublin in 1827 and his apprenticeship in the store of Bryan Connellan, publisher of the one-volume edition of the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' edited by Owen Connellan. After visiting America in 1847, he returned to Ireland for the expected revolution. When that failed to assume proportions serious enough he emigrated.

Returning to New York he was married in 1854 and opened a book store from which place he published a number of Irish books, amongst the number being 'Bourke's Easy Lessons' (the first publication of any kind in the Irish language in America); John O'Mahony's translation of 'Geoffrey Keating's History of Ireland,' a collection of Irish music under the title of '300 Irish Airs,' the most complete collection of Irish music ever issued. He issued a 'Life of Robert and Thomas Addis Emmet,' taken from Dr. Madden's 'Lives and Times of United Irishmen,' and in it appeared for the first time the date of Robert Emmet's birth, Madden not being able to find it.

3. Ibid., p. 348.
5. See p. 726.
This bibliography may be increased from an announcement which appeared in the back of O'Sullivan's translation of Keating, published by Haverty in 1867, and which recorded the "Recent Publications of F.M. Haverty." Particularly interesting items on this list are Lady Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl*, Thomas Moore's *The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* and books by Thomas Davis, John Mitchel and Samuel Ferguson. Incidentally, a supplement, entitled "Celtic Union Publications," advertised volumes by J. T. Campion and T. C. Irwin, both of whom were to be prolific contributors to *Irish People*, the organ of the Irish Fenians. Although it does not complete the titles issued by Haverty, two more books should be added to this bibliography: *Poems* by James Clarence Mangan with Biographical Introduction by John Mitchel, contains a similar insert which advertised William S. Carleton's *The Black Baronet* as also published by him.

In view of Yeats' famous request to be "counted one with Davis, Mangan, Ferguson," it is striking to observe that they should find an American publisher at this early date. Both the volume by Davis (*The Poems of Thomas Davis*) and that by Mangan contained introductions by Mitchel, whose *Jail Journal*, also, was published by Haverty. Davis, whose inspiration, according to W. B. Yeats, came mainly from "Scott, Macaulay, and Campbell," does

3. *see p. 41*.
5. *see p. 49*.
not seem to have been much affected by contemporary American letters. On the other hand, Mangan seems certainly to have been familiar with Longfellow and probably to have known the work of Poe. In his introduction to the Poems of James Clarence Mangan Mitchell declared that prior to 1857 Mangan was "almost unknown" in America and expressed the belief that "in those United States quite enough...of the true Gaelic ear for melody" existed to warrant the publication of the volume. Indeed, Mangan was "almost unknown" in England, too:

He was a rebel politically, and a rebel intellectually and spiritually -- a rebel with his whole heart and soul against the whole British spirit of the age. The consequence was sure, and not unexpected. Hardly anybody in England knew the name of such a person; and the only critique of his volume called 'German Anthology' which I have ever met with, is a very short and contemptuous notice in the Foreign Quarterly, for October, 1845..."

Later in the same introduction Mitchell indicated Mangan's familiarity with Longfellow and found a similarity between Mangan and Poe. And even if the verdict of O'Donoghe and MacDonagh that Poe, not Mangan, was the debtor be partially true, it is comparatively easy to demonstrate that Poe anticipated some of the themes which Mangan was to use. In 1831 two editions of Poe's Poems were published. At least three of the poems in this volume seem to have received the sincerest form of flattery by Mangan:

2. Ibid., p. 29.
5. See p. 68.
Poe

- "Irene" in *Comet*, 1833.

A fourth, "The Doomed City," appeared as "The Sunken City" in Mangan's *German Anthology* but whether or not Mangan's poem had been written before 1845, when the *German Anthology* was published, is unknown.

The book by Samuel Ferguson which Haverty published was *The Hibernian Nights Entertainments*. Although these tales had appeared separately prior to 1837, they do not appear to have been published in book form in Great Britain or Ireland until 1837. This American interest in his work was reciprocated by Ferguson who admired Longfellow's peculiar versification and wrote to Doctor Francis H. Brown of Boston on October 1, 1873:

I find that I am better known in your country by my squib of 'Father Tom and the Pope' than by the work on which I have bestowed greater application. Possibly I may come, some day, to be recognized in the graver and--to my mind--more enviable society of the poets. If you are acquainted with Mr. Whittier I would be glad to have the expression of my respect and admiration conveyed to him.

Ferguson's admiration for Longfellow must have been shared by his wife for in her *Story of The Irish Before the Conquest*, she transcribed the twenty-two verses entitled "Bishop Sigurd of

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7. See p. 48.
8. Excerpt from a letter in the writer's possession.
Salten Fiord" from "The Musician's Tale" of Tales of a Wayside Inn. Incidentally, this admiration for Longfellow persisted in Ireland and Oliver St. John Gogarty, quoting "The Musician's Tale" as evidence, has declared Longfellow a poet superior to Browning.

Before turning to yet another writer, John O'Mahony, whose work was published by Haverty, it seems advisable to insist that Mangan and Ferguson have been considered to be the heralds of the Celtic renaissance. Thus, a critic said of Mangan:

Acquainted with the past history of Irish chiefs and their wars, and also with Gaelic tradition, he derived from this wild and romantic source a thrill of new enthusiasm, and began that return to Gaeldom for inspiration which is so constant an element in the Celtic revival of our own day. He brought again into prominence and with astonishing force, the historical ballad, and gave it a new life. His impulse descended to Ferguson, and together they originated a new Celtic movement. It would seem correct to make a similar claim for Thomas Mooney and John O'Mahony.

John O'Mahony has already been referred to in the introduction to this thesis. A few additional remarks by Douglas Hyde may be appropriate. Hyde had a very high opinion of O'Mahony's scholarship:

The first volume of Keating's History was published in Dublin by Halliday, in 1611, but that brilliant young scholar did not live to complete it. John O'Mahony, the Fenian Head Centre, published a splendid translation of the whole work from the best MSS.

1. Lady M.C. Ferguson, The Story of the Irish Before the Conquest, pp. 266-269.
3. O. St. J. Gogarty, As I Was Going Down Sackville Street, p.19.
4. S.A. Brocks and T.W. Holleston, A Treasury of Irish Poetry, p.xii.
5. See pp. 61-62.
which in his exile he was able to procure, in New York... Dr. Todd remarks on this translation, 'notwithstanding the extravagant and very mischievous political opinions avowed by Mr. O'Mahoney, his translation of Keating is a great improvement upon the ignorant and dishonest one published by Mr. Dermod O'Connor more than a century ago,' — a foolish remark of Dr. Todd's, who must have understood that most readers of Keating are to be found amongst men to whom his own political opinions thus unnecessarily vented, were equally 'mischievous,'

And in a paragraph on the history of the word 'Fenian', Hyde asserted that O'Mahoney was responsible for the name of the Fenian Brotherhood:

The English translation of Keating made early in the last century, by Dermot O'Connor, does not use the term 'Fenian' at all, but translates the word by 'Irish Militia.' Nor does O'Halloran, in 1778, when he published his history, seem to have known the term. The first person who appears to have used it is Miss Brooks, as early as 1796; in her translation of some Ossianic pieces, I find the lines:

'The cursed in rage the Fenian chief
And all the Fenian race.'

I have been told that Macpherson had already used the word, but I have looked carefully through his Ossian and have not been able to find it. Halliday in his edition of Keating, in 1808, talks in a footnote of 'Fenian heroes.' It was John O'Mahoney the head-centre of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a brilliant Irish Scholar and translator of Keating, who succeeded in perpetuating the ancient historic memory by christening the 'men of '68' the 'Fenians.'

The Formation of the Fenian Brotherhood, 1858-1864

It is now appropriate to turn to the origin of the Fenian Brotherhood. To introduce the Irish-American organisation, Hyde once more may be quoted. He entitled Chapter Twenty-Nine of his Literary History of Ireland, "The Fenian Cycle:

But there was yet another era consecrated in story-telling, another age of history peopled by other characters, in which the households of many chieftains and some even of the chief's themselves delighted. These are pictured in the romances that were woven around Cenn of the Hundred Battles, his son Art the Lonely, his grandson Cormac mac Art, and his great-grandson Caiibre of the Liffey. This cycle of romance may be called the 'Fenian' Cycle, as dealing to some extent with Finn mac Cumhail and his Fenian militia, or the 'Ossianic' Cycle since Ossian, Finn's son, is supposed to have been the author of many of the poems which belong to it.\footnote{Hyde, op. cit., pp. 363-364, note.}

The nucleus of the organisation which O'Mahony was to call the Fenian Brotherhood was already in existence when Haverty published this translation of Keating in 1857. When the Crimean War began in 1854, Irish-American revolutionaries, seeking to make the most of England's difficulty, formed the oath-bound Emet Monument Association:

The leaders of this organisation -- including John O'Mahony, Michael Doheny, and Michael Cereceran -- entered into confidential communications with the representatives of Russia in Washington and New York, and had so satisfied the latter gentlemen of the power of the Irish element in America...that the Consul held out the strongest hopes for their obtaining from his government all the material aid they required -- namely, the means of fitting out an armed expedition to Ireland.\footnote{W. Cavanagh, Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher, p. 544.}

An emissary, Joseph Denieffe, was sent to organise branches in Ireland. Denieffe has told how he received his credentials from Doheny:

...John O'Mahony was present, as was also James Roche, former editor of the Kilkenny Journal.

I asked what time or date could I announce to my friends I might organise as the time they expected to move on Ireland.
'You may assure them,' was the reply, 'the time will be in September. We have thirty thousand men ready now, and all we need is money, end arrangements are under way to provide it.'

The expected Russian aid failed to materialise and in 1856 the Crimean War ended. The Emmet Movement Association thereupon was dissolved except for a standing committee empowered to revive it whenever occasion might warrant.

The hiatus between 1856 and 1858 is accounted for as follows by O'Mahony’s secretary, Michael Cavanagh:

After an interregnum of two years, these ever-watchful patriots, deeming that the time had arrived for renewing the preparations for an Irish revolutionary movement, commenced the formation of a new organisation, which they at first designated the 'Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood,' but which name, for adequate reasons, was subsequently changed for that of the 'Penian Brotherhood.'

Thereupon Doheny and O'Mahony wrote to James Stephens on behalf of the new group suggesting that he attempt to organise a parallel revolutionary body in Ireland. Stephens, who had seen action in '48, agreed to make the effort for three hundred pounds.

Accordingly, on St. Patrick's Day, 1858, he called a meeting of sympathizers in Dublin:

That evening, March 17, 1858, the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood was brought into existence...The form of oath or text which was administered and whichbury drafted, was as follows:

'I, A.B., in the presence of the Almighty God,

1. J. Denieffe, A Personal Narrative of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood...Written at the Request of Friends, p. 3.
4. See p. 56.
5. Denieffe, op. cit., p. 17.
6. Ibid., p. 85.
do solemnly swear allegiance to the Irish Republic, now virtually established, and that I will do my very utmost, at every risk, while life lasts, to defend its independence and integrity; and, finally, that I will yield implicit obedience in all things, not contrary to the laws of God, to the commands of my superior officers. So help me God, Amen!" 

Stephens had been appointed Chief Director of the Irish organization by "Dehany, O'Mahony, and others." Following a highly successful recruiting trip through Ireland, he sailed for America.

Having enrolled some thirty-five thousand men, Stephens came to America in the fall of 1858, to report progress, and solicit more generous subsidies than he had received from America. At a meeting of the friends of Ireland at Tammany Hall, New York, the collection of a fund was inaugurated; and at the request of Stephens, O'Mahony was created Head Centre.

After the new revolutionary movement had been successfully launched, it continued to grow until 1865 when it split into two factions. Prior to the split its growth had been encouraged by the visits of several leaders of the Irish branch of the Brotherhood, by a newly established newspaper, by the impressive obsequies of Terence Sallow MacManus and by the Civil War in the United States.

John O'Leary was the first emissary to follow Stephens to America. He arrived in New York early in May, 1859, and was greeted by Michael Dehany and the brass band of the "famous 69th Regiment." O'Leary conceived the utmost admiration for

2. Danieffe, op. cit., pp. 25 et seq.
5. Ibid., pp. 100-101.
O'Mahony at this time although the latter was "much of a Social
tizt." Indeed, after praising the scholarship of O'Mahony's
translation of Kesting, the usually reserved O'Leary continued:

But if he knew Irish well, he knew Ireland better,
and loved her with a love that few have ever equalled,
and I doubt whether any have ever surpassed. For her
he lived; and for her he may be said to have died;
though not -- as might have been -- on the scaffold,
or -- as he would have wished -- on the field.2

In New York O'Leary also came to know Meagher and Mitchell, and
helped to found Phoenix, the first Fenian journal:

...I took some small part, too, making my maiden at-
tempt at journalism, and indeed my first attempt to
set my thoughts before the public at all, with the
single exception of a short letter written to the Nation
some seven or eight years before. The venture
of which I am speaking was in the shape of a small
weekly newspaper called the Phoenix, so named, no
doubt, after the so-called Phoenix men of Skibbereen.4

In September O'Leary returned to Europe. In connection with his
impressions of America, it is significant to observe that he
found American Fenianism to be a working class movement:

I have seen little or nothing of America, save what
was to be seen in and about New York; little that was
to be seen there, save among the Irish; and little that
was to be seen even among the Irish except those of the
working classes, of whom alone the Fenian body was
then composed.5

The Phoenix was edited by James Roche and published by
Patrick O'Dee who has been described as "one of the best Irish
scholars in America." When O'Leary sailed for Europe, it was

2. Ibid., p. 104.
4. Ibid., p. 105.
5. Ibid., p. 115.
collecting money for the Fair Trial Fund to help O'Donovan Rossa and other imprisoned members of the Phoenix Society of Skibbereen. Of its brief history O'Leary has written:

Some few members of this paper I saw after my return to Paris, and I believe it dragged on a precarious existence for several months, and I was sorry to hear that in its later stage it had degenerated into a highly agrarian, semi-Ribbon sort of publication, being altogether Land Leaguerish, as so many other things and men have been, long before the Land League.

Its last important effort was to encourage the transportation to Ireland of the body of a Young Irisher, Terence Bellew MacManus, who had died in San Francisco.

The impressive obsequies for Terence Bellew MacManus were the work of the Fenian Brotherhood. Nevertheless, in New York, Archbishop Hughes informed Thomas Francis Meagher, chairman of the committee in charge of arrangements, that "he wanted no secret societies to enter the Cathedral in their regalia!"

That His Grace did not intend this interdiction to apply to the military organization of the Fenian Brotherhood was evidenced by the fact that, on the occasion in question, the Guard of Honor — which escorted the remains into the Cathedral, and were assigned pews on either side of the bier — was selected from the 'Phoenix Zouaves.'

The body was accompanied by thirty-two pall-bearers across the Atlantic among whom were Michael Cavanagh, and Colonel Michael Doheny. However, in spite of the honors with which it was received, which included a poem by George Sigerson on "The Exile's

2. _Ibid._, p. 108.
Return," the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin would not permit it "to be placed in any of the metropolitan churches.\textsuperscript{2} Therefore, while awaiting the funeral, MacManus' body lay in state in the Mechanic's Institute which was in later years to become the home of the Abbey Theatre. It would be curious to know if there was any association between this and the anecdote \textsuperscript{3} which Yeats told about MacManus in his \textit{Autobiography}.

The Civil War in the United States broke out in time to prevent Meagher from accompanying MacManus' body to Ireland. The war helped the growth of the Fenian Brotherhood, however, by bringing many Irish-Americans together as soldiers. To take advantage of this situation Meagher organised his Irish Brigade \textsuperscript{4} for service in the Grand Army of the Republic. Even this Irish Brigade may be considered as an element aiding a Celtic renaissance. For at the suggestion of John O'Mahony it adopted an ancient Gaelic motto from the Irish of the Fenian poet Ossian (Oisin):

"Riamh nar ahruid e spairn lann!" i.e. 'Never retreat from the clash of spears!'

The original idea from which this phrase was derived is embodied in a stanza of a poem attributed to Oisin, entitled the 'Agallamh' ('A Dialogue Between Oisin and St. Patrick.\textsuperscript{5}

The Saint having asserted that all the bards of old associates were in hell, because of their unbelief in the true God, the incredulous old Pagan indignantly retorted:

'Weare Finn and Mac an Loin with me,
(Two who never shunned the clash of spears;)
Despite thy clarions, bells and thee
We'd hold - where Satan domineers.'\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} Anon., \textit{Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland}, pp. 14-16.
\textsuperscript{2} Pigott, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{3} O'C. O'Leary, \textit{A Wayfarer in Ireland}, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{4} W. B. Yeats, \textit{Autobiography}, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{5} Unsigned, Thomas Francis Meagher, \textit{Encyclopaedia Britannica}, vol. 15, 14th ed., p. 122.
\textsuperscript{6} Cavanagh, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 426.
It is worth while to compare Cavanagh's translation with Yeats' paraphrase of the same lines in "The Wanderings of Oisin:"

Oisin. Put the staff in my hands; for I go to the Fenians, Odoire, to chant
The war-songs that roused them of old; they will rise, making clouds with their breath,
Innumerable, singing, exultant; the clay underneath them shall pant,
And demons be broken in pieces, and trampled beneath them in death.

And demons afraid in their darkness; deep horror of eyes and of wings,
Afraid, their ears on the earth laid, shall listen and rise up and weep;
Hearing the shaking of shields and the quiver of stretched bowstrings,
Hearing Hell loud with a murmur, as shouting and mocking we sweep.

We will tear out the flaming stones, and batter the gateway of brass
And enter, and none saith 'No' when there enters the strongly armed guest;
Make clean as a broom cleans, and march on as oxen move over young grass;
Then feast, making converse of wars, and of old wounds, and turn to our rest.

In 1863 and 1864 Thomas Clarke Luby, O'Donovan Rossa, Charles Kickam and James Stephens visited America as emissaries of the Irish organization. In New York Luby met the extraordinary "Pagan" O'Leary whose reason for abandoning his baptismal name, Patrick, has been told by John Devoy in a passage which should be compared with what has just been written about the Irish Brigade:

He hated Rome and England with equal intensity, and his queer notion was that after driving out the English, Ireland should return to the old Paganism... He... was eloquent in extolling the superiority of Tir-na-nog over the Christian Heaven...

In Tir-na-nog not only were the old Gaelic sports carried on and fine horses and good hunting dogs available, but the company was of the best. Fiach MacCumhail, Ossian, Oscar, Goll MacMorna, Diarmaid Ua Dubhghaile and the rest of the Fenian heroes and the beautiful women they fought and sang about were all there, and he had no doubt that Hugh O’Neill and Red Hugh O'Donnell, Owen Roe, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet had all found their way to Tir-na-nog...

'The Pagan' had his particular grievance against St. Patrick, which made him drop the name. He claimed that the Apostle of Ireland had demoralized the Irish by teaching them to forgive their enemies. Any man who did that was a poltroon. It was like listening to the dialogue between Ossian, back from Tir-na-nog, and St. Patrick. As knowledge of that story was common all over Munster when 'The Pagan' was young, he had probably heard it recited and it had become his Bible.¹

During his visit Luby covered "at least 6,000 miles," and saw the battle front in the company of John O'Mahony, a trip which reminded John O'Leary of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Returning to Ireland, Luby became friendly with a Welsh journalist which led John O'Leary when he was writing his Recollections to observe:

The sense of racial solidarity was, I think, always considerable between Highlanders and Irishmen, but not between Welsh and us. I understand, however, that the feeling is growing, and I am very strongly of opinion that we should do all that lies in our power to bring ourselves into touch with our Celtic brethren all the world over.²

Rossa's mission to America succeeded that of Luby. It was at this time, according to Rossa, that Neagher took the ³

Fenian oath from John O'Mahony. Following Rossa, in 1863, Charles Kickham visited America as an envoy and, also, to report for the recently established Dublin Irish People the pro-

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3. Ibid., pp. 212-213.
4. Ibid., pp. 224-225.
5. O'D. Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, pp. 385-386.
ceedings of the first National Congress of the Fenian Brotherhood. In one of his contributions to Irish People, Kickham told of calling on the family of the late Colonel Doheny in Brooklyn. During the visit Kickham's poem "The Irish Peasant Girl" was mentioned:

Miss Doheny at once remarked that her papa had the verses copied into the Phoenix, and taking up a large bound volume of that journal, she knew exactly where to find them. I read "The Celt, the publication of which was discontinued after the death of Dr. Cane, has been revived under the editorship of Dr. Campion. From its first number we extract the following gem." 1

The poem, which reminded an Irish aetite of Longfellow, has been criticised by W. B. Yeats for its lack of a "sensuous musical vocabulary." And there is also a touch of sentimentality which suggests Whittier as a stanzae of Kickham's poem will reveal:

Ah, cold, and well-nigh sallous,
This weary heart has grown
For they helpless fate, dear Ireland,
And for sorrows of my own;
Yet a tear my eye will moisten
When by Anner's side I stray
For the lily of the mountain foot,
That withered far away. 4

Finally, James Stephens, himself, returned to attend the Fenian Fair at Chicago in 1864, leaving O'Leary, Luby and Kickham in charge of the Irish organisation during his absence.

1. C. Kickham, Leaves from a Journal. Irish People, April 2, 1864, pp. 299-300.
2. O. Roe, Charles J. Kickham. Irishman, April 21, 1877, pp. 682-683.
5. R. Pigott, Recollections of an Irish Journalist, pp. 142-143.
Developments in the Fenian Brotherhood, 1865-1870

In 1865 the American Fenians held two conventions. The earlier preceded the end of the Civil War. The later assembled in Philadelphia to consider the arrests of great numbers of American Fenians who had gone to Ireland after the War and of the suppression of Irish People by Dublin Castle. In opening this later convention, O'Mahony called on the delegates to be "courteous and urbane" to one another because "the cause of Ireland's regeneration" rested in the hands of the Fenian Brotherhood and its allies:

Remember always our Fenian maxim, as adopted at Chicago, in 1865, at our first Congress:

'The patient dint and powder shock
Can blast an empire like a rock.'

In spite of O'Mahony's advice, the Brotherhood split into the Irish party, of which he was head and which favored the policy of waiting for the rising in Ireland, and the Senate wing, which preferred an immediate attack on Canada as the nearest portion of the British Empire and which was therefore sometimes called the "Canadian Party." Curiously enough, it appears that at about this time the Fenians first became known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood:

Here are Luby's insinuating words...On the other hand it is a fact that, some time after the arrests in 1865, the term "Irish Republican Brotherhood" (I.R.B.) became a historic reality, so to speak, in America. John

1. R. Pigott, Recollections of an Irish Journalist, p. 149.
2. Ibid., p. 160.
5. Savage, op. cit., pp. 66-68.
O'Mahoney -- I learned it from others, too -- told me how numbers of our fugitives from Ireland on a certain occasion formed themselves into a knot, or clique, or society, and called themselves "The Irish Republican Brotherhood, or the I.R.B." Indeed, I think I remember his adding that the "Olasna-Gaidheal" ultimately arose out of this nucleus. Be that as it may, from this date -- and I don't precisely know the date -- this name I.R.B. gradually came to be fastened on our entire movement, and tacitly accepted as one of our historic names.

The Canadian Party

Before concluding this discussion of the developments of the physical force movement in America between 1865 and 1870, a few words about each of the factions into which the Fenian Brotherhood had split and some mention of the attempts to reunite them will be said.

The Canadian wing went into action on June 1, 1866, when the first Irish force to use the initials I.R.A. (Irish Republican Army) invaded Canada under the command of General John O'Neill. After a victory at Ridgeway, Ontario, O'Neill's army was forced to return to the United States by superior numbers. One other similar attempt may be mentioned. In 1870, again under the command of O'Neill, the Canadian wing massed forces at St. Albans, Vermont. The subsequent fiasco was reported to the Boston Pilot by an Irish Fenian who had just escaped from penal servitude in Australia, John Boyle O'Reilly.

Three literary men who were associated with the Canadian

wing should be mentioned. Best known was Michael Scanlan whom John Devoy called "The Poet Laureate of American Fenianism" because of his song, "The Fenian Man." He was a student of the Irish language from which he translated several poems into English verse, and was editor of The Irish Republic which, like Irish-American, was an organ of the Canadian Party.

A second literary figure was James Gibbons, a well-to-do Philadelphia printer. His grandson, the famous critic, James Gibbons Huneker, in his autobiography described a volume of verse by his grandfather and wrote of Gibbons' associates:

I recall certain long summer afternoons the babble of men's voices, the cigar smoke, and the clinking of glasses when a Fenian pow-wow was held in our dining-room... As to the validity of the cause I may say nothing. But the patriotic motives of such men as James Gibbons, Patrick J. Meehan (editor of The Irish-American)...John O'Neill, and many others, no one could impugn.6

The third literary man to be mentioned was a certain 7 O'Carroll who used the pen name, Seán Dubh. In his novel 8 Ridgeway, O'Carroll's interest in Irish antiquities led him at one point to interrupt the narrative to insert a disquisition on the origin and appropriateness of the name "Fenian":

We have already observed that the selection of this name was judicious in more than one relation. In the first place, it was far removed from that of any of

2. Ibid., p. 195.
6. Ibid., p. 22.
the well known cognomens which had characterized so many of the noted revolutionary associations that had already failed in Ireland, and, in this respect, was strong; being free from any unpleasant reminiscences; while, from the fact of its impert not being generally known to the masses, it stimulated enquiry on the part of the curious or weak nationalists which resulted in the most salutary consequences. The rarity of the name led to newspaper expositions of it, and moved the inquiring patriot to look into Irish history in relation to it; and in this manner a knowledge of much of the ancient greatness of Ireland became the common property of those who were formerly but slightly acquainted with such lore. 1

The Irish Party

The history of the Irish Party continued long after the period under consideration. However, some mention may be made of various incidents which may be associated with the first five of its leaders. John O'Mahony, its first leader, edited the New York Irish People from 1866 to 1872 which came into being when the Dublin Irish People was suppressed and which was owned by a cousin of Charles Kickham. Incidentally, the woman's auxiliary of the Fenian Brotherhood seems to have remained loyal to O'Mahony:

In America there was a Fenian Sisterhood, which was the first to organize women on a large scale for political purposes in the history of the world. In Ireland there was no regular organization of Fenian women, but a large number of them worked...., and were the chief agents in keeping the organization alive in Ireland from the time that Stephens left for America early in 1866 until the Rising of March 5, 1867.4

When Stephens supplanted O'Mahony in 1866, he favored a new departure:

1. Dubh, op. cit., p. 70.
2. John O'Mahony. Irish World, February 17, 1877, p. 5.
James Stephens while a refugee in Paris had fought at the barricades in the Mad resistance to Louis Napoleon's coup d'etat in 1851, and claimed that he was an enrolled member of the Communist Party.\(^1\)

Although he had remained quiet about his Communion previously, the First International had taken considerable interest in the Irish revolutionaries:

From the very first...the First International actively took the part of the Irish, despite the calumnies with which the Fenians were assailed by the English Press., and even by sections of the "liberal" Press on the Continent. When O'Donovan Rossa and the other editorial workers of the Irish People were arrested the Council at once protested and circularized all its sections to organise protests. Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa at once wrote to the International to thank them for their activities.\(^2\)

Consequently, in America Stephens endorsed the International:

The International, both in England and America, raised large funds for the Fenian prisoners, and issued a special appeal to Irish working-women to send funds to the Irish People in aid of the prisoners. Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa became secretary of the International Relief Committee in Dublin, while collecting sheets were sent to trade union branches all over England.\(^3\)

He met Gustave Paul Cluseret, the French Communist, and enlisted his help and seems also to have known the French revolutionist, Reclus. On October 23, 1866, Stephens promised an insurrection in Ireland by January first to an audience in New York.

When Stephens suddenly changed his mind, he was deposed in favor of Thomas J. Kelly. Kelly also admired the First International and in a letter to the Paris Liberté he declared:

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1. Devey, op. cit., p. 118.
3. Ibid., p. 122.
...we have inscribed in capital letters upon our proclamation the sentence: 'We aim at founding a Republic based on universal suffrage, which shall secure to all the intrinsic value of their labors.' The national soil, the abolition of salaries, and the Republican form based on universal suffrage, such is what is desired by the Ireland of 1867, regenerated by the stay of its exiles in America...not one would use any other language than that which I use to you at this moment in their name and in the name of all proletarian Ireland.

Kelly left New York for Ireland in January, 1867.

Among the large number of Irish-Americans who returned to Ireland at about the same time, Thomas Francis Bourke may be singled out for mention because, like O'Mahony, he saw "Irish Regeneration" in the Fenian movement. In this spirit he wrote to a friend on the eve of his departure:

You know, as well as I do, that the only hope of Ireland's redemption rests with the 'Irish Nation in America,' and you know that that new nation has the will and the power to make Ireland's freedom a certainty.

Anthony A. Griffin had succeeded Kelly in charge in the United States. When news of the failure of the rising was published, he refused to believe it, suspecting English censorship. Accordingly, the "Erin's Hope" was outfitted to smuggle guns from America into Ireland. Upon the return of this vessel on August 1, 1867, after an eventful but disappointing voyage, the news of the failure of the rising was confirmed.

The fifth and last leader of the Irish Party to be men-

1. J. Savage, Fenian Heroes and Martyrs, pp. 174-175.
2. See pp. 87-88.
7. Ibid., p. 52.
tined was John Savage who was elected to succeed Griffin later in August, 1847. Savage was something of a poet himself and writings of two other Irish Party sympathizers may be discussed in connection with his name. It was not as a poet, however, that Savage made what was probably his greatest contribution to the Fenian movement but as editor of Fenian Heroes and Martyrs which was a veritable dictionary of biography of the Fenian movement. In his "Preface" Savage explained how the book might be used "to follow the history of the Irish struggle." There followed an account of Irish republican sentiment from 1796 to 1868 and an essay on "The Ancient Fenians."

The bibliography of this essay on "The Ancient Fenians" suggests the erudition of the author:

The authorities freely used in the compilation of this chapter, are Dr. John O'Donovan's Translation of the Annals of the Four Masters, 7 vols.; Owen Connellan's Translation of these Annals, with annotations, by Philip MacDermott, M.D., 1 vol., 6th; Moore's Ireland; O'Mahony's Translation of Keating, N.Y., 1866..."

The essay began with a reference to the general public interest in "the origin, meaning and appropriateness of the designation Fenian." It promised an account of the Fenian period with emphasis on the Fenian Brotherhood which made it "one of the most romantic and glorious in the records of ancient Ireland."

It traced the name to the "Four Masters";

4. Ibid.; p. 73.
The Fenians, called by the Irish writers Fianna Eiríonn (the Fenians of Ireland), are mentioned in the Four Masters, under the title of Feine, or Fain... The most widely accepted explanation of the name is that the Fianna Eiríonn were called after Finn MacCoul, their great leader. This Finn is the hero of MacPherson's Ossian, and is there called Fingal.

A curious appeal for the support of the Ossianic Society ended

This society numbers among its members very distinguished, as well as some very loyal gentlemen; and it is not a little remarkable, that while they are sedulously employed in disentombing from the dust of ages, the history, literature, bravery and gallantry of the elder Fenian period, the Government are not less busily employed in consigning to the death of dungeons, and the obscurity of penal servitude, those who aspired to bring a new soul into Ireland, or revive the spirit of the old national guard, in the creation of the Fenian Brotherhood. The Ossianic Society ought to be encouraged in their efforts to illuminate the Fenian history of Ireland.²

The two authors to be mentioned in connection with Savage were Michael Cavanagh and Robert Dwyer Joyce. Cavanagh wrote for the New York Emerald:

To this periodical he contributed several original Irish sketches and tales, some translations from Gaelic poetry (which met the commendation of eminent Irish scholars), and an occasional English song on some Irish subject.

He subsequently became connected with the Celtic Monthly Magazine, and it was in this periodical that the greater portion of his published poems, original and translated, appeared; though many of his best English poems were published in the Boston Pilot.⁴

Joyce emigrated from Ireland to Boston in 1866 and became a successful physician. In 1868 his Legends of the Wars in Ireland

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1. See p. 112.
2. Savage, op. cit., p. 130.
3. See pp. 79; 82; 84.
appeared. Its form somewhat resembled Ferguson’s Hibernian Night’s Entertainments: “Thirteen historical and semi-historical legends, told by a thoroughly good story-teller, with plenty of colour and exciting incident and without clogging erudition.”

**Attempts to Heal the Split**

Two attempts to heal the split met with failure. In 1867, when Savage was elected head of the Irish wing, the post had been offered to John Mitchell who had resigned from the organisation at about the time of the division and hence was presumed to have the confidence of both wings. Mitchell’s reputation as a rebel had not faded since 1848, and as an author he had found a publisher not only for the works already mentioned but also for his *Memoir of Thomas Devlin Reilly*. On the eve of the Civil War Mitchell became involved in a plot with Louis Napoleon which was defeated by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin:

In the year 1860 the late Louis Napoleon was Emperor of the French. He had some dispute with England concerning international commercial tariffs. The disputes grew hot, and Louis knowing where the crack lay in the armor of England, sent over to New York for John Mitchell with the intention to send a French army into Ireland with John Mitchell at the head of it. Mitchell came to Paris sure enough, became the confidant of the French Emperor and was his guest in the city.

In Paris Mitchell attempted to conduct a paper and wrote for the Dublin *Irishman* until 1861. While there he also met John

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2. Danileffe, op. cit., pp. 219-222.
3. See p. 73.
O'Leary, who was disagreeably affected by Mitchel's dislike for James Stephens. Back in America, for the duration of the Civil War Mitchel seems to have devoted all his energy to the cause of the Confederacy; but in 1865 he returned to the Irish revolutionary movement. Then at the time that John O'Leary was being brought to trial in Dublin, Mitchel "left New York for Paris, as the accredited agent and emissary of the Fenian Brotherhood; what he did there I knew little of till afterwards, when I heard much of it from my sister and others. To make a long story short, Mitchel, after a while in Paris, began to grow more or less dissatisfied, if by no means with the principles, most certainly with the prospects, and very much with the personnel of Fenianism. Stephens he never could endure, and the dislike was mutual..."

It is perhaps from this French interlude that Mitchel's continuation of the History of Ireland by the Abbe MacGeoghegan is to be dated. MacGeoghegan was chaplain of the Irish Brigade in France after which subsequent "Irish Brigades" were to be named. His Histoire de l'Irlande, according to the Encyclopædia Britannica, was published posthumously, 1788-1789. The first English version, and the one used for Mitchel's volumes, was made by Patrick O'Kelly shortly after Catholic Emancipation, 1821-1822. MacGeoghegan carried his history up to the year 1890. Mitchel's continuation began in 1891 and was under-

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4. Ibid., pp. 158-159.
6. V. Sheean, A Day of Battle, pp. 2-24.
7. See p. 83.
taken in a typically Irish-American spirit:

As the learned Abbe MacCoochgan was for many years a chaplain to the Irish Brigade in France, and dedicated his work to that renowned corps of exiles, whose dearest wish and prayer was always to encounter and overthrow the British power upon any field, it is presumed that the venerable author would wish his work to be continued in the same thoroughly Irish spirit which actuated his noble warrior-congregation; and he would desire the dark record of English atrocity in Ireland, which he left unfinished, to be duly brought down through all its subsequent scenes of horror and slaughter, which have been still more terrible after his day than they were before. And this is what the present Continuation professes to do.

He carried it up to the beginning of the Fenian movement which he refused to discuss:

It may be said, however, that a powerful illustration has been thereby given to the fact, that while England is at peace with other powerful nations, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make so much as a serious attempt at a national insurrection, in the face of a government so vigilant and so well prepared.

And it was because he believed that physical force could not succeed while England was at peace, that Mitchell refused to accept the leadership even of a reunited Fenian Brotherhood.

Another unsuccessful attempt to heal the split was proposed by Colonel Richard O'Sullivan Burke, a Civil War veteran, at a Manchester, England, Fenian convention. According to John Devoy, the net result was the formation of a third group, "in America to be known as the Clanna-Gael." In 1916 it was the only

2. Ibid., p. 609.
5. Ibid., p. 246.
6. Ibid., p. 239.
one of the three still in existence.

Colonel Richard O'Sullivan Burke is interesting for another reason. Prior to the Manchester convention he had taken part in the rising and had met the "Erin's Hope" upon its arrival in Ireland. After the convention, he planned the rescue of Thomas J. Kelly who had been arrested in Manchester. Not long after this exploit, he was arrested, charged with buying guns for the Fenians, and "lodged in Clerkenwell Prison, London." A group of London Fenians attempted to blow a hole in the prison wall so that he might escape. In spite of a considerable loss of life as the result of the explosion, the attempt failed. Nevertheless, the English Government believed that Burke was privy to the design and in Ulysses James Joyce made the curious error of putting Burke outside Clerkenwell and in the company of Kevin Egan, a great "lover" of Ireland, at the time that the gunpowder went off:

Lever, for her love he prowled with colonel Richard Burke, a tenant of his seep, under the walls of Clerkenwell, and, crouching, saw a flame of vengeance hurl them upward in the fog. Shattered glass and toppling masonry. In gay Paris he hides, Egan of Paris...

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2. Ibid., p. 236.
3. Ibid., p. 349.
4. Ibid., p. 243.
5. Ibid., pp. 800-351.
7. J. Joyce, Ulysses, p. 44.
Summary

In Chapter I, Unionism and separatism were introduced as characteristic features of the Irish scene in the first fifty years after the formation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800. In the present chapter, Fenianism has been introduced as a characteristic modification of the Irish separatist movement among emigrants to the United States, particularly among those who left Ireland after the failure of the rising in 1848.

Prior to the formation of the Fenian Brotherhood, there had been intercourse between Ireland and the United States since 1776. This intercourse had been encouraged not only by emigration but also by the admiration of Irishmen for American ways of thought and by the attempts of various Americans to appeal particularly to an Irish or Irish-American audience. As early as 1854 a little volume of Selections from the American Poets had been published in Dublin, but the most significant publication before 1849 for the student of the Celtic renaissance was Thomas Moore's two-volume History of Ireland, which was printed in Boston in 1845 and which laid the foundation for a revival of the Irish language, music, poetry, architecture, religion and literature.

Between 1849 and 1858, Irish-American periodicals and publishers prepared the way for both Fenianism and a Celtic renaissance. Examples of such periodicals were Irish-American, the New York Nation, The Citizen, and the Irish News.

The most important of these periodicals was Irish-American.
which first appeared in 1849 under the editorship of Patrick Lynch. Its importance was both political and literary. Politically, Irish-American is of interest to students of the physical force movement because it favored "a Red Republican Revolution" for Ireland. Accordingly, it displayed a concern for Irish writings of a separatist or pro-American nature, in the Young Irelanders, in evidences of American sympathy for Irish revolutionists and in enlisting military help for Ireland in the United States. From a literary standpoint, Lynch's paper is important because even before 1852 it had anticipated certain features of the Celtic renaissance. This was manifested by the editor's attitude toward certain Irish and American writers, in the attention which he paid to the Irish language and the Anglo-Irish dialect of English, in his attacks on the "stage Irishman" and in his interest in the Irish or Irish-American theater.

The most significant Irish-American publisher was P. M. Haverty whose interest in "the Gaelic note" has never been sufficiently recognized. Yet certainly it surpassed that of any of his contemporaries with the possible exception of Thomas Neely. This startling fact is brought out when one remembers Yeats' famous request to be "counted one with Davis, Mangan, Ferguson" because Haverty published works by these original sounders of "the Gaelic note," before 1859. Incidentally, in connection with this "Gaelic note," it is remarkable that both Ferguson and Mangan were indebted to Longfellow and that Mangan probably was familiar with the writings of Edgar Allen Poe. One is almost

1. See p. 32.
tempted to suggest that the famous "Gaelic note" may have been
partially a Gaelic-American note. But to return to P. M.
Haverty, it was noted that in addition to Davis, Mangan and Fer-
guson, republished fiction by Lady Morgan and William Carleton,
a history of Ireland by Tom Moore, "Burke's Easy Lessons," which
has been described as "the first publication of any kind in the
Irish language in America" and John O'Mahony's translation of
the history of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating.

The Fenian Brotherhood was formed in 1858 by the standing
committee of an organization known as the Emmet Monument Asso-
ciation which had been in existence since 1854. The Emmet Monu-
ment Association was an oath-bound society of Irish Americans whose
goal had been to use England's difficulties with Russia in the
Crimean War to set up a sovereign state in Ireland. In 1856,
after the Anglo-Russian War was over, the Emmet Monument Associa-
tion was dissolved except for a standing committee which had been
empowered to revive it whenever the time seemed appropriate.

In 1858, the members of this standing committee decided
to revive the Emmet Monument Association. Changing its name,
they enlisted the aid of James Stephens to create a parallel body
in Ireland. Members of both Irish and American organizations
swore allegiance to the Irish Republic "now virtually established."
But only the latter group was officially known as the Fenian
Brotherhood.

After the Fenian Brotherhood had been created, its growth
was encouraged by visits to America of such prominent figures in
the parallel Irish organization as James Stephens, John O'Leary,
Thomas Clarke Luby, O’Donovan Rossa and Charles Kickham. Its growth was also stimulated by a newspaper which was established in New York in 1859 (The Phoenix), by the impressive obsequies which attended the funeral of the Young Irelander, Terrence Bel- lew MacManus in 1861 and by the Civil War. The Civil War was of service to the expanding Fenian Brotherhood because it brought Irish Americans together as soldiers. It promoted a Celtic renaissance by popularizing the ancient Irish poet Oisin through the agency of the Irish Brigade.

In 1865, The Fenian Brotherhood split into a Canadian Party and an Irish Party. The Canadian Party attempted to invade Canada in 1866 and in 1870. It attracted the attention, if not the support, of John Boyle O’Reilly and among its adherents were at least two writers who were interested in the Irish language and in Irish antiquities.

The Irish Party had John O’Mahony, James Stephens, Thomas J. Kelly, Andrew A. Griffin and John Savage for its first five leaders. It retained the loyalty of the Fenian Sisterhood and became involved with the First International. Between 1865 and 1867 the Irish Party sent many representatives to Ireland and in the later year it vainly sought to smuggle guns into Sligo. In addition to John O’Mahony, the Irish Party attracted two notable enthusiasts of Celtic studies, Michael Cavanagh and Robert Dwyer Joyce.

Two unsuccessful attempts were made to heal the split. The first failed because John Mitchel did not believe that an Irish insurrection could succeed while England was at peace.
The second also failed but resulted in the formation of the Clan-na-Gael, which survived both the Canadian Party and the Irish Party and lived to help the Irish Fenians in their insurrection of 1916.

In concluding this introduction to Fenianism, it is important to insist that the creation of the Fenian Brotherhood was indisputably an attempt to revive an ancient Irish institution and that, therefore, it may be considered a very early, if not the first, result of the Celtic renaissance. Or, on the other hand, it is possible to reverse this statement and to argue that since the Fenian Brotherhood was an indisputable attempt to revive something from Irish antiquity, it thereby was stimulated other later attempts and thus/responsible for the Celtic renaissance. In any event, history has proved the prophecy of "a clever English literary man:"

"This is a serious business now," said a clever English literary man when he heard of the Fenian organization, "the Irish have got hold of a good name this time; the Fenians will last."...There was an air of Celtic antiquity and of mystery about the name of Fenian which merited the artistic approval given to it by the impartial Irish writer whose observation has just been quoted."

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CHAPTER III
UNIONISM VERSUS PENTIAMISM, 1850-1867

In Chapter I Unionism was introduced as largely of English inspiration and in Chapter II Fenianism was shown to be of American origin. In the present chapter the appeals which these two "isms" made to the people of Ireland between 1850 and 1867 will be discussed.

Unionism, 1850-1867

The Unionists, of course, were in the field before the Fenians, but they had a ghastly handicap to overcome:

The great Starvation has been written down in history books as a 'Famine,' but it was not a famine; 'then a country is full of food and exporting it there can be no famine,' writes Bernard Shaw, with his usual clearness, and there was no famine in Ireland.1

This great famine has been described by James Connolly as follows:

The first failure of the potato crop took place in 1845, and between September and December of that year 515 deaths from hunger were registered, although 3,250,000 quarters of wheat and numberless cattle had been exported. From that time until 1850 the famine spread, and the exports of food continued. Thus, in 1846 it was estimated that 300,000 persons died of hunger and 1,826,132 quarters of wheat and barley were exported. Typhus fever, which always follows on the heels of hunger, struck down as many as perished directly of famine, until at last it became impossible in many districts to get sufficient labourers with strength

enough to dig separate graves for the dying. Recourse was had to famine pits, into which the bodies were thrown promiscuously; whole families died in their miserable cabins... In 1847, 'black '47,' 250,000 died of fever; 51,770 of starvation.

The handicap was all the more serious because one of the strongholds of Unionism in Ireland, the propertied classes, was largely responsible for the suffering:

Nothing more inhumanly selfish and base is found to the disgrace of any class in any crisis in the history of civilized society. They urged the government to pass coercion; they pressed for more stringent laws for the better payment of rents; they carried out evictions, and did everything else that their antecedents and character generally would incite so morally corrupt a privileged order to commit.

To overcome this handicap and to win the Irish people to support the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Unionists sought to redress Irish grievances by political, economic and social concessions.

**Political Concessions**

The political concessions which were sought by Irish Unionists of Parliament in order to quell Irish discontent seem passing strange. In the House of Lords in 1849 some Irish peers proposed that if the Parliament were to meet in Dublin occasionally, Irish separatists might be dealt a serious blow. In a similar spirit Queen Victoria was encouraged to visit Ireland. Even earlier Irish landlords had sought to persuade the Upper House that emigration would minimize discontent. The shocked words of an Irish landlord, Aubrey De Vere, on this subject, and,

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2. See pp. 3-4.
incidentally, on a secret society the purpose of which was to protect Irish peasants, are interesting:

He gravely told the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonisation from Ireland, 1867, of 'The tendency of a very great amount of over population (M. De Beaumont believed that Ireland could support 25 millions of people) to abolish the very idea of Property, making the People believe that the Produce of the land belongs virtually to all on the Land, and that they have the Right to legislate as they think best as to the Mode of its Distribution...'

I have known people who are notoriously great leaders of White Boys in whose countenance you could trace no mark of Ruffianism; you could not have known by looking at them that they were evil-disposed men.'

The House of Commons, also, was appealed to. In 1849 it passed the Encumbered Estates Act but, of course, it was designed to give relief to the landlords and there is no evidence that the grievances of the starving tenants were remedied by it.

It was probably because of Daniel O'Connell's advice that the peasants had relied on Westminster to avert the famine. However, Parliament did little, ignored the protests of United States Congressmen and cancelled the beneficent results which might have come from the shiploads of grain which were sent to Ireland from America.

Economic Concessions

A mild attempt by the Unionists to alleviate Irish distress by their own efforts resulted in the formation of the Irish

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Counsel in which Isaac Butt, Samuel Ferguson and such separatists as William Smith O'Brien, Charles Gavan Duffy and John Mitchell became active.

Isaac Butt, while still at Trinity College in 1835, had been one of the founders of that excellent Unionist periodical, the Dublin University Magazine. A few years later, having been elected Alderman, Butt argued against O'Connell's proposed repeal of the Act of Union:

In the year 1843, O'Connell and Butt were both Aldermen of the Dublin Corporation. O'Connell moved that a petition be presented to Parliament for the Repeal of the Union. Butt was chosen to lead the opposition, being the ablest and most zealous living champion of the Tory cause...

At that time O'Connell predicted that Butt would ultimately become a Repealer and, indeed, a few years later while acting as defense counsel for several of the Young Irishers he confessed to Meagher that "he would not have the slightest hesitation in avowing himself in favour of self-legislation." Yet in 1844 Butt even repudiated O'Connell's proposal that a federal government be accepted by the Irish in lieu of repeal and from 1852 to 1865 he served as a Unionist member of Parliament.

At the time that O'Connell was predicting that Butt would become a separatist, Samuel Ferguson had already been drawn toward that movement by his friend, Thomas Davis, and at about the time that the Irish Council was formed, he wrote:

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1. S.J. Brown, Ireland in Fiction, p. 338.
4. Ibid., pp. 43-44.
5. See p. 32.
If the Conservative gentry of Ireland thought fit to invite their friends and tenants to meet them at a new Dungannon there is no power in Britain which could prevent the severance of the two islands. And there can be no more fatal delusion than to suppose that Irish gentlemen, because they do not profess the Roman Catholic religion, are disposed to rest satisfied under any social inferiority whatever to the rest of the United Kingdom.¹

A third member of the Council, Charles Gavan Duffy, wrote to a Londonderry editor about it and received an interesting reply:

The 'Irish Council' have taken up one branch of the Tenant-Right agitation, viz., that relating to compensation for improvements, but they have still the subject of 'fixity of tenure' to discuss, and if they put this upon a generous and sufficiently comprehensive basis, they will deserve some credit from the country.²

However, the more wealthy Unionist landowners considered the Council too radical and as a result it accomplished nothing.

Yet another attempt to redress Irish grievances grew out of the Ulster movement for tenants' rights and resulted in a curious combination of Ulster Unionists, Roman Catholics, and moral suasionists. Sometime in 1846 certain Ulster Unionists ³ formed a Tenant Protection Society and in 1849 two priests ⁴ founded a similar organisation in Callan. In 1851, the Catholic Defense Association was formed in Dublin to protect the interests of Roman Catholics at Westminster; and in 1852 for a coming election this Roman Catholic group formed a common cause with the Tenant League of North and South, which had just been

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¹ Duffy, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 82.
² Ibid., p. 204.
³ Ibid., p. 29.
⁴ Davitt, op. cit., p. 68.
created through the efforts of the moral suasionists, George Henry Moore and Charles Gavan Duffy.

The coalition party which elected fifty-eight of its candidates, including Duffy and Moore: "...pledged themselves never to take office from, never to support, always to act in opposition to, any Ministry not pledged to repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and to make a Land Bill...a Cabinet measure." But at the first opportunity certain of the Roman Catholic chiefs broke the pledge and were supported in this by their Church and the Ulsterman. Thereupon John Mitchel, who was at that time in America, drew the following moral for his New York paper, the Citizen:

Nothing would ever be obtained for the tenant farmers from the British Parliament; their best hope was an Irish expedition from the United States with arms in their hands, which might be expected, perhaps, before another year had elapsed.

Duffy apparently agreed that the coalition could accomplish nothing and so he determined to emigrate. Resigning his seat in Parliament, he said in disgust: "Till all this is changed there seems to me no more hope for the Irish cause than for the corpse on the dissecting-table."

George Henry Moore, the last survivor of the coalition party, was unseated in 1857. Surprisingly, since lack of Roman Catholic support had been a large factor in the disintegration of the party, Moore was unseated on the charge that Bishop MacKale and some of the clergy of his diocese had used undue influence

2. Ibid., p. 67.
on the electorate to cause his return to Parliament. There is an amusing side to this unseating of Moore because of ecclesiastical intimidation if one remembers the seal with which his son, George Moore, sought to discover that he was of Protestant ancestry.

Social Concessions

Religious

In addition to certain political and economic concessions, two other efforts to recruit Irishmen to the Unionist cause may be noted. First, there was the growth of friendly relations between Roman Catholic Unionists in England and their co-religionists in Ireland; and second, a mild interest in Gaelic culture was stimulated by Matthew Arnold.

The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 had resulted in a renaissance of the Roman Catholic Church in England. As a result, in September, 1880, Pope Pius IX decided to create a diocesan hierarchy there to replace the one which had gone over to the Established Church centuries earlier. At Westminster the party in power denounced Pio Nono's decision as "Papal aggression," but at that time Irish Roman Catholics held the balance of power in Parliament and under the leadership of George Henry Moore they united to overthrow the Government. A year later the Catholic Defense Association was formed in Dublin. Thereafter, Roman Catholics had no more trouble in Parliament and Aubrey

De Vere in a letter, dated January 10, 1851, reported: "Nearly every newspaper mentions the name of some Anglican clergyman who has just seceded, and the lawyers are keeping them in countenance." De Vere, himself, became a Roman Catholic in 1851 as his brother already had done, but the most celebrated convert was John Henry Cardinal Newman who had "seceded" in 1845.

John Henry Newman

In the realm of higher education there was a convincing demonstration of the growth of friendly relations between English and Irish Roman Catholics when John Henry Newman was appointed rector of the Catholic University which was founded in Dublin in 1854. In The Idea of a University which resulted from his experiences in Dublin, Newman was to speak admiringly of Ireland's civilization during the so-called "Dark Ages", that is, between 500 and 900 A.D., and to assert that in those times the words "philosopher" and "Irish monk" were synonymous. Newman predicted an Irish renaissance, but he believed that it would be Roman Catholic, not Celtic, in nature:

If I do homage to the many virtues and gifts of the Irish people, and am zealous for their full development, it is not simply for the sake of themselves, but because the name of Ireland ever has been, and, I believe, ever will be, associated with the Catholic Faith...8

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5. Ibid., pp. 485-486.
6. Ibid., p. 483.
7. Ibid., p. 484.
8. Ibid., p. 481.
Archbishop MacHale’s biographer has told of a significant aspect of Newman’s work in the new University:

One of the lasting benefits he conferred on it and the nation was his appointment of Eugene O’Curry to the chair of Irish Antiquities, by which that great scholar was enabled to give to the world his valuable lectures on ‘The Manuscript Materials of Irish History’ and his still more valuable volumes on ‘The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.’

This interest in Irish antiquities was encouraged in Atlantis, a magazine conducted from 1853 to 1863 by members of the Catholic University, which published O’Curry’s translations from the Gaelic. W. K. Sullivan, who wrote the article on Celtic Literature for the ninth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, was on the staff of Newman’s institution at this time. In the article he told of the Transactions of the Ossianic Society, 1854–1861, of which the Unionist Standish Hayes O’Grady was in charge, and which contained “nearly all the tales yet printed of the Ossianic Cycle.” Needless to say such publications as Atlantis and the Transactions of the Ossianic Society, were to prove of more interest to the Fenian Brotherhood than to Irish Unionists.

Aubrey De Vere

In discussing the growth of friendly relations between Irish and English Roman Catholics, the contributions of Aubrey De Vere, who was a lecturer at the Catholic University, should also be mentioned. To De Vere, the significance of Ireland’s

3. Loc. cit.
story was not to be found in its long struggle for independence but in the persistent adherence to Roman Catholicism of the Irish people. He expounded this interpretation of Irish history in the introduction to *Inisfall* which appeared in 1861 in a volume entitled *The Sisters, Inisfall and Other Poems*. And, indeed, it was part of his method of constructing the poem:

"Its aim," wrote the poet himself, "is to embody the essence of a nation's history." Contemporary historic poems," he went on, "touch us with a magical hand; but they often pass by the most important events, and linger beside the most trivial. Looking back upon history, as from a vantage ground, its general proportions become palpable; and the themes to which poetry attaches herself are either those critical junctures upon which the fortunes of a nation turn, or such accidents of a lighter sort as illustrate the character of a race. A historic series of poems thus becomes possible, the interest of which is continuous, and the source of which reveals an increasing significance."

Yet his poem about Grattan in *Inisfall* could have been written by a separatist, and might be construed as pro-repeal propaganda by one who was unaware that De Vere was a Roman Catholic Unionist who admired Grattan's efforts to end the Penal Laws more than his opposition to the Act of Union.

De Vere has been called "the wearer of Wordsworth's mantle" but there was another influence on his writing which one might more readily understand in that of a separatist. Sometime early in the 'sixties he wrote to his Boston friend, Charles Eliot Norton:

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1. See p. 18.
4. Reed and Hinkson, op. cit., p. 113.
How pleasant must be those quiet yet active evenings you pass in literary labours with your friends Mr. Lowell and Mr. Longfellow! I assure you your description of them made me wish very much indeed that I could form one of that circle. Literary labour, with the hope of a result, must be a very animating thing!... I am of the unpopular side, you know, in England because I am a Catholic, and in Ireland because I am opposed to revolutionary schemes.

Thus De Vere reveals himself as a Unionist who finds much to admire in America. A more sincere form of flattery to American ways of thought may be observed in "The Last MacCarthymore," one of the poems in Inisfail, in which De Vere used the familiar techniques of Longfellow's "A Psalm of Life." And when he met Longfellow, he not only found him "unsullied," but also becomingly reverential to Wordsworth:

Since the sudden and calamitous death of his wife (the Mary Ashburton of 'Hyperion!') his hair has been grey, but his ways and bearing, though serious as well as gentle, are not depressed. He is entirely modest, and as simple as Wordsworth himself, of whom he speaks in very becoming terms of reverence and gratitude.

In view of the fact that De Vere was primarily interested in Roman Catholicism, not separatism, the following estimate from the Encyclopaedia Britannica might have been written by a Unionist:

After Matthew Arnold's fine lecture on 'Celtic Literature,' nothing perhaps did more to help the Celtic revival than Aubrey de Vere's insight into the Irish character and his reproductions of the early Irish epic poetry.

On the other hand, Thomas MacDonagh, the Irish critic and patriot,

2. See pp. 48.
4. Ibid., pp. 276-278.
felt that De Vere was an isolated phenomenon and was forced to make a separate category for him in Literature in Ireland:

There are a few poets, like Aubrey de Vere, whose main work cannot be referred either to the Irish Mode or to living Irish patriotism, yet who are definitely Anglo-Irish.¹

Cultural

Matthew Arnold

The concessions which the Unionists made to the Roman Catholic church, manifested in the persons of John Henry Newman and Aubrey De Vere, found a parallel in the realm of Celtic studies and in the person of Matthew Arnold. Indeed, an anonymous contributor to the Encyclopaedia Britannica asserted that "Matthew Arnold’s fine lecture on 'Celtic Literature' "did much to help the Celtic revival." Accordingly, a few words about Arnold’s mild interest in Gaelic culture as expressed when he delivered this lecture or lectures, in 1867, seem imperative. At the outset he repudiated Celtic languages as an obstacle to civilization. He rejoiced in the death of Cornish, the passing of Breton and Scotch and, speaking but shortly after the birth of Douglas Hyde, he prophesied the disappearance of Gaelic from Ireland where it was "the badge of the beaten race, the property of the vanquished." Next, Arnold disposed of the Irish desire for independence by the argument of racial determinism, characterizing Celtic civilization as "out at elbows, poor,

¹. T. MacDonagh, Literature in Ireland, p. 60.
⁵. Ibid., p. 18.
slovenly, and half-barbarous" and adding to this catalogue of shortcomings "self-will," "want of patience with ideas" and "inability to see the way the world is going." Like Thackeray, Macaulay, and Carlyle, he favored Unionism. He believed the Irish were incapable of self-government and not good enough fighters to win it from the English. Arnold was speaking at a time when the Fenian movement had reached such proportions as to cause considerable alarm in England and it is possible, perhaps, to detect a note of this fear in his boastful words:

Who does not feel his mind agreeably cleared about our friends the Fenians, when he learns that the root of their name, Fen, "white," appears in the hero Fingal; in Gwynned, the Welsh name for North Wales; in the Roman Venedotia; in Vannes in Brittany; in Venice? At any rate he was willing to admire "the true home of the Ossianic poetry, Ireland" and such Irish scholars as John O'Donovan and the "uneducated" Eugene O'Gurvy. And this admiration was to lead him to propose a program for the pacification of Ireland:

Let us reunite ourselves with our better mind and with the world through science; and let it be one of our angelic revenges on the Philistines, who among their other sins are the guilty authors of Fenianism, to found at Oxford a chair of Celtic, and to send, through the gentle ministration of science, a message of peace to Ireland.  

1. Arnold, op. cit., p. 96.
2. Ibid., P. 131.
3. See pp. 6-7.
4. Arnold, op. cit., p. 56.
5. Ibid., p. 22.
6. Ibid., p. 68.
8. Ibid., p. 61.
9. Ibid., p. 51.
10. Ibid., p. 152.
Needless to say, Arnold's program was not adopted and the only immediate repercussion in Ireland was certain contradictory passages in a book by the Fenian sympathizer, George Sigerson.

Fenianism, 1858-1867

In considering the Irish aspects of the physical force movement during the years 1858 to 1867, it seems convenient to divide the subject matter into four sections. First it will be appropriate to say something of the status of the separatist movement at the time of the beginnings of Fenianism in Ireland. Next, the growth of the physical force movement prior to the appearance of Irish People in 1863 will be discussed. Then a section will be devoted to an analysis of that weekly newspaper. And finally the suppression of Irish People and the failure of the rising in 1867 will conclude the third chapter of the present research.

The Separatist Movement in Ireland at the Time of the Formation of the Fenian Brotherhood

When Charles Gavan Duffy left Ireland in 1855, the Crimean War had come to an end. In 1864 he had published anti-English poems by T. C. Irwin and others in the Nation. Perhaps the result of the war had something to do with his belief that there was "no more hope for the Irish cause than for the corpse on the

dissecting-table."  Yet even at that time "national opinion grew in the young" and in 1856 it received an impetus from Hayes' anthology, the *Ballads of Ireland*:

It was nearly all vigorous verse largely stemming from Macaulay and his slashing school, and sliding away from the elegant perfected lyrics of Thomas Moore, till then the almost single source of popular national lyrics in Ireland. Thomas Davis led in solid excellence. D'Arcy McGee, Fergusan, Lady Wilde (mother of Oscar) who signed 'Speranza,' Denis Florence MacCarthy also struck bold notes from the Irish lyre, and then the acute personal note, the gorgeous distinction and thrill that went with James Clarence Mangan -- a poor starved body supporting a beautiful white soul.  

A. M. Sullivan succeeded Duffy as editor of the *Nation*. Sullivan sympathised with agrarian reform, repeal of the Act of Union, and the revival of the Irish language. In connection with the repeal of the Act of Union, John Devoy told in his *Recollections* how in 1859 Lord John Russell and the London *Times* called for a plebiscite to determine whether the subjects of Pope Pius IX wanted their independence. The *Nation* immediately proposed that the Irish petition the English Government for a plebiscite on the question of Irish independence:

T. D. Sullivan, of the *Nation*, walked into an Irish class (at which I was present) and to which his brother, A.M. Sullivan, had given the use of his editorial room... with a set of resolutions already written... One of these resolutions called for a public meeting... The National Petition Movement was started there, and... T. D. Sullivan was made Permanent Secretary.

In connection with the revival of the Irish language, it may be noted that another Dublin paper, *Irishman*, had published a letter from that "great old hook" (as George Moore was to call him in *Hail and Farewell*) T. O'Neill Russell, which advocated a revival of the study of Gaelic. And elsewhere in his *Recollec-
tions*, Devoy tells more about the Irish class referred to above and its connection with the Sullivans:

That little Gaelic class was started by a few young men and boys who thought they were initiating a movement to revive the language, but many of them dropped away after a time because they got too busy in Fenianism. In the end they were unable to pay the rent of their quarters in Middle Abbey Street, where Martin A. O'Brien, who kept an Academy on Bolton Street, was their teacher. He was the author of a convenient text book called *Irish Made Easy*. A.M. Sullivan gave us the use of his editorial room in the *Nation* office... Neither Alexander N., nor Timothy D., Sullivan, nor their brother Donal... knew a word of Irish... yet they took great interest in the language and gave the revival a good start by publishing from week to week in the *Nation* Father Ulick Burke's *Easy Lessons in Irish*.

Perhaps the most dangerous exploit upon which such separatists as the Sullivans embarked, if certain rashnesses in 1848 be excepted, happened in 1860. Mitchel, it will be re-
nembered, had gone over to Paris in 1859 at the invitation of Louis Napoleon and there were rumors of a possible French inva-
sion of Ireland. At this time Marshal MacMahon had become famous as the result of his handling of the French army in a war with Austria. MacMahon, though a Frenchman, was of Irish

5. See p. 95.
and suddenly a pamphlet appeared, MacMahon, ROI
d'Ireland. In New Ireland A.M. Sullivan has told how the Nation decided to present MacMahon with a sword:

The Marshal, on being made aware of the proposed compliment, intimated that, subject to the requisite permission of the Emperor, he would be truly happy to receive this mark of regard from his ancient compatriotes, as he styled the Irish people. The Emperor, in a very marked way, assented, and on the 2nd of September, 1860, my brother, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, and Dr. George Sigerson...proceeded to France to make the formal presentation. The Marshal was at that time in command at Chalons, and to honour the arrival of the Irish deputation on such an event the camp was put on fête. The formal presentation took place at head-quarters. An address, engrossed in Irish and French...was read by one of the deputation.

Nevertheless, A.M. Sullivan as editor of the Nation was no fit successor to a post which had once been held by Thomas Davis. In 1856 the Phoenix National and Literary Society was organized at Skibbereen, County Cork, largely through the efforts of O'Donovan Rossa. When the members began to drill and execute military manoeuvres on the hillsides out of sight of the Royal Irish Constabulary, certain local priests attacked the Society and a Phoenix man wrote to the press to complain particularly of the belligerence of the parish priest of Kenmare. Then the Nation printed a letter which denounced the Society. It was followed by a raid and the arrest of most of the leaders, including Rossa. To express his disgust with Sullivan's devious manner

of talebearing, James Stephens, the Fenian chief, called him the "tale-setter" (on the analogy of a setter dog) and Sullivan, perhaps remorsefully, published an appeal for a "Fair Trial Fund" so that the Phoenix prisoners might have the best legal aid. Yet he was not satisfied and when, after the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, the Dublin Fenians summoned a mass meeting in Dublin in support of the Federal government, Sullivan italicized the names of the Fenians in publishing the membership of the committee set up at the assembly. Roosa and Kickham immediately wrote letters of protest to the Dublin Irishman which was at that time supposed to be the organ of the Fenian Brotherhood.

Thus, in its beginnings the Fenian movement in Ireland was opposed by the Roman Catholic priesthood and by the Nation. It was supported by Irishman and the Saint Patrick's Brotherhood which was formed to quite an extent through the efforts of George Henry Moore. John Mitchell, too, was interested in the Saint Patrick's Brotherhood, but suspicious of Moore, and he wrote to John O'Mahony to suggest how it could be used by the Fenians:

His new organisation will not be illegal, but though ostensibly legal and open, it will and must naturally seek to connect itself with whatsoever secret machinations may be going on. That is to say, in other words,

3. O'Leary, op. cit., pp. 186-188.
it will be an organization looking to revolution, foreign aid and more or less directly preparing for that, though for the moment within the forms of the law... You need not apprehend the influence of O'H. Moore. I think we have so arranged matters that we shall make use of him, not he of us.

The Brotherhood of St. Patrick, assuming that to be the organization to which Mitchel had reference, eventually was absorbed into the Fenian movement. Indeed, this was but a step in the growth of the physical force movement prior to the appearance of the Irish People in 1863.

Growth of Fenianism, 1858-1863

In the present research the physical force movement in Ireland has been traced back to 1798. In 1798 it became associated with republicanism. At that time its adherents were aware that an Irish culture existed but they were not very deeply touched by it. Indeed, not until the Irish-American, John O'Mahony, gave the name Fenian Brotherhood to the separatist organization of which he was chief, did the trinity of republicanism, the revival of Irish culture and physical force come into being. The trinity was immediately accepted in America and in Ireland such men as O'Donovan Rossa were ready for it. In this connection, the tribute of one of the Fenians who was executed for his part in the rising of 1916, Patrick Henry Pearse, deserves quotation:

"...Rossa held a unique place in the hearts of Irish men and Irish women. They made songs about him, his very name passed into a proverb. To avow oneself a

2. J. Devey, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, pp. 33-35.
friend of O'Donovan Rossa meant in the days of our fathers to avow oneself a friend of Ireland; it meant
more; it meant to avow oneself a 'mere' Irishman, an
'Irish enemy,' an 'Irish savage,' if you will, naked
and unashamed. Rossa was not only 'extreme,' but he
represented the left wing of the 'extremists.' Not
only would he have Ireland free, but he would have Ire-
land Gaelic.

And here we have the secret of Rossa's power; he came
cut of the Gaelic tradition. He was of the Gael; he
thought in a Gaelic way; he spoke in Gaelic accents...;
for the English he had a hatred that was tinctured with
contempt. He looked upon them as an inferior race,
morally and intellectually; he despised their civilisation;
he mocked at their institutions and made them
look ridiculous.

John O'Leary

The significance of this trinity has been missed because
a third important Fenian leader, John O'Leary, was lukewarm
towards Celticism. The explanation is simple. O'Mahony and
Rossa lived out their lives as exiles in New York. O'Leary was
allowed to return to Ireland in the 'eighties and lived, mostly
in Dublin, until his death. He became, soon after his return,
a literary lion and was considered "the most picturesque sur-
vivor of Fenian times." His significance was heightened by
his activities as president of the Young Ireland Society, and
W. B. Yeats, commenting on the heated discussions in which he
participated at the regular meetings of the Society, testified:
"From these debates, from O'Leary's conversation, and from the
Irish books he lent or gave me has come all I have set my hand

2. Devoy, op. cit., p. 262.
to since."
And in the same vein, Padraic Colum wrote of O'Leary:

With that finely modelled head of his drooping a little, but yet without any consciousness of his being out of place, he would preside at gatherings that in those days seemed fantastical enough — gatherings that were for the formation of a new league or a new union for Irish independence. They would have him there, those young men...because there was in him a virtue, an integrity that gave a spiritual value to words and programmes...

Hence one poet made his name into a refrain in the most ringing of his poems, another dedicated to him the most spirited of his pieces. And a realist of another generation, the most acrid writer that his country had produced, wrote of his funeral as of the passing away of a soul from amongst a shallow people.

O'Leary himself has told of his "conversion" to physical force in 1846:

Sometime in the year 1846, while recovering from a fever, I came across the poems and essays of Thomas Davis, then recently dead...Perhaps it may give some notion of the effect produced on me to say that I then went through a process analogous to what certain classes of Christians call 'conversion.'

A brief account of his activities until 1849 has already been given but one aspect of O'Leary's association with Lalor has been omitted: "The writings of James Fintan Lalor were collected and published after his death, with an introduction embodying personal recollections and a brief memoir by John O'Leary," In a later generation many others, including Patrick Henry Pearse (Padraic MacPiarsis), were to feel the admiration which O'Leary felt for Lalor:

2. P. Colum, The Road Round Ireland, pp. 204-205.
The 'strong basis of logic and reason that underlay his passion,' which impressed John O'Leary, the 'concentrated and savage earnestness' which struck Cavan Duffy...were nothing to the dispossessed... Yet his influence worked powerfully through Mitchell and others, thence, as Standish O'Grady seems right in assuming, from Mitchell through the Irish-American press, to Henry George, Michael Davitt, till (we may add) in a new day it moved the intellect and heart of James Connolly and Padraic Macfiairs.1

Discouraged by Lalor's death, O'Leary gave up thoughts of physical force until 1889, when, according to W. B. Yeats, James Stephens discovered him in a habitual activity: Stephens, the founder of Fenianism, had discovered him searching the second-hand bookstalls for rare editions, and enrolled him in his organisation. 'You have no chance of success,' O'Leary had said, 'but it will be good for the morale of the country' (morale was his great word), 'and I will join on the condition that I am never asked to enrol anybody.'3

O'Donovan Rossa

On the other hand, Rossa experienced no sudden "conversion" to a separatist philosophy:

The Irish people learn through oral tradition what many people learn from book history. Before I ever read a book, before I ever went to school, I got into my mind facts of history which appeared incredible to me. I got into my mind from the fireside stories of my youth that the English soldiers in Clonakilty, convenient to where I was born, used to kill the women, and take the young children, born and unborn, on the points of their bayonets, and dash them against the walls, and that the soldiers at Sandon Bridge used to tie men in couples with their hands behind their backs, and fling them into the river.4

4. Rossa, op. cit., p. 16.
The very name "Rossa" had been handed down in the O'Donovan family (O'Donovan was Rossa's family name) from the name of the estates which had been forcibly taken from it by English invaders in Cromwell's time.

This childhood hate was augmented when Rossa learned to read:

Didn't John Mitchel say, that the mistake of it was, that more landlords were not shot! and didn't he say that if he could grasp the fires of hell, he would seize them, and hurl them into the face of his country's enemy! Didn't Thomas Davis pray: 'May God wither up their hearts; may their blood cease to flow; may they walk in living death; they, who poisoned Owen Roe!' Didn't Thomas Moore tell us to flash 'every sword to the hilt' into their bodies! Didn't J. J. Callanan pray 'May the hearthstone of hell be their last bed forever!'

This fierce hatred of everything English was offset by as fierce a love for everything Irish. His first language, learned from his grandmother who "could speak no English," was Gaelic. He learned his catechism in that language and when he started to school he had to learn the English alphabet through the Irish. In the evenings by the fireside he heard stories of the fairies and how to propitiate them. He was taught traditional Irish dance steps. He learned how to understand that type of symbolism in poetry for which W. B. Yeats was later to

1. Rossa, op. cit., pp. 81-85.
2. Ibid., pp. 115-116.
4. Rossa, op. cit., p. 23.
5. Ibid., p. 25.
6. Ibid., p. 36.
7. Ibid., p. 124.
8. Ibid., p. 164.
be criticized on the grounds of intentional "obscenity." Indeed, Rossa has told that as a youth he had something of a reputation as a poet himself.

Following the famine, during which his father died and his home was broken up, Rossa started a general store in Skibbereen. Business in the shop was conducted in Irish and the memory of it caused Rossa, when he was writing his Recollections, to think of poetry in that language:

The first Irish-language book I came to read was a book of Irish poems with translations by Edward Walsh. I was able to read these Irish poems without any previous book-study of the language. The man who gave me the book was John O'Driscoll -- a grandson of the Irish poet, John Collins, of Myross. When O'Driscoll was a national school teacher, he had been up in Dublin in the training school, and brought the book home with him.

About the time that Rossa opened his store, his love for everything Irish brought him in touch with John O'Donovan, professor of Irish at Trinity College, Dublin. O'Donovan, who in 1851 had published a seven volume edition of The Annals of the Four Masters with an extensive genealogical appendix, aroused Rossa's interest by the similarity of their name and the scholar accepted his invitation to visit him in Skibbereen. Thereafter the two men corresponded regularly and in his Recollections Rossa published many of O'Donovan's letters which are

2. ibid., pp. 165.
3. ibid., pp. 118-142.
4. ibid., pp. 177-178.
5. ibid., p. 239.
full of information about all sorts of Irish lore. Of particular interest is a letter written in 1856 in which O'Donovan condemned Daniel O'Connell for his lack of interest in Irish culture. For it was in this year that the Phoenix National and Literary Society came into being in Skibbereen.

James Stephens put an end to the literary side of the Society when he set about organizing the Fenian movement in Ireland in 1866. At Bendon that spring he heard of the Phoenix Society from James O'Mahony who, according to Rossa, was as adept at coining an expressive Gaelic name as his more famous contemporary, John O'Mahony:

It was James O'Mahony that first gave James Stephens the name of Seabhac; sheeky; hawk. The Sheuk sheolach -- the wandering hawk -- was a name given in olden days to a banned wanderer. Stephens, at the start of this organisation, traveled much of Ireland on foot. At night he stopped at my house in Skibbereen, I saw the soles of his feet red with blisters.

James O'Mahony directed Stephens to Rossa who introduced him to the Society and so well did Stephens do his work that by October an Irish-American drill-master was sent down from Dublin to prepare the men for a fight. Before the end of the year the authorities had become so alarmed that many of the leaders were arrested and brought to trial. O'Leary noted:

During the course of the trials Stephens was constantaly alluded to as passing under the name of Mr. Sough. This was simply a prosaic official blunder.

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2. Ibid., p. 106.
3. Ibid., p. 120.
4. Ibid., pp. 79-80.
5. Rossa, op. cit., p. 62.
arising out of the more or less imaginative fact that
the peasantry of Cork and Kerry were in the habit of
speaking of him as the 'Sceoch,' which I understand
to mean 'The Wandering Hawk.'

Rossa was kept in prison until July, 1859, without being
tried and then he was released. Upon leaving Cork Jail, Rossa
returned to Skibbereen where he remained until the local authori-
ties forced him to leave town in 1863. Before turning to the
early activities of other celebrated Fenians and their sympa-
thizers, however, it seems wise to indicate that his experiences
in jail had not forfeited John O'Donovan's high opinion of him.
In 1861, at Stephens' suggestion, Rossa went up to Dublin for
the MacManus funeral and while there he went to see O'Donovan:

I called in to Trinity College to see him. In the
room with him was Professor Eugene O'Curry. I had
a long talk with them. John O'Donovan asked me to
tea next night at his home..."and you," said he to
O'Curry, 'you try and come up.' 'No,' said O'Curry,
'but let Rossa come to my house the night after.'
I told him I would not be in Dublin...Those two men
were dead, one year after that day..."

At O'Donovan's house that evening Rossa met the priest who was
to edit Mangan's poetical works and who had been an intimate
friend of the poet, the Reverend C. P. Meehan:

I went to John O'Donovan's house that evening, and
met there Father Meehan, the author of that book
called 'The Confederation of Kilkenny.' We talked
of Fenianism, or of the cause for which I had been
lately in Cork Jail. I, as well as I could, justified
my belonging to that cause -- not that my host or the
priest said anything in condemnation of the cause --

2. O'D. Rossa, Irish Rebels in English Prisons, pp. 7-12.
3. O'D. Rossa, Rossa Recollections, pp. 245-257.
4. Ibid., pp. 236-239.
but I was surprised then I heard John O'Donovan say in the priest's presence, 'The priests won't let the people fight.'

Other Fenians and Fenian Sympathisers

In retrospect it seems that the names of Edmund O'Donovan, John Devoy, "Pagan" O'Leary and certain writers who sympathized with the Fenians should be added to those of John O'Leary and O'Donovan Rosse in a consideration of the growth of the Fenian movement from 1858 to 1865.

In view of the intimacy between O'Donovan Rosse and John O'Donovan, it is not surprising that the sons of the latter should have been attracted into the Fenian movement: "O'Donovan Rosse, in his frequent visits to the home of John O'Donovan, the great Irish scholar..., swore in the three sons of the latter, including Edmund, who was the eldest." Nor is it startling that Edmund O'Donovan swore in the son of Eugene O'Curry, John O'Curry:

O'Donovan, Sr., had married a Clarewoman of remote English descent whose brother had a farm there, where the boys sometimes spent their vacations. Eugene O'Curry, the other great Gaelic scholar, married her sister, and his son John was one of the earliest recruits in Edmund's circle.

John Devoy was first attracted to Fenianism at the time of the National Petition Movement in 1860. He was sworn in while attending a Gaelic class:

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1. O'D. Rosse, Rosse's Recollections, pp. 239-240.
2. Devoy, op. cit., p. 82.
3. Ibid., p. 364.
4. See p. 118.
The man who swore me in, James Joseph O’Connell O’Callaghan, of Kanturk, was, next to O’Donovan Rossa and Edward Duffy, the best recruiter in Ireland... The swearing in was done in Alexander M. Sullivan’s editorial room in the Nation office... O’Callaghan did not learn any Irish and only joined the class to pick out recruits.1

According to Devoy, Fenian recruiting agents were particularly successful in the Dublin trades. Through the efforts of a cousin of Charles Kickham, veterans of the Papal Brigade were also recruited though John O’Leary had a low opinion of these men as W. B. Yeats remarked in another connection many years later:

There was an excitable man who had fought for the Pope against the Italian patriots and who always rode a white horse in our nationalist processions. He got on badly with O’Leary who had told him that ‘attempting to oppress others was a poor preparation for liberating your own country.’4

It would be interesting to know what O’Leary thought of the French Foreign Legion because Devoy enlisted in it on May 2, 1861, and was absent from the Fenian movement for at least a year.

Before turning to a consideration of the writers sympathetic to Fenianism in its early days in Ireland, some mention should be made of "Pagan" O’Leary. John O’Leary had been the only rebel in 1848 who had attempted to utilise the disaffection of the Irish soldiers in the English army. No further attempts were made until late in 1865 when "Pagan" O’Leary arrived in Galway from Boston. Upon his arrival in Ireland he was ap-

2. Ibid., pp. 26-27.
3. H. V. Kelly, O. J. Kickham, Patriot and Poet, p. 15.
5. Devoy, op. cit., p. 386.
6. Ibid., p. 29.
pointed to this work by James Stephens. John Devoy, who was later to undertake the same task, has testified to "The Pagan's" success at his job. In view of W. B. Yeats' preference of Ossian to St. Patrick, and of his distaste for vulgarised symbols of Irish nationality, it is unfortunate that he never met "Pagan" O'Leary who shared both the former and the latter opinions.

Of the writers sympathetic to Fenianism prior to the appearance of *Irish People*, following are notable: C. M. O'Keefe, Charles Kickham, George Sigerson, Darby Ryan, R.D. Joyce, and William Carleton. Their work appeared both in periodicals and in books.

Two Irish periodicals in which the writings of Fenian sympathisers appeared were the *Celt* and the *Illustrated Dublin Journal*. Mention has already been made of a contribution of Kickham's to the *Celt*, organ of the Celtic Union. C. M. O'Keefe, who was subsequently to be associated with *Irish People*, and Robert Dyer Joyce also contributed to it. To the *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, Carleton, Joyce, and Sigerson contributed and it may have been the last named who attempted to defend James

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2. Ibid., p. 143.
3. Ibid., p. 158.
6. See p. 84.
8. See p. 84.
9. See p. 73.
Macpherson in an essay entitled Ossianic Poetry:

Certainly it is that Macpherson was the first who saw and appreciated the merits of Gaelic poetry. Assuming these poems, so far as genuine, to be Irish compositions, they certainly had been neglected by the Irish, and allowed to remain unpublished and unknown, until Macpherson brought them to light from Scottish sources. Miss Brooks, Walker, Hardiman... and other more recent writers, have done justice to Ossianic poetry and the genius of Ireland, but it must not be forgotten that the initiative in bringing these compositions to the light of day was taken by James Macpherson.2

Poems by Kickham and Darby Ryan appeared in an anthology, The Tipperary Minstrel, which is of peculiar interest because it contained the "Feeler and the Goat":


Among the pieces is Kickham's Ballad of 'Patrick Sheehan,' It is only a slight collection, but it contains the famous 'Feeler and the Goat,' of which Ryan, or O'Ryan was the author. He was a native of Bansha, where he mostly resided, and died there in March, 1855, aged 85.3

The poem told how a daring Bansha policeman arrested a goat.

Kickham, substituting pigs for the goat, used the same situation in For the Old Land which caused W. B. Yeats in an essay on Carleton to declare:

His equals in gloomy and tragic power, Michael and John Banim, had nothing of his Celtic humour. One man alone stands near him there -- Charles Kickham, of Tipperary. The scene of the pig-driving peelers in 'For the Old Land,' is almost equal to the best of the 'Traits and Stories.' But, then, he had not

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4. C. Kickham, For the Old Land, pp. 69-66.
Carleton's intensity. Between him and the life he told of lay years in prison, a long Fenian agitation, and partial blindness."

Perhaps the most celebrated use of the "Peeler and the Goat" was in Lady Gregory's Fenian play, The Rising of the Moon. And even as late as 1936, it appeared in a book by Ernie O'Malley, On Another Man's Wound, as an example of "songs and ballads of the people and of the land."

An interest of a similar nature may be found in a book of poetry by Robert Dwyer Joyce which appeared in 1861. For not only was Joyce greatly admired by John O'Leary, but also W. B. Yeats praised the volume in a review, which does not seem to have been reprinted, for an obscure Dublin paper, The Irish Fireside. One passage in the review is significant as both an estimate of Joyce and as a statement of Yeats' views on the art of ballad poetry:

"In this book, 'Ballads, Romances, and Songs,' published in '61, as I turn over the leaves I see legend after legend of Limerick, and the counties most immediately about it, embodied in verse — not great, yet such as will sweeten the hills and streams for many a long day with memories... The aim of the ballad writer is not character or passion — the story is everything with him. He chooses simple words that, when they have served their purpose, step aside and efface themselves. The old Fenian story of the Black Robber is a beautiful instance..."

In mentioning Carleton's name in connection with that of authors decidedly sympathetic to the Fenian movement, perhaps a

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2. Lady A. Gregory, The Rising of the Moon.
mistake is made. Yet when his novel about a rebel Irish chief, Redmond O'Hanlon, appeared in 1868, it contained an appendix by Thomas Clarke Luby which set forth the historical materials for the yarn. And in The Red-Haired Man's Wife, which he seems to have written in 1867, he used the Fenian movement for its background.

Irish People, 1865-1865

In 1865 James Stephens wrote to Thomas Clarke Luby, who was in America, to tell him that he believed a newspaper would increase the Fenians' income appreciably. The first number of Irish People appeared on November 22, 1865:

The registered proprietor was Thomas Clarke Luby; the publisher, Jeremiah O'Donovan (Rossa); and the printer, John Haltigan. The editor-in-chief was John O'Leary, and Thomas Clarke Luby and Charles J. Kiekham were the chief writers. Denis D. Milsay was the sub-editor; James O'Connor was the bookkeeper, and Cornelius O'Mahony clerk. An analysis of Irish People is now in order and it may be divided into a discussion of the staff with some mention of the circulation of the paper and a longer consideration of the contents.

Staff and Circulation

So far as the staff and circulation of Irish People is concerned, it is convenient to begin with the editor. Accord-
ing to John O'Leary, Stephens at first fancied himself as fit for
the post but after the first three memers of the paper he tacitly
gave the job up: "He then relapsed into a silence which I never
after urged him to break, for by the time that Stephens ceased
to write I may be said to have definitely assumed the editor-
ship..."

Charles J. Kickham, G. M. O'Keeffe and Thomas Clarke Luby
also wrote editorials. Of these three, Kickham deserves special
mention not only because of his literary ability but also because
he was chief of the Fenians until his death in 1882. He was
born in Naulinahone, County Tipperary, and on his mother's side
he was related to John O'Mahoney who swore him into the physical
force movement. In this connection it may be mentioned that
years later he was to deliver the grave-side oration at O'Mahoney's
burial.

His earliest writing seems to have been for the Dublin
6 Nation, and his contributions to The Celt began in 1857:
Here appeared some of his best poetical pieces, in-
cluding 'The Irish Peasant Girl' and 'Mary of the
Hills.' An appreciation of Edward Walsh and some
excellent sketches of Irish peasant life, such as 'Annie
O'Brien' and 'The Lease in Reversion,' also 'Poor Mary
Naher,' were first printed in this excellent little
weekly. Some chapters of 'Knocknagow,' as a serial,
also ran in The Celt, which certainly did its part to
politically educate the people and keep alive the old
spirit of patriotism.7

1. J. O'Leary, Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism, vol. 1,
p. 247.
2. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 305.
3. Ibid., p. 304.
5. The Funeral March, Irish World, March 31, 1877, p. 5.
Knockmagow, referred to in the above quotation, was completed as a serial in the Dublin weekly Shamrock, 1870, which was edited by Kickham's friend, George Sigerson. The persistent popularity of the book in Ireland and the admiration for its author's literary ability expressed by Gladstone, John Bright, Father Matthew Russell and Father S. J. Brown should be compared with Stephen Gwynn's estimate: "Nationalist Ireland accepted enthusiastically Charles Kickham's Knockmagow, a peasant's story of life in Tipperary; but it cannot be seriously regarded as literature." However, this may be, Michael Breathnach thought highly enough of it to translate it into Irish for publication in 1907.

Another novel, Sally Cavanagh; or, The Unenanted Graves, first appeared as a serial while Kickham was working for Irish People and when it was published in book form in 1869, he paid tribute to his erstwhile colleagues in a preface, describing Rossa as "most devoted of them all."

As a poet, Kickham's enthusiasm for the verse of Burns and Davis may have moulded his technique, but in this connec-

4. C.J. Kickham, Knockmagow or The Homes of Tipperary, p. ix.
5. Healy, op. cit., p. 68.
tion Longfellow, R.D. Joyce and Aubrey De Vere should also be mentioned. Indeed, of De Vere, Kickham wrote: "Aubrey De Vere is, perhaps, our greatest poet. 'Tis a pity he is not more sensuous and more of a lyrist." How amazing it is that W. B. Yeats was to criticize Kickham for lacking a "sensuous musical vocabulary!"

Perhaps the most interesting thing about Kickham's work for Irish People is that the task of fighting the hostility of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to Fenianism was entrusted to him. Luby and O'Keeffe were less important. In spite of his admiration for Luby, O'Leary criticized his editorials for Irish People as "not always too easy for a reader of the present day fully to understand." O'Keeffe is interesting because, like Rossa, he was a lover of Irish culture and may have been responsible for giving the editorial page, occasionally, a slightly Gaelic flavor.

Of the business staff of Irish People James O'Connor and John Haltigan deserve mention as well as Rossa. All three received jail sentences when Irish People was suppressed. Rossa and Haltigan, after their release, remained loyal to their belief in physical force and emigrated to America. O'Connor, however, stayed in Ireland. He found employment on the Irishman.

1. See p. 86.
2. Realy, op. cit., p. 156.
3. Ibid., p. 154.
4. Ibid., p. 86.
5. Realy, op. cit., p. 54.
7. Ibid., p. 56.
and eventually, when the paper was bought by Parnell, became editor. After the death of Kickham, O'Connor began to accept the principles of moral suasion although up until its end Irishman remained an unofficial Fenian organ. Thereafter he drifted so far from the ranks of the revolutionaries as to become a member of Parliament in 1882.

A few words about the circulation of Irish People also seem important. According to a questionable source, the permanent circulation of the paper was thirty thousand copies a week. Comparing its popularity with that of his own paper, the Nation, A. M. Sullivan declared:

Its existence enabled us in the Nation office -- as, no doubt, it enabled the Government also -- to ascertain substantially where Fenian and non-Fenian Nationalism prevailed. It swept all before it amongst the Irish in England and Scotland, almost annihilating the circulation of the Nation in many places north and south of the Tweed. On the other hand, in Ireland it was never able to approach our journals in circulation...

Writing of how he helped to distribute the paper, John Devoy in his Recollections, asserted that Isaac Butt and Parnell's mother were subscribers. And John O'Leary in an editorial at the end of the first year of existence of Irish People stated:

It is no boast, but simply the plain truth, to say that no paper has lived so long and at the same time kept so steadily before the public mind the one great end -- National Independence, and the one great means -- armed resistance. The old Nation...was overawed by the great

1. J. Macdonald, Diary of the Parnell Commission, p. 223.
2. Ibid., p. 246.
authority of O'Connell, and the mind of Davis could never have fair play in a country which still clung tenaciously to a belief in moral force.1

Contents

Having discussed the staff and circulation of Irish People, an account of its contents is the next item on the agenda. The contents may be divided into editorial and non-editorial material and will be considered in that order. The editorials may be taken to reflect the political, economic and cultural beliefs of the Fenians.

Editorial Policy

Politically, Irish People, of course, was a physical force organ. It did not make itself clear on the form of government it would wish for an independent Ireland, but probably it agreed with its London correspondent, David Bell, who asserted that the United Irishmen had wanted a republic on the lines of those set up in America and France.

Irish People looked upon the United States not only as an historical example of the way successfully to revolt against England, but also as a source of help in the revolution for which it was preparing. Thus, Henry Clay was reported to have suggested "some twenty years ago" that Ireland declare her independence and petition to join the United States. England's fear of

4. The Irish Republic, as Intended by the Men of 1798. Irish People, May 14, 1864, pp. 396-397.
5. Another Regeneration Scheme, Irish People, April 8, 1865, pp. 312-313.
Irish in America was given as a reason for O'Connell's success in achieving Catholic Emancipation. Hawthorne was complimented for what an English periodical had described as "his ill-natured Essays on England." Horace Greeley's attendance at a Fenian picnic in New York was duly recorded. Perhaps no paper in Europe carried more American news than Irish People. Yet it carefully abstained from giving offense to either side in the Civil War -- although it did publish an account of one of Grant's campaigns by Michael Dehsey's youngest son. However, as soon as the war was over it sharply attacked those English journals which had favored the Confederacy and when Lincoln was assassinated, Irish People, recollecting the assassination of certain Irish chiefs by soldiers of Queen Elizabeth, immediately charged that the assassin was an Englishman. In addition, the Fenian paper claimed that England's treatment of the Federals during the war justified the annexation of Canada. Irish People was aware that there were Fenians who favored an invasion of Canada yet would probably have opposed it. For Canadian help was expected, as well as supplies from the States, in the expected revolution.

The members of the Irish associations in the States and in Canada are computed by good authority to number about one million, and all are animated with the one wish -- to see the miserable condition of the Irish improved, as they are ashamed of the taunts which the people of other nations indulge in at their expense.

2. Nathaniel Hawthorne, Irish People, June 18, 1864, p. 475.
3. The Fenian Pic-Nic in New York, Irish People, August 12, 1865, p. 597.
6. Another Insult from America, Irish People, July 8, 1865, p. 520.
9. Ibid., p. 52.
The attitude of Irish People toward moral suasion was reflected in the speech by Daniel Bell already referred to. In it he told how Americans had been exploited by laws made in England in spite of all their "agitations and petitions, and protests":

For they did petition (no, no), oh yes, but they did, up to a certain point (great cheering). But I'll tell you what they never did. They never degraded themselves by sending an American to sit or vote in the English parliament (immense cheering). 2

Likewise, Irish People was ever quick to warn its readers against any "new parliamentary humbug" and, anticipating the Sinn Fein movement, it called upon Irish members of Parliament to follow the example of the Hungarian representatives who had refused to participate in the Austrian Reichsrat and absent themselves from Westminster.

Unlike the Hungarians, however, Irish People wanted complete separation. Unionists were contemptuously called "West Britons." Anticipating Douglas Hyde and George Russell in a desire to be rid of popular literature designed for the English masses, Irish People said:

We have yet to hear...what Dr. O'Callan did...to limit the circulation in Ireland of journals really subversive of faith and morals. What steps did he take with reference to Reynolds' publications, Family Heralds, Penny Dispatches, and other cheap periodicals. We leave

1. See p. 140.
2. The Irish Republic, as Intended by the Men of 1798, Irish People, May 14, 1864, pp. 596-597.
Harlots' Progresses and horrible suicides to cheap English publications. We have no need of such heroes as those that disgrace these publications, and demoralize their readers. 1

Likewise, it opposed all forms of imperialism, and English imperialism most of all. And since it regarded the Crown as the symbol of English imperialism, it expressed utter disgust for the rest of the Dublin press when it welcomed the Prince of Wales to Ireland.

Economically, Irish People went back to the United Irishmen for authority that Ireland should be self-reliant. It differed from Sinn Fein, which made no class distinctions, in wishing that the slogan "Ourselves Alone" be adopted by the underprivileged. It opposed emigration on the grounds that Irishmen could fight England most effectively if they remained at home; but it used more materialistic arguments, too, in appealing to labor and the farmer.

Thus, in an editorial which granted that private property had rights the writer added: "It will, we think, be admitted on all hands that labour must lie at the very foundations of these rights." Further evidences of interest in labor may be found in the news columns where the activities of the United

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6. See p. 611.
Trades' Association were regularly recorded after February 15, 1864. A special correspondent reported the Workmen's Congress 
at Leipzig in November, 1864. And at a later date an item about 
The Miseries of Workwomen was reprinted from the Daily Telegraph.

So far as the farmer is concerned, Irish People was partic-
ticularly concerned for the tenant whose position, in its opinion, 
resembled that of a factory worker: "The Irish tenant is as 
little able to make a fair bargain with his landlord in reference 
to a farm as the factory worker with the manufacturer in refer-
ence to the hours of labour." Irish People favored a peasant 
proprietary. And when Disraeli told Parliament that the United 
States would not attack Canada because the latter was a land 
democracy, it advised Irish tenants to seize their holdings so 
that Ireland, too, might become one. Yet on one occasion 
Irish People went so far as to propose that the land should be-
long to the community "and should be parcelled out by the State 
on such terms as are most conducive to protect and promote the 
interests of all."

Irish People also opposed landlordism on historical 
grounds. That system was held responsible for the destruction 
of another Celtic nation, Scotland, and, indeed, was traced back 
to the Norman invasion of England. Again, an editorial on

1. United Trades' Association, Irish People, February 15, 
1864, p. 191.
2. Workmen's Congress at Leipzig, Irish People, November 12, 
1864, p. 307.
4. The Land Tenure Committee, Irish People, June 5, 1865, p. 440.
5. The English Landowners, Irish People, July 2, 1864, p. 504.
6. A Territorial Democrat, Irish People, March 26, 1865, p. 281.
"Tenant Right" repudiated the law of primogeniture because the land should belong to all born on it. This had been the policy of the Celtic ancestors of the Irish whose chiefs were elected and were at no time proprietors of the land.

Irish history was used to support other Fenian policies. Indeed, the mere telling of the history of Ireland from an Irish point of view was deemed sufficient to make new recruits. The Fenians were compared with the United Irishmen and James Stephens with Wolfe Tone. An editorial asserted that if Ireland had been independent in the 'forties there would have been no famine.

Indeed, Irish People seems to have been more interested in Irish history than other aspects of Irish culture. Yet it did declare itself in favor of Irish games and dances. And in the last edition there was an editorial on "The Fenians and the Fairies." Likewise, the change of "Cobh" to "Queenstown" in honor of Queen Victoria was deplored and an editorial asserted:

On every nation to which God imparted a distinct language He bestowed likewise a distinct nationality... aversion for England, its government, its manners, and its language, is still the native passion of the Irish race.

Mention of Irish culture to many minds summons up the thought of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet, although the member-
ship of the Fenian organization was almost exclusively of that religious denomination, nothing could be more vulgar than to associate Fenianism with Roman Catholicism. On one occasion John O'Leary was so provoked by this association that he addressed a correspondent:

We cannot allow our correspondent to carry off the notion that this journal is a Catholic one. It is neither Catholic nor Protestant, but simply Irish. Catholics and Protestants serve Ireland in its columns as in the ranks of the National party.1

In the same vein, Irish People commended the United Irishmen for their religious tolerance and criticized O'Connell's Catholic Association for stirring up bigotry. And while the Fenian organ refused to endorse the Young Irishers, it did declare: "In one part of the old Nation's policy -- its strife with sectarianism -- we could not do more than follow in its footsteps." 4

It may surprise some to learn that the fact is that the members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland were almost to a man anti-Fenian. Only two exceptions may be noted: Archbishop MacAle of Tuam and Bishop Keane of Cloyne. Clerical hostility was due to Catholic opposition to secret societies and, it would seem, in the case of Cardinal Cullen to "the idea that the Fenians were allied with the Carbonari." The climax, probably,

1. O'Leary, op. cit., p. 199.
2. The Man of Ulster, Irish People, February 25, 1865.
of Cardinal Cullen's hostility was the pastoral which he wrote after the suppression of Irish People and while the staff was awaiting trial. So enraged were the prisoners that they sought an injunction against Freeman's Journal for publishing it.

In 1867 the Most Reverend Dr. Moriarity, Bishop of Kerry and personal friend of Aubrey De Vere, went even further in a sermon:

> I preached to you last Sunday on the eternity of Hell's torments. Human reason is inclined to say, "It is hard word, and who can bear it?" But when we look down into the fathomless depth of this inanity of the heads of the Fenian conspiracy we must acknowledge that eternity is not long enough nor hellhot enough to punish such miscreants.\(^3\)

Irish People could not pass over this clerical opposition without noticing it and in his Recollections, O'Leary reverted to the subject of "priests in politics" again and again. Yet the Fenians did not wish to antagonize devout Roman Catholics as the following excerpt from its final issue reveals:

> We have never written a word calculated to injure religion in the slightest degree. We challenge our assailants to point to a single sentence in the Irish People, from its first number to its present, which could be construed into an attack upon religion. The charge that we are enemies of the Catholic Church is a vile calumny invented by trading politicians, and perhaps believed by weak men...\(^6\)

Evidences of this quarrel between the Fenians and the Church may also be found in the letters to the editor but they can hardly be considered as editorial matter.

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2. A. De Vere, Recollections, p. 554.
3. T.D. Sullivan, Recollections of Troubled Times in Irish Politics, p. 84.
5. Ibid., p. 200.
6. Ibid., p. 64.
Unsigned and Signed Contributions

The non-editorial matter which appeared in Irish People was book reviews, learned pieces, poetry, stories, letters to the editor, advertisements, news and so on. Dismissing the letters to the editor, advertisements and news because of their ephemeral nature, the other material may now be discussed.

Contributors to Irish People did not always sign their work and, accordingly, first the anonymous and then the signed material will be considered. Book reviews, learned articles and some poetry appeared anonymously; yet the authorship of some of the reviews may be ascribed to Kilkham of whose work for Irish People it has been said: "...he gave masterly reviews of some of the Irish poets -- among them Robert D. Joyce, M.D., William Allingham, and Samuel Ferguson." This, perhaps, refers to reviews of Joyce's Ballads, Romances, and Songs (which Yeats also praised), Allingham's Laurence Bleeckfield in Ireland, and his Fifty Modern Poems and Ferguson's Lays of the Western Gael.

Of the learned articles which appeared anonymously in Irish People at least two are noteworthy. The first, on Irish Surnames, is prophetic of a similar interest on the part of Douglas Hyde. The second, signed "Pingall," was on The Fenians.

3. See pp. 134; 444.
of Erin and the author declared:

...from the third century to the present, in every home where the old language of Ireland spoke, it delighted to remember a time when there was an organization which embraced all the divisions of Ireland, and stood a common bulwark against foreign invasion... the fame of this great national organization did not die. Its lays and its bards still live, and its renown spread beyond the shores of Ireland.

That organization was termed the 'Fianna Éiriom' -- the Fenians or Fenians of Erin. 1

The democracy of the Fianna was emphasized. Since the eldest son succeeded his father as chief of the clan, only if the clan approved, he might be said to hold an elective post and the author, who may have been an American, compared the authority wielded by the head of a clan to that possessed by a governor of one of the United States. As usual, Finn MacCumhaill received less attention than St. Patrick's famous adversary, Cúchulain!

Ossian, the son of Finn, and one of the chiefs of the Fenians sang --

0 ne'er on gallant Fenian race
Fell falsehood's imputation base. 4

The anonymous poetry which appeared in Irish People may be divided into folk songs and the unidentified work of poets who were believed to have contributed to it. O'Leary took particular pleasure in the type of folk song known as a "Come-all-ye." One that he printed, "Billy Byrne of Ballymanus," told

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1. The Fenians of Erin, Irish People, November 19, 1884, pp. 825-827.
3. See pp. 84-85.
5. Answers to Correspondents, Irish People, July 9, 1884, p. 820.
the fate of a United Irishman and of the informers who appeared against him after he was captured. The first stanza exemplifies the "Come-all-ye" opening and indicates the scope of the narrative:

Here is another of those graphic old ballads, which, with all their faults, we think preserving:

BILLY BYRNE OF BALLYMANUS

Come all you loyal heroes, I pray you'll lend an ear,
And listen to those verses I am going to declare,
Concerning Billy Byrne, of fame and high renown,
Who was tried and hanged in Wicklow as a traitor to the crown.  

Rossa thought highly enough of this ballad form to use it in "Jillen Andy," "The Lament for Edward Duffy," (a prominent Fenian who had been loved by John O'Leary's sister, Ellen O'Leary) and "The Soldier o' Fortune," which originally appeared in Irish People. Of Rossa's ballad, O'Leary later wrote:

Here are the closing verses of a short ballad, much in the manner of the street ones, which Rossa calls 'A Soldier's Tale.' After taking his hero from his father's cabin to the poor house, then into the English army; afterwards into the Pope's brigade, and finally into the American army, where he becomes a Fenian, he is at last brought home...

However, the first stanza, again, is interesting as a variant of the "Come-all-ye" opening:

Friends of the Irish people, you
Who'd right your country's wrong,
Will hear from me a word or two;
My tale will not be long.

Incidentally, it seems that Irish People was the first paper to

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1. Answers to Correspondents, Irish People, June 11, 1864, p. 156.
3. Ibid., pp. 263-270.
5. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 104.
publish poems in this genre which was later to be employed by
James Joyce, W.B. Yeats, and Padraic Colum. Thus, one of
Yeats' ballads opens:

THE BALLAD OF MOLL MAGEE
Come round me, little childer;
There, don't fling stones at me
Because I matter as I go;
But pity Moll Magee.

Although their work has not been identified, Joseph I. O.
Clarke and John Keegan Casey are believed to have contributed
poetry to Irish People. In his autobiography, Clarke has told
of his life in London where he belonged to an Irish society
called the Ossians and was attracted to the Fenians. For at
this time James Stephens had "set Fenianism going" in London
with the help, it would seem, of George Moore's friend, T.
O'Neill Russell. John O'Leary, who "was then writing Parlia-
mentary matter for the London Times," was also prominent in
London-Irish circles. And, after his return to Dublin to edit
Irish People, Clarke contributed his "first two nationalist
poems, to it." Eventually, Clarke's Fenian activities forced
him to emigrate to America where in due time he became manag-
ing editor of the New York Herald and something of a play-
wright.

3. P. Colum, The Road Around Ireland, pp. 74-76.
5. J.I.O. Clarke, My Life and Memories, pp. 57-58.
7. See p. 119.
8. Clarke, op. cit., p. 35.
On the other hand, John Keegan Casey may not have contributed to the Dublin periodical. For, although D.J. O'Donoghue and Flann Fitzgerald say he contributed to *Irish People*, John O'Leary does not mention Casey's name in his index to *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism*. However, Eugene Davis in his selection of Casey's works, declared that the latter was Dublin correspondent of the New York *Irish People* which may explain the confusion. Casey was one of the most influential poets among the Fenians. Even Stephen Gwynn, who dismissed the Fenian movement because no "great thing came of it," had diluted praise for "The Rising of the Moon" which, of course, was to give Lady Gregory the title for her celebrated play. For the same reason, the "Song of the Golden-Headed Niamh" is notable because Yeats used its subject matter in "The Hosting of the Sidhe." "A Legend of Saint Patrick" is interesting because it shows Casey's admiration for Longfellow. Casey's first volume of poetry, *A Breath of Shamrocks*, appeared in 1866. Not long thereafter he was sent to jail on charges which grew out of his Fenianism. According to George Sigerson, his experiences in prison shortened Casey's life. At any rate because of his debilitated condition he died

7. See p. 154.
in 1870 not long after he had been released. Since W. B. Yeats was a member, his disgust at the trite symbolism on a memorial to Casey which "was erected by the Monuments Committee of the Young Ireland Society" may be imagined from the following description of it:

At the base of the cross are shown the ruins of an ancient abbey, beside which rises the graceful round tower, with the Irish wolf dog crouching under its shadow. One of the panels contains a scroll, on which is carved in Irish the last verse of the 'Rising of the Moon.'

The signed material which appeared in Irish People may now be discussed. An interesting series of articles on this subject by D. J. O'Donoghue appeared in the Dublin Shamrock in 1895. But before attempting to follow in O'Donoghue's footsteps, perhaps a few words about the critical apparatus of the editor, John O'Leary, are appropriate.

W. B. Yeats remarks about the poets of "the Fenian movement" may serve as an introduction to O'Leary as a critic:

Charles Kickham, one of the 'triumvirate' that controlled it in Ireland; John Casey, a clerk in a flour-mill; and Ellen O'Leary, the sister of Mr. John O'Leary, were at times very excellent. Their verse lacks, curiously enough, the oratorical vehemence of Young Ireland, and is plaintive and idyllic.

For O'Leary definitely repudiated "the oratorical vehemence of Young Ireland" as had Patrick Lynch of the Irish-American before him. Of O'Leary, Yeats wrote:

1. See p. 123.
Nor would he over-value any man because they shared opinions; and when he lent me the poems of Davis and the Young Irishmen, of whom I had known nothing, he did not, although the poems of Davis had made him a patriot, claim that they were very good poetry.

In an editorial in *Irish People* entitled "Exaggerated Bombast and Make-Believe!" O'Leary, himself, deplored the "false and exaggerated diction" of his editorial models of 1848:

The evil effect, produced by the manner of writing adopted by our editorial models, is above all manifest in the distended style, too often used by our countrymen in their speeches and letters on patriotic subjects. In those, nature, simplicity, and truth are frequently altogether lost sight of. Many of our countrymen apparently entertain an implicit belief, that patriotic ideas should never be expressed in the ordinary language of human thought; that it is a matter of absolute duty, that one should always, when speaking of his country, employ a falsetto style of jargon, that soars far above the comprehension of common mortals.

So much was Yeats of O'Leary's way of thinking that he almost seems to begin where O'Leary left off:

To recommend this method of writing as literature without much reservation and discrimination I contended was to be deceived or to practice deception. If one examined some country love-song, one discovered that it was not written by a man in love, but by a patriot who wanted to prove that we did indeed possess, in the words of Daniel O'Connell, 'the finest peasantry upon earth.' Yet one well-known anthology was introduced by the assertion that such love-poetry was superior to 'affected and artificial' English love-songs...

Yeats, however, did not agree with O'Leary's exhortation:

"Let us be Irishmen of our own century." Yeats preferred to follow Rossa, O'Mahony and the Irish-Americans:

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Might I not, with health and good luck to aid me, create some new Prometheus Unbound; Patrick or Columbril, Oisin or Fion, in Prometheus' stead; and, instead of Cæsars, Cro-Patric or Ben Bulben? Have not all races had their first unity from a mythology, that married them to rock and hill? 1

O'Leary's attitude toward the revival of the Irish language also deserves mention although it merely reveals that in this department of his critical apparatus was short-sighted, too. A correspondent wrote two letters to Irish People on the subject.

In the first he said:

Every Irishman...should learn his native tongue -- the medium through which the traditions of his country have been preserved, and against which all the power of the Saxon has been directed in order to root it out...Perhaps we may yet see the day when the Irish People, laurel-creamed after the victory it will have helped to achieve, shall have a column devoted to Celtic literature. 2

Upon the second letter, which was in the same vein, O'Leary commented:

We are somewhat inclined to agree with Mr. Murphy's local critics that he attaches too much importance to the study of Irish. Let us gain our Independence first, and we'll have time enough to learn Irish and many other things after...Ed.1.7.3

When O'Leary returned to Ireland in 1884 after his long exile, he was still of this opinion. Douglas Hyde, deploreding the influence of the Fenians on the language revival, said of O'Leary:

The most literary and in many ways the most striking of them, when he came back to live in Ireland after his exile, made a speech in Cork, widely circulated as a pamphlet, in which he advised his hearers not to

2. Correspondence, Irish People, August 12, 1865, p. 603.
3. Ibid., August 19, 1865, p. 619.
bother about Irish. 'I begin by a sort of negative
advice,' he said. 'You are most of you not destined
to be scholars, and so I should simply advise you --
especially such of you as do not already know Irish --
to leave all this alone.'

However, Hyde seems to be mistaken in assuming this to be a typi-
cally Fenian attitude. Years later, John Devoy, citing John
O'Mahony, Rossa and himself, said of O'Leary: "The quotation
from the Cork lecture represents his own views exactly, but not
those of any of the older Fenian leaders, nor of the great mass
of the membership." The signed material which appeared in Irish
People represented the work of so many different hands that it
is not possible to expatiate upon it. Therefore, five authors
have been selected for a sort of sampling: Ellen O'Leary, Fanny
Parnell, George Sigerson, R.D. Joyce and O'Donovan Rossa.

Ellen O'Leary, whose political opinions coincided with
her brother's, probably shared his opinions about poetry as
well. At any rate he particularly praised "her ballads of
peasant life." Ernest Boyd's estimate of the poetry of the
period of Irish People seems especially applicable to her:

It has a special interest in the history of the Revival,
for instead of the vehement rhetorical passion of the
Young Irishmen, we find a plaintiveness, a sad
idyllic note, which suggests the transition to the
manner of the contemporary Irish poets. It is not
without a certain significance that O'Leary, on his re-
turn from exile, should have actively supported the
revolt of the new generation, against the political
and rhetorical values of the Young Ireland tradi-
tions.

2. Ibid., p. 267.
4. Ibid., p. 98.
According to D.J. O'Donoghue, W.B. Yeats, who admired Ellen O'Leary exceedingly, wrote about her:

O'Leary, Ellen. Lays of Country, Home and Friends (edited by T.W. Rollston), with portrait and memoir... Dublin, 1891, 3vo.

Sister of John O'Leary, the well-known Fenian leader, and one of those whose own share in the Fenian movement was considerable. She is given a good place in Miles's 'Peets and Poetry of the Century' (10 vols.), where there is an article on her by W.B. Yeats. She is also represented in several Irish anthologies. She... wrote for The Irish People (1885-1888), over the signature of 'Lenel' and 'Eily', also wrote for Nation, Irish Monthly, Irish Fireside, Irishman, Boston Pilot, etc.

Perhaps the most distinguished Irish anthology in which she was represented was Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland which first appeared in 1888 and which has been described by Ernest Boyd as "the first offering of the Literary Revival." Incidentally, the volume was dedicated to John O'Leary in a prefatory, unsigned poem by T.W. Rollston, and other poets represented in it were W.B. Yeats, Douglas Hyde (among whose contributions was a poem in honor of John O'Mahony) and George Sigerson.

Of Fanny Farnell a somewhat different story may be told. Sister of the famous Charles Stewart Parnell, she was granddaughter of Admiral Charles Stewart of the United States Navy. Her mother, Delia Stewart Farnell, who was somewhat of a poet herself, was born in New Jersey and did not move to Ireland until after her wedding. Admiral Stewart had won his reputation by his

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1. W.B. Yeats, Autobiography, p. 94.
5. Anon., Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland, pp. 7-80.
7. See p. 68.
victories over the British in the War of 1812, and perhaps his
daughter inherited her dislike of the English. At all events,
in his biography of Charles Stewart Parnell, the Ulster Unionist,
St. John Ervine, declared that Mrs. Parnell "reared him and his
brothers and sisters in a rage" against England. It has been
alleged that Mrs. Parnell was in charge of Fenian espionage on
the authorities of Dublin Castle. On the other hand, Dublin
Castle was very suspicious of her and on one occasion, at least,
to Charles Stewart Parnell's disgust, raided her house and
turned Fanny into the street. Unlike Ellen O'Leary, Fanny Par-
nell does not seem to have been indebted to John O'Leary. In-
deed, citing a "somewhat Longfellowish" passage from her first
contribution to Irish People, O'Leary said:

These verses, like all that I have seen from that
lady's hand, are, I think, rather rhetoric than
poetry, though very vigorous and sonorous rhetoric
indeed, giving great promise for a girl, as the
writer then was."

Incidentally, in addition to Longfellow, James Fenimore Cooper
and the New England transcendentalists were admired by con-
tributors; and Fanny Parnell, especially for her poem "Post-
Mortem," might be called the Irish Julia Ward Howe. However,

1. St. J. Ervine, Parnell, p. 42.
2. Ibid., pp. 46-48.
4. R.S. O'Brien, The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, vol. 1,
p. 45.
10. T.C. Irwin, Harmura, Irish People, August 27, 1864, p. 634 et seq.
11. S.A. Brooke and T.W. Rolleston, ed., A Treasury of Irish
    Poetry, pp. 238-239.
this poem did not appear until many years after Irish People had been suppressed.

Probably George Sigerson and certainly Robert Dwyer Joyce introduced a Gaelic note to O'Leary's paper. Sigerson's only identifiable contribution was signed "Patrick Henry" and it later appeared in Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland. Yet in his Recollections, O'Leary said that his friend, Sigerson, "often showed" in the columns of Irish People. And although these contributions cannot be identified, it is probable that they were on Gaelic subjects. For in 1860 Sigerson had translated and edited an anthology of Gaelic poetry, The Poets and Poetry of Munster. And Douglas Hyde, who praised Sigerson's "erudition" and "excellent taste," has described its genesis:

John O'Daly had published a volume called 'The Poets and Poetry of Munster,' for which Clarence Mangan wrote the English translations in verse. Sigerson now proposed to take up the work of Mangan, O'Daly no doubt supplying the texts. O'Daly was a fine Irish scholar of the old traditional type, and had acquired as a result of ceaseless searching a great number of Irish MSS. He had made an excellent collection of poetry out of these for Mangan. He now laid his collection before Sigerson, and between them they produced the 'Second Series' of 'The Poets and Poetry of Munster.' Sigerson wrote his own preface and many of the notes, all interesting, and translations into English verse of forty-six poems.

Likewise, Sigerson's daughter, shying O'Leary for his admira-

1. Fanny Parnell, Irish World, August 5, 1882, pp. 1 and 5.
4. See pp. 82-83.
5. O'Leary, op. cit., p. 17, note.
6. C. Sigerson, Herds of the Gael and Gael Examples of the Poetic Literature of Erin Done ... P. xvii.
7. Ibid., pp. x-xi.
8. Ibid., p. x.
tion of Boswell, Samuel Johnson and Carlyle, also hints that
her father may have contributed on Gaelic subjects to Irish
People:

This devotion to the literature of the enemy used to
give my father many opportunities for poking fun at
him, especially as O'Leary's knowledge of Gaelic
authors was what he would himself have described as
'nil.' My father's patriotism, on the other hand,
showed itself in a passionate devotion to Gaelic
literature and a certain coldness to British authors,
so that this diversity of opinion caused many verbal
sparring matches between the two.\(^1\)

Incidentally, Sigerson also contributed to the Nation and Irishman:

Sigerson had at this time a great admiration for Mitchell,
made him Paris correspondent of the Irishman, and ar-
 ranged for the publication of his Last Conquest (Perhaps)
in serial form in the same paper. This was the weekly
journal to which Sigerson contributed so many excellent
leading articles.\(^2\)

And it is interesting to report that he wrote of these three
papers in 1868:

These papers advocate a settlement of the Irish question
somewhat analogous to that which has been adopted in
Hungary, and are supported in their views by several
papers in the provinces, and by some even in England and
Scotland. Since 1848 no paper except the Irish People
has been supposed to advocate the immediate appeal to
arms; and that journal differed from all others, inasmuch
as it was established to promote the spread of the
Fenian confederacy.\(^3\)

Whether or not Sigerson wrote pieces of Gaelic interest
for Irish People, Robert Dyer Joyce did. His re-telling of
Irish legends, which he signed "Merulan," anticipated W. B.
Yeats, Lady Gregory and James Stephens by several decades. In

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1. R. Fiall, The Fenian Leader, by One Who Knew Him. The Irish
   Press, Christmas Number, 1933, p. 16.
2. G. Sigerson, Bards of the Gael and Gall, pp. xiv-xv.
3. G. Sigerson, Modern Ireland, pp. 268-269.
6. Ibid., pp. 119-120.
one of these, The Enchanted Druid, the mis-en-scene was pre-Christian Ireland. Another was accompanied by a suggestive note:

LEGEND OF CREEVAN THE BROWN-HAIRED; OR THE SEVENTH SON by Merulan. (This legend is known in Norway and in Germany, two versions of it are given in Grimm's Popular Tales, but neither of them are equal to the Irish one in wildness and originality.)

A third was entitled Mun Carberry and the Phookas; or The Return of New Years Eve. Finally, the protagonists of the Legend of Tiernan; or the Blue Night were Tiernan, Chief of Munba, his horse, Bran Finnean, the fairy princess, Mora, and the Daoine Sidhe of Tir-na-nog.

Although Rosaa did not often write for Irish People, it seems fitting to conclude this sampling with some mention of him. Perhaps Rosaa's preoccupation with Celtic lore made his contributions unwelcome to O'Leary. For Rosaa taught an Irish language class in Dublin in 1865 when he seems to have been acquainted with Nicholas O'Kearney, translator of The Prophecies of Saints Colum-Cille, Moelamlaecht, Ulatan, Senan, Pearcan, and Malachy. According to these versions, Gaelic prognostications, which were printed by John O'Daly who also printed material edited by O'Kearney for the Ossianic Society, the English Crown was to experience a disaster in Ireland in 1867. However that may be, Rosaa, telling of his arrest, asserted:

1. "Merulan" the Enchanted Druid. Irish People, December 12, 1863, pp. 41-42.
2. "Merulan", Legend of Creavan the Brown-haired...Irish People, December 26, 1865, pp. 75-76.
3. "Merulan" Mun Carberry and the Phookas... Irish People, January 2, 1864, pp. 90-91.
7. S. J. Brown, Ireland in Fiction, p. 245.
8. C. Dickens, ed., Curragh Camp, All the Year Round, May 25, 1867, pp. 520-524.
When my two guardians had secured me they made for my
residence, and turned everything upside down in search
of papers. They took a lot of old Irish manuscripts
belonging to Nicholas O'Kearney, a Gaelic scholar,
lately deceased. These they took away, and I never
saw them since.  

Again, Rossa's activities as a Fenian organizer took him on ex-
tended recruiting trips through the British Isles and this may have
out short the time which he could devote to writing. Indeed, he
has left an interesting account of a visit to George Henry Moore
at Moore Hall, Mayo, in which he told that Moore was willing to
join the Fenians but that Stephens would not have him. (It does
not seem that Moore was sworn in until Stephens was ousted.)

Rossa reported:

He left on my mind the impression that he believed there
was no hope for independence for Ireland except through
fight, that he himself was ready to run all the risks man
could risk, but he did not see the necessity of swearing
in men. He said he thought our object could be attained
by the friends having books at the chapels and church
gates every Sunday after prayers, and taking the name of
everyone who believed in Irish Independence and was pre-
pared to do something to attain it.  

However, as manager Rossa had some duties in connection
with the appearance of Irish People. O'Leary has told of them:

Rossa, in that he was manager, had naturally most to
do, at least at this early state of our existence, with
the question of supplies, and, in point of fact, if I re-
member aright, he had to pay out of his own pocket for
some weeks the current expenses of the paper...

Also, in 1868, he married a contributor to the paper, Mary Jane

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1. O'D., Rossa, Irish Rebels in English Prisons, p. 34.
4. O'D., Rossa, What Rossa Has to Say, Irish World, March 9,
1878, p. 6.
5. O'Leary, Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism, vol. 2,
pp. 1-2.
Irwin, in spite of the refusal of several priests to make out a marriage license because Rossa was a Fenian.

The Rising — 1865-1867

After this partial analysis of Irish People, its suppression and the failure of the rising in 1867 remain to be discussed. Irish People was coming off the presses on September 14, 1865 when detectives from Dublin Castle arrested Rossa, Luby, O’Leary, James O’Connor and C. M. O’Keeffe.

Later James Stephens and Charles Kickham were captured. On November 18, 1865, Stephens was arraigned on charges of treason. After the Crown had finished presenting its case, Stephens replied that he refused to recognize “British law in Ireland”:

Now I deliberately and conscientiously repudiate the existence of that law in Ireland — its right or even its existence in Ireland. I defy and despise any punishment it can inflict on me.

The sensation created by this speech had hardly abated when on the night of November 24, 1865 Stephens escaped from Richmond Prison. So astounding was this that in 1904, according to James Joyce, people in Dublin were still gossiping about it: “Tara Street. Chap in the paybox there got away James Stephens they say. O’Brien.” And elsewhere in Ulysses, Stephen Dedalus,

5. J. Devoe, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 70.
7. Devoe, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 72.
8. Ibid., pp. 77-87.
9. S. Gilbert, James Joyce’s Ulysses, p. 15.
10. J. Joyce, Ulysses, p. 68.
in lines suggestive of Whitman, reflected:

How the head centre get away, authentic version. Got up as a young bride, man, veil, orangeblossoms, drove out the road to Malahide. Did, faith. Of lost leaders, the betrayed, wild escapes. Disguises, clutched at, gone, not here.

Three days after Stephens’ escape, John O’Leary, Rossa, Kilkham and others were brought to trial. They were merely the first of a long line. Early in 1866, in spite of the objections of John Bright, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for Ireland to facilitate arrests. Rossa dedicated Irish Rebels in English Prisons to “the Irish Convicted Felons, 1865-1870,” and listed 136 names, including Luby, O'Leary, Devey, Kilkham, Davitt and John Boyle O'Reilly. Incidentally, Isaac Butt, who defended some of the Fenian prisoners, was also imprisoned at this time, but his name was not mentioned by Rossa.

The trials of O’Leary and Rossa deserve a passing word. O’Leary was sentenced to twenty years in penal servitude. On hearing this verdict, the cultured, austere Fenian had little to say:

I have been found guilty of treason or treason-felony. Treason is a foul crime. The poet Dante consigned traitors to, I believe, the ninth circle of hell, but what kind of traitors? Traitors against king, against the country, against friends and benefactors. England is not my country; I have betrayed no friend, no benefactor."

What he thought of his enemies may be surmised from W.B.

1. J. Jeyce, Ulysses, p. 44.
Yeats’ comments on O’Leary’s prison life:

He had no self-consciousness, no visible pride, and would have hated anything that could have been called a gesture; was indeed scarce artist enough to invent a gesture; yet he would never speak of the hardship of his prison life -- though abundantly enough of its humours-- and once, when I pressed him, replied, 'I was in the hands of my enemy, why should I complain?' A few years ago I heard that the Governor of the prison had asked why he did not report some unnecessary discomfort, and O’Leary had said, 'I did not come here to complain.'

Unlike O’Leary, Rossa was "artist enough to invent a gesture." He carried his fight against the Crown into the court itself. Using every opportunity permitted, Rossa spread the infamy of the trial on the court record. Perhaps the most suspicious aspect of the case was that the presiding officer had been repeatedly attacked in Irish People. Rossa pointed out:

Selecting him as the judge to try the persons connected with the Irish People may be quite in accord with the rest of the proceedings, but it cannot tend much to impress people with a feeling of respect for the administration of justice.

His conduct finally drew an unintentional compliment from the judge in question:

There has not been the slightest attempt from the beginning to the end of your address, now of seven hours and a half's duration, to qualify, pare down, or soften a single article; but, on the contrary, everything has been addressed to the jury to exaggerate them.

John Mitchel was so deeply moved by Rossa’s magnificent gesture that he wrote from Paris:

Our poor friends who have been called upon this time to stand before courts and juries have all behaved nobly;

2. O’D. Rossa, Irish Rebels in English Prisons, p. 49.
3. Ibid., p. 51.
4. Ibid., p. 55.
5. Ibid., p. 61.
but to my mind the conduct of O'Donovan Rossa was the noblest of all. It was very imprudent in him to take this course, and, in fact, it brought on him a sentence for life, instead of twenty years. But at any rate, he did the thing that was right, and just, and manly.¹

It is curious to relate that one of the soldiers detailed to guard the court room on the occasion of Rossa's trial was soon to be in the same predicament. It was John Boyle O'Reilly.

In spite of such severe prison sentences, the influx of Irish-American veterans of the Civil War continued through 1866 and gradually those new men took over the leadership of the Irish organisation. By 1867 they had begun to act and the result was a series of attempts at insurrection and gun running.

In connection with the insurrection, two dates are important. Early in the year word was passed around that a general rising would occur on February 11, 1867. At the last moment the date was postponed to March fifth but for some reason Fenian forces at Chester, England and in County Kerry were not notified. Michael Davitt and John O'Connor Power, both of whom were to become prominent in Irish politics, were among those who took part in the abortive Chester raid. The activities in County Kerry were responsible for Bishop Moriarty's celebrated attack on the Fenians.

In spite of the postponement, the rising of March 5, 1867 in John Devoy's opinion, was a "sad failure." Two skirmishes

¹ O'D. Rossa, Irish Rebels in English Prisons, p. 67.
² J.B. O'Reilly, John Boyle O'Reilly, His Life, Poems and Speeches, p. 18.
³ Ibid., pp. 18-47.
⁴ See p. 92.
⁵ J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 187.
⁸ See p. 147.
⁹ Devoy, op. cit., p. 194.
in County Cork, however, may be mentioned. The first was an attack on the police barracks at Ballyknockane. J.F.J. O'Brien, a future member of Parliament, William Mackey Lomasney, who was to perish in an attempt to blow up London bridge, James Nagle O'Brien, brother of the famous Irish journalist and politician, William O'Brien, and Michael O'Brien, who was to be executed for Fenian activities of another nature later in 1867, took part in the successful foray. The second was the capture of the Coast-guard station at Knockadoun. In charge of the attacking Fenians was Peter O'Neill Crowley who was a descendant of leaders of the 1798 rebellion. After the capture, twelve of the attackers decided to remain in arms but the others dispersed. On March 31st Crown forces closed in on them near Killeloopne Wood and Crowley was mortally wounded in the fighting. His funeral was the occasion of a large demonstration which was to become an annual event in Cork.

As a result of the rising, many prisoners were taken. One of them made a celebrated speech from the dock, Thomas Francis Bourke. However, his life probably was spared because of the intercession of Cardinal Cullen with the Lord Lieutenant, rather
than because of the eloquence of the speech. Other prisoners included a number of school teachers and several minor authors — John Locke, Arthur Forrester, and S.J. Meany. Forrester was author of a long-lived rebel song. In 1912, T.M. Healy wrote:

The sentence by a court-martial of two years hard labour on some player for singing the 'Fenians of Our Land,' makes my blood boil. It has been sung for fifty years — since Arthur Forrester wrote it.

Nevertheless, two important Irish-American chiefs were still at large, Colonel Richard O'Sullivan Burke and Colonel Thomas J. Kelly.

Burke's assignment to meet the Erin's Hope when that vessel arrived in Sligo Bay on May 20, 1867, with a cargo of guns and volunteers from the United States, has already been mentioned. He advised the gun runner to proceed to another port which it did after setting two wounded men ashore. Yet, writing of one of his uncles in his Autobiography, W.B. Yeats indicated that memories of the "Fenian privateer" persisted in Sligo:

He considered all Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament as outside the social pale, but after dinner, when conversation grew intimate, would talk sympathetically of the Fenians in Ballina, where he spent his early manhood, or of the Fenian Privateer that landed the wounded man at Sligo in the 'sixties.  

Proceeding to Helvick Head, the Erin's Hope discharged thirty-two

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3. Ibid., p. 432.
4. Ibid., pp. 231-234.
7. See p. 88.
volunteers. They were immediately picked up by the Coastguard. The fisherman who had brought them ashore refused to give any information about them although, it is interesting to note, he did reveal that some of them spoke Gaelic.

An informer was brought up to identify the thirty-two and Edmund O'Donovan, who seems to have been Fenian organizer for the north of Ireland and to have favored terrorism at least as late as 1880, was in charge of the attempt to kill him. The informer escaped but two policemen were injured, one fatally. It turned out that three of the prisoners were citizens of the United States. However, the presiding judge ruled that "no subject of the British Crown could divest himself of allegiance" and passed long prison sentences on two of them. President Johnson, secretary Seward and Ambassador Adams protested, and rumors of war flew about:

Happily, instead of resorting to the arbitration of battle, as in 1861, the two Governments entered into active negotiations with a view to adjusting so serious a difficulty. The United States had nothing to change. It was for England to alter her law of allegiance; and so she did. In 1870,...the 'Warren and Cestelle Act'... passed through Parliament; and now a British-born subject may...divest himself of his birth-allegiance..."

So far as the Fenians were concerned, the rest of 1867 was full of attempted rescues and mourning. However, these will be discussed in the next chapter which will be devoted to a consideration of some of the immediate results of the Fenian rising

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2. See p. 130.
4. Ibid., p. 172.
in 1867.

SUMMARY

The struggle between Unionism and Fenianism in Ireland between 1850 and 1870 revealed very clearly the class interests involved. For the Unionists sought to appease Irish discontent by political, economic and social measures designed to appeal to the privileged few; whereas the Fenians sought to recruit laborers and peasants. Curiously enough, the Unionists won the support of the Roman Catholic hierarchy by their appeasement policy.

In view of the fact that the famine in Ireland from 1845 to 1848 has been blamed upon the Irish landlords, it may be seen that Unionists were somewhat handicapped so far as winning popular support between 1850 and 1867 is concerned. Such support as they did win came from concessions of a political, economic and social nature. Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland in 1849 and the Encumbered Estates Act which Parliament passed the same year belong to the first category. The economic concessions, gained by the Irish Council and an unusual coalition party which contained Ulster Unionists, Roman Catholics, and some moral suasion separatists, were negligible; but the former group is significant because it brought together Isaac Butt, Samuel Ferguson, William Smith O'Brien, Charles Gavan Duffy and John Mitchel; and the latter is interesting because of the concessions which it won for Roman Catholics and because George Henry Moore, father of the novelist, was one of its leaders.

To these concessions of a political and economic nature
should be added certain others of a social character. First, there was a growth of friendly relations between Roman Catholic Unionists in England and their co-religionists in Ireland which tended to sap the separation of the latter. John Henry Newman might also be regarded as an emissary of the former to the latter; and Aubrey De Vere might be considered as a type of an Irish Unionist who was won to Roman Catholicism, but not separation, as a result. However, it is notable that both Newman and De Vere promoted the study of Gaelic culture and that De Vere also displayed an interest in American writers which is more often characteristic of an Irish separatist than of the Irish Unionists.

Second, there was a sort of concession of a cultural nature which may be ascribed to such Unionists as agreed with Matthew Arnold that the study of Gaelic languages and civilization might "send through the gentle ministration of science, a message of peace to Ireland." However, there seem to have been no concrete results from Arnold's suggestion.

From the foregoing remarks about Unionism it may be seen that its only notable concessions to Irish discontent were the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 and a more liberal attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church.

The appeals of the Fenians were more popular. When they first appeared in Ireland in 1858, the moral suasion movement had lost the services of Charles Gavan Duffy and George Henry Moore. A.M. Sullivan, who had succeeded Duffy as editor of the Nation combined a zeal for agrarian reform with a similar ardor for the repeal of the Act of Union and the revival of the Irish
language. He even flirted with an attempt to win French support in the effort to achieve autonomy for Ireland. But he sided with the Roman Catholic Church in denouncing a physical force society in Skibbereen.

To support the Fenians when they first appeared in Ireland there was this same Skibbereen society, *Irishman*, a periodical which, like the *Nation*, had displayed an interest in the revival of the Irish language, and the Saint Patrick’s Brotherhood, which had been formed largely through the work of George Henry Moore.

The growth of Fenianism in Ireland from 1858 to 1865 was encouraged by its appeal to republicanism, physical force and Irish culture. The most significant of its leaders for posterity were John O'Leary and O'Donovan Rossa. Edmond O'Donovan, John Devoy, and "Pagan" O'Leary also may be mentioned in this connection. Of importance also were the following Irish writers who were sympathetic to Fenianism during its first five or six years: O. N. O'Keeffe, Charles J. Kickham, George Sigerson, Darby Ryan and William Carleton.

John O'Leary personifies two different approaches to Irish nationalism. O'Leary was a convert, as were many of his admirers (such as W. B. Yeats). He is an important figure because his love of books was to endear him to many of Ireland's most famous writers during the years from 1884 to 1907. Rossa, on the other hand, practically inherited his Irish nationalism. Unlike O'Leary, he knew and loved the Irish language, history, fireside stories, folk lore, dances and poetry. This love of Irish culture was to bring him into touch with the Trinity College Gaelic scholar,
John O'Donovan. It was also to lead him into the physical force movement. Incidentally, it was their associations with Fenianism which were to bring both O'Leary and Rossa into conflict with their religion, Roman Catholicism.

Of the others mentioned in the preceding paragraph, John Devoy, "Pagan" O'Leary, Robert Dyer Joyce, C. M. O'Keeffe, and George Sigerson deserve to be remembered for bringing a "Gaelic note" into the Fenian movement in Ireland. And William Carleton and Charles J. Kickham may be remembered as novelists who were attracted by it.

From 1863 to 1865 the story of the Fenian movement may be found in its official Irish paper, *Irish People*. John O'Leary was editor-in-chief and was assisted in his editorial work by Kickham, O'Keeffe and Thomas Clarke Luby. To Kickham, who was a poet as well as a novelist, was assigned the task of combating the hostility of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. O'Keeffe may have introduced the occasional Gaelic note which may be found among the editorials. Perhaps the best known members of the business staff were James O'Gommer, O'Donovan Rossa and John Devoy.

Certain characteristics of Irish Fenianism may be learned from the editorial pages of *Irish People*. First of all, it unhesitatingly urged the ultimate necessity of an appeal to physical force. Next, it looked to the United States for help in this appeal to the sword. Third, it repudiated moral suasion as "parliamentary humbug." Fourth, it wanted complete separation of Ireland from English popular literature, imperialism and the Crown. Fifth, it sought deliberately to win the support of the
underprivileged classes -- the tenant farmers and the laborers. Sixth, it was critical of the "upper" classes -- the landlords, the church (both Established and Roman Catholic) and Dublin Castle. Seventh, it sought to popularize Irish history (especially since 1798). Finally, it displayed an interest in such aspects of Irish culture as dances, games and names.

The contributions to Irish People, both signed and unsigned, were also instructive of the characteristics of Fenianism. Anonymous material consisted, in part, of book reviews, learned articles on Irish subjects and poetry. The anonymous poetry consisted of folk songs and unsigned, or pseudonymous work. The folk songs are interesting because they anticipate the interest which James Joyce, W. B. Yeats and Padraic Colum were to take in the same genre; the unsigned or pseudonymous poetry is important because some of it may have been written by Joseph I. Clarke, later to become famous in the United States, and, perhaps, John Keegan Casey who was to stimulate both Yeats and Lady Gregory.

The contributions which appeared in Irish People had to be approved by John O'Leary and therefore it is important to know that he disapproved of "oratorical vehemence" and "exaggerated bombast" and admired "nature, simplicity, and truth" as well as "the ordinary language of human thought." He also urged the Fenians to speak English and to "be Irishmen of our own century" and thereby would stifle the Celtic renaissance; but in these two suggestions he seems to have been at variance with John O'Mahony and O'Donovan Rossa, to mention but two other famous Fenians of O'Leary's generation.
Ellen O'Leary and Fanny Parnell (sister of Charles Stewart Parnell) probably, reflected O'Leary's literary tastes more nearly than did George Sigerson, Robert Dyer Joyce or O'Donovan Rossa; yet Irish People published contributions from all five. Incidentally, Joyce, who was admired by W.B. Yeats, is of particular interest because he anticipated Lady Gregory and James Stephens, as well as Yeats, in his retelling of old Irish legends. Irish People was suppressed on September 14, 1865. John O'Leary, O'Donovan Rossa and the other members of its staff were arrested and received severe jail sentences. James Stephens was also captured but he escaped and made his way to the United States. Meanwhile, Irish-Americans poured into Ireland and took command of the Fenian movement. In 1867 the Fenians at last made their appeal to physical force but it failed; and an attempt to smuggle guns from America into Ireland was no more successful.

As the result of a misunderstanding, two separate risings occurred. The earlier, on February eleventh, resulted in a mobilisation for a raid on Chester Castle in England and some futile activities in County Kerry. The main rising took place on March 5th, but, aside from two long-remembered skirmishes in County Cork, was easily put down. Still later in 1867 there was an unsuccessful attempt to smuggle American guns into Ireland which nearly provoked hostilities between the United States and the British Empire as a result of the treatment of some American citizens of Irish extraction after their capture by the forces of the Crown.

So far, at the least, as the sympathies of the majority of the Irish people were concerned, it seems safe to conclude that
the Fenians were more successful than the Unionists in the struggle between the two "isms" during the years from 1850 to 1867. And neither the suppression of Irish People nor the punishment inflicted upon the Fenian chiefs should be allowed to obscure this fact.
CHAPTER IV

THE LIBERALS AND SEPARATIONISM, 1868-1876

In Chapter IV the relations between the United Kingdom and Ireland will be treated during the period from 1868 to 1876. The earlier of these dates coincides with the first appearance of William Ewart Gladstone as Prime Minister and the later marks the end of a truce between the Fenians and the Moral suasionists.

The Liberals

In 1868, William Ewart Gladstone, as Prime Minister of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, initiated his policy of seeking to undermine separation by concessions to the underprivileged classes. Of his persistent use of this method, the Encyclopaedia Britannica declares:

Of all the many interests which engrossed him from the days of his earliest speeches in Parliament, Irish questions, the Irish Church, Irish land, Irish university education, the whole difficult problem of Irish government, had again and again occupied his mind. To those who knew him best and watched his utterances closely, his declaration for Home Rule was scarcely a surprise.1

The above quotation referred to Gladstone’s effort to pass a Home Rule bill through Parliament in 1868. In 1868 his program for Ireland was more modest, being merely “to deal with the ques-

tion of the Irish State Church, the Land, and...National Educa-

Before discussing Gladstone's program for Ireland, it seems necessary to say a few words about the intensity of Fenianism in the year before his election. As has been indicated, 1867 was marked by Fenian risings and attempts to smuggle guns into Ireland. In addition, discontent had spread among the Irish in England. The result had been a dramatic rescue of Fenian suspects in Manchester as well as a vain attempt at jail delivery by blowing a hole in the wall of a London prison. Braving public opinion in England, John Bright, Charles Bradlaugh, Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx had immediately expressed their sympathy for the prisoners who were arrested for their part in the Manchester rescue; and Swinburne had written a sympathetic poem for the London Morning Star to the same effect. John Bright had also vainly appealed in the House of Commons on behalf of a Fenian suspect who was sentenced to death on account of an attempt to blow up the wall of the London prison.

When inaugurating his program for the pacification of Ireland in the House of Commons after his election in 1868, the celebrated Liberal leader referred to these various manifestations of the intensity of Fenianism in England and Ireland:

William E. Gladstone, in his speech in the House of Com-
mons introducing the Bill to Disestablish the Irish

2. See pp. 97-98.
Protestant Church, gave the key to English policy in Ireland...by saying he was led to do justice to Ireland by the intensity of Fenianism. And he explained what he meant by citing the Rising of 1867, the Manchester Rescue, the Clerkenwell Explosion...

This program included an unsuccessful attempt to solve the problem of Irish education and a land bill, credit for which was given to the Fenians. But these may be passed over as inconsequential and a few words will be said about his amnesty of certain of the Fenian prisoners as well as his Bill to disestablish the Church of Ireland.

**Gladstone's Amnesty of Certain Fenian Convicts**

The Crown had been aware of Irish discontent over the treatment of the Fenian prisoners as early as 1867 when a Commission was set up to investigate its basis. However, to judge from its report on Rosse, the Commission investigated the conduct of the prisoners rather than the manner in which they had been treated. After his Government was elected, Gladstone appointed another Commission. It was entirely constituted of Irishmen, one of the members being the poet Stephen Edward De Vere, brother of the more famous Aubrey De Vere. It substantiated Rosse's charges of ill-treatment and on December 18, 1870, Gladstone announced that some of the prisoners would be amnestied provided that they quit the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Among these

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3. Ibid., pp. 357-361.
7. Ibid., p. 416.
liberated were John O'Leary, John Devoy and O'Donovan Rossa. Jail
had not broken their spirits but the deep impression which it made
upon them may be judged from a story which Devoy has told of a
visit to Rossa in 1915 when the latter was dying:

It took a little time to make him realise who it was
that stood beside his bed. 'And are you John Devoy?'
hed said at last. During his long illness he constantly
imagined that he was still in an English prison; and
there was difficulty in preventing him from trying to
make his escape through the window.

The Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland

The most significant effort which the Gladstone Government
was to make to win popular Irish support was the disestablish-
ment of the Church of Ireland. Disraeli and the Conservatives
opposed the measure on the grounds that it was a direct attack
on the Act of Union. Nevertheless, Gladstone could argue that
membership in the Church of Ireland was limited to a small minority
of the population and that its disestablishment might win the sup-
port of the Roman Catholic masses for Unionism. And he was aided
by three distinguished Irish writers.

So far as the argument in favor of winning the Roman
Catholic masses to Unionism is concerned, it must be insisted at
the outset that the Roman Catholic hierarchy was not opposed to
an established church. In fact, earlier in the century the Roman
Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin had suggested a union
between the Church of Ireland and his own denomination. Perhaps
Archbishop Cullen of Dublin had similar notions. At any rate the

1. P.H. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches, pp. 151-152.
3. see p. 9.
Irish-American revolutionary, John Devoy, regarded certain appointments to the staff of the new Catholic University in Dublin as evidence of a pro-English bias on the part of Dr. Cullen:

It was under his guidance that the Catholic University was established, but it was only Catholic, with very little Irish in it. He made Dr. Newman (not then a Cardinal) the Rector, and whether Dr. Newman or the Archbishop was responsible for the appointment of the Professors, they were nearly all English, most converts who had come over to the Catholic Church during the Oxford Movement.¹

But the lesser orders and the laity did not concur with the hierarchy and Newman did not find his associates altogether friendly. Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, deplored in his statement as to the origins of the rebellion of 1916:

The spirit of what is today called Sinn Feinism is mainly composed of the old hatred and distrust of the British connection, always noticeable in all classes and in all places...always there as the background of Irish politics and character. Dr. Newman, on coming over to Dublin as an English Catholic, in the very middle of the last century discovered it for himself... and was very glad to get away from it.²

Newman may have detected this hostility in one of his own appointees, Denis Florence MacCarthy, who had been a contributor to the Nation and was described by John Mitchel as his "particular friend." Furthermore, although John Devoy regretted that the Christian Brothers' elementary schools neglected the Irish language in the fifties, another Irish-American rebel, Joseph I.

³ O'Donoghue, op. cit., p. 265.
⁴ John Mitchel, Irish World, November 14, 1874, p. 5.
⁵ Devoy, op. cit., p. 265.
C. Clarke, has told how separatism was encouraged in the Christian Brothers' school in Dun Laoghaire in 1856:

I recall that Brother Hoope in the history class was strongly on the Irish side of politics, that he revered the memory of Daniel O'Connell, who was called the Liberator... For the 'man of 1848,' nearer to the imagination of the boys, he had a cautious approval. Although they accomplished nothing beyond a great awakening, they were constructively rebels, and not constitutional agitators. That pleased us much for imagination again harked back to 1698 with its battles and martyrs and the further range of fighting back to Cromwell, Elizabeth and Shane O'Neili. We were at one, however, with Brother Hoope's indignation over the infamy of the passage of the Act of Union in 1800 which abolished the Irish Parliament. It seems proper to note these things for they show how national opinion grew in the young, and came handed down in Ireland as from times immemorial.

Gladstone's disestablishmentarianism was undoubtedly encouraged by his belief that the separatist spirit of the lower orders and laity of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was due in part to resentment at the existence of an established church to which they did not belong. In addition, he was fortified in his resolve by three distinguished Irish literary men who favored the measure. These Irish writers deserve consideration, particularly because of their different backgrounds.

First there was that lusus naturae, the Irish Roman Catholic Unionist landlord, Aubrey De Vere. Next there was William Allingham, of whom Lionel Johnson was to write:

And though 'the Irish cause' receives from him but little direct encouragement or help, let it be remembered that Allingham wrote this great and treasureable truth:

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1. J. L. C. Clarke, My Life and Memories, pp. 7-8.
'We're one at heart, if you be Ireland's friend,  
Though leagues asunder our opinions blend:  
There are but two great parties in the end,'1  

Elsewhere in the same article, Johnson referred to Allingham's interest in Ireland's economic grievances:

| Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland abounds in excellent portraits of Irish scenery and society. The great Russian writer, Turgenev, said upon reading it: 'I never understood Ireland before.' The poet himself said of it: 'Alas! when all's done, who will like it? Think of the landlord and Tenant Question in flat de-easy syllables!' Despite the poem's many incidental merits, that self-criticism is not unjust.2 |

Bloomfield, hero of the poem, boasted that his grandfather, as a member of the Irish Parliament, voted against the Act of Union. As a schoolboy he had longed to set Ireland free and, finally, as a landlord he favored a peasant proprietor somewhat along the lines suggested by the Tenant Leaguers. The poem was written in the meter which Oliver Goldsmith had used for "The Desolated Village," but in it a reference to Longfellow's Evangeline should be noted.

In addition to the Roman Catholic, De Vere, and the land reformer, Allingham, a third Irish author who favored church disestablishment was W.H. Lecky. In 1861, while a student at Trinity College, Dublin, he published The Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland. By 1872 Lecky, who was a friend of Charles Lever, had acknowledged his authorship in a second edition.

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2. Ibid., p. 365.  
4. Ibid., p. 4.  
5. Ibid., p. 48.  
his introduction to the second edition, Lecky explained the purpose of the book in relation to disestablishment:

At a time when the Repeal movement which was suspended by the famine is manifestly reviving; when the establishment of religious equality has removed the old lines of party controversy, and prepared the way for new combinations; ... and when, at the same time, a disloyalty in some respects of a more malignant type than that of any former period has widely permeated their ranks, it is surely not unadvisable to recall the leading facts of the great struggle of Irish nationality. The present of a nation can only be explained by its past; and in dealing with strong sentiments of disloyalty and discontent, it is of the utmost importance to trace the historical causes to which they may be due. ¹

Lecky, like De Vere and Allingham, was a confirmed Unionist and in his History of England in the Nineteenth Century, he defended Unionism skilfully:

A majority of the Irish members turned the balance in favor of the great democratic reform bill of 1832, and from that day there has been scarcely a democratic measure which they have not powerfully assisted. When, indeed, we consider the votes they have given, the principles they have been the means of introducing into English legislation, and the influence they have exercised upon the tone and character of the House of Commons, it is probably not too much to say that their presence in the British Parliament has proved the most powerful of all agents in accelerating the democratic transformation of English politics. ²

Separatism

The separatist movement in Ireland from 1868 to 1876 will be considered from a Fenian and a combined Fenian-moral suasion point of view. Then the organ which expressed the latter standpoint, the Dublin Irishman, will be considered. But before pro-

² M. Davitt, The Fall of Penalism in Ireland, p. 768.
ceeding with this agenda, an important event which took place in 1867 and which affected all three items, deserves mention.

On September 11, 1867, Thomas J. Kelly and another Fenian chief were arrested in Manchester, England. Colonel Richard O'Sullivan Burke immediately drew up plans for their rescue. Among those who answered his call for volunteers to carry out the scheme were William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin and Edward O'Meagher Condon. On September 18th, in accordance with Burke's strategy, armed Fenians held up a prison van which contained Kelly and the other captive, smashed the lock and accomplished the rescue. Unfortunately, one of the Fenians, Peter Rice, killed a policeman during the scuffle. A general round-up of Fenian suspects followed and on October 28, 1867, five men were brought to trial: Allen, Larkin, Condon, O'Brien and Thomas Maguire.

Presently, the five men were sentenced to death but at the last moment Maguire was pardoned. To the undying wrath of many Irish-Americans, Charles Francis Adams, United States Ambassador to the Court of Saint James, was reluctant to intervene on behalf of O'Brien and Condon in spite of the fact that they were American citizens. Consequently, Secretary Seward, went over Adams' head in a last minute appeal for clemency which saved Condon's life; but O'Brien and the other two were put to death.

Irishmen of every description were profoundly moved by these executions. The three victims were immediately hailed as

2. Figott, op. cit., pp. 269-274.
the "Manchester Martyrs" and the commemoration of their deaths was to become an annual ceremony. Perhaps the most famous literary product of this feeling of resentment appeared anonymously in *Irishman*. It has been ascribed, probably correctly, to George Sigerson by John O'Leary, who was to speak of the "sedition" in it, and by Douglas Hyde, who declared:

> The famous article 'The Holocaust,' written on the execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, and published November 23, 1867, immediately after the news reached Dublin, created something of a sensation.  

T.P. O'Connor, who was employed by *Irishman* at that time, also ascribed "The Holocaust" to George Sigerson and added:

> ...the execution of these three men was practically the beginning of the modern Home Rule movement; it was certainly the beginning of the deeper spirit of nationality which had become submerged in me by my University life, where every country, and especially Greece and Rome, were studied -- except Ireland. I can still see myself walking down to my office through Nassau Street when an early edition of the evening paper announced the execution, and the shock it gave me still remains fresh.

Incidentally, George Bernard Shaw ascribed O'Connor's first Fenian sympathies to an earlier date:

> In 1888, I being then 32 and already a noted critic and political agitator, the Star newspaper was founded under the editorship of the late T.P. O'Connor (nick-named Tay Pay by Yates)... Tay Pay survived until 1936; but his mind never advanced beyond the year 1866, though his Fenian sympathies and his hearty detestation of the English nation disguised that defect from him.

The nationalist sympathies of Charles Stewart Parnell also have been dated from this event and T.D. Sullivan was moved

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4. Ibid., p. 134.
to compose what might once have been described as Ireland's unofficial national anthem, "God Save Ireland":

Desirous of paying such tribute as I could to the memory of the patriots, I wrote, a few days after their execution, a song which had for its refrain the prayer which they had uttered in the dock, 'God Save Ireland.' With a view to getting it into immediate use, I fitted the words to a military air of American origin, 'Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching,' which was popular at the time in Ireland. 1

The first stanza of this immensely popular song may be quoted:

High upon the gallows-tree,
Swung the noble-hearted Three,
By the vengeful tyrant stricken in their bloom;
But they met him face to face,
With the courage of their race,
And they went with soul undaunted to their doom.

'God save Ireland!' said the heroes;
'God save Ireland!' said they all;
'Whether on the scaffold high
Or the battle-field we die,
Oh, what matter, then for Erin dear we fall!' 2

The last stanza of this truly Irish-American song, reminiscent of "The Memory of the Dead," elevated the Manchester martyrs to the status of the United Irishmen:

Never till the latest day
Shall the memory pass away
Of the gallant lives thus given for our land;
And on the cause must go,
Amid joy, or woe, or wea,
Till we make our isle a nation free and grand.

'God save Ireland!' say we proudly;
'God save Ireland!' say we all,
'Whether on the scaffold high
Or the battle-field we die,
Oh, what matter, then for Erin dear we fall!' 3

Even the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland which had

2. J.B. O'Reilly, ed., The Poetry and Song of Ireland, p. 919.
3. See p. 44.
hitherto been hostile to the Fenians was moved to protest against
the executions and echoes of the protest were heard from its
ecclesiastics in every part of the world.

The Fenian Point of View

During the years from 1868 to 1876 the Fenians were prob-
ably pleased at any attempt to follow their example in reviving
Irish institutions, but from their standpoint the primary duty
of the separatist movement was to secure the amnesty of the
Fenian prisoners. An attempt to revive an ancient Irish insti-
tution, which probably was approved by the physical force party,
may be found in George Sigerson's Modern Ireland. In 1869 the
following significant passage, in which Sigerson is called "The
Ulsterman," appeared on an insert in the back of the second edi-
tion:

The Ulsterman insists that the tradition of Irish
tenure would support Fenian republicanism, and that
the ancient system of government in no way implied that
reverence for despotism with which it is charged. He
quotes the Senchus Mór of the old days in the following
sentences: 'There are four dignitaries of a territory
who can be degraded, a false-judging king, a stumbling
bishop, a fraudulent poet, and an unworthy chieftain
who does not fulfil his duties.' This certainly indi-
cates a more intelligent...political faith than might
have been expected from such a source."

The pleasure which the Fenians may have felt in seeing
such a return to Celtic antiquity did not compensate for the
grief which they experienced that John O'Leary, O'Donovan
Rossa and other members of their party were still in prison.

2. Ibid., pp. 326-327.
3. G. Sigerson, Modern Ireland, unpaginated insert.
Rossa's prison life, while not exactly the same as the others, is particularly interesting. For in gaol, even as when on trial, Rossa refused to consider himself a felon. Not only did he struggle with his wardens, but he also sought to attract, or assist, every movement outside the prison which might be of aid to the Fenian convicts.

Rossa discovered two ways of keeping up his courage in prison. P.H. Pearse has told about one of them;

In English prisons and in American cities he remembered the humour and the love of Carbery. He jested when he was before his judges; he jested when he was tortured by his jailers; sometimes he startled the silence of the prison corridors by laughing aloud and by singing Irish songs in his cell; they thought he was going mad, but he was only trying to keep himself sane.1

Rossa, himself, has given some instances in his autobiographical Irish Rebels in English Prisons: "There is no better way of frightening away a fairy than to laugh at it. The man or woman who can do that in the presence of a Leprechaun or a goblin will never be possessed by either." On another occasion a fellow convict had been helping him manufacture writing materials: "He showed me a little tin article he found in the quarry, which he intended to fashion into an ink-bottle. I told him it looked like a leprechaun's teapot, and that there might be luck in it." One day in the prison quarry Rossa was near Christopher Manus O'Keeffe, a former member of the editorial staff of Irish People. Rossa spoke:

1. P.H. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches, p. 131.
2. O'D., Rossa, Irish Rebels in English Prisons, p. 147.
3. Ibid., p. 169.
4. See p. 133.
O'Keeffe was a good Irish scholar, and I tried to draw him out by giving him a word of Gaelic, which was high treason to the jailers. They prohibited us from speaking in our mother tongue even on the days when we were allowed to talk. They called it 'slang.' I believe it was Thomas Duggan, of Ballamcolig, that was severely reprimanded once for speaking Irish, and threatened with severe punishment if he repeated the offense.¹

A second way which Rossa had of keeping up his struggles against the agents of the Crown while in jail was by denouncing prison brutalities in letters which he smuggled out of prison. Early in 1867 such a letter was received by the London Morning Star, but its editor, Justin McCarthy, would not publish it. The Dublin Irishman did. Subsequently Rossa was detected attempting to send out other letters and was punished by seventy-two hours in solitary confinement on bread and water.

Rossa was not forgotten outside his gaol. Evidence of this may be found in three completely independent projects: two Irish, and one an affair of the Crown. The first Irish project on Rossa's behalf was in 1869 when Irishman launched a campaign to elect him a member of Parliament for Tipperary. Rossa had been reading the "Protestant Bible, in the Irish language," and, anticipating another Irishman by some thirty years, he decided to deliver himself in Gaelic if ever he reached Westminster:

If this were worth a serious thought -- if I were taken before the House, I think I would be found talking Irish to them, and if they would not understand me -- why, let them get an interpreter.

¹ O'D. Rossa, op. cit., p. 143.
³ O'D. Rossa, op. cit., p. 169.
⁴ Ibid., P. 259.
⁵ Ibid., P. 376.
⁶ See p. 376.
I was an Irishman, represented an Irish county, and had a right to be heard in the language of my country. This may be a new idea for the members who are now discussing what is the best thing for them to do in the House; whether to vote or not to vote, whether to go there or remain away altogether. Let them speak Irish, and insist on speaking it in the House.\(^1\)

To the separatist's delight, Rossa was elected. John Mitchel wrote enthusiastically:

A great event has befallen in Irish history. Tipperary has just done a wiser and a bolder deed than her sister county of Clare achieved forty years ago. That Clare election won, to be sure, what was called Catholic Emancipation, for the Claremen elected the disqualified Catholic, O'Connell, to represent them in Parliament. Now the Tipperarymen have elected the disqualified felon, O'Donovan Rossa, in his convict cell -- have elected, amongst all those imprisoned comrades, the very one whom England most specially abhors -- because he defied and denounced the most loudly her government, her traitor judges, and her packed juries -- elected him as the most fit and proper person to represent them.\(^3\)

Rossa's election, of course, was declared void. His backers decided to nominate Kitchener, who had been liberated because of ill-health, but he was a weaker candidate than Rossa and was defeated by a narrow margin.

The two other projects involved Rossa only as one of the Fenian convicts. First there was the amnesty movement in Ireland. Outside Ireland it was supported by Karl Marx and his daughter; and the Congress of the United States, through its Committee on Foreign Affairs, called for the intervention of the American government on behalf of those Fenian prisoners who were

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1. O'D. Rossa, _op. cit._, p. 319.
2. _Ibid._, p. 320.
American citizens. However, it was mainly an Irish movement. Isaac Butt and George Henry Moore were its nominal leaders but, of course, the rank and file, like Moore, were members of the revolutionary organization.

The second project was a Royal Commission which, as has already been mentioned, resulted in the release of John O'Leary, O'Donovan Rossa, John Devoy and others in 1871. With the exception of John O'Leary, who lived in Paris until he was allowed to return to Ireland, the amnestied Fenians, including Rossa, emigrated to the United States, even as the Young Irishmen before them.

The release of those prisoners did not put an end to the amnesty agitation and in 1870 or 1871, the Fenians entered into a working alliance with the moral suasionists in order to strengthen their cause. Accordingly, the Fenian-moral suasion coalition must now be discussed.

The Fenian-Moral Suasion Point of View

As long as Irish People had existed, the Fenians had refused all traffic with any attempt to redress Irish woes by moral suasion. But after its suppression the physical force party had to rely on a paper which was not hostile to the latter

3. J. Devoy, op. cit., p. 221.
4. Ibid., p. 220.
5. See p. 6; pp. 71-72.
7. See pp. 140-141.
1 method, the Dublin Irishman. Then, in 1867, for the first time, an oath-bound member of the I.R.B. was returned to Parliament, George Henry Moore. Two years later O'Donovan Rossa was elected to represent Tipperary at Westminster in spite of the fact that he was in jail.

In discussing the Fenian-moral suasion point of view, first George Henry Moore and the Amnesty agitation will be mentioned; then the birth of the Home Rule movement will be considered; and finally, a few words will be said about the working alliance between the Fenians and the moral suasionists.

George Henry Moore and the Amnesty Agitation

In 1868, George Henry Moore stood for Parliament. Unseated on charges that he had been elected through clerical intimidation of the voters in the general election of 1857, Moore had turned his attention to horse racing. His famous son, George Moore, was born in 1868 and in Esther Waters used “his early familiarity with a training stable to furnish a background.” His other son, Colonel Maurice George Moore, found a connection between Fenianism and his father’s decision to return to politics:

As a fighting force Fenianism failed utterly, but it changed the whole mind of the country. By 1868 the old complacent toleration of schemers and dishonest politicians had vanished, and a sturdy independence had taken its place.

Moore saw that the time had come when he could again

1. See p. 150.
2. See p. 191.
4. Ibid., p. 307.
5. S. Gwynn, Irish Literature and Drama, p. 150.
be of use to the country, and he did not hesitate a
moment. A general election was imminent; he sold his
Horses and issued his address to the electors of Mayo.

But there was even more intimate relation between Hope and the
physical force party. Remembering, perhaps, Rossa's attempt
2 to recruit him, Moore took the Fenian oath.

Supported by Archbishop MacHale and the I.R.B., Moore had
no trouble winning the election. Dr. Mark Ryan, the future Lon-
don Fenian chief, was a student at St. Jarlath's Tuan, at the
time. Tuan, of course, was Dr. MacHale's episcopal seat, and
Ryan told the present writer how the Reverend Ulick Bourke, head
of the school and author of several books on the Irish language,
supported Moore's candidacy with enthusiasm.

After his election, Moore moved to London, where, as his
son was to tell in Hail and Farewell, the Moore family lived
7 for some time. In Westminster, George Henry Moore ignored the
negative findings of a Commission which had been appointed to
investigate charges smuggled out of jail by Rossa; and, present-
ing the affidavit of an ex-warder about the brutalities which
had been inflicted on the Fenian convict, he moved an inquiry
into the treatment of political prisoners in English prisons.
On June 29, 1869, the motion was discussed in Parliament and
Moore asked for a general amnesty of the Fenians, thereby

2. See p. 162.
4. See pp. 665-687; 696.
5. Interview in Dublin, August 12, 1887.
6. Trans-Atlantic. The Ancient Race. Irish World, November
27, 1873, p. 6; cf. Ibid., Ancient Ireland, March 18,
1876, p. 6; also see p. 72.
winning the lasting gratitude of Rossa and his wife. Incidentally, George Moore does not seem to have been interested in this agitation and sometime after his father's death in 1870, when he met "John O'Leary and his Parisian circle," he was somewhat surprised to find that the Irish exiles "were interested in me on account of my father."

During the interim between sessions of Parliament in 1869, Moore pressed his fight. In Castlebar, to the rage of the London Times, he excoriated English rule in Ireland. Then, anticipating Yeats' beloved Maud Gonne, he made a threatening response to the London paper:

I can speak French as well as English, and in Paris and New York, as well as in Ireland, I shall find a sympathising audience. If my countrymen are to pass the next winter in chains, I shall occupy that time in delivering a series of discourses in which the Government of England, and its mode of repressing resistance to its misrule — in Canada as long as it governed that country, in the Ionian Islands as long as it possessed them, in India, in Jamaica, and in Ireland — will be fully and specifically stated.

Moore was assisted by amnesty clubs organized by the Fenians; and "towards the close of 1869" Isaac Butt, just released from prison, joined the agitation. Butt, of course, was not a member of the Fenian society yet, perhaps in order to

1. O'D. Rossa, Irish Rebels in English Prisons, pp. 400-4051
2. Ibid., p. 542.
8. See p. 297.
attract recruits, the Fenian-dominated Amnesty Association elected him president. So it was that on October 10, 1889, Butt was chairman of an immense amnesty meeting at Cabra, near Dublin. Organised labour attended en masse and Moore, who addressed the crowds, estimated in a letter to his wife that over "two hundred and fifty thousand people were present..."

The Birth of the Home Rule Movement

Isaac Butt was elected to the presidency of the Amnesty Association at the very time when Irish Unionist discontent over the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland had reached its peak. It is possible to suspect a Fenian ruse to win the disgruntled Unionists to their cause both in this election and in George Henry Moore's refusal to support Gladstone's measure. The conduct of some militant Ulster Orangemen may have encouraged the Fenians to expect genuine help from this direction:

The line taken by the Orangemen in that province was that the coronation oath forbade the Queen to allow Disestablishment, and that she would be perjured if she signed the bill, that it would be an overthrow of our Protestant constitution in Church and State; that "the men of Ulster," who had driven James II, from the throne for like attempts, were ready and determined as ever now in the same good cause. The Rev. Mr. Flanagan, chaplain in the Orange Society, addressing a vast conourse of his fellow-members, publicly warned all whom it might concern that "the men of Ulster had ere now kicked a crown into the Bayne."

If the Fenians were led to hope for Orange help by such conduct, they were to be disappointed. On the other hand, both

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3. Ibid., pp. 355-356.
Isaac Butt and Charles Lever, stimulated by the disestablishment of the church, were to respond to their appeal, at least to the extent of seeking Home Rule for Ireland.

Butt had been a Unionist member of Parliament from 1862 to 1865. He had defended some of the Young Irishmen in 1849 and presently he was to defend some Fenian prisoners. His views on land reform were somewhat more radical than those of his class. Yet, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, these considerations were not responsible for his break with the Unionists and his subsequent leadership of the Home Government Association of Ireland; its cause was the disestablishment of the church:

Disappointment at the disestablishment of the Irish church drove Butt with other Irish Protestants into union with the Nationalists, and as leader of this coalition he evolved the federal theory of Home Rule. At a large meeting on May 19, 1870, in Dublin he inaugurated the Home Rule movement, and after his election in 1871, for Limerick, he found himself at the head of a party of 57 members.

Surely it is possible to give the Fenians some of the credit which has thus been entirely attributed to Gladstone!

The effect on Charles Lever was no less striking. As late as the sixties, while British Consul at Spezzia, Lever warned Garibaldi against writing any more "strong letters of sympathy with the Fenians." Yet in 1872, in a preface for a new edition of *Charles O'Malley*, he observed of one of the characters

in the novel:

He was a man of the highest order of ability, and with a memory that never forgot... Had he lived to a later day, he would most probably have been found a foremost leader of Fenianism.¹

Stronger evidence that Fenianism, rather than church disestablishment, had exerted great pressure on him appeared in Lever's last novel, Lord Kilgobbin, whose hero seems to have been inspired in part by O'Donovan Rossa. Of the book Father Brown wrote: "The book is marked by almost nationalist sympathies, one of the finest characters being Daniel Donagan, Fenian Head-Centre.... who while 'on his keeping' is elected M.P. for King's County." The heroine, Nina Kestalergi, is the daughter of a Greek patriot and an Irish lady. One of her suitors is secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to Ireland. The latter's qualifications for the vice-regality were described ironymically by Lever:

He was an ambassador at Constantinople, on leave from his post, and so utterly dead to Irish topics as to be uncertain whether O'Donovan Rossa was a Fenian or a Queen's subject, and whether he whom he had read of as the 'Lion of Judah' was the king of beasts or the Archbishop of Tuam.²

Of a Unionist Lever wrote:

Paul Hartigan's estimate of the Whigs was such that it would have in no wise astonished him to discover that Mr. Gladstone was in close correspondence with O'Donovan Rossa, or that Chichester Fortescue had been sworn in as a Head Centre. That the whole Cabinet were secretly Papists, and held weekly confession at the feet of Dr. Manning, he was prepared to prove.³

In an extremely suggestive passage, Lever associated the Fenian

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² S.J. Brown, Ireland in Fiction, p. 173.
⁴ Ibid., p. 301.
Head-Centre with the revival of the Irish language. Nina having spoken of the Greek struggle for independence, Donogan replied:

"In one thing, your Greeks have an immense advantage over us here. In your popular songs you could employ your own language, and deal with your own wrongs in the accents that became them. We had to take the tongue of the conqueror, which was as little suited to our traditions as to our feelings, and travestied both." 1

Lever's biographer has summed up his gradual change from Unionism to separatism:

Though Lever opposed O'Connell, and, while discharging editorial duties, waged war against Repeal, his latest political utterances favoured Home Rule. An 'O'Dowd Paper' was rejected by Blackwood on those grounds, and the proofs of it, presented by Lever himself, are now in the hands of the Rev. Joseph Galbraith, F.T.C.D. Letters to Mr. Spencer state that he should like to see 'Home Rule,' but not 'Rabble Rule.' Popular sympathies mark his later writings. The beautiful 'Nina' in 'Kilgobbin'—that brightest heroine of his creation—after refusing all sorts of offers, is captivated by an escaped head-centre of the Fenians, and elopes with him. 2

The Agreement between Fenians and Home Rulers

At the time of the inauguration of the Home Rule movement, Isaac Butt's prestige among the Fenians was very high. As a result, according to John Daly of Limerick, an understanding on the subject of parliamentary agitation was reached between them:

Daly states that the Fenians originally agreed early in the 'Seventies only to a toleration of the Home Rule movement, qualified by a time limit; that, in fact, Butt gave an undertaking to C.J. Doran, of Queenstown, another Fenian leader, that should he fail to win self-government in five years he would retire and leave the field clear for the revolutionaries. 3

1. C. Lever, Lord Kilgobbin, p. 221.
Accordingly, the Fenians helped elect John Mitchel to Parliament and, according to his biographer, were instrumental in the rise of Charles Stewart Parnell:

'Did Parnell,' I asked one who was familiar with Irish politics, 'ever meet any Fenians about this time?' 'Yes,' was the answer, 'I sometimes saw him with --. They used to talk about the amnesty movement, so far as Parnell ever talked at all, but he was a better listener than a talker. He knew nothing about Home Rule, but he was interested in Fenianism. For that matter, my friend added, 'so was Butt. Butt often said to me at the beginning of the movement that the Fenians were the best men in Irish politics.' Fenianism and Home Rule were certainly a good deal mixed up; and at a dinner party at Butt's, when the question of the Wicklow candidature was practically decided -- was present and supported Parnell...  

John O'Leary, O'Donovan Rossa and other prominent Fenians disapproved of such trafficking with moral suasion; and, according to William O'Brien, J.F.X. O'Brien, chairman of the supreme council, had trouble with the rank and file of the Brotherhood on at least one occasion:

I had the privilege of standing by his side one day in the Cork Park, when three-fourths of the young hot-heads of the city 'Circles' broke into revolt and attempted by main force to storm the platform of a Home Rule meeting. He held the platform, and put the hot-heads firmly down.  

In October, 1875, Rossa wrote to Irishman to condemn the Home Rule agitation. He singled out John Daly to charge him with abandoning physical force. On the anniversary of the Manchester Martyrs, Rossa again attacked moral suasion, this time at a mass
meeting in New York. Shortly thereafter, the Fenians' agreement with Butt elapsed:

The time agreed upon expired in 1876; and as Ireland was still without a Parliament, Daly was appointed by the more extreme section of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, to put down the constitutional agitation by force. Accordingly, when Butt went to address a Home Rule meeting in Limerick, Daly was arrested for leading an assault on it.

After his dismissal in July, Daly continued to lead the Fenian effort "to put down the constitutional agitation by force":

Daly led "a large body of men" to attack a Home Rule meeting in Manchester, England, which Power was addressing, and then followed him to Dumbarton, Scotland. At the last moment Parnell was substituted as the speaker. He had scarcely begun when the trampling of many feet was heard in the corridor and the doors of the hall were burst open. Six hundred Fenians strode in.

They were seeking Power:

Parnell said not a word in defense of the ablest and most influential of his colleagues... On the contrary, he... invited Daly to the platform as 'an old associate of his in putting down West Britonism in Ireland' -- and wished that Ireland had many men like him."

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2. MacDonagh, op. cit., p. 113.
4. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, August 19, 1876, p. 3.
5. MacDonagh, op. cit., p. 114.
6. Ibid., pp. 117-118.
Daly stepped up on the platform and condemned Power as a renegade who had betrayed his Fenian oath: "The Nationalists respected Mr. Parnell, because he was faithful to the opinions he always professed, but O'Gormer Power was a traitor and should receive condign punishment."

So ended the first working alliance between the Fenians and the Home Rulers. In the future there were to be similar departures; but for the present a few words should be said about the Dublin Irishman which expressed the point of view of this first working agreement.

Irishman

In considering Irishman as spokesman for the working agreement between the Fenians and moral suspensionists, it is convenient to divide the subject matter into two parts. The first part will tell something about the paper before this alliance was formed; and the second will tell of O'Donovan Rossa's associations with Irishman from 1871 to 1876.

Before the Fenian-Moral Suspension Alliance

It may be remembered that the Fenians had used Irishman as their organ before Irish People was founded. After the suppression of the latter, according to T.P. O'Connor, T. D. Sullivan and Richard Pigott, who "owned and nominally edited" it,

2. See p. 814-815.
3. See p. 121.
Irlt!JIIB one more 'be.... -. 8ell!-att1olal P•tu. epa.

Yet in the estimation of George Bernard Shaw, Pigott, who was a friend of his parents, was a harmless person: "He was then (in 1865) an apparently harmless and amusing person with a silly-cheerful manner and a single eyeglass, called by his friends 'Dick Pigott' or 'the Major.'"

According to Douglas Hyde before Pigott purchased it "nearly all the leading articles" in Irishman were written by George Sigerson. If "The Holocaust" is correctly attributed to him, it is evident that Sigerson continued to write editorials for the paper. Incidentally, rumor at one time ascribed "The Holocaust" to Isaac Butt, yet, in the absence of more concrete evidence, Pigott's assertion that Butt "was not the writer" must be accepted.

Shortly after the publication of "The Holocaust" in a special edition of the Irishman on the 23rd November," 1867,

1. R. Pigott, Recollections of an Irish Journalist, pp. 276-278.
2. A. Henderson, Bernard Shaw, Playboy and Prophet, p. 46.
4. See pp. 185-186.
5. Pigott, JR. cit., p. 289.
Pigott was arrested and sent to jail for publishing it. When he was brought to trial, Pigott, it would seem, claimed by inference that he was the author. At any rate Sigerson was not involved and he offered an explanation in his volume on Political Prisoners:

In January, 1868, Mr. Pigott appeared, on summons, before Mr. J.W. O'Demol, at Capel Street Police Court, to show cause why information should not be granted for the publication of several unlawful and seditious libels. These consisted chiefly of articles containing Fennian news republished from other papers. In addition, there was an advertisement of patriotic photographs, surmounted by the figures '98, '48, '68,' which were considered seditious chronology. Then came a letter from the Rev. Mr. Vaughan, P.P., to Archbishop MacHale, and a leading article. 1

Presumably, all the "several unlawful and seditious" articles may be found in the volume in which Sam W. Anderson's name appeared. In addition to "The Holesaust" and the other items noted above, it contained an article from Paris speculating on the likelihood of a French invasion of Ireland, a story about 1798 by Robert Dyer Joyce, 2 a letter which Rosse had smuggled out of Portland prison, a series on the adventures of a Fennian after the failure of the March rising and some letters from Thomas J. Kelly, after his rescue, threatening reprisals unless the Manchester suspects were "treated as prisoners of war." 3

Less seditious were the book reviews. John Keegan Casey's

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1. G. Sigerson, Political Prisoners At Home and Abroad, p. 108.
A Wreath of Shamrocks was well received the very week of the
insurrection. Favorable reviews of two pamphlets on land reform
by Isaac Butt may also be mentioned. The Irish People and the
Irish Land was welcomed in April. Of the other pamphlet,
Michael Davitt wrote:

In the same year he published The Irish Querist, in
which, after the style of Bishop Berkeley's celebrated
work, he dissected the system of Irish landlordism,
and mercilessly exposed the neglect and failure of
England's administration as shown in the social misery
of Ireland.

Incidentally, these reviews hint at a growing friendship between
Butt and the physical force party. Furthermore, they predict
the possibility of a union of moral suasion with physical force
for the purpose of achieving land reform.

Before taking up Rossa's contributions to Irishman, some
of the other authors who wrote for that paper should be men-
tioned. Charles J. Kickham was one. He had been released from
prison in March, 1869, because of ill-health, and a biographer,
mentioning its principal editorial writers at that time, has
stated that Kickham was invited to contribute to Irishman:

Its leaders at the time were the work of Isaac Butt and
Dr. George Sigerson. After the liberation of the po-
itical prisoners, C.J. Kickham was invited to contri-
bute and sent a number of contributions, some literary.

In addition to the above it may be remembered that John Mitchel

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2. The Irish People and the Irish Land, Irishman, April 27,
1867, p. 628.
3. The Irish Querist, Irishman, January 19, 1867, p. 474.
5. Devitt, op. cit., p. 311.
7. See p. 98.
and T.P. O'Gonner have already been mentioned. Still another
was Mary Jane O'Donovan Rosza, wife of the convict, who visited
Kershaw in Mullinahone in 1870. Incidentally, it is a curious
sideline on the estimation in which the Fenians held the United
States to note that Kershaw's money was invested in United States
Bonds instead of British Censols.

Rossa's Associations with the Irishman

On June 24, 1871, a column entitled "O'Donovan Rosza on
Irish Affairs" appeared in Irishman. In the next issue, this
was changed to "Our American Letter, by O'Donovan Rosza;" and
at the same time "O'Donovan Rosza's Prison Life," which was to
be continued until January 10, 1874, began.

Rossa and the First International

Rossa's first contribution appeared not long after the
suppression of the Paris Commune with which Irishman had ex-
pressed its sympathy on April 8th, 15th, and 22nd. On
April 23th Pigott's paper pointed out that one of the leading
communards had pleaded for Rosza in La Marseillaise; and so it
is not surprising that in his first letter to Irishman, Rosza

1. See p. 186.
3. Ibid., p. 349.
5. Ibid., p. 349.
6. Irishman, July 1, 1871, pp. 842-843.
7. Irishman, July 1, 1871, p. 442.
8. Ibid., p. 842.
9. Civil War, Irishman, April 8, 1871, p. 646.
wrote kindly of the First International and stated that two of the French revolutionaries "had given me and my companions a helping hand when we were in prison." Of course, this got Rossa in trouble with his church and he wrote of his attendance at a funeral of one of the Communists:

As I am writing my own obituary, there is one point on which, for my domestic peace, I do not wish my character to stand defamed. The Irish religious -- the ultra-Catholic press that often hit me for my connection with Irish revolution -- hit me now for being a Communist and being a free lover, and for my connection with Tommie Claflin. She happened to be in the funeral, but let me solemnly assure my readers I never laid an eye on her that day, or any other day before or since, and I never spoke to the woman in my life. This, I hope, will satisfy my friends on the Boston Pilot, and all other friends. 1

Rossa's friendship with the First International continued in 1872. Perhaps his interest helped to persuade it to seek a foothold in Ireland. However, Marx had long been a student of the Irish question and had drawn up a resolution which called either for dominion status, or independence for Erin. Engels, too, displayed considerable interest in the Irish, especially Irish history:

Engels became so convinced of the importance of the Irish question that he began to work on a history of Ireland, learning the ancient Gaelic, which he was soon able to read freely, and preparing a mass of material, with the continual help and guidance of his friend Marx, to enable him to write the history of England's first colony. Unfortunately, other revolutionary tasks prevented him from ever carrying out this great work, but his correspondence on Ireland with Marx gives a very good idea of the views of those two on the development of Irish history. 5

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1. *Irishman*, p. 327.
Whatever the immediate cause may have been, Irishman of February 24, 1872 advertised the Rules of the Universal Republican League; and its next issue reported that a branch of the International Working Men's Association was to be founded in Cork. On March 23, 1872, the following appeared in Rossa's column:

I see that England and France and Prussia and Russia and all the other Powers are asking questions about the Internationals. Can it be that it is an account of the religion or irreligion of these people that the tyrannies are troubled? I think not. The federation of kings are afraid of the federation of the peoples, and that is the secret of the denunciation of the society.3

Yet not only the Roman Catholic Church, but also the Fenian organization in Ireland was hostile to the Communists. As an example of the hostility of the former, a letter by Father Lavelle, the friend of George Henry Moore, to the Cork Herald may be cited. And J.F.X. O'Brien, chairman of the supreme council of the I.R.B., denounced the members of the First International as bishop murderers and advocates of free love. Before the end of the year the First International had become inactive in Ireland but in London it held a monster amnesty meeting in November at which Thomas Moorey was a speaker.

Rossa and James Anthony Froude

It was at this season that Rossa became aroused by the

1. P. 543.
7. Irishman, Irishman, April 6, 1872, pp. 629-630.
10. Irishman, November 9, 1872, pp. 291-292.
controversy between James Anthony Froude and the Very Reverend Thomas N. Burke, "Father Tom Burke" as James Joyce was to call him in Dubliners.  The English historian, following in the footsteps of Thackeray, Macaulay and Carlyle, had begun a series of lectures in New York with the observation that before the advent of the English in 1166 "there was in Ireland neither religion, morality, nor government" and that the Irish then lived in holes in the ground. Later Froude admitted that his purpose was to turn public opinion in America against Home Rule for Ireland:

His leading thought throughout his lectures is, that the Irish don't know how to govern or legislate for themselves; that for them home legislation and an Irish Parliament would be a curse and not a blessing. 4

At that time Father Tom Burke, "that was a born orator... God hadn't he a voice!" was in America. He was prevailed upon to reply to Froude. Bessa, of course, favored Father Burke, but he reserved the right to criticize both:

As I write these lines in New York an English historian, named Froude, is lecturing in the city on the question of Ireland and England. He admits he came over with the view of inducing Americans to take the side of England. There is another celebrated lecturer in the city, a Dominican friar, the Rev. Thomas Burke, who is talking against Froude, and what I notice in both is that while talking of the 700 years' fight between England and Ireland, and while appealing to the American people, both of them ignore the fact that England holds in her prisons today forty or fifty Irishmen whose offence is that they are charged with entertaining a desire to

1. J. Joyce, Dubliners, pp. 210-211.
2. See p. 8.
4. T. N. Burke, Ireland's Case Stated in Reply to Mr. Froude, p. 239.
fight for Irish independence if they could get the chance, and that England holds these men behind that lie -- that they are not political prisoners. It is no wonder that Proude should forget this in appealing to the American people to be favorable to England, and to see little but justice in her treatment of Ireland, but I do not like that the priest should forget it.  

Rossa Suppressed

Early in 1875, Rossa's letters to Irishman were discontinued and were not resumed until 1876. Pigott had been constantly in trouble with Dublin Castle after his incarceration in 1868. In 1871, Parliament had passed a "Peace Preservation" Act which contained clauses "enabling the Irish executive to deal summarily with...the Irishman and the Flag of Ireland" (another weekly owned by Pigott of which Sigerson was editor). The Act was invoked as a result of material published by Pigott following a Fenian shooting affray in July. Pigott, in spite of the defense put up for him by Isaac Butt, "was sentenced to four months' imprisonment." The next year seems to have passed without more troubles for the owner of Irishman but evidently Dublin Castle objected to Rossa's letters because when Rossa resumed his correspondence in the issue of September 11, 1875, he stated: "I ceased writing for you a few years ago when the powers that govern Ireland threatened you with suppressing your paper if I did not suppress the expression of my thoughts therein...."

2. See p. 204.
4. Interview with George Noble (Count) Plunkett who contributed to both.
6. Ibid., pp. 571-572.
Not long after his letters were resumed, Rossa took occasion
to attack the alliance between the Fenians and the growing Home
Rule party. This attack has already been mentioned. Another
subject which occupied his attention was the amnesty movement.

Rossa on Dion Boucicault

When Rossa resumed his weekly letter to Irishman, the
amnesty movement had just gained a recruit in the person of the
Irish-American playwright, Dion Boucicault. Perhaps the latter
had an ulterior motive, when as early as 1864 he had sought
Fenian favor by introducing "The Wearing of the Green" in his new
play, Arrah-na-Pogue when it opened in Dublin. Nevertheless,
it is difficult to believe that the Crown prohibited "the sing-
ing of the song in Great Britain" in 1868 so that it had to be
left out of the play.

In 1875 Boucicault produced The Shaughraun in London.
English audiences, perhaps, liked the play because the principal
character was made up to resemble an illustration by "Phiz,"
although Boucicault asserted that his stage-Irishman was taken
from a life model. Whether motivated by a desire for pub-
licity, or the hope of ending Irish-American hatred of England,
or patriotism or by genuine sympathy for the prisoners, on

2. See p. 300.
4. Ibid., p. 104, note.
6. D. Boucicault, "Cantherin' Jack," McCoy's Illustrated Weekly,
   February 10, 1877, p. 173.
8. Ibid., p. 145.
January 1, 1876, Bouliault addressed a letter to Benjamin Disraeli, Prime Minister of England. He asserted that his play was "founded on an episode in the Fenian insurrection" and pleaded for amnesty. His outline of the plot may be reproduced:

A young Irish gentleman has been tried, convicted, and transported to the penal colonies for complicity with the rebellion. He escapes to America, and from thence ventures to visit his home in Ireland. A police emissary discovers his presence, he is rearrested, consigned to prison, from which he escapes, and eventually is restored to freedom by a general pardon, granted (under poetical license) during your ministry. The pardon is the deus ex machina of the drama. 8

Rossa felt called upon to comment on Bouliacul's action although he was not much impressed by it. At about the same time he wrote to Irishman to tell of a new Irish-American agency for the collection of money to wage war on England which would carry more weight with Disraeli than a begging letter from Bouliacul. The new agency was to be known as the Skirmishing Fund; and Rossa was to be its secretary. Before the end of the year his contributions to Irishman ended.

Summary

Chapter IV has told of many concessions during the years from 1868 to 1876. Accordingly, it opened with a discussion of William Ewart Gladstone, the famous leader of the English Liberals,

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3. Ibid., February 5, 1876, p. 499.
4. Ibid., March 11, 1876, p. 579.
5. See p. 252 et seq.
6. O'D. Rossa, Our American Letter, Irishman, November 11, 1876, p. 510.
whose ability in yielding to popular pressure is well known.

Gladstone's two chief concessions to Ireland during this period were the amnesty of certain Fenian convicts and the disestablishment of the Church. The immediate cause of these concessions seems to have been the "intensity of Fenianism" in 1867 and John Bright may have encouraged Gladstone's liberality.

The Fenian convicts amnestied, included John O'Leary, O'Donovan Rossa and John Devoy. Many more remained in jail and the release of these men stimulated their sympathizers to further efforts.

The disestablishment of the Church of Ireland was more successful in winning Irish support. Even before it the Roman Catholic hierarchy had been friendly to Unionism and by his measure Gladstone hoped to win the lower orders of the priesthood and the laity. For the hostility of these latter groups was a sorrow to John Henry Newman and influenced the teaching in the Christian Brothers' schools. Disestablishment did not completely disarm Roman Catholic opposition, but it did win the support of many leaders of Irish thought of whom Aubrey De Vere, William Allingham and W.E.H. Lecky may be cited as notable examples.

Gladstone's concessions to separatist grievances found a curious parallel among the separatists themselves. The result was a truce which approached the nature of an alliance.

The execution of three men for their part in the Manchester rescue and of a fourth, charged with blowing up a prison wall in London, were not exactly conducive to a liberal spirit
among the Fenians; but Ireland's unofficial national anthem was composed by a prominent leader of the moral suasionists to express his sympathy for the victims of the Government.

Another obstacle to liberality among the Fenians was the treatment of Fenian convicts. O'Donovan Rossa's case was notorious because he was able to smuggle word of his plight out of prison. Rossa had kept up his courage by the wealth of Gaelic lore with which he was familiar and by his unceasing struggle against his captors. His election to Parliament as representative for Tipperary must have encouraged him still further by showing him that he was not forgotten; but it also demonstrated a new-found willingness of the physical force party to use Parliamentary agitation and it therefore marked a closer tie between the two wings of the separatist movement.

To encourage cooperation between the moral suasionists and the Fenians there was the amnesty agitation and the dis-establishment of the Church of Ireland; and an understanding was reached in 1870 or 1871 to unite in seeking Home Rule.

The amnesty agitation was encouraged by George Henry Moore, father of the novelist, George Moore, and Isaac Butt. George Henry Moore was an oath-bound member of the physical force party. He was also supported by the Roman Catholic Church when he stood for election in 1869. Returned to Parliament, he devoted much of his time at Westminster to the cause of amnesty, thereby winning the gratitude of O'Donovan Rossa, John O'Leary and other Fenian chiefs. In 1869 Moore was joined in this work by Isaac Butt, who was immediately elected president of the Amnesty Association.
According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Isaac Butt was first drawn to the separatist movement by the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, and Charles Lever is also alleged to have been influenced in the same direction by the same consideration. There is indisputable evidence that the intensity of Fenianism also appealed to both men. Accordingly, the birth of the Home Rule Movement in 1870 may be attributed to a coalition of Irish Protestants who had formerly been Unionists with a separatist group which was believed to be under Fenian influence.

Proof of the existence of some sort of agreement among the separatists to promote Home Rule is offered by John Daly of Limerick, a celebrated leader of the Irish physical force party. The alliance lasted five years and during that time Charles Stewart Parnell made his debut in Irish politics, more or less endorsed by the Fenians. Then, in 1876, the agreement ended. John O'Leary and O'Donovan Rossa had denounced the truce and perhaps, at their suggestion, Daly was commissioned to end it. Accordingly, he led an attack on a meeting which was assembling to listen to Butt and sought to silence John O'Conner-Power. It is significant to note that the Fenians offered no violence to Parnell and that John Daly consented to speak on the same platform with him.

The Dublin *Irishman* became spokesman for the working alliance between the Fenians and the moral-sufasionists. Before the alliance was formed, Dublin Castle had suspected the Fenian sympathies of this periodical. And in January, 1868, Richard Pigott, its owner and nominal editor, was arrested and sentenced to prison for printing "several unlawful and seditious articles,"
in his paper. Perhaps the most inflammatory of these was "The Holocaust" which has been generally ascribed to George Sigerson but a letter from Rossa which related the brutalities inflicted upon him in prison was not welcome to the authorities. Pigott's paper is also interesting because of its book reviews and articles by Charles J. Kickham, Robert Dwyer Joyce, John Mitchell and T. P. O'Connor.

In 1871, at about the same time that the Fenians and the moral suasionists had reached their working agreement, O'Donovan Rossa, who had just been released from prison, became a regular contributor to Pigott's paper. For Irishman not only published an installment of O'Donovan Rossa's Prison Life every week for over two years, but also Our American Letter was usually written by him.

Rossa expressed his opinions on many topics in Irishman. His admiration for the First International may have encouraged Marx's organization in its futile attempt to form a branch in Ireland; yet the Irish Fenians joined the Roman Catholic Church in condemning the Communists. His attack on James Anthony Froude for the latter's attempt to turn public opinion in America against Home Rule was mixed with a criticism for Father Tom Burke's lack of sympathy for the physical force party. Indeed, so freely did he express himself about "the powers that govern Ireland" that Pigott was forced to suppress his contributions for a while. In 1876 Rossa's writings for Irishman were influenced by Don Boucicault's efforts to win amnesty for the Fenians still in prison. It was also in this year that he became involved in the skirmishing Fund and that his contributions to Irishman ceased.
The Skirmishing Fund, a scheme to raise money for an undeclared war upon England, was an Irish-American project. The physical force movement in America, it may be noted, had not yet granted any concessions to the moral suasion party.