CHAPTER V
THE IRISH WORLD'S CRUSADES, 1870-1879

In the last chapter the birth of the Home Rule movement and the initial appearance of Charles Stewart Parnell on the Irish political scene were noted. In the years which followed, Parnell was to play an ever-increasing part in the Home Rule movement. It may be remembered that he was an Irish-American, his mother being the daughter of Commodore Stewart of the United States Navy. Obviously, for an understanding of Parnell's career, some account of the Irish-American scene during his lifetime is necessary. Accordingly, the next three chapters will be devoted to this subject. And, probably, something may be learned about the underlying forces in Irish separatism, as well as about Parnell, in this consideration.

There is no more direct way of learning about the status of the Celtic renaissance and Fenianism in the United States from 1870 to 1879 than by a perusal of the Irish-American periodical literature of that time. As most representative in its scope, Patrick Ford's Irish World, a weekly paper published in New York, has been chosen for such a study.

So far as the status of the Celtic renaissance is concerned, three campaigns of the Irish World are notable: a sus-

1. See p.68.
tained attack on the "stage Irishman," an effort to encourage the revival of the Irish language and an exposition of Irish history. In its exposition of Irish history, of course, Irish World discussed Fenianism; but its most important contribution to the Fenian movement was a fourth campaign. This was the Skirmishing Fund of which O'Donovan Rossa was to be the secretary.

It may be noted at the outset that the first three campaigns are allied to a general principle which was announced in Irish World as early as March 11, 1871: "We must fight Anglicized Ideas Everywhere." In the same place another, related goal was indicated: "To achieve, in this our day, self-government for Ireland." The following chapter will be devoted to Patrick Ford's fight in Irish World against "Anglicized Ideas"; and to O'Donovan Rossa's campaign in the same paper to achieve self-government for Ireland through the collection of the Skirmishing Fund.

"We Must Fight Anglicized Ideas Everywhere"

Before proceeding to a discussion of Patrick Ford's three campaigns in Irish World, perhaps it would be fitting to say a few words about that gentleman. Patrick Ford, of course, was an Irish American:

Born in 1837 in Galway, he had been a Boston journalist, then a soldier in the Federal Army, later an editor in Charleston. In 1870...he issued the first number of The Irish World, in New York, the journal which he managed until his death...2

In his early years, Ford had assisted William Lloyd Garrison in the publication of The Liberator and when he came to have a paper of his own, he sought to emulate the famous abolitionist. Indeed, in 1878 the original name was expanded to Irish World and American Industrial Liberator. The purpose of the addition was to indicate that the paper was "not wholly taken up with Ireland and Irish news..." According to a staff correspondent, Ford took his new sub-head from Garrison's paper. It is, perhaps, irrelevant to point out that another Irish-American, Edwin Lawrence Godkin, had just founded a journal which was to celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary in February, 1940:

Three months after Appomattox he launched the Nation, its name the product of a boyhood admiration for a weekly of the same name established in Dublin in 1842 and described as 'remarkable for its talent, for its seditious tendencies, and for the fire and spirit of its political poetry.'

Yet there are few who associate the paper so long edited by Os- wald Garrison Villard with the Dublin Nation and even fewer who realize that Irish World was inspired by an American radical weekly.

In addition to its name, the heading on the first page, some celebrated contributors and the circulation of Irish World may be mentioned before turning to its crusades. In 1876 one of the editors explained to a correspondent the heading on the first page:

2. The Irish World's Sub-Head, December 21, 1878, p. 4.
5. L.S. Gannett, Villard's Nation, Ibid., pp. 155-158.
On the left the bard leaning on the harp, the round tower and the ruins in the distance represent the Ireland of the past. The female figure on the right, with the scroll in her hand, represents the Genius of new Ireland pointing to America, where so many of the exiled children of Ireland have found homes after having been driven from their native land by the tyranny of England. The two globes are indicative of the name of the paper. They also speak of the universality of the race... The cross above the globes speaks of the national faith of the Irish.

It is interesting to compare the symbolism, which would have distressed Yeats, with a poem by Walt Whitman, "Old Ireland;" but neither contributed to Ford's paper and, for that matter, may never have heard of it.

However, Ford's paper was well-known. O'Donovan Rossa, Michael Davitt and Henry George were to be correspondents for Irish World and it has been said that in 1881 Karl Marx was invited to contribute to it. Furthermore, it had a considerable circulation although the exact figures are not easy to discover. Some of the estimates may be worth reproducing. In the issue of November 3, 1877, Rossa exclaimed: "We have not $1 yet for every Irish World subscriber." At that time, the Skirmishing Fund, to which he was referring totalled $41,724.82. Later there were 1,300,000 copies of the issue for January 11, 1879 printed. Then early in 1880 Ford started a "Spread the Light Fund", the purpose of which was to send Irish World to non-subscribers in Ireland. In 1882 the Gladstone Government barred his paper from Ireland.

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1. Answers to Correspondents, Irish World, November 11, 1876,p.3.
2. See p. 132.
and so Ford closed the fund. In addition to its regular circulation, 455,923 copies had been distributed. Finally, in 1884, when it had become the leading journalistic exponent of the theories of Henry George, the circulation figures were reputed to run "into the hundreds of thousands."

**Irish World Campaign Against the Stage Irishman**

The first of Ford's campaigns to be taken up was his attack on the "pictorial Irishman," exemplified by Thomas Nast's caricatures in *Harper's Weekly* but originally created by "English illustrated journals":

...we would have the Irishman in literature, as he is in fact, brave, generous, sensitive to his honor, true to his friends, strong in his love, pure in his heart, devoted to his religion, with a patriotism that dies not out through the generations. This would not apply, of course, to all; but it is the true character of the true Irishman; and we should see that the world so understands it, by a dignity of bearing, and a promptness to correct in the presence of traducers, who too often have no knowledge of the Irishman, except the one that appears in literature.

This attack did not originate in *Irish World*. As early as 1843 Samuel Lover had been criticized, albeit gently, by the Dublin Nation:

Though he often fell into ludicrous exaggerations and burlesques in describing Irish life, there is a good national spirit running through the majority of his works, for which he has not received due credit.

In 1849 *Irish-American* had been somewhat more outspoken in defending two Irish-Americans who had made a disturbance in the

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theatre to express their disgust at a performance by Tyrone Power and not long after it had condemned Barney Williams and Samuel Lover. In 1854, the editor of the New Orleans Delta also assailed Barney Williams: "The result was that one evening Williams was treated to a shower of eggs, driven off the stage, and not let finish the play billed for that night." The nature of Williams' performance may be judged by the following:

If to paint the nose red, and to swing a stuffed club, smuffling a few steps of a jig, constitutes an Irish comedian, then we are blessed with lots of Irish comedians on the American stage, and especially that portion of it called the 'Variety.'

Ford took up this attack and in 1875 Irish World said of Williams:

You never see him on the stage except amidst the congenial elements of pigs, potatoes, whiskey-drinking, faction-fighting, and fairies, with all the accompaniment of battered hat, 'dudeen,' shilleliah, patched corduroys, Connemara stockings and brogues.

In discussing Ford's campaign first two of the things to which he objected may be mentioned, then the solutions proposed by Irish World, and thirdly the effects of the crusade in Ireland may be summarized.

Taking a somewhat different line to that expressed by Patrick Lynch in 1849 in Irish-American, Ford objected to the use in the theater of what he called the "broken tongue." Thus, of Handy Andy, a play by Lover, Irish World declared: "...the principal character is an Irishman, whose chief characteristics are

1. See p. 71.
5. See p. 70.
ignorance, drunkenness, and the 'broken tongue'..." In the same vein a correspondent denied that the Irish pronounced "priest" as "praste," "seek" as "sake," or "meet" as "mate." Ford also objected to these spectacles of "ignorance, drunkenness, and the "broken tongue" because he believed that they had a devastating effect on Irish patriotism: "The sons of Irishmen, having witnessed these supposed Irish plays, go from the theatre ashamed of their race and name. Next day they swear themselves are not Irish." Ford's campaign against the stage Irishman reached its climax during the winter of 1874 and the spring of 1875 -- almost, one might say, in the wake of Dion Boucicault's The Shaughraun. Incidentally, anyone familiar with Synge's Riders to the Sea is aware of the tremendous dramatic value of the keening women in the famous wake. It is, perhaps, indicative of the change of Irish sentiment to note that Boucicault used the same device in The Shaughraun for the purpose of provoking laughter.

To solve the problem of how to do away with the stage Irishman, Ford had three suggestions. First, the Irish might boycott such productions. Next, physical force might be tried and a correspondent wrote in to hint at a plan of campaign: "Had not Barney Williams to leave the New York stage at one time? Not

2. F. MacCable, Correspondence, Irish World, December 26, 1874, p. 6.
3. The Stage Irishman, Irish World, February 20, 1875, p. 4.
alone was he hissed, but was pelted with rotten eggs, dead cats, etc. etc., for playing the 'Irish Beggarman.' And thirdly, there was the possibility of offering a substitute. Prophetically, one correspondent asked: "Is there not splendid material for dramas or tragedies in the lives and services of Hugh O'Neill, Robert Emmet, Wolfe Tone, or Lord Edward Fitzgerald?" Yeats and Lady Gregory almost seem to have been created to answer the plea of a correspondent from Enniskillen, Ireland, who called for dramas "composed of the fate of the children of Uana...the death of King Connor MacNessa, and Dathi -- the battle of Contarf and murder of King Brian in his tent."

The results of this crusade were felt in Ireland almost immediately. To the delight of Irish World, the Irish Comedy Drama Company advertised in the Dublin Irishman that it possessed "the only Irish Comedian who does not hold up to ridicule the Irish character, but impersonates it in its true colours." Incidentally, one of the plays in the repertory of this company was The Rising of the Moon, a title which Lady Gregory was later to make famous.

Next, Irishman protested mildly against the wake scene in The Shaughraun. The production of The Queen of Connaught in London early in 1877, however, was so offensive that Pigott's

5. Advertisement, Irishman, May 1, 1875, p. 704.
6. The Irish Drama, McGee's Illustrated Weekly, May 26, 1877, p.3.
paper proposed to close it by physical force. No copy of the play seems to have been published. It would seem to have been "a dramatized version of Harriet Jay's Queen of Connaught," which told of an Englishman who married the descendant of an old Connaught family and went to live on her ancestral estate. In the book, Irish discontent with English rule was attributed to a dishonest priesthood; villains who stirred up a semi-barbarous people for their own sinister ends and a degenerate peasantry which objected to any improvement in its status. The heroine finally died of shame when she came to realize how vile the Irish must appear to her husband. Harriet Jay's book outdid The Shaughraun in that it had two wake scenes. However, neither of the wakes in The Queen of Connaught were humorous. Indeed, the first was described as "nothing but a number of men and women, who were wailing, smoking, and chattering in the Irish tongue," and the second was enlivened only by an abundance of whiskey. Incidentally, an incident in the novel foreshadowed Synge's Playboy of the Western World. Just as the escaped murderer received protection in the former, so Christopher Mahon was received in Synge's play although he was thought to be a murderer who was a fugitive from justice.

2. S.J. Brown, Ireland in Fiction, p. 43; cf. p. 147.
3. Unsigned, The Queen of Connaught, p. 32.
4. Ibid., pp. 113-114.
5. Ibid., pp. 55, 84-85, 87-88.
6. Ibid., p. 113.
7. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
8. Ibid., p. 120.
9. Ibid., p. 103.
Ford did not destroy the stage Irishman but his was a
vox clamantis to prepare the way for William Rooney and W.B.
Yeats, who wrote in his Autobiography of an attack which he led
at a performance in Sligo sometime in the nineties:

Somebody sang a stage Irishman's song — the usual
whiskey, shillelagh kind of thing — and I hissed him,
and lest my hiss might be lost in the general applause,
waited until the applause had died down and hissed
again. That gave somebody else also courage, and we
both hissed. 2

The Irish World Campaign to Revive the Gaelic
Language

It is, perhaps, an exaggeration to speak of the interest
which Patrick Ford took in the revival of the Irish language
as an Irish World Campaign. In order to present the evidence on
this subject, a history of the study of the Irish language in
America with other manifestations of the concern felt for the
Gaelic tongue in the United States will be sketched. Next, a similar
outline of the condition of the study of the Irish tongue in
Ireland previous to the campaign in the Irish World will follow.
And, finally, what happened in Ireland after Ford's campaign
will be discussed.

In 1846 Thomas Mooney estimated that 2,000,000 Irish in
America were Gaelic speakers. In 1850 the editor of Irish-
American called for a Catholic ecclesiastic who could speak to
a New York audience in Irish. By 1869 the same paper was de-

1. W. Rooney, Poems and Ballads, p. xi.
4. See pp. 69-70.
voting two columns to "Gaelic compositions, original and translated." In 1873 John O'Mahony was described as the editor of "an Irish Journal," but, although O'Mahony was a noted Irish scholar, it was probably written in the English language for in 1872 Irish World had reported:

...A Celtic paper, that is one printed in the ancient Irish language, has never been published in this country. Several papers have from time to time made specialties of Gaelic departments giving selections and their translations. The only attempt made to introduce it into the public schools was by the school trustees of a ward in New York City without result...4

Other manifestations of concern are abundant. The University of Notre Dame at South Bend, Indiana, offered a course by a teacher who had studied under Father Bourke at Saint Jarlath's, Tuam, but it seems to have been discontinued before 1877. In 1872 there was an Irish instructor at Manhattan College, New York, who was held by Thomas Mooney to be next in importance to Archbishop MacHale as "the ardent promoter and expounder of the Irish language." At Boston College there was an enthusiastic supporter of "the revival of the Irish language and its propagation among the rising generations." Furthermore, instruc-

3. See pp. 76-77.
10. Dr. Martin A. O'Brean, Irish World, February 23, 1878, p. 5.
11. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, April 15, 1878, p. 3; cf. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 264.
tation in Irish was available in St. Louis, in a secondary school in Jersey City, and in an elementary school in Joliet, Illinois.

On January 27, 1872, Irish World took notice of these manifestations of concern in an editorial which favored the revival of the Irish language. It immediately became a sort of clearing-house for language enthusiasts. One correspondent linked up the Fenian Brotherhood with the attempt to resuscitate Irish:

The duty of lifting it from the decaying state devolves on us Irish-Americans in this glorious Republic, rather than on our brothers at home who are still under the heel of the tyrant...We, Irish of birth and descent, for a number of years past worked up a mighty organization in this country and the old for the liberation of Ireland. Were it free from the thraldom of England at the present day, could it be called the Irish Nation? I say: 'No, without its national language.'

It is illuminating to compare this with the appeal that Douglas Hyde made in 1892:

...in order to keep the Irish language alive where it is still spoken -- which is the utmost we can at present aspire to -- nothing less than a house-to-house visitation and exhortation of the people themselves will do, something -- though with a very different purpose -- analogous to the procedure that James Stephens adopted throughout Ireland when he found her like a corpse on the dissecting table.

More important, however, than the individual enthusiasts were the organizations which were projected for the revival of Irish. In 1872 the Philo-Celtic Society of Boston was formed.

1. Answers to Correspondents, Irish World, June 6, 1874, p. 5.
In 1874 a letter to the *Irish World* told of its school in which Irish exclusively was spoken and added: "Many ancient Irish manuscripts, which have never been translated into English, have been sent to us...for transcription...for the use of our library."  
Another correspondent told of its "Free Instruction in the Irish Language":

> It has come down to us as a heritage from men who never drank the bitter draught of slavery, and, in the belief that it will take root lovingly on the soil of Liberty, let us leave it, in its integrity and purity, as an heirloom for generations of American Freemen.2

The motto of the Boston Philo-Celtic Society was: "Cuimhnigh Air Luimneac Agus Feile Na Sassanach" ("Remember Limerick and the English treachery").

One of the many letters to *Irish World* in 1873 on the subject of the language revival called for societies "for the twin purpose of restoring Ireland's independence and reviving her language" and a lecturer who wished to trace the connection between Fenianism and the revival of the Irish tongue said in an address to the Boston Philo-Celtic Society:

> It is as necessary...to revive the language as to make up an armed force to battle with the enemy on Irish ground. How can we prove that the assertions of English historians are false regarding our ancestors and their language? It is by reviving that language, and developing the treasures buried therein...5

In 1873 *Irish World* announced the formation of similar societies in Chicago, Philadelphia and London. A Brooklyn Philo-Celtic

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Society was announced but it does not seem to have materialized until 1876.

In January, 1873, the Dublin Shamrock began a series entitled *Popular Lessons in the Irish Language* "by a competent author." Later in the year the *Tuam News* began a similar series "by the Very Rev. ULICK J. BOURKE," and Ford, who had ignored Shamrock's enterprise, announced:

> For the mutual convenience of subscribers and publisher, the editor of the *Irish World* will undertake to forward to the *Tuam News* all subscriptions mailed to this office.  

He had already taken credit for quickening interest in the Irish language:

> That excellent paper, the *Tuam News*, has just begun to give lessons in Irish. A new paper -- the United Irishman of San Francisco -- is also giving lessons in Irish. A Celtic Society has just been formed in Boston, and many similar associations are being established in various parts of the country. All this is due confessedly to the *Irish World*.

However, a month later, when the Reverend U.J. Bourke’s *Easy Lessons in Irish* was cordially reviewed, the anonymous reviewer was less definite:

> Evidences are rapidly coming to hand which show that the agitation for the revival of the Irish language has stimulated to renewed exertion those in sympathy with the movement. The above work, from the prolific pen of Father Bourke, possesses all the elements of a popular text-book.

Prior to the campaign in the *Irish World* interest in the

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Gaelic language in Ireland and Scotland was mainly to be found in antiquarian and religious circles. To be sure neither the United Irishmen nor the Young Irelanders had been indifferent to the language but, like John O'Leary, they put independence first. Rossa, Devoy, and Sigerson heralded the new day when the revival of the Irish tongue was to become of the utmost interest to patriots but their influence was just beginning when Ford's first editorial appeared in 1872.

Antiquarian research was mainly in the hands of Unionists and only became stimulating to separatists in the hands of such a rebel as John O'Mahony. On the other hand, the Established Church was interested in the living language for missionary purposes. The Chair in Irish at Trinity College, Dublin, was established for this reason in 1840. Of the rivalry between Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries, Thomas Mooney wrote in 1846:

In the clerical colleges of Maynooth, Carlow, and Kilkenny, which are devoted to the education of Catholic clergymen, the Irish language is taught as part of the educational course; and in the colleges where missionaries of opposite forms of creed are educated, it has latterly been made a branch of study and acquirement. Some of these missionaries have gone so far as to print

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1. See p. 42.
2. See p. 52.
5. See pp. 119-120.
6. See p. 159.
7. See p. 229.
8. See pp. 112-114.
9. See pp. 76-77.
10. Answers to Correspondents, Irish World, September 12, 1874, p. 3.
the Scriptures in the Irish language, for distribution in the west and south of Ireland. Though their immediate object — that of changing the people from the old to some of the new forms of faith — has not been accomplished, yet their labors have been productive of great service in reviving the study, the writing, and printing, of the national tongue.1

(Curiously enough, a parallel development in Scotland appeared in 1853 and led to the establishment of a Chair in Gaelic at the University of Edinburgh in 1882.)

The leading Roman Catholic exponents of the Irish language were, of course, Archbishop MacHale of Tuam and his able lieutenant, Canon Ulick J. Bourke, President of Saint Jarlath's College. From 1854 occasional publications in Irish made their appearance at Tuam but Canon Bourke's attempt to found an Irish journal failed.

Of a Scotch paper to which Bourke contributed, Irish World said:

For some time back a monthly periodical, named The Gael, has been in existence in Scotland, publishing readings in the olden Gaelic tongue, and devoting special attention to all matters of interest to the race whose language it is. The enterprise seems to have been attended with success for, more recently, a weekly publication has been started, entitled The Highlander. The design of both is the same — namely, the revival and preservation of the Gaelic language. The weekly is under the editorship of Mr. John Murdoch, an accomplished scholar, and formerly a contributor to the columns of the Dublin Nation.7

In connection with The Highlander and Cannon Bourke, the name of

3. See p. 16-17.
4. See p. 194.
5. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, April 26, 1879, p. 10.
the Fenian suspect, T. O'Neill Russell, may also be mentioned for Russell, the "great old cock," engaged in a controversy with the Canon on the subject of Gaelic script in that paper. So it was when Pigott began publication in Shamrock of lessons in Irish that he may have expected a Scotch, Irish and Irish-American audience for his paper.

Whether or not Patrick Ford and other Irish-Americans initiated the popular movement, after 1873, when both Shamrock and the Tuam News began their Irish lessons, interest in the language grew rapidly in Ireland. In 1875 various educators in the Irish National schools requested permission "to teach the Irish language as an 'extra subject'" and Archbishop MacHale urged the Christian Brothers to do the same in their schools. Then on March 24, 1877, Irish World announced the formation in Dublin of a new Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language. Associated with it were George Noble Plunkett, T.D. Sullivan, George Sigerson and Aubrey De Vere. Archbishop MacHale and Canon Burke endorsed it and it was welcomed in America by the Boston and Brooklyn Philo-Celtic Societies. The objectives of the Dublin Society were set forth in Irish World as follows:

1. S.J. Brown, Ireland in Fiction, p. 269.
2. See p. 119.
4. See p. 231.
5. See pp. 231-232.
6. Personals, Irish World, March 27, 1875, p. 3.
7. Tuam's Patriotic Prelate, Irish World, May 29, 1875, p. 3.
11. Ibid., July 14, 1877, p. 5.
THE IRISH LANGUAGE.—What we hope is a determined effort to preserve and revive Ireland's ancient language has been inaugurated at Dublin... A number of prominent gentlemen, without distinction of creed, are concerned in the project, and they recently issued a prospectus. What they intend doing is set forth in the following quotation: 'They expect to be able to form Irish classes wherever facilities exist through the country; to publish elementary works from which the language can easily be learned; to have provision made for the teaching of Irish in schools; to afford inducements to pupils to acquire a knowledge of it; to encourage a familiar use of the language by those who know how to speak it; and by these and other means to create such a tone of public feeling as will utterly banish the ignorant and unpatriotic notion (of foreign origin), that our native tongue is one which no Irishman of the present day should care to learn, or be willing to speak.' 'The society appeals for encouragement and support to all good Irishmen, and we need not say that it richly deserves both.'

Shortly after the Dublin Express in a striking headline forecast a renaissance: "The Proposed Celtic Revival." That summer Irishman published a letter signed "Duglas Hide" which complained that the Irish language was almost extinct about his home in Frenchpark. To revive the language he suggested prizes in the schools, especially for children under ten, because this would encourage the parents to speak Irish to their sons and daughters. The manner in which Irishman introduced what was probably Hyde's first appearance in print is worthy of reproduction:

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE
The following interesting letter in the Irish language was recently received by one of the members of the society. The gentleman who wrote the letter is only seventeen, and has been studying Irish only about three years. It should be a great stimulus to the many that are now learning Irish, to find that one so young, and without any assistance whatsoever from a teacher, has been able to write the language so well...

To conclude, it may be pointed out that in 1879 the Society for

2. The Proposed Celtic Revival, Irishman, April 29, 1877, p. 693.
the Preservation of the Irish Language begat the Gaelic Union which was to be the source of "the Gaelic League itself."

The Irish World Campaign to Familiarize Its Readers with Irish History

The third of Ford's crusades to be considered was his attempted exposition of the history of Irish civilization. As an introduction, Mitchel's comments on Froude may be reported, although they did not appear in Irish World. Then a survey of the material on Irish civilization which appeared in Irish World will be attempted.

Froude's attempt to spread anti-Irish sentiment in America by a series of lectures, was met with considerable disgust. Henry Ward Beecher and Wendell Phillips were but two of the Americans who were moved to protest against it. The appearance of his lectures in a book entitled The English in Ireland did not improve matters because the book, like the lectures, was anti-Irish, anti-Catholic and insisted that if a nation failed "to assert its independence in the end, the fault is in the nation itself, not in circumstances."

Irish-American sentiment was particularly enraged. At this time John Mitchel was considered an authority on Ireland and as such had contributed an article on the Brehon laws "to the new edition of the American Cyclopaedia." Also, Mitchel

1. L. Paul-Dubois, Contemporary Ireland, p. 401, note.
has been referred to by W. B. Yeats as "the only Young Ireland politician who had music and personality, though rancorous and devil-possessed." As his words expressed Ford's sentiments about the book, perhaps they will bear repetition:

Even since the termination of the lectures and counter lectures, by the Historian and by Father Burke, there has been published, in the country and in England, the first volume of a new and elaborate work: English in Ireland, in the Eighteenth Century; By James Anthony Froude, M.A., a work which sheds additional darkness on a subject which the author has already done much to overwhelm in obscurity...

The Historian had written his book, and had sent it to the press, a book full charged with venomous loathing and contempt of the Irish name and nation; and seems to have judged it expedient, for some reason or another, to condense the substance of it into lectures, and to come over and discharge them in American cities, where he supposed he would be sure of a favorable hearing for any abuse of Irish and Catholics amongst the preponderating masses of American Protestants. I suppose he had been told so by some 'Christian young men.' At any rate, the thing would make a stir, and advertise his book.2

Incidentally, in 1874, Froude was succeeded by William Allingham 3 as editor of Fraser's Magazine and a year later Irish World reported it to have "published ten papers on the Ancient Irish." 4

Even before Froude visited America, Ford had published essays to show how superior early Irish civilization was to that of pre-Norman England and when the debates between Froude and Father Tom Burke were in progress, it published an anonymous series of articles entitled "Froude's Fictions." The first three sought to magnify Ireland and were entitled respectively: the 5 "Antiquity of Irish Literature"; "Ancient Irish Architecture;"

2. J. Mitchel, The Crusade of the Period; and Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps), pp. 7-10.
3. Ibid., Irish World, September 5, 1874, p. 8.
4. Ibid., August 7, 1875, p. 5.
5. Ibid., Irish World, December 21, 1872, p. 6.
6. Ibid., January 4, 1873, p. 5.
and "A Glance at the Art Remains of Ancient Ireland." The fourth sought to minimize England and was called "A Glance at Saxon Civilization."

Ford did not stop at this point and a survey of the material on Irish civilization which appeared in Irish World may be divided up into the era before the first English invasion and a brief mention of some events important to the present thesis which occurred after that invasion.

So far as the earlier period is concerned, Irish World assured its readers that Ireland's government had been democratic and its laws excellent. An essay on the early races in Ireland by Sir William Wilde was criticized by Thomas Moore. "The Free Schools of Ancient Ireland" were extolled. Place names, pedigrees and ancient architecture were of concern to Ford who was also interested in the revival of Irish music. However, the two most significant interests were displayed in articles about Irish sports and Celtic literary remains.

Hurling and football were two favorite sports of the ancient Irish. Of the former a distinguished authority on Irish athletics has written:

2. Ibid., January 18, 1873, p. 1.
3. Answers to correspondents, Irish World, August 15, 1874, p. 6.
5. Ibid., September 19, 1874, p. 1.
9. Ibid., July 31, 1875, p. 5.
The Cuchullain and Fiannic cycles are full of allusions to this distinctive pastime, which we have been fortunate enough to preserve. Later chronicles, dealing with less auspicious times, show how Hurling remained a salutary pursuit when native pleasures were few...1

The hostility of the Crown forces to this game in 1920 was nothing new:

Any bookseller will supply you with a treatise on 'Athletic Sports' in which the game of hurling is described... It...was forbidden by the English Government in the 'Statute of Kilkenny.' The 'new police' in Ireland prohibit and prevent this ancient and historic game.5

Football was another sport of the ancient Irish and Irish World reported a match in Philadelphia "between the Red Branch Knights and the Irish Nationalists." The following comment on another sports club is prophetic rather than reminiscent: "CLANNA -- In Hazleton, Pennsylvania, there is a Clanna-Erinagh, the object of which is the perpetuation of ancient Irish games. Pike exercise ought to be included." Ten years later the Gaelic Athletic Association was founded in Ireland. One of the founders had much the same objective as the Clanna-Erinagh:

The idea of doing for our national pastimes what my colleagues of the Gaelic Union ('for the Preservation and Cultivation of the Irish Language') were doing for our national language was taking firmer hold on me day after day.8

Ford had only a passing fancy for ancient Irish sports and it is recorded to indicate an Irish-American phenomenon rather

2. Ibid., p. 119.
3. Answers to Correspondents, Irish World, September 4, 1875, p. 3.
4. Devlin, op. cit., p. 35.
6. Personals, Irish World, October 2, 1875, p. 5.
8. P.J. Devlin, Our Native Games, p. 15.
than an inspiration of the Irish World. There is a somewhat different story to tell about the literary remains of early Ireland. These remains were legendary and historical. Irish legend can be divided into folk-lore and mythology, and the latter is in part semi-historical. An example of the folk-lore which appeared in Irish World may be selected from the Answers to Correspondents column:

The Irish term *Sídh* was originally applied to a fairy palace, and it was afterwards gradually transferred to the hill, and ultimately to the fairies themselves. At the present day, the word generally signifies a fairy, but the diminutive *Sídh Houg* (sheeogue) is more commonly employed.\(^1\)

Another correspondent was told that the "valley of the Black Pig is an immense entrenchment on the North of Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh." Incidentally, W.B. Yeats has told of a curious experience which some Connacht Fenians had with a fairy pig and declared that in 1867 prophecies about the valley of the Black Pig were "a political force."

In the realm of mythology Ford had the aid of Christopher Manus O'Keeffe, a former member of the editorial staff of the Dublin *Irish People* and a fellow convict with O'Donovan Rossa. O'Keeffe was familiar with both the Red Branch and the Fenian cycles and he wrote learned articles for Irish World about the Irish originals of Macpherson. According to O'Keeffe, the Scot

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1. Answers to Correspondents, Irish World, May 24, 1873, p. 4.
2. Ibid., July 24, 1875, p. 3.
5. See p. 132.
8. See p. 77-78.
borrowed from "The Children of Uisneach," and "the description
of Cuchullin's chariot, in the first book of Fingal, is translated
from an Irish poem; particularly the description of the horse
Si-Fada..." Again, he asserted that Dathula, which Macpherson
had ascribed to Ossian (Oisin) was based on the tragedy of Deirdre.
Turning to the Fenian cycle, O'Keeffe observed that "the Feine-
Na-h-Ericann were to the Irish what the Knights of the Round Table
were to the Welsh," and he equated King Arthur with Fionn (Finn,
or Fingal). In connection with the Fenian Cycle two transla-
tions which appeared in Irish World may be mentioned: "Cath
Gabhra. The Battle of Gabhra and Death of Oscar...(Translated
from the Irish of Oisin) by Ciannachta," and an English version
of the Lament for the Ancient Fenians by John O'Tuomey. O'Keeffe
also used these mythological subjects for original poetry. He
anticipated Yeats in the conceit of developing by-products of his
themes in erudite footnotes. Thus, "The Bard's Inquiry" was
annotated by remarks from Max Muller, W. Stokes and Eugene O'Curry.
Again, in notes on a poem about Deirdre, "The Captive Lady," he
mentioned Samuel Ferguson's poem, "Deirdre's Lament for the Sons
of Uisnach," Thomas Moore's "Avenging and Bright" and dwelt on
the principals of his own poem, Deirdre, Naisi and King Conchub-
hair.

1. Answers to Correspondents, Irish World, September 26, 1874,
p. 5.
2. Ibid., September 25, 1875, p. 3.
3. C.M. O'Keeffe, The Captive Lady, Irish World, November 20,,
1875, p. 3.
6. Unsigned, An Irish Bard's Lament for the Ancient Fenians,
Irish World, December 13, 1873, p. 3.
7. C.M. O'Keeffe, The Bard's Inquiry, Ibid., October 23, 1875,p.3.
8. C.M.O'Keeffe, The Captive Lady, Ibid., Nov. 20, 1875, p. 3.
Of historical, or semi-historical, interest were articles of a religious nature. Pre-Christian Ireland was discussed in an essay on "The Druids and their Temples" and C. M. O'Keeffe wrote a letter about St. Patrick. An Irish hagiology appeared serially. It told of the holy men from Ireland who had spread Christianity through Europe during the ages which were "dark" on that continent. St. Brendan's supposed, pre-Columbian discovery of America was recounted in an article captioned *Irland it Mikla*, the name given to the land discovered. A lecture on "St. Brendan's Search for the Land of Promise Beyond the Wave" appeared in the news columns with the explanation that it was based on the accounts of various "Imrains" (a word which was rendered in English as "wanderings" by W.B. Yeats in "The Wanderings of Oisin") in the *Leabhar Na h-Uaidhre*.

The events important to the present thesis which occurred after the first English invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century have been traced back to the later part of the eighteenth century. However, a bibliography of the intervening period might be culled from the pages of *Irish World*. It recommended O'Mahony's translation of Keating, O'Donovan's englising of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Sylvester O'Halloran's history (which was

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7. See pp. 1-42.
to inspire Standish James O'Grady who has been called the father of Ireland's literary revival by Ernest Boyd), Thomas Moore's unfinished History of Ireland, Patrick O'Kelly's translation of MacGeoghegan and its continuation by John Mitchel, Thomas Mooney's History of Ireland and Daniel O'Connell's Memoirs of Ireland which it published as a serial in 1875.

The period after the formation of the Irish Volunteers was of greater interest to Ford and the Fenians than the era before it. An effort "to obtain the consent of the British Government to raise a Volunteer Corps in Ireland" in 1874 led to a series of articles by Thomas Mooney on the "Irish Volunteers of '82." Ford was more interested in the men of 1798. His particular hero was Robert Emmet to whom he devoted a good portion of one issue of Irish World. For George Washington he found Irish parallels in Wolfe Tone and O'Donovan Rossa. Of the Young Irelanders, John Mitchel was Irish World's favorite and when he died, the paper appeared with heavy black borders. Mitchel had at last been allowed to revisit Ireland in 1874 and he was persuaded to stand for Parliament. He returned to America to settle

4. Answers to Correspondents, Irish World, Sept. 12, 1874, p. 3.
5. See p. 96-97.
7. Ibid., December 27, 1875, p. 4.
11. "Trans-Atlantic", Ibid., December 13, 1873, p. 6 et seq.
15. Ibid., April 3, 1875.
his affairs and acted as chairman for a lecture on "Ireland's Regeneration." Subsequently, he lectured under the auspices of the Clan-na-Gael. He declared Home Rule to be a sham and a snare and to the great joy of Rossa, Richard O'Sullivan Burke, John Devoy and the other Fenian stalwarts in the audience he concluded:

I confess the conclusion I have come to from my visit to Ireland is that the best force, the best power existing in Ireland, is the I.R.B. (rapturous cheers), and, if I am rightly informed or can conjecture there is some affinity or consanguinity, as I suspect, between these initials and the Clan-na-Gael.

Mitchel died at Newry, Ireland, on March 20, 1875. It is interesting to speculate on what he would have thought of John F. Finerty of Chicago who in eulogizing him said:

If Irishmen were to lay waste and burn every city, town and hamlet in England, from Land's End to the river Tweed, even then they would hardly have wiped out the bloody debt they owe her for generations of crime, insult, famine, calumny, and diabolic persecution. (Applause)

It is, perhaps, fitting to conclude Ford's history with a mention of Fenianism. In the seventies it was news, rather than history, and, therefore, an account of its activities can readily be pieced together from the pages of Irish World. This account, however, will stop with the death of John O'Mahony in 1877 for, although he was to be succeeded by O'Donovan Rossa as Head Centre of the Brotherhood, after that date the Clan-na-Gael was increasingly to become the organization of the Irish-American adherents of physical force. Indeed, it may prove most instructive to fo-

1. John Mitchel, Irish World, November 14, 1874, p. 3.
5. The Patriot and Rebel, Irish World, April 17, 1875, p. 3.
ous attention on O'Mahony of whom the following anecdote, suggestively of the protagonist in Yeats' Cathleen ni Houlihan, has been told:

He was one of a group of refugees and at that time they were talking about their lady loves of home. 'Well, Mr. O'M.,' said I, 'and who is your lady-love?' 'My Mistress, sir, is in rags, and she is poor Ireland,' was the answer. 1

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In 1866 O'Mahony had resigned as head in the vain hope 3 of healing the split in the Brotherhood. It was not until after the failure of an attempt to help the French-Canadian Riel set up an independent state in Manitoba that a rapprochement was effected and, as a result of the resignation of John Savage, O'Mahony returned to his original position in 1873. It is probably not a coincidence that at this time Irishman advertised that his translation of Emile Souvestre's Fireside Tale was to appear in Shamrock.

Next year in New York the Fenian Brotherhood held its thirteenth convention. Even before this time Ford had expressed his belief in physical force but after the convention he endorsed "Fenianism:"

Whatever hostile action is taken by Irishmen against England in our day will be called 'Fenianism.' Let the Hibernian Society organize to strike her, it will be called 'Fenianism.' Let the St. Patrick's Alliance strike, it is

1. Trans-Atlantic, The Dead Patriot, Irish World, March 17, 1877, p. 5.
2. See p. 90.
7. Advertisement, Irishman, October 4, 1873, p. 221.
'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 historian Thierry said, as the Irish have ever hated what she loved, and loved what she hated, we may well cherish it.

'Fenianism,' then, symbolizes 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 vitalize that hatred by action, and make it practical towards the destruction of that rule which has cursed our motherland, and curses every land that ever felt its blighting influence.

In January, 1876, O'Mahony announced the forthcoming fourteenth convention of the Brotherhood in an advertisement in Irish World. At this assembly a resolution was passed "favoring the return of James Stephens to his old position as chief organizer." A few months later the Brotherhood and the Clan-na-Gael were jointly accredited with the escape of six Fenian prisoners from penal servitude in Australia aboard the ship, Catalpa, but according to John Boyle O'Reilly the rescue was creditable to John Devoy "more than any other." The significance of this is that Devoy, who had helped Stephens to escape in 1865, had just quit the Brotherhood in indignation at its overtures to him.

The last Fenian convention which O'Mahony attended was held early in 1877. He was ill even then and perhaps this was

1. Advertisement, Irish World, January 9, 1876, p. 8.
2. Personalis, Irish World, February 12, 1876, p. 5.
3. Rescued, Irish World, June 17, 1876, p. 5.
4. J. B. O'Reilly, Life of John Boyle O'Reilly, p. 159.
5. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, pp. 251-260.
6. Ibid., pp. 77-87.
why the Stephens' affair was reopened: "The Council of the Fenian Brotherhood have invited James Stephens to come to this country 'for the purpose of shaping the revolutionary action both here and in Ireland.'"  

O'Mahony died on February 6, 1877. The Supreme Council of the Fenian Brotherhood decided that he should be buried in Ireland and for that purpose borrowed money through O'Donovan Rossa from the Skirmishing Fund although it had regarded the project with suspicion when it had been launched in Irish World in 1876. Prior to the departure of the body, a telegram, signed by Rossa and Devoy, was sent to Ireland and obsequies were held in New York. Patrick Ford was one of the pall-bearers and various Irish-American regiments formed part of the long procession: "At the head of the civic division marched the Fenian Brotherhood, 1,500 strong; then the Clan-na-Gael, numbering 3,000..." A contributor to Irish World described the dead man as "The Father of Fenianism":

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 New York Sun mentioned "his wonderful philological research and accuracy" and the praise O'Mahony had received from both Irish and German scholars.

In Ireland the body was received by Charles Kickham, as

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2. John O'Mahony, Irish World, February 17, 1877, p. 5.
5. Death of John O'Mahony, Irishman, February 10, 1877, p. 520.
chairman of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. To the indignation of Irish World Cardinal Cullen, even as in the parallel case of Terence Bellew MacManus, "refused to open the doors of the Dublin chapels to the body of John O'Mahony." John O'Leary, voicing it may be assumed the opinion of many other Fenians, wrote indignantly to Irishman

Prove to the Irish people that the action of the Irish church is hostile to Irish freedom -- and who has done so much to show this as Cardinal Cullen -- and the political power of the Irish priesthood is forever shattered to the winds."

The old Fenian's body, therefore, lay in state in the theatre of the Mechanics' Institute, which was later to become the Abbey Theatre. Among the pallbearers were Michael Cusack (celebrated by James Joyce in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, in Ulysses and in Tumbling in the Hay by Oliver St. John Gogarty) and John Daly and T. M. Healy was present as a delegate. At the grave-side Kickham expressed his admiration for O'Mahony: "Charles J. Kickham said that all the concessions gained for Ireland from the British Parliament in the last fifteen years were due to the Father of Fenianism." But the most famous of all those who paid tribute was Douglas Hyde whose poem, "Death

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2. See p. 82.
5. Trans-Atlantic, Dead Patriot, Irish World, March 17, 1877, p. 5.
8. J. Joyce, Ulysses, pp. 227-239.
11. Trans-Atlantic, The Dead Patriot, op. cit.
Lament of John O'Mahony," was highly praised by John O'Leary because it "exactly mirrored the mind of him whom Douglas Hyde had never known."

The Skirmishing Fund

The name of O'Donovan Rossa has become identified with the Skirmishing Fund although Ford was equally responsible for it and continued to give it space in Irish World after Rossa had resigned his post as secretary. Accordingly, a discussion of the Skirmishing Fund may well be introduced by a consideration of the roles which Ford and Rossa played in launching it. But, of course, more interest will be attached to Rossa's work for it as secretary. Finally, the circumstances which led to Rossa's resignation will be indicated.

A Fourth Irish World Campaign

The first mention of the word "skirmishing" in Irish World appeared on May 16, 1874. Subsequently its meaning was to be broken down into "striking everywhere"..."whenever and however," arson, submarine warfare, kidnapping the Prince of Wales, dynamiting, torpedoes, bombings and Greek Fire. Rossa seems to have been captivated by such suggestions.

2. K. Tynan, The Middle Years, p. 22.
5. Carry the War into the Enemy's Country, Irish World, July 18, 1874, p. 4.
When O'Donovan Rossa arrived in New York on January 19, 1871, he had been welcomed by John Mitchel and others and a eulogistic biography appeared in Irish World. In spite of this warm reception, except for an unsuccessful attempt by John Boyle O'Reilly to land him a job with the Boston Pilot, Rossa seems to have avoided Irish-American journalism for almost five years and to have devoted his talents to the Dublin Irishman. On December 5, 1875, however, he wrote to Ford to persuade him to start a fund for skirmishing purposes.

Ford gave no public acknowledgement of the receipt of the letter until he adopted the proposal in March, 1876. In an account of the genesis of the fund which Irish World published in 1881, Ford attributed its origin to his brother, Augustine Ford, and declared that Rossa's name had been associated with it later:

We had, however, no desire to control the project in its tangible shape; and, though pressed to take the position, we positively declined to act as Treasurer. O'Donovan Rossa was presented as the head and front of the enterprise.

Accordingly, when in its issue for March 4, 1876, Irish World announced that it would receive money for a skirmishing fund, in an editorial Rossa was "presented as the head and front of the enterprise;" and the publication of Rossa's letter, already referred to, in the same issue heightened this effect.

4. See pp. 206-212.
7. Ibid., March 4, 1876, p. 4.
Rossa's identification with the Fund was popularized further because as secretary his name appeared regularly in Irish World and also on correspondence, "circulars, etc." In addition he lectured on the Fund -- going as far as San Francisco for the purpose -- and he wrote to the Dublin Irishman about it. By December he had become known as "The Skirmisher" and in May, 1877 Charles Stewart Parnell referred to him before a London audience as "the most indomitable Irishman alive." Later in the year a newspaper in County Clare, Ireland, attributed the origin and growth of the Fund to Rossa and the Chicago Times sarcastically called him "O'Dynamite Rossa";

O'Dynamite Rossa is a party who expects to be trusted with funds for the liberation of Ireland by blowing the stern out of a stray English steamer. As a patriot, O'Dynamite has been pretty thoroughly exploded.

Finally, the London Times deigned to recognize him and Punch tried to make a joke of him:

Remember, remember, the Fifth of November,
The comical chimical plot!
Whin Rossa uprose on our base Saxon foes,
And gallantly scumfished the lot?

Incidentally, Rossa's reply was an even sillier ballad the first line of which was: "Come all ye, come all ye, remember

1. The Skirmishing Fund, op. cit.
2. Rossa Going to San Francisco, Irish World, May 6, 1876, p. 4.
3. Rossa in the Far West, Irish World, June 3, 1876, p. 5.
4. Our American Letter, Irishman, March 25, 1876, p. 611.
5. God Save Ireland, Irish World, December 2, 1876, p. 5.
6. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, May 19, 1877, p. 5.
7. Skirmishers on the Wing, Irish World, October 20, 1877, p. 6.
8. O'D. Rossa, What the Secretary Has to Say. Irish World, November 10, 1877, p. 6.
Macaulay." And the British Secretary of State in the House of Commons charged that the men behind the Skirmishing fund "put forward murder as a means of avenging themselves."

O'Donovan Rossa, Its Secretary

A more detailed discussion of Rossa's work as Secretary of the Skirmishing Fund is now in order. As most of it appeared in Irish World, that journal will serve as the basis for the study. Rossa became a regular correspondent of Ford's paper by degrees. First he merely printed such letters as accompanied contributions to the Fund in the column allotted to it in Irish World. Next he began to comment on such communications. Thus, he reported that the "Skirmishing Fund is not got up by the Fenian Society, or the Clan-na-Gael" but would cooperate with them. Then Rossa introduced comments on the Skirmishing Fund by outsiders. One of them is of interest in view of the development of Anarchist theory at this time. It was from another American paper and told how skirmishers were to make their way into all parts of the British Empire; they will serve as ordinary workingmen, artisans, soldiers, sailors, etc. -- in short, work in every available capacity. And when the opportune time comes to sink a ship, spike a cannon or fire an arsenal, some quiet person will be on hand to do it. After Rossa became head of the Fenian Brotherhood, he persuaded Ford to invite certain chiefs of it and of the Clan-

3. The Skirmishing Fund, Irish World, March 11, 1876, p. 4.
4. Ibid., April 8, 1876, p. 8.
6. The Skirmishing Fund, Irish World, July 13, 1876, p. 4.
7. See p. 244.
na-Gael to become trustees of the Fund. At that time John Howard
Farnell and John Boyle O'Reilly had contributed to it but after
the six trustees were appointed in April, 1877, their names did
not reappear in the lists of contributors. Of the trustees the
best known today were T.F. Bourke, T.J. Luby and John Devoy.
At the time Ford declared in an editorial:

"Every dollar in the fund ought to cost England ten thousand
pounds... Aim, then, not at a single English life... Strike at
England's POCKET..., and... ere five years are passed over,
England will be... anxious... to get rid of Ireland and to
let Irish manage their own business ever after themselves.
Are you willing and able to carry on the campaign in this
way? If yes, very well. IF NOT, THEN YOU ARE BOUND IN
HONOR TO REFUND EVERY DOLLAR OF THIS SKIRMISHING MONEY TO
THE SUBSCRIBERS..."

In May, Rossa announced that Luby and himself alternately
would write for Irish World on "Irish National Affairs." Four
weeks later his first article appeared. It was devoted to news
about the Fenian Brotherhood and stated that Luby was unable
to write for the paper because he had "made an engagement with
a publisher to write biographies of eminent Irishmen." By No-

vember 3, 1877 it was decided to amalgamate Rossa's work as con-
tributor and Secretary and a column appeared entitled What the
Secretary Has to Say which was soon renamed What Rossa Has to Say.

1. O'D. Rossa, The Skirmishing Fund, Irish World, May 15, 1876,
p. 5.
2. Ibid., June 17, 1876, p. 6.
4. See p. 155.
5. Skirmishing Fund, Irish World, April 21, 1877, p. 4.
8. O'D. Rossa, What the Secretary Has to Say, Irish World, November 3, 1877, p. 6.
As columnist for Irish World, Rossa took up where he left off his contributions to the Dublin Irishman, that is, as a solicitor of funds for an undeclared war on England. His economic, political and literary opinions, along with explanatory material, will first be deducted from the pages of Ford’s paper; and then the hostility which he faced, together with the circumstances that led to his resignation as Secretary of the Fund, will conclude these remarks about Rossa’s work as contributor to Irish World.

Ireland’s most grievous economic burden was involved in the ownership of the land. Lalor had suggested to the advocates of physical force that they make use of it and, indeed, tenant-right has been called “the Fenian doctrine.” However, the term “tenant-right” is vague. George Henry Moore, himself a Fenian, had been a tenant righter and on that account Father Lavelle had dedicated the book to him which is supposed to have made a tenant righter of Michael Davitt, The Irish Landlord Since the Revolution. Yet Moore’s own tenants were dissatisfied and gave him considerable trouble. Indeed, George Moore declared that his father’s death was due to it:

He died killed by his tenants, that is certain; he died of a broken heart. My brother gives a letter which, I should like to believe, points to suicide, or it would please me to think of my father dying like an old Roman. His valet told me that he was quite well the day before; when he called again my father was dead; and this tragic

1. See p. 212.
3. See pp. 46-47.
4. W.M.C. Ireland’s Case, Irish World, January 12, 1878, p. 5.
death seems the legitimate end of a brave life, and in my brother's book he appears to me as wonderful as any character invented by Balzac or Turguenev.1

(It is only fair to point out that in an insert, which reminds one of the interminable arguments with his brother described in 2 Hail and Farewell, Maurice George Moore noted: "What the Prefacer writes regarding the mode of his father's death must be taken as expressing his wishes, and not the facts. The Author.")

Another Fenian who interested himself in land reform was John Sarsfield Casey who had contributed to Irish People. His activities in that cause involved him in a law suit. Archbishop Croke and Isaac Butt defended Casey successfully. Nevertheless, Irish World criticized Butt because he had not denied the right of landlords to any rent whatsoever.

Patrick Ford was another advocate of land reform and he called upon Parnell and the Dublin Irishman to speak out against landlordism. He told the Fenians that "an undefined nationality" was not enough. "Tell us what your 'nationality' means," he continued:

Declare that all men in possession and occupation of land shall be confirmed in it at a moderate tax for governmental

2. G. Moore, Hail and Farewell, vol. 2, pp. 36-104.
5. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, December 23, 1876, p. 3.
8. Ibid., July 28, 1877, p. 5.
purposes; that you will favor twenty acre holdings and thorough cultivation; that you want more men and less bullocks, and will not regard grazing as 'occupation.'

The Fenians, however, were inclined to regard the tenant right movement with suspicion as a subtle manner of supplanting physical force with moral suasion. And Rossa believed that landlordism could not be destroyed "without first destroying the English Government in Ireland." He replied to a correspondent from Tuam, County Galway: "...tis better be a little quiet about those landlords for awhile, to see if we cannot get rid of the humbug of that English legislation altogether."

Methods of Warfare

Rossa's political beliefs at the time he was contributing to Irish World were, of course, in favor of physical force. To promote its ends he appealed to his readers with various techniques. As before, he had no encouragement for the moral suasionists, although there was some differences of opinion among the Fenians on this subject.

So far as promoting the ends of physical force through assassination is concerned, Rossa maintained complete silence. As early as 1865, Crown witnesses had testified to the existence of an "Assassination Committee" in the Fenian organization. James Stephens was absolutely opposed to illegal killings but John

1. The Nationals, Irish World, October 20, 1877, p. 4.
3. O'D. Rossa, The Skirmishing Fund, Irish World, April 8, 1876, p. 5.
4. Ibid., December 8, 1877, p. 6.
Devoy asserted in a letter to the Dublin Irishman that the I.R.B. 1 had put men to death "for treason." Irish World, too, was not altogether against killings. When Lord Leitrim was slain by his tenants in 1878, it declared that he had got his just deserts. Before he had joined the staff of Irish World, Mooney in his San Francisco newspaper "advertised a reward of 100 pounds for 3 any one who would murder a particular" landlord; and a letter published in Ford's paper openly advocated assassination:

It is criminal to kill the lord, but to kill his agent is a blunder as well as a crime. In this respect the Hindoos, some years ago, set an example to the Irish. They killed the Viceroy of India... The Irish have never manifested the good sense and courage which the Hindoo displayed when Lord Mayo fell dead under his dagger. The arm of retribution has never in Ireland reached the fountain head of authority... Stigmatized as a nation of assassins, they lose their character without attaining the object for which they commit crime. We must not despair, however. The death of Lord Leitrim indicates a "new departure" in Irish proceedings, which may paralyze oppression and thus lead to the most desirable consequences.4

The above sentiments throw an interesting light on the slaying of Lord Frederick Cavendish, Chief Secretary to Ireland, and Thomas Henry Burke, the Under-Secretary, in Phoenix Park, 5 Dublin, May 6, 1882 by a society known as the Irish National Invincibles; but Rossa never went further than to advocate punishment of informers in the columns of Irish World. The most violent language for which Rossa could be held responsible was his

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2. The Land War in Ireland. Irish World, April 20, 1878, p. 5.
5. Anon. The Mysteries of Ireland, pp. 196-207.
quotation of Isaac Butt's opinion that an eviction was an act of war and that the shooting of an evicting land agent was an "act of retaliatory war."

While not openly in favor of assassination, Rossa was willing to help any foe of Britain either within or outside the Empire. Rumors that the Skirmishing Fund would be used to stir up trouble in India and Canada were current almost from the date that Ford first announced it. In 1877 relations between England and Russia became strained when the latter country made war on Turkey. Ford, of course, was pro-Russian and even succeeded in making a distinction without a difference between Russian imperialism in Poland and English imperialism in Ireland. The Clan-na-Gael and the trustees of the Skirmishing Fund anticipated an Anglo-Russian war:

Filled with the idea that war would actually take place, the Clan-na-Gael Executive caused overtures to be made to the representatives of the Russian Government, proposing that they in America should fit out privateers which, sailing with letters of marque from Russia, should worry English vessels and assist in every way possible in furthering the designs of Russia, in return for which Russia should pledge assistance to the Irish in their attempt to wrest Ireland from English domination.

The matter assumed the proportions of a really serious proposal, and Dr. William Carroll, of Philadelphia...who was one of the trustees of the Skirmishing Fund, as well as Chairman of the Executive Body of the Clan-na-Gael, was delegated by the Executive to represent their interests in the negotiations...Dr. Carroll left America for the Russian capital, where it was subsequently reported in an official way, the treaty between the Russian Government and the Revolutionary organisation was formally ratified.5

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1. O'D. Rossa, The Skirmishing Fund, Irish World, April 129, 1876, p. 5.
2. Ibid., July 15, 1876, p. 4.
3. Ibid., November 11, 1877, p. 5.
5. R. LeCarron, Twenty-Five Years in Secret Service, pp. 139-141.
(Incidentally, Parnell was lectured in Parliament for being pro-
Russian as early as 1876.) To what extent the Fenian Brother-
hood was interested in this alliance it is not easy to discover,
but Rossa, as the representative of a new organization called the
"United Irishmen," had dealings with the Russian Minister in
Washington. In his contributions to the columns of the Skirmish-
ing Fund, however, Rossa avoided this topic. Indeed, when he was
interviewed on the subject by the New York Herald, he denied "that
any petition is about to be presented to the Czar asking him to
come to the rescue of Ireland as he did to that of Bulgaria:
"Such a course has been advocated by a supporter of the fund, but
no action has been taken upon it..."

Another technique which Rossa used to promote the physical
force cause was by propaganda on behalf of Irish World and the
I.R.B. To one who wished to know the name and address of a per-
son in Ireland to whom copies of Ford's paper might be sent, Rossa
recommended the name of Charles J. Kickham. He told another how
to send Irish World to members of the Royal Irish Constabulary.
Rossa welcomed the suggestion that the paper be "distributed
freely throughout Ireland, England, and Scotland" as "a great
help to the cause of Irish independence:

The English people like to read the Irish World. You may
see the other day where the Secretary of War talked of it
and of the skirmishing in the London Parliament. Ah, that's
the kind of war they are afraid of. Do you notice how they
cry out 'murder' before a blow is struck at all?"

1. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, August 5, 1876, p. 1.
3. The National Movement, Irish World, April 27, 1878, p. 61
4. O'D. Rossa, What the Secretary Has to Say. Irish World,
   September 29, 1877, p. 6.
5. Ibid., November 24, 1877, p. 6.
6. Ibid., September 1, 1877, p. 6.
Rossa was convinced that the poorer classes were the only consistently revolutionary group in society and it is interesting to note that he urged the need of "a Labor-Greenback or Industrial organization" in America. Therefore, he agreed with Thomas Mooney that some of the Skirmishing Fund should be spent for educational purposes. Mooney, urging what might be called an Irish revival, asserted:

There are Irishmen enough upon this planet, now alive (and more are growing) to liberate Ireland! They must be educated to the duty, incited to the work, and to this end our oratory, our poetry, our music, our history must be pressed into the agitation.

Mooney, also, called on Irish World to use the Skirmishing Fund to publish articles on "field tactics, fortifications..., etc."

He suggested "a lecturing and publishing bureau, which would scatter by the million half-penny tracts in Ireland and England" for the purpose of "showing up the land-robbers of both countries and declaring the rights of the people." Advocating the destruction of police barracks, men-of-war and the revival of Ireland as a nation, Mooney said:

Any man who will teach the Irish multitude how to manufacture and use guncotton, gunpowder, dynamite, petroleum, and the like, will be a real benefactor of Ireland, worth at least fifty-nine of the best Home Rule M.P.'s, who cost so much money to elect and support in London.

This quotation from Mooney prepares the way for Rossa's opinions on moral suasion but before they are given, Rossa's pro-

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2. O'D. Rossa, What the Secretary Has to Say, Irish World, November 17, 1877, p. 6.
3. Ibid., September 1, 1877, p. 6.
4. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, March 17, 1877, p. 3.
paganda for the I.R.B. should be mentioned. Thus, in answer to
a letter from Castledermont, Rossa advised that the writer should
join the "society in affiliation with the Fenian Brotherhood in
America." And, again, he wrote:

The Skirmishing idea was not conceived in a spirit of being
independent of the men at home, or indifferent to their work;
indeed it may be rather said to have birth from the apparent
union of parties here, to give no encouragement to the home
work, but to go on playing the farce of freeing Ireland in
America, careless of how things were going on at the seat
of war. If there is no war organization at home that we can
rely upon for action, our duty is to make one there...2

Moral Suasion

Although Rossa had no encouragement for the moral suasionists,
he did not altogether repudiate them. A witness before
the Parnell Commission, who swore that he had been a member of
the Supreme Council, testified:

At one of these meetings, held at the Imperial Hotel, Dub-
lin, and at which he had spoken to Mr. Biggar, a resolution
was passed excluding members of the Parliamentary party from
the supreme council. Mr. Asquith asking him whether the
resolution did not imply general hostility on the part of
the Fenian Brotherhood to the action of the Parliamentary
party, the witness stoutly maintained that it did not --
that it did not mean war to the knife between the Nationalist
party and the Brotherhood as such, but only that the members
of the Parliamentary party should not be given too much influence by being admitted to the membership of the supreme
council.3

Obviously, the Fenians were undecided as to the policy to
adopt. One group led by John Daly of Limerick practiced open war.

1. O'D. Rossa, What the Secretary Has to Say, Irish World, No-
   vember 24, 1877, p. 6.
2. O'D. Rossa, The Skirmishing Fund, Irish World, August 25,
   1877, p. 6.
Both Mooney and the *Irish World* sympathized with him although they did not advocate his methods.

Another group of which Charles J. Kickham and the '98 Club, established in Dublin in 1877, were leaders, was less violent. Kickham repudiated Parliamentary agitation publicly and in January, 1878, *Irish World* reported of him:

In a recent letter Charles J. Kickham says: 'If my words happen to have any weight with any portion of my fellow-countrymen, I would take the liberty of saying to such of them as are Home Rulers, Mind your own business, and to the other people, Go you and do likewise.'

Like Kickham, the '98 Club was primarily interested in total separation but its means involved reform and a revival of interest in Irish history, particularly "in the principles and objects of the '98 men of the past century." In March, 1878, the '98 Club, which held *Irish World* in such high esteem that readings from it were a customary part of the agenda of its weekly meetings, with a Fenian "James O'Connor, Editor of the *Irishman* in the chair," passed a resolution condemning Parliamentary agitation.

A third group of Fenians openly sympathized with the Home Rule party. Joseph Biggar and O'Connor Power were its leaders.

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6. Trans-Atlantic, *Irish World*, December 1, 1877, p. 3.
8. See pp. 138-139.
10. See pp. 166; 201-202.
George Sigerson, editor of the Dublin *Flag of Ireland*, may be included in it because that paper called for an organization which would unite Fenians and Home Rulers:

The present complicated aspect of European politics makes it incumbent on all patriotic Irishmen to prepare by establishing a network of Irish National Clubs throughout Great Britain and Ireland, thereby forming a powerful confederation of Irishmen, bound together in one homogeneous body, and working in a spirit of unity, without which we can never gain the independence of our native land.

Soon after *Flag of Ireland* reported that at the inaugural meeting of the committee of Irish National Club Number 1, readings "were given from the *Irish World*, *Irishman*, and *Flag*, and some pages were read from John Mitchell's *United Irishman*.

Rossa, like Kickham, occupied a middle position so far as Parliamentary agitation was concerned. On one hand, he advised correspondents from Great Britain to shun Biggar, Power and Parnell and to devote their energies to Fenian activities. He quoted with pleasure a letter from County Down which repudiated the Home Rulers:

Session after session we are told to wait, till the heart is sick waiting. We will have no more hypocrites. We will join our lot with Dynamite, Gunscotten & Co., and teach blackmailers and English ministers what's meant by Home Rule.

Yet on the other hand, when an English Roman Catholic, Pym Yeatman, who had defended some Irishman charged with Fenianism, stayed at Rossa's hotel in New York and told "the Skirmisher" he intended to stand for Parliament, Rossa called on Irishmen to vote

3. Ibid., September 22, 1877, p. 2.
5. Ibid., December 1, 1877, p. 6.
for him. This is the more curious because Yeatsman, who was
shocked by the principles of the Skirmishing Fund, told Rossa
that he favored Home Rule, but not complete independence for
Ireland.

Literary Opinions

More interesting to the student of the Celtic renaissance
than Rossa's economic or political beliefs were his literary
tastes and these can readily be studied in connection with his
work for Irish World. For in his capacity as Secretary, Rossa
not only contributed autobiographical details but also acted as
editor of whatever appeared in the Skirmishing Fund's columns.
Furthermore, he revealed himself as an Irish language revivalist,
etymologist and folklorist.

Rossa liked to insert his reminiscences in his column.

He told how the eviction of his mother in 1847 was one of the
reasons why he could never forget the famine days in Ireland.

When a contributor reminded him of his experiences in Kilmainham
Prison, Dublin, he asserted that Gladstone had not treated Fenian
convicts any better than Disraeli did. He remembered a recruiting
trip through Connacht during which he met George Henry Moore to
whose "manly words in Parliament" he attributed his release from

1. O'D. Rossa, What the Secretary Has to Say, Irish World, Oc-
tober 27, 1877, p. 6.
4. Ibid., April 20, 1878, p. 6.
7. See p. 162.
prison in 1871. He told how he had brought with him to America in 1865 the decision of the Dublin Fenian leaders "that bonds be issued in America, and that John O'Mahony's name be signed to them." Subsequently, Rossa described the symbolic figures on one of these bonds as "weeping Erin, the soldier, the wolf dog, Emmet and Wolfe Tone." Another reminiscence shows how he anticipated the famous idiom of Synge and Lady Gregory:

Mrs. Fenelon, I have not seen John Morrissey since I saw him in Dublin in '65. I am told he's out West somewhere. If he is, and if it is not underground he is, I wonder I do not hear from him through the Skirmishing or some other channel. The Carlow Nolans were a great race of people, and 'tis at the races of Ballybar you'd come to know that.

Finally, when the rescued Fenians arrived in New York from Australia on Board the Catalpa, Rossa published the facsimile of a letter from John Mitchel dated December 8, 1874 in which Mitchel had sent $100 to Rossa to help finance the project.

As editor of the material which appeared in the Skirmishing Fund's columns, Rossa published items of historical interest, verse, correspondence and wrote innumerable comments on the contributions. As an example of the items of historical interest may be mentioned a long communication on "The Battle of Enniscorthy, May, 1798, by one who was on the spot." However, this interest in Irish history did not extend to the traditional celebration of St. Patrick's Day, for in December, 1877, he published a letter

2. What the Secretary Has to Say, Irish World, October 6, 1877, p. 6.
4. See p. 246.
5. The Skirmishing Fund, Irish World, October 7, 1876, p. 3.
which favored sending the money ordinarily spent on it to the Skirmishing Fund and subsequently published more to the same effect.

As examples of contributions in verse which Rossa published may be mentioned an appeal for more donations to the fund, an explanation of how it was possible to be true to Ireland and to the United States at the same time, and a reply to the ecclesiastical foes of the fund. As an example of the correspondence which Rossa published here is a typical sample:

A TERRIBLY WICKED CORRESPONDENT
JOHNSONVILLE, INC. - Please find $3 for the Skirmishing Fund to help buy dynamite to blow the lion, body and bones, into the Irish sea...
Thos. Ginnarty, Louth...$1. William Clark, Tipperary...$1
John Brick, Kerry....$1
Yours in the cause,
THOMAS GINNARTY.

Of Rossa's innumerable, salty comments on the contributions which he printed two samples may be offered. He amusingly characterized as "a very bad, wicked Irishman" one who suggested applying the torch to various public buildings in England. Finally, he described as "wicked" a correspondent who favored "the fire-brand" but declared: "Nobody disapproves of it but oyster-blooded slaves."

During the period that Rossa was contributing to Irish World, considerable interest in the revival of the Irish language

2. Ibid., January 12, 1878, p. 6.
3. Ibid., December 29, 1877, p. 6.
4. What the Secretary Has to Say, Irish World, November 17, 1877, p. 6.
7. Ibid., August 4, 1877, p. 6.
8. What the Secretary Has to Say, Irish World, September 8, 1877, p. 6.
was expressed in America, Ireland and England. The formation of an organization for this purpose in New York City was announced by Ford's paper in 1878, some six months after the New York Irish-American had advertised that it was about to begin a series of lessons in the Irish language. In Ireland not only did the National Teachers pass a resolution "urging the Commissioners of National Education to place the Irish language in their program up alongside of Latin and Greek," but also Thomas Moore, who believed that just as the teaching of Greek history had fortified the Greeks for their war with Turkey, so the study of Irish history would aid the Irish in their struggle against England, saw the appearance of the general Celtic renaissance:

IRELAND AWAKENING

It is a sure sign that Ireland is awakening when we have to chronicle every week the publication of a fresh book or the erection of a new church. Within a few weeks there came forth the 'First Book,' for students and learners of the Irish language; then followed the Sermons of Bishop James O'Gallagher, in Irish, translated into easy English by that sleepless scholar, Father Ulick Bourke, of St. Jarlath's College, Tuam... Next came Rutherford's book on Fenianism; and now, hot-foot after these, we have two volumes entitled 'New Ireland' by A.M. Sullivan... The moral of the appearance of all these Irish books is, young Ireland is at school, young Ireland has begun to read; young Ireland wants to know more and more about old Ireland.\(^5\)

Even in England the revival of the Irish language was making headway. In a letter to the London Morning Post which told of the success of the Irish primers published by the Society for the preservation of the Irish Language, T. O'Neill Russell noted the

3. The Old Language, Irish World, February 23, 1878, p. 5.
4. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, April 20, 1878, p. 3.
5. Ibid., December 1, 1877, p. 3.
rennaissance of "interest in its native language and literature" in Ireland and defended "the action taken by some dozen members of Parliament and other influential persons in recommending that the Irish language might be taught in the National Schools of Ireland..." It was a Fenian who brought the language to the attention of Parliament:

O'Connor Power, M.P., has placed on the paper of the House of Commons a notice to call attention to the desirability of placing the teaching of the Irish language on the results programme of the national schools in Ireland under the same conditions as that of Latin, Greek and French. Mr. Power will move a resolution to that effect.12

O'Donovan Rossa's friend, Pym Yeatman, recommended that the Irish language be taught, declaring that English law owed much to the Brehon laws. He argued that the study of the Irish language would tend to bring more cordial relations between England and Ireland:

...for it will be seen that both are of the same Celtic origin... The Gadhelic and the Gael were of the same race, and in the word Angle we have the name An Gael... Changed as the English tongue undoubtedly is, excepting what we owe to Rome, we derive the bulk of it from Celtic roots.4

Rossa, of course, was interested in all efforts to revive his mother tongue, and like Yeatman he was interested in the etymology of Irish words. Commenting on a word in a letter which he had received, Rossa wrote:

Where did Denis Curran get the word "Skelemish?" To our mind it was the way the Irish-speaking people pronounced the English word, 'skirmish,' when these English made it a sport to shoot down the Irish every day they went out.

2. Personals, Irish World, June 8, 1878, p. 5.
5. See pp. 161-162; 125-130.
skirmishing. The word Skelemish conveys to our mind the idea of a terrible misfortune, amounting almost to utter annihilation -- agus ma's feidir liom e dheansaibh, deanamaed skelemish ortha.¹

In another column he traced the word "kibosh" to the Irish "caoi-bhais," or "sorrow-hand" and in the same place Rossa spoke of a letter in the Irish language which he had received and in which he had been asked "the meaning of the word "Sowney."" Rossa grumbled:

I don't know what in the world people think this post-script is for. Do they think I am going to unravel all the knotty questions relating to Irish antique nomenclature and pagan rites?²

Nevertheless, he attempted "to unravel" the etymology of "Sowney" by associating it with "one of the Irish pagan dieties," -- Samhain. Just as the old pagan Irish holiday, Samhain, persisted in a Christianized form as "May Day" so other Samhain legends may have persisted, e.g. in the name "Sowney."

Finally, Rossa exhibited himself as a folklorist in the Skirmishing Fund's columns. A bitter story which he told is worth repetition:

...doesn't the Irish prayer-book printed in the Irish language contain prayers for the Queen of Ireland and for the eternal perpetuation of her government? These Irish prayers remind me of a story I have in one of John O'Donovan's letters. This is it: At one time England was at war and won a battle, and there was a Te Deum proclaimed through the whole empire for it. But one of the O'Sullivans of Bere and Bantry celebrated the day by hanging a placard on his boundaries with the Irish words written on it:

'Go sheentar mo phio-b sa le ramhar corda,
Choidche ma guidhhead air maithe loo-san.'

Which, for the sake of our American friends, I will translate into English --

². What the Secretary Has to Say. Irish World, November 3, 1877, p. 6.
'May my windpipe be stretched by a very stout cord
If e'er for their welfare I pray to the Lord.'

(Incidentally, Rossa also contributed original verse in Irish to Irish World.) Another sample of his knowledge of folklore appeared, as it were, parenthetically: "I am chewing my pencil, as Fionn MacCumhaill used to chew his thumb, to divine what was best to do." Finally, replying to a contributor who had asked why there had not been more money sent to the Skirmishing Fund by emigrants from County Clare, Rossa said:

They are like those warriors sleeping up there in the caves opposite Cahircreevy, near Buncrana, in West Inishowen, who will spring into their saddles and rush to the fight when the first trumpet of battle is sounded. They will, like others, be 'as good as any man when the time comes.'

This, it must be observed, is the legend referred to by Lady Gregory and Douglas Hyde in The Return of the Fenians.

Rossa's Resignation

Some of the economic, political and literary aspects of Rossa's work for the Skirmishing Fund have been discussed; the hostility which he had to face and the circumstances which led to his resignation from the Secretaryship will conclude these remarks about Rossa. The hostility came from other, as well as religious sources, but it was the religious foes who were the immediate cause of his resignation.

Rossa believed that once the skirmishers were in the field

2. Ibid., November 24, 1877, p. 6.
4. The National Fund, April 6, 1878, p. 6.
5. A. Gregory, ed., Ideals in Ireland, p. 64.
they would "have the sympathy of the whole Irish race," and, therefore, for those of his friends who thought him "rash," "imprudent," "impulsive" and "irresponsible" he could only reiterate Ford's promise that anyone not satisfied with the management of the Fund could have his money back.

Another source of hostility to Rossa seems to have been the result of his attempt to enter New York politics as a free lance. It was, perhaps, a pro-British bias that was responsible for the hostility of James Gordon Bennett's New York Herald. Rossa observed: "You may expect this whenever and wherever you show any activity for Ireland. You will be called a Communist, a Pagan, an Infidel, a Molly Maguire, and every other name the tyrant expects will bring odium upon you."

Rossa's religious foes were both Catholic and Protestant. Cardinal Cullen, whose hostility to the Fenians persisted, in 1876 lumped them with the Freemasons as enemies of the Church and in 1877 he added the Skirmishing Fund and the Clan-na-Gael to this list. Ford, too, was called an "infidel." Perhaps this was because he defended Fenianism on the ground that the Church's "opposition and denunciation of" it was "the result of mistaken and false ideas." He praised the Fenians for making "Ireland a nation in thought, in feeling, in sentiment, and in

2. Ibid., April 6, 1878, p. 6.
5. What the Secretary Has to Say, Irish World, Oct. 6, 1877, p. 6.
6. See pp. 146-147.
7. Personals, Irish World, April 1, 1876, p. 5.
8. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, January 26, 1878, p. 3.
aspiration" and for destroying "religious prejudice":

WHAT IS FENIANISM?
Why, only another name for Irish nationality. Fenianism means 'Ireland for the Irish;' Fenianism means 'liberty and freedom;' Fenianism means 'justice and equality;' and these are principles can never be destroyed.1

Rossa, like Ford, avoided acrimony and sought to defend himself by quoting, or naming, friendly clergymen, if Archbishop Mac-Hale or Archbishop Croke may be so considered. Nevertheless, he quoted a letter written by John O'Mahony in 1857 in which the latter had advised anyone who feared clerical hostility to resign from the Fenian Brotherhood.

It was the Orangemen, however, who were the immediate cause of Rossa's resignation. On March 18, 1878, Rossa was scheduled to lecture in Toronto, Canada. Toronto Orangemen threatened violence, but Rossa, protected by the police, delivered his speech and escaped being lynched by a ruse. The incident caused a sensation and when one of the trustees of the Skirmishing Fund was interviewed about it by the New York Herald, he declared:

The Skirmishing Fund is accumulated for the purpose of aiding in any schemes which may tend toward the separation of Ireland from England... It must be distinctly understood that the trustees will do nothing not consistent with the rules of civilized war and national honor. They will do nothing which the laws of political morality would condemn.9

2. What the Secretary Has to Say, Irish World, Sept. 29, 1877, p. 6.
3. Ibid., December 1, 1877, p. 6.
7. Ibid., March 16, 1878, p. 5.
8. The Young Britons, Irish World, March 30, 1878, pp. 1 and 5.
Upon his return to New York, Rossa repudiated these remarks, and Irish World, citing Artemus Ward, sided with him in his condemnation of "civilized warfare." The readers of Irish World also took Rossa's part for contributions to the Fund became so numerous that finally a whole page was needed to acknowledge them.

Nevertheless, at about the same time, two of the trustees of the Fund called upon Ford to publish a letter "prejudicial to Rossa" upon the threat that they would otherwise resign. Ford later wrote:

We considered their act very ill-judged. Furthermore, we gave it to be understood that if they put that letter into print, thus rejoicing the enemy, the Irish World would be forced to close its columns and wind up the Fund entirely. Two months later on came a change. They demanded that O'Donovan Rossa resign the Secretaryship. They did not, however, desire him to cease connection with the Trustees. Rossa consented...4

Rossa signed the column on July 6, 1878, for the last time. A twelfth month later, on July 19, 1879, Irish World closed its pages to the Fund which then amounted to $88,306.32.

Such was the end of Patrick Ford's fourth campaign, that is, the raising of money for the Skirmishing Fund.

Summary

Unlike John O'Leary and Irish People, but in the tradition of Thomas Mooney, Irish-American, P.M. Haverty and John

O'Mahony, Patrick Ford and O'Donovan Rossa took great interest in Irish culture as an end in itself. Such sentiments were favorable to the Celtic renaissance. Both of them also agreed that this culture could be used in the struggle to achieve self-government for Ireland. And their agreement on the subject of physical force was to lead to the creation of a Skirmishing Fund.

Patrick Ford's paper, Irish World, is significant not only because O'Donovan Rossa, Michael Davitt and Henry George contributed to it and because it was widely read both in Ireland and America, but also because of its militant campaigns to de-anglicize Irish thought. Three of these campaigns have been discussed in some detail.

The first of Ford's campaigns to de-anglicize Irish thought was an attack on the "pictorial Irishman" created by "English illustrated journals." So far as the theater is concerned, this attack may be traced back to Irish-American and a New Orleans paper. When Ford took it up he was not merely content with denouncing the portrayal of "ignorance, drunkenness, and the 'broken tongue'" as Irish characteristics, but he also sought to offer a substitute in the way of dramas or tragedies based on a revival of subjects from Celtic antiquity or Irish history. The results of this campaign were felt in Ireland almost at once, both in the theater and press; and W.B. Yeats and Lady Gregory seem to have profitted by it, at least indirectly.

Ford's second campaign was to de-anglicize Irish thought by the revival of the Gaelic language. Even as in the case of the "stage Irishman" Irish World was not originally responsible
for Irish-American, Irish or Scotch interest in this tongue. The interest of Thomas Moore and John O'Mahony in the study of Irish has already been mentioned. Likewise, Irish-American and several other papers in the United States had "from time to time made specialties of Gaelic departments giving selections and their translations" before Patrick Ford began his campaign in 1872. Furthermore, various American schools, had given instruction in Irish. Nevertheless, as a result of its profession of concern for the language, Irish World in 1872 became a sort of clearing house for Irish-Americans who favored the revival of Gaelic. In view of Ford's sympathy for physical force, it is not surprising that his paper should have encouraged the amalgamation of such a revival with that wing of the separatist movement.

In Ireland and Scotland, at the time when Ford launched his campaign, interest in the study of Gaelic was limited almost exclusively to religious and antiquarian circles. To be sure, Archbishop MacHale, Canon Bourke, John Murdoch, and T. O'Neill Russell had expressed separatist sympathies, but in spite of their example the language revival was not to be associated with separatism in the Irish mind for many years.

Not long after Ford began his campaign, the Boston Philo-Celtic Society was founded in 1872 for the purpose of studying Gaelic; and a spokesman for it declared that it was as necessary "to revive the language as to make up an armed force to battle with the enemy on Irish ground." Subsequently, many more Irish-American organizations were founded with a similar dual purpose. In Ireland, in 1873, both the Dublin Shamrock and
the Tum News began to publish Irish lessons. Then in 1875
permission was granted by the proper authorities to teach the
Irish language in Irish schools. A year later the Society for
the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded in Dublin and
the Dublin Express predicted a Celtic Revival. In the summer of
1877, Douglas Hyde made his first appearance in print as an
Irish scholar; and before 1880 the Gaelic Union, source of "the
Gaelic League itself," was founded.

Ford's third campaign to de-anglicize Irish thought was an
attempted exposition of the history of Irish civilization from
the days of the first settlers to contemporary times. This cam-
paign was stimulated by James Anthony Froude's attacks on Irish
nationalism during a lecture tour in America in 1872 but even
before that time Irish World had published essays which were cal-
culated to show that early Irish culture had been superior to
that of pre-Norman England.

In his third campaign Ford sought to instruct his readers
as to the nature of Irish civilization anterior to and following
the first invasion of Ireland. Of the earlier period Irish World
told its readers that the ancient government of Ireland had been
democratic, its schools excellent and its games admirable. Ford's
paper also devoted not a little space to the literature, both
legendary and historical, folklore and mythology of these ancient
Celtic times. And in the use of such material for original poetry
one of Ford's editorial assistants, C.M. O'Keeffe, formerly of
the Irish World, anticipated W.B. Yeats, James Stephens and other
famous Irish writers of a later day.

In this third campaign Ford also sought to inform his
readers about matters nearer to their own time: the Irish Volunteers of 1798, the United Irishmen, Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, the Young Irelanders (especially John Mitchel) and the Fenians. So far as the Fenian Brotherhood is concerned, Irish World reported a rapprochement between the Canadian and Irish wings after 1870. In 1873 it noted that John O'Mahony had been restored to the position of leadership from which he had resigned in 1866. O'Mahony's death and obsequies in 1877 were reported in some detail; as was the chagrin felt among the Fenians when his body was not allowed in any Dublin chapel by Cardinal Cullen's command. Incidentally, tributes to "the Father of Fenianism" were subsequently paid by John O'Leary, Charles J. Kickham, Michael Cusack, T.M. Healy, John Daly and Douglas Hyde.

O'Donovan Rossa first became associated with Ford's paper in connection with a campaign of a totally different nature -- the Skirmishing Fund. While Ford was also largely responsible for the Fund, Rossa's work for it is of more interest because of his writings in Irish World as secretary. Likewise, Rossa's name was more generally associated with the Fund than Ford's and, it may be noted, this association was in part due to Charles Stewart Parnell's description of Rossa in May, 1877, as "the most indomitable Irishman alive."

As secretary of the Skirmishing Fund, Rossa gradually became a regular contributor to Ford's paper. His contributions dealt with land reform, methods of waging war on England, moral suasion, literary and linguistic matters and the hostility which he had to face. So far as land reform is concerned, unlike George Henry Moore, John Sarafield Casey and Patrick Ford, Rossa,
although favoring it, thought that it should abide the forma-
tion of an independent Ireland.

Rossa's attitude towards open war and moral suasion was unambiguous. So far as the former is concerned, while he did not express an opinion upon assassination, he did admit that he was in favor of stirring up subject peoples in the British Empire to revolution. Furthermore, he was anxious to secure Russia's help for Ireland in the event of an Anglo-Russian war. He was also interested in disseminating pro-war propaganda either by increasing the circulation of Irish World in Ireland or by the use of the Skirmishing Fund for educational purposes. So far as moral suasion is concerned, it may be noted that the Fenians were divided on this subject. John Daly, instigated, perhaps, by Rossa, attempted to silence its advocates by violent means. Charles J. Kickham and his followers repudiated it publicly but were not ready to take such extreme steps. A third group openly sympathized with the Home Rule party. Rossa's position most nearly approached that of Kickham.

Rossa's contributions to Irish World of a literary and linguistic nature are of particular interest to the student of the Celtic renaissance. For in them he revealed himself as a historian, as a master of the Anglo-Irish idiom which was later to be made famous by Synge and Lady Gregory, as an enthusiast for the language revival and as an etymologist and folklorist.

The hostility which Rossa had to face came from those who thought him "rash," "imprudent," "impulsive," and "irresponsible." Also, an ill-fated attempt to enter New York politics did him no
good. But it was his religious enemies, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, who were responsible most directly for his resignation from the Secretaryship of the Skirmishing Fund in June, 1878.

_Irish World_ closed its pages to the Skirmishing Fund on July 19, 1879, having collected $88,306.32. After that time Irish separatist activities in the United States were to enter a new phase and one in which Charles Stewart Parnell was to play a larger part, as will be indicated in the next chapter. It will also be noted that the role of _Irish World_, while still significant, was to be somewhat less important than it had been from 1870 to 1879.
CHAPTER VI
THE LAND LEAGUE FUND, 1878-1882

In Chapter V the period from 1870 to 1879 was entitled "The Irish World's Crusade." It was during these years that Charles Stewart Parnell first appeared in Irish politics. In the present chapter the Irish-American scene at the time when he first became known as "the uncrowned king of Ireland" will be sketched.

The Land League Fund was yet another of Patrick Ford's campaigns. But it differed completely from his attempt to de-anglicize Irish thought, or to win self-government for Ireland, in that it was based on an economic motive. The Land League Fund was essentially an attempt to raise money in the United States to aid Irish tenant farmers in their battle to gain title to the land which they tilled.

The present account of the Land League Fund will begin with an account of the men who prepared the way for it: Thomas Moore, Patrick Ford and Michael Davitt. Then Davitt and the New Departure with which his name is associated will be taken up. The support which Ford gave to this New Departure resulted in the Land League Fund, the Lady's Land League and Henry George's visit to the United Kingdom as special correspondent for Irish World. In the following remarks about the Land League Fund these various subjects will be taken up seriatim.
Thomas Mooney, Patrick Ford and Michael Davitt

The first long article on land reform which Ford printed appeared in the issue of the Irish World for March 21, 1873 on page one. It was by Thomas Mooney and it declared that land belonged to the state not to the individual.

Mooney had been in favor of the abolition of "land rents" in Ireland as early as 1832. As American correspondent of the Dublin Nation, in 1850 he reiterated that he was in favor of the abolition of land rents; and to his great pleasure, at about the same time "a United States court recognized a state of war between land-robbers and the people they robbed in Ireland." In 1858 Mooney went to San Francisco where he published a newspaper in which he proposed land reform even if it were necessary to resort to physical force to get it. Incidentally, Henry George was living in San Francisco at that time and it would be interesting to know whether he was familiar with Mooney's writings. In any event, Mooney's hostility persisted and in 1875 he vainly attempted to get the Home Rule League of Ireland to adopt his radical position in regard to land reform. Early in 1875 his weekly contributions signed "Trans-Atlantic" began to

2. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, December 5, 1885, p. 5.
3. Ibid., October 18, 1880, p. 1.
4. See pp. 25; 64.
5. Shall We Work at Home or Abroad, Irish-American, April 14, 1850, p. 3.
6. The Land War in Ireland, Irish World, April 20, 1873, p. 5.
8. H. George, Jr., The Life of Henry George, pp. 105-107.
appear in *Irish World*, and before the end of the year under this signature he had called for "the disestablishment of the landlords and the redistribution of the soil.

Obviously, Ford agreed with Mooney or he would not have published the latter's contributions. In addition, *Irish World* supported "Trans-Atlantic" as early as 1878 by arguing that before the English invasion of Ireland in the eleventh century there had been no "tenure or fixed rent" in Ireland: "The different families used the tribal lands in common. The tillage ground of each tribe was annually divided among the families according to their stock or requirement."

In 1878 Ford and Mooney enlisted a valuable recruit in the person of Michael Davitt -- with whose name may be associated a new departure which was to unite "the physical force body in America and Mr. Parnell's wing of the moral force movement" for the purpose of achieving a drastic modification of the legal code with respect to land tenure in Ireland. However, before considering this new departure, it may be well to sketch Davitt's career prior to his visit to America in 1878.

Michael Davitt was born in Mayo in 1846. Both his father, who had been the leader of an agrarian secret society, and his mother were Irish speakers and Davitt, himself, spoke the Gaelic fluently from his earliest days. Following their eviction Davitt's parents moved to England in 1852 where the boy heard landlordism

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3. Answers to Correspondence, *Irish World*, August 17, 1878, p.3.
1. denounces by a Chartist. In 1865 he was sworn into the Fenian
2. Brotherhood. Subsequently he became an organizer and in May,
3. 1870, he was arrested. In July, he was declared

...guilty of treason felony, by conspire to rebellion, to
deprive Her Majesty of Her Royal style as Queen of the
United Kingdom, to levy war upon Her Majesty, and by pro-
curing arms and ammunition for these purposes...4

He was sentenced to fifteen years penal servitude.

In 1877 the Home Secretary, answering an appeal for am-
nesty, enraged Farnell by slighting remarks about the remaining
Fenian convicts: "The Fenian soldiers still held he described
as military prisoners; O'Meara Condon and Meily as murderers; and
5. Mr. Michael Davitt as an ordinary convict." Nevertheless, on
December 17, 1877 Davitt was released from prison on ticket-of-
leave. Then, early in January, he went to Dublin with some
other recently amnestyed Fenians. After the reception in their
6. honor, they were entertained by Farnell, and to the latter's
7. dismay, one of the ticket-of-leave men died. The funeral, of
course, was made the occasion for an impressive Fenian funeral
8. procession. Among the flags in evidence were the Stars and
9. Stripes, the Russian Eagle (a possible Anglo-Russian war was an-
ticipated) and even more significantly: "The coffin was covered
10. with the Irish republican flag -- yellow, white and green -- a
very significant fact."

2. Ibid., pp. 15-16.
3. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
4. Ibid., pp. 27-36.
5. T. Sherlock and J.S. Mahoney, The Life and Times of Charles
Stewart Farnell, p. 114.
10. See pp. 258-259.
Parnell had been one of the few members of Parliament to display sympathy and in view of this fact and of his work on the committee in charge of the funds collected by Irishman and Flag of Ireland for the released Fenians, Davitt, who had resumed his duties as a recruiting agent for the Fenians, pressed Parnell to take the Fenian oath at an amnesty meeting in May, but Parnell declined.

Not long after this rebuff, Davitt determined to visit his mother and sisters who had emigrated to America while he was in jail. Early in August he arrived in New York where he met John Devoy. In August, 1878, Irish World was rejoiced over the killing of Lord Leitrim, an Irish landlord; and Mooney was contributing to its pages a series entitled "Stereotyped Lies" in which his object was to show that the titles to the Irish land held by its present owners were based on theft. Furthermore, an unidentified "newspaper man recently from California," possibly Henry George, was attacking land monopoly and Ford was asking why no Irish separatist movement had raised the question of landlordism since it would unite all Irishmen against England.

Further evidence could be produced to show that when Davitt arrived in America in August, 1878, Irish-American circles were

1. Trans-Atlantic, Ireland's Latest Martyr, Irish World, February 9, 1878, p. 5.
3. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, July 13, 1878, p. 5.
6. The Execution of Leitrim, Irish World, August 24, 1878, p. 4.
10. A Bait to Ireland, Irish World, August 10, 1878, p. 4.
ready to welcome a new departure in Irish politics which would unite physical force with moral suasion for the purpose of land reform; but perhaps it will be sufficient to show how any such proposal could affect Ireland:

Few men -- perhaps still fewer women -- who have been driven from their homes by the 'noble land thieves' but hold correspondence with the friends at 'home.' Whether written or whether verbal, that correspondence is tinged more or less deeply with the contrasts that exist between the two nations. Thus an ever-flowing, unseen current of American thought goes across the ocean from here to there. The Irish World adds to that current by rousing that American thought and indicating its direction. Its ten thousand copies thrown weekly on the island shores...have a withering effect... We give the Irishman a look at his Natural Inheritance.1

Davitt was to become identified with this current as a result of the new departure which came into existence while he was in America; and a few years later he openly attributed the origin of his philosophy of land reform to Patrick Ford and the Irish World.

Davitt and the New Departure

The New Departure, of course, was made in America. More specifically, it may be ascribed to John Devoy and the Irish World, although it was approved by John Boyle O'Reilly and the Boston Pilot before Davitt returned to Ireland. In Ireland it was received by the Fenians with a mixture of perplexity and hostility; and in an attempt to win over the Fenian chiefs and Parnell, Devoy followed Davitt across the Atlantic. Although their

1. The Influence of America on Ireland. Irish World, August 17, 1878, p. 4.
success was not complete, it was enough to result in the forma-
tion of the Land League which was little more than an organized
expression of the principles of the New Departure.

Davitt first seems to have heard of a concrete proposal to
combine Ireland's economic grievances with the physical force
program when he was told that certain resolutions would be adopted
on the motion of John Devoy after a lecture by the former on
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September 23, 1878 at Cooper Union:

One of these resolutions set forth Ireland's right to Na-
tional Independence, while another declared that the land
of Ireland belonged to the people of Ireland alone, and that
'the only final solution of the Irish land Question was the
Abolition of Landlordism and the substitution of a system by
which no one should stand between the State and the tiller
of the soil.' It was further declared that this could be
affected by 'an Irish Republic alone.' ...

Then, on October 13, 1878, when Davitt and Devoy spoke on land
reform in Brooklyn, Davitt expressed himself in favor of elect-
ing "representatives imbued with nationalist ideas...to every
office possible" including the House of Commons. During his
speech Davitt praised Parnell particularly; and Devoy said:

I believe in Irish independence, but I don't believe it
would be worth while to free Ireland if that foreign land-
lor system were to be left standing. (Cheers). I am in
favor of sweeping away every vestige of the English connec-
tion and this accursed landlord system above and before all. 3

On November 7, 1878, having formulated the above-mentioned
principles into a five-point program, John Devoy and four other
officers of the Clan-na-Gael wired the proposals to "Charles
Kickham, to be forwarded or handed by him to Mr. Parnell." Not

   M. Davitt, The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland, p. 126.
long afterward Davitt returned to Ireland. His last lecture was delivered in Boston at the instigation of John Boyle O'Reilly. Davitt later wrote:

The night before the meeting the future movement was fully discussed at the home of the late Dr. Joyce, author of Deirdre. O'Reilly, Joyce and the writer were present. The progress made in the propaganda of the new policy was considered most encouraging... It was agreed that the land should be made the basis of the national fight, and that all nationalist energies should be enlisted in a contest with the English landlord and political garrison for the ownership of the land and the control of the public bodies in the country. 'Let us do this,' said O'Reilly, 'and a new era will dawn for the old land. Throw down the gage of battle to landlordism, as the source of Irish poverty, eviction, and emigration, and a mighty power will be enlisted in a contest with the English landlord and moral support would be won for a practical Irish proposal that would link a solution of the social problem with the national question, while the financial help of the Irish in the States would be forthcoming in a land-for-the-people struggle in Ireland.'

Thus, when Davitt returned to Ireland, he had the assurance that the radical Irish World and the Roman Catholic Boston Pilot would support his efforts.

On his return to Ireland Davitt found considerable confusion about the meaning of the New Departure. Kickham at that time was chairman of the supreme council of the I.R.B. and W. B. Yeats has told how he had received the proposal:

A prominent Irish American, not long released from the prison where Fenianism had sent him, cabled to Parnell: 'Take up Land Reform side by side with the National Question and we will support you. See Kickham.' What had Parnell, a landowner and a haughty man, to do with the peasant or the peasant's grievance? And he was indeed so ignorant of both that he asked Kickham, novelist and Fenian leader, if he thought the people would take up land agitation, and Kickham answered: 'I am only afraid they would go to the Gates of Hell for it...' 

The message which Kickham had received was not publicized. Various rumors about its content were current and Thomas Mooney wrote to the *Irish World* from London:

The papers in Ireland are mangling the cause of Ireland in every issue. The 'new departure' puzzles them. The Irishman thinks the 'message to Parnell' was a hoax. It was not, in fact, sent to Parnell, but was brought to him. The Freeman, Nation, Cork Examiner, and the other Constitutional papers approve... and say that the Fenians are returning to common sense. But it seems from the New York Herald there are not now any 'Fenians in organization.' The whole affair is a puzzle, and so let it remain...\(^1\)

When Davitt arrived in Ireland, Kickham in an unsigned editorial in *Irishman* had condemned "the whole proposal and policy which it suggested," and the rank and file of the Fenians, some "35,000 men," seemed ready to follow him.

Hearing of this state of affairs, Devoy wrote a long letter in defense of the new departure to the Dublin *Freeman*. His next step is recorded by Davitt:

Mr. Devoy crossed from America to defend the position he had taken up, but after a long consideration of the matter before the elected council of the Fenian organization, he and the writer were found to be the only advocates of the new policy within that body.\(^6\)

Perhaps this "long consideration" of the Fenian chiefs took place in Paris early in 1879. At any rate, Devoy later wrote that Kickham, O'Leary and at least two others attended a conference in Paris at that time:

...and a working agreement was reached on the basis of approval of that part of the proposition aimed at securing

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control of the local public bodies and leaving the members of the I.R.B. free to take part in Parliamentary elections, provided that they did not enter Parliament themselves.¹

While in France, Devoy also made an effort to win Parnell's endorsement of the New Departure. Accordingly, a rendezvous at Boulogne was arranged by Davitt. Devoy, who had become an "intimate acquaintance" of John O'Leary, during his stay on the continent, asked the former editor of Irish People to accompany him to Boulogne because O'Leary had had dealings with Parnell in 1877 when there had been a similar attempt to negotiate "a formal agreement" between the physical force party and those who shared Parnell's beliefs. On that occasion O'Leary had sabotaged the proceedings but had developed "a personal liking for Parnell." According to Devoy, this "interview paved the way for the full working agreement" which he "made with Parnell in Morrison's Hotel, Dublin."²

While these negotiations were going on, Davitt was seeking an organized expression of the principles of the New Departure in Connacht where there was considerable agrarian discontent. At Irishtown, County Mayo, he arranged for a meeting: "It was generally known that the active spirits in the organizing of the meeting were members of the Fenian body..."³ The Irishtown meeting occurred on April 19, 1879. Subsequently, in spite of Archbishop MacHale's angry letter which described him

¹ J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 314.
² Ibid., p. 281.
³ Ibid., pp. 283-284.
⁴ Davitt, loc. cit., pp. 147-150.
⁵ Ibid., p. 151.
as an "unknown, strolling man," Davitt arranged other similar gatherings: "It was the nationalists of Mayo who first rallied around him at Irishtown, Milltown, Claremorris, and Westport, and set the agitation on its feet." The last mentioned meeting took place early in June:

On June 7, another great land meeting, organized by Davitt and the local Fenians, though of course attended by thousands of tenant farmers who were not Fenians, was held at Westport, County Mayo. 8

Farnell attended this Westport meeting and during the course of a "stirring speech" advised his audience to "hold a firm grip on your homesteads and land. You must not allow yourselves to be dispossessed..." Farnell's presence may have been a contributing cause to the formation of the "National Land League of Mayo" on August 16, 1879. In any event, when Davitt set about to create an organization which would embrace all of Ireland, Farnell was asked to help. He consented and upon his invitation a conference was held in Dublin on October 21, 1879 at which the Irish National Land League was formed. In the words of Davitt, this new organization transformed the New Departure from a project into an actual coalition of Fenians and moral suasionists:

Farnell was elected president of the League; Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Patrick Egan, hon. treasurers; Mr.

1. Sheehy-Skeffington, op. cit., p. 95.
5. Ibid., pp. 160-164.
8. Ibid., pp. 171-173.
Davitt, Mr. Kettle, Mr. Brennan, hon. secretaries. Thus of the seven first chosen officers four were Fenians or ex-Fenians -- Biggar, Egan, Brennan, Davitt -- and all were in sympathy with Fenianism. The Land League was, in fact, the organization of the New Departure. 

It only remains to be said that the first funds for the Land League were sent to Davitt by John Devoy at the request of Patrick Ford who got $5,000 from the trustees of the Skirmishing Fund for this purpose.

The formation of the Irish National Land League did not satisfy either Parnell or Davitt, for there was very little money in its treasury and no parallel organization in America. Accordingly, to remedy the first defect, in December, 1879, Parnell sailed for America and arrived in New York on January 1, 1880. So much work did he find necessary that soon after his arrival Parnell telegraphed T.M. Healy in London to join him and act as his secretary. Healy arrived in New York on February 25 and wrote to his brother on the next day:

On landing I made my way to the Herald office, asked for John Devoy, heard that he was at a lecture of Boyle O'Reilly's at the Cooper Institute, took a tram thither and made for the platform, where Devoy received me with open arms. He had, it appears, been sent down to the boat by the Misses Parnell to look for me, but somehow didn't meet me. After O'Reilly's lecture the Parnell girls warmly gave me greetings.

Parnell's tour of America had been largely planned by the Clan-na-Gael. Perhaps for this reason the Canadian Orangemen

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5. Ibid., p. 79.
6. Ibid., p. 80.
threatened him if he made an appearance in Toronto, and according
to T.M. Healy the Roman Catholic Archbishop of that city wrote to
him "not to risk coming":

Parnell's mother in New York was nervous, because O'Dono-
van Rossa had shortly before been assaulted in Toronto.
Parnell asked me to write the Archbishop that nothing would
prevent him fulfilling his engagement. To me he said no
Orangeman would attack a Protestant, and explained why the
fury against O'Donovan Rossa did not apply to him. He
proved right.1

From Toronto, Healy and Parnell proceeded to Montreal where the
former, repeating a title which had been conferred on the latter
by the Dublin Freeman's Journal and which had previously been
applied to Daniel O'Connell, described Parnell as "the uncrowned
king of Ireland." 2 In March, Parnell and Healy returned to Ire-
land from New York. On board ship Healy wrote to his brother
of Parnell's sister Fanny:

Fanny...wrote for Parnell a very good article in the present
number of the North American Review, on the Irish Land Ques-
tion...one word of which was not written by Charles, though
signed by him. She has also written a little pamphlet called
Novels of Ireland, which has gone through several editions
within a few months in New York, for the benefit of the
Land League.3

So successful had been Parnell's junket that he brought back
40,000 pounds with him for the Land League.

Before leaving New York, Parnell sought to remedy the
second defect in the Irish National Land League, that is, the

1. T.M. Healy, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 832
4. Ibid., p. 85.
5. Ibid., p. 87.
6. Ibid., p. 90.
lack of a parallel organization in America. Accordingly, he wrote a letter to Patrick Ford in which he indicated that he wanted to have a society in America auxiliary to the Irish Land League. Consequently, in May, 1880, "The Irish National and Industrial League of the United States" was created with John Boyle O'Reilly as its temporary chairman and Michael Davitt as secretary. Referring to the words "and Industrial," which were added to the title of the American organization, Davitt, who was present at the time, said:

I can assure you now, that the addition which you have made to the platform today will be accepted by the Irish people on the other side. As the movement for the abolition of the Irish Landlord System was first started here, I am glad that this later addition to it is made here also.

In Davitt's opinion the membership of the American organization could be divided into a Roman Catholic group, the radical land reformers who read Irish World and the Fenians:

There was what might be called the conservative following of Messrs. Collins and Boyle O'Reilly, of Boston... Behind these and the clergy generally, who accepted their lead, were ranged those members and subscribers who wished their financial help to be sent direct to the headquarters of the league in Ireland. These were likewise strong partisan upholders of Mr. Farnell's leadership.

Next there was the wide constituency of Irish World readers extending through the regions covered by the then great circulation of that paper. These leaguers upheld the radical teaching of Mr. Ford's paper on the Irish land question, and selected to send their donations through the channel which gave them each week a published list of their subscriptions and a full account of how the fight 'at home' was progressing.

Last, there was the support offered by the Clan-na-Gael. Without the encouragement given by its prominent leaders to
the new departure, that venture might have fared badly
when and where its friends were few. It followed from
this fact, and also owing to the revolutionary antecedents of
the most active leaders of the league at home, that some of
the Clan leaders held with Mr. John Devoy that the revolutionary
organization in America had a kind of prescriptive right to
control the league movement in the United States and to take
charge of the work of remitting financial aid to the fight-
ing forces of the home league. 1

Of these three groups John Boyle O'Reilly and his Roman Catholic
friends will be taken up subsequently, but a word may be said
about the Fenians.

John Devoy thought that Davitt was forgetting his Fenian
principles in his enthusiasm for the cause of the Land League; and
reported that the latter was "very much under the influence of
Patrick Ford" who published "the notices of his public meetings"
in the Irish World. Devoy was particularly annoyed at this be-
cause it "helped to make that journal, to a great extent, the
organ of the movement and largely increased its sale." Neverthe-
less, when John O'Leary visited America in 1880 as an envoy of
the I.R.B., Devoy opposed his address to a Clan-na-Gael reunion
in a futile attempt to turn the rank and file from supporting the
Land League. O'Leary, of course, favored "the old Fenian policy
of abstention from all Constitutional agitation."

The Land League and Henry George

Land League

Ford had prepared his readers for a fund to aid the Land

2. See p. 341.
4. Ibid., p. 75.
5. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 286.
League by propaganda and, instigated by Davitt, his sister, Ellen Ford, together with Fanny Parnell, helped to found the Ladies Land League. Meanwhile conditions in Ireland had come to such a pass that Parnell was sent to jail, and in order to get first-hand information of what was happening, Ford sent Henry George to the United Kingdom as a special correspondent of the Irish World. These various events will be taken up in the following consideration of the Land League and Henry George.

In 1879, Ford had decided to increase the popularity of his paper by adding belles lettres to "its Labor articles and other features." In January he began "by permission of the author" to publish Kickham's Sally Cavanagh. There was a propagandistic reason for the selection of Kickham's novel: "This story by Charles J. Kickham, the poet-patriot, comes just in time to prove a huge bomb-shell in the newly-awakened land question in this country and in Ireland." Kickham had spoken highly in his preface of O'Donovan Rossa and therefore it is interesting to read O'Donovan Rossa's outline of the plot:

This story of 'Sally Cavanagh' ought to be in the house of every Irishman who cares or knows anything about Ireland. She was married to Connor Shea. They had a little farm of ground, a pretty fair landlord, but a bad agent called 'Grindem.' Grindem put a bad eye upon Sally Cavanagh. Sally spurned him, and then he set to work to ruin Connor Shea. He raised the rent so that Connor could not pay and he decided on going to America, leaving the crop of oats that was growing. But when harvest came Grindem seized oats and everything else, and Sally had to go into the poorhouse. She was separated from her children. The children died, she became a maniac, ran away from the poorhouse, found out where the children were buried and laid on their graves night and

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1. The Irish World Enlarged! Irish World, December 21, 1878, p. 56q
day until she died. Kickham says the story is founded on facts known to himself...I am not ashamed to say that the tears were streaming down my cheeks the whole time I was reading it.\(^1\)

Incidentally, Kickham condemned the \textit{Irish World}'s land theories in a long letter to the press in 1881 so that whatever effect the publication of \textit{Sally Cavanagh} may have had on the readers of \textit{Irish World}, it did not win Kickham over to Ford's proposed reforms.

\textit{Sally Cavanagh} was followed by another yarn of the same type, \textit{William Carleton's Valentine M'Clurgy} which also appeared serially. It told the villainies of another land agent, and \textit{Irish World} published the novel for the same reason that it had printed \textit{Sally Cavanagh}:

\begin{quote}
We have taken pains to have it revised and illustrated for our readers, confident that its publication in the \textit{Irish World} will help immensely the agitation now on foot in England and in Ireland on the right of man to the soil he tills.\(^4\)
\end{quote}

Thus it may be said the readers of the \textit{Irish World} were prepared, ideologically as it were, for Ford's crusade to raise money for the Land League.

\textit{Ford's fifth campaign existed thirty-three months. For twenty-two of them he called it the Land League Fund and during that time he collected $169,625.54. After the Land League promulgated its "No Rent Manifesto" on October 18, 1881, Ford changed 5

\begin{enumerate}
\item O'D. Rossa, \textit{Something from Rossa, Irish World}, August 31, 1878, p. 5.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 4.
\item See pp. 218-219.
\item Funds for Patriotic Objects, \textit{Irish World}, Feb. 16, 1884, p. 10.
\item Davitt, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 335-337.
\end{enumerate}
the name from the "Land League Fund" to the "No Rent Fund" and in the remaining eleven months of its existence $173,447.38 was contributed. It may be convenient to discuss the events in the United States which attended the existence of the Land League Fund and then to consider Ireland during the same period. Then the days of the No Rent Fund will be studied.

The most important event which attended the existence of the Land League Fund in the United States was the formation, largely through the efforts of Michael Davitt, of the Ladies Land League on October 15, 1880. Charles Stewart Parnell's sister, Fanny, called the inaugural meeting to order; his mother was elected president, and Ellen Ford, sister of Patrick Ford, vice-president. Davitt's farewell appearance for 1880 in New York was made shortly after under the auspices of the newly formed League. Among those on the platform was "Henry George, of San Francisco," who was identified for the readers of Irish World as the "author of 'Progress and Poverty.'" Fanny Parnell, too, was there and an Irish World reporter likened her to Harriet Beecher Stowe because of her writings on behalf of the under-privileged Irish peasants. After the meeting Ford, Davitt and Henry George held a consultation:

'I have read your book, Mr. George,' said Davitt. 'I endorse what you say on the nationalization of the land; but how is that to be effected in Ireland under British domination?'

1. Funds for Patriotic Objects, op.cit., p. 10.
One of the three, anticipating the "No Rent Manifesto," answered "Pay no rent!"

Upon his return to Ireland, Davitt, who had been "a special correspondent" of Irish World in Dublin, found Ireland in a state of unrest. Thirty-two Irish members of Parliament had been suspended for obstructing the passage of legislation at Westminster; and then a far-reaching land bill had been adopted by the House of Commons. The Land League had bought Flag of Ireland from Pigott because of its hostility, and had renamed it United Ireland. Pigott had attempted to blackmail the treasurer of the League and on being exposed he justified himself by pointing to the well known hostility of Charles J. Kickham and John O'Leary to land agitation. O'Leary was so enraged by this action of Pigott's that he wrote to Freeman's Journal "unfortunately for the cause of public and private morality, there are many people who do not know him." Needless to say, Ford also denounced Pigott; and at the same time had condemned the police for confiscating copies of Irish World in Dublin. Finally, on November 2, 1880, Parnell and several of his lieutenants had been indicted as a result of their Land League activities; but the jury which had tried them had refused to convict.

2. Mr. Quinn's Arrest, Irish World, October 29, 1881, p. 4.
5. Ibid., pp. 321-333.
Matters were standing thus when Davitt returned. Early in 1881, he played a large part in establishing the Ladies' Land League of Ireland in Dublin; and in this work he was assisted by another of Charles Stewart Parnell's sisters, Anna Parnell. Years later the widow of one of Parnell's lieutenants, recording the "names of the first officers of the League," mentioned Ellen O'Leary (sister of John O'Leary), Anna Parnell, Mary O'Connor (sister of T.P. O'Connor) and Hannah Lynch:

Hannah Lynch, secretary of the Ladies Land League, was a passionate lover of books and herself wrote novels of outstanding merit; her father was a Fenian, and she was brought up among writers, orators and politicians.  

Katharine Tynan, who was "one of the most prominent and ardent workers in the Ladies' Land League," also praised Hannah Lynch, "whose novels appealed to the discriminating," and declared that she had "learnt much" from the Lynch family. Incidentally, it may be worthy of note that Katharine Tynan, who had been a great admirer of Longfellow, did not altogether appreciate the Americanism which the Land Leagues brought into Irish politics, although she thought that "the enormous sums poured week by week from Irish America into the Land League coffers...belonged more to the realm of the fairy-story than to anything of actual life." Finally, among the tasks which the Ladies' Land League set for itself was one which is not without significance

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1. Davitt, op. cit., p. 256.
2. Ibid., pp. 299-300.
4. Ibid., p. 158.
6. Ibid., pp. 120-121.
7. Ibid., p. 83.
so far as the Celtic renaissance is concerned:

They formed clubs for boys, where the history of Ireland was taught. This was necessary because the British educational system discouraged the teaching of this branch of knowledge. So now we see how the Ladies' Land League anticipated the Countess Markievics in the formation of the Fianna Eireann.

Not long after Davitt helped to start the Ladies' Land League the Government declared his ticket-of-leave to be forfeited and he was returned to prison; and for the next eight months Dublin Castle vainly attempted to put the quietus on the Land League. Then on October 7, 1881, Gladstone, who was the Prime Minister, made his famous threat in a speech at Leeds: "I say without hesitation, the resources of civilisation against its enemies are not yet exhausted." Within a week Parnell was arrested in Ireland:

...people in Dublin, who had been denounced by John Mitchel in 1848 as 'bellowing slaves and genteel dastards,' revolted and held the streets for three nights, because of his arrest. Lord Mayor Gray, M.P., of the Freeman, led a deputation of protest to Forster against the baton charges. The reply was, 'Clearing the streets cannot be a milk-and-water business.' O'Kelly, M.P., Sexton, M.P., and William O'Brien, Editor of United Ireland, were locked up within forty-eight hours. Dillon, M.P. who had just been released, was re-arrested.

On October 15, 1881, the Land League promulgated its "No Rent" Manifesto, signed by Parnell, Davitt and five others -- all but one of them being in jail. It called on the Leaguers not to be intimidated, to refuse to pay rents, passively to resist what-

1. Leamy, op. cit., pp. 159-160.
ever force was used against them, to depend upon the funds of the
Land League for support and to rely on America:

Our exiled brothers in America may be relied upon to con-
tribute, if necessary, as many millions of money as they
have contributed thousands to starve out landlordism and
bring English tyranny to its knees.¹

On October 20, the Irish National Land League was outlawed "by
the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland." Thereupon Irish World changed
the name of the "Land League Fund" to the "No Rent Fund" and, to
the dismay of John Boyle O'Reilly, took an even more radical stand
than it had occupied before with regard to land tenure. The re-
sult was that the latter, together with his more conservative
Boston, Roman Catholic supporters, formed a caucus and eventually
split off from Ford's section of the Irish National and Indus-
trial League of the United States.

Henry George

Thus, in 1882, the American wing of the Land League had
broken into three separate groups: the physical force advocates
who were busily trying to make a war on England which in the words
of John Devoy was "characterized by all the rigours of Mihilism,"
O'Reilly's Roman Catholic supporters and "the wide constituency
of Irish World readers" who "upheld the radical teaching of Mr.
Ford's paper on the Irish land question." Postponing a con-
sideration of the Fenians and O'Reilly's circle, it may be re-

¹ Davitt, op. cit., p. 336.
² Ibid., pp. 338-339.
⁴ The Lines are Drawn, Irish World, May 6, 1882, p. 5.
⁵ Davitt, op. cit., p. 340.
⁶ See p. 293.
⁷ See pp. 320-325.
⁸ See p. 341.
ported that among those who upheld Ford was Terence V. Powderly, "the grand chief" of the Knights of Labor, who seems to have been an agent for the circulation department of *Irish World* and Henry George. The remainder of these remarks about the land agitation will be devoted to George's connections with Ford.

George's relations with Ford may be introduced by a short discussion of the circumstances which led the latter to send the original Single Taxer to the British Isles as special correspondent of the *Irish World*. George's dispatches from Ireland, Scotland and England will then be considered in more detail; and these remarks will be concluded by telling of the differences of opinion between Parnell and George and, later, of the end of the relations between the latter and Patrick Ford.

There is evidence that Ford knew George at least as early as March, 1878. On June 8th of the same year he was praised by name in the *Irish World* for his outspoken opinion that "land monopoly is the curse of California, and must be prohibited."

Progress and Poverty, of course, was published in 1879 and in 1880 George settled in New York. His presence in November of the later year at the annual commemoration of the execution of the Manchester Martyrs, held under the auspices of a New York Irish Language society, was reported in *Irish World* together with a

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paraphrase of his remarks which indicates that George knew quite a bit about Irish history:

Mr. HENRY GEORGE...briefly reviewed the execution of the three heroes at Manchester. Ireland was a wonderful country. Christianized herself by a stranger she afterwards sent her missionaries all over the world; in like manner she was now sending forth missionary doctrine for the emancipation of humanity through her great land movement.¹

(It must have been about this time that he met Michael Davitt.)

In January, 1881, Irish World announced that it was bringing out a seventy-five cent edition of Progress and Poverty and shortly afterwards it urged the Land League to circulate it. The revocation of Davitt's ticket-of-leave by the British Government in February provoked George's wrath; and further evidence of his interest in Ireland was revealed in March when Irish World published a chapter "from advanced sheets of Henry George's pamphlet on "The Irish Land Question." By July, Progress and Poverty was winning converts in Ireland; for Irish World told how an arrested Fenian was refused a copy of it when he asked for George's book. At the same time, Ford's paper reported that a Scotch Land Leaguer was about to publish The Irish Land Question. It was, perhaps, the foregoing circumstances which induced Ford to send the great Single Taxer to the United Kingdom to replace the latest of its Dublin correspondents;

² See p. 297.
³ Progress and Poverty, Irish World, January 3, 1881, p. 5.
⁴ Uncaptioned note, Irish World, January 22, 1881, p. 4.
⁵ See p. 300.
⁶ H. George, The Land Question, p. 98.
⁷ "In Hoc Signo Vincit," Irish World, March 26, 1881, p. 5.
⁸ P. O'Neill Larkin, A Death Struggle, Irish World, July 9, 1881, p. 3.
⁹ Loc. cit.
DAVITT was the first thrown into prison, then BRENNAN, and now QUINN. It remains to be seen if the English government will have the audacity to arrest Mr. GEORGE, who takes Mr. QUINN'S place.  

George was welcomed to Ireland by the Ladies' Land League, audiences who "associated...the name of Michael Davitt" with him, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Meath and the Young Ireland Society which had just been formed and of which some account seems to be apt at this point in view of the enthusiasm which it displayed for land nationalization:  

The advocates of land nationalization here are nearly all the members of the Young Ireland society, which is a reform debating society, established since March,1881. The first debate of the Dublin Young Ireland Society in its session of last winter, commencing October 1st, was as to whether land nationalization or peasant proprietary was the proper solution of the Land Question, and at that meeting, which consisted of about 150 of the best-educated and most intelligent young men of the city, on the taking of a division after the debate, a majority voted for land nationalization.  

The nucleus of the Young Ireland Society had been a "Literary and Historical Society" at the Catholic University. The scope of the parent society had been enlarged after Davitt's re-arrest in February, 1881, and at its inaugural meeting the president of the new organization had paid a veiled tribute to the physical force party:  

One of the objects of the society was the advancement of the national cause. He should say that one of the very best ways by which the cause would be advanced would be the advancement of knowledge among the young men of Ireland -- the knowledge of their own history, and also the political history

1. Mr. Quinn's Arrest, Irish World, October 29, 1881, p. 4.  
2. H. George, Henry George, Irish World, November 12, 1881, p. 5.  
4. H. George, Henry George, Irish World, November 19, 1881, p. 4.  

[Handwritten note: W Aug. 26, 1882 p9.]
of other nations -- a knowledge which he might describe as the science of politics. They were mostly young men, and the occasion might arise when they could advance it more actively (loud applause) but at present, and in a society like that, the best and most effective means were those which he had mentioned.1

It may be assumed that Douglas Hyde, who entered Trinity College in 1880, was attracted to this new group because in 1881 he paid tribute to O'Donovan Rossa:

En mars 1881 il publia dans l'organe séparatiste: THE UNITED IRISHMAN, un poème en irlandais dans lequel il faisait l'éloge d'O'Donovan Rossa, le leader Fenian. Son poème est, suivant l'expression d'un génial républican, 'de la mauvaise poésie, mais de la bonne sédiction.' Le rimeur y commandait de tenir la poudre et les fusils prêts.2

W. B. Yeats, too, was attracted to it, although it is not easy to determine the precise date when he joined because in his autobiography he merely said:

When I began to write, I belonged to a Young Ireland Society in Dublin, and wished to be as easily understood as the Young Ireland writers -- to write out of the common thought of the people."4

Nevertheless, it is most likely that neither Hyde nor Yeats were recruited until after John O'Leary became president for John Devoy wrote many years later:

Douglas Hyde knew John O'Leary very well in his later years -- so well that O'Leary made him a Fenian, as he did with William Butler Yeats, Rolleston, Gregg, Charles Johnstone, Oldham and other Trinity College students when the Young Ireland SOCIETY of which they were all members, was doing splendid work in Dublin in the EIGHTIES.6

1. Young Irland Society, The Flag of Ireland, April 2, 1882, p. 5.
6. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 262.
Incidentally, it would seem that in "the Winter of 1886" the Society became interested in the revival of the Irish language for at that time "a notice was published in the papers that a Gaelic school had been established by the Young Ireland Society."¹

That the Young Ireland Society contributed to the Celtic renaissance has been indicated in the foregoing brief account of it. Therefore, both the respect which its members had for Irish World in 1882 and the cordial reception which it tendered to Henry George when he was in Ireland at that time are notable. Of it George wrote to Ford's paper:

There are lots of things about myself of which I have not told you in these letters. I have said nothing of how I was invited to a banquet by the Young Ireland Society, nor how by the rising of an immense audience I was made an adopted Irishman...³

George was most profoundly shocked at the administration of justice in Ireland. Shortly after his arrival, he went to see Parnell in Kilmainham prison. He wrote of the interview that he was taken to see Parnell "as in a Zoological Garden you might see a wild beast:"

Mr. Parnell desired to be most warmly remembered to his friends in the United States, and especially to the Irish World, whose services he said had been all-important, but a copy of which would no more be allowed within Kilmainham than a ton of dynamite.⁴

The single taxer was indignant that a judge had informed a jury "that the police had a right to seize copies of the Irish World

². W. O'Dwyer, Irish Education, Irish World, August 26, 1882, p.9.
³. H. George, Further from George, Irish World, June 24, 1882, p. 11.
and United Ireland"; and of an eviction, copying an idiom
which Rossa had already used in Irish World and which Synge was
to make famous, George wrote:

'How long have you people lived here?' I asked one of the
men.
'Always,' was the reply. 'Our people have lived here longer
than the memory of man goes; we are the old people.'
'And this Scotchman, whom you say never saw Ireland, where
does he get the right to make you people pay him for living
in Ireland?'
'Sure, he has no right. He gets the power from the police
and the soldiers, who are too strong for us; that is all.
Little is the rent he'd get only for them.'

George discovered that an immoral administration of the
law had united the Irish people against it; and in a memorable
passage, which anticipated the very theme of Synge's Playboy of
the Western World, he wrote to the Irish World:

That criminals cannot be detected in Ireland does not
prove that the Irish are peculiarly a lawless people,
but that among them law has been used for purposes that out-
rage the moral sense. The Irish horror of the informer has
become traditional during the generations in which priest
and patriot have been hunted by the bloodhounds of the law.
And today this feeling is being intensified. In countries
where the constable chases only the thief and the murderer
every bystander will join in the hue and cry, but where
constables drag off to prison those whom the people must
love and honor, he who flies from the constable, even though
he be thief or murderer, finds help and concealment. This
is only human nature.

To make a long story short, George called the English Government
in Ireland "barbarous" and "the very worst Government that exists
in the civilized world."

In Scotland George had a colorful recruit in the person of

1. Unsigned, "No Rent", Victorious, Irish World, February 4,
   1882, p. 5.
2. See p. 265.
4. H. George, England and Ireland, Irish World, July 1, 1882, p. 5.
5. Ibid., March 11, 1882, p. 1.
John Murdoch who liked to appear in public in kilt and tartan. Murdoch, who has already been mentioned as a contributor to the Dublin Nation and as editor of The Highlander, believed the more ancient Celtic civilization to be superior to the English. He liked to emphasize the brotherhood of the Scotch highlander with "the Gael of Ireland"; and he was convinced that the Celts had a divine mission to win over the descendants of the Normans to a policy of land nationalization. Of the struggles of the crofters on the island of Skye he wrote to Irish World:

...these SKYE PEASANTS ARE WELL UP IN STRATEGY, as becomes the descendants of those who were educated in the military college of DUN SGATHAICH, to which Cuchulain and the sons of Uisneach were sent from Ireland in the time of Conor MacNessa.5

In the same vein, Murdoch, who was a Gaelic scholar of some note, declared the folklore of Skye to be replete with "Irish heroes, kings, queens" and saw a Celtic renaissance as the result of the land agitation:

England...is doomed, while quite possibly the present revival of Celticism and the attention which is being paid to the land of the Celts will contribute to the preservation of Ireland and the Highlands.... Skye and the rest of Gaeldom, including Erin, were not conquered by the Romans, and to this day they hold a different spirit from that which animates those races which received the mark of the iron hand of Rome.7

George was well received by others, too, in Scotland and when he addressed various gatherings there in March, 1882:

1. The Truth About the Land War, Irish World, January 14, 1882, p.3.  
2. See p. 238.  
Many persons date the radical land movement in Scotland from these meetings, and it is clear that they put the spark to the agitation among the crofters, or small farmers, which soon blazed up.\textsuperscript{1}

George was welcomed to England. H. M. Hyndman, an intimate of William Morris, and the "chief, and indeed only exponent of Marxism" in England during Marx's lifetime was one whose welcome to George was to some extent an evidence of the popularity of \textit{Irish World} in Great Britain. George's most famous recruit in England at this time, however, was the Irishman, George Bernard Shaw:

In 1882, when Bernard Shaw was 26 and the author of four unpublished books, he attended a public meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farrington Street, London, which was addressed by Henry George on the subject of land nationalization.\textsuperscript{4}

In 1933 Shaw addressed the Academy of Political Science in New York on "The Future of Political Science in America." He remembered the meeting which he had attended in 1882, how it "changed the whole current of my life" and how, after it, he had read \textit{Progress and Poverty}. "I have come here tonight...to pay back an old debt that I owe America," he said:

Well, Henry George put me onto the economic tack, and the task of political science. Very shortly afterwards, I read Karl Marx, and I read all the early political sciences of that time; but it was the American, Henry George, who started me.

Therefore, as that happened at the beginning of my life, I have thought it fitting that now at the end of my life, because it will cheer you to hear that there can't be very much more of it (laughter), but that at the end of it, perhaps, I might come and give here in America back a little of that which that Henry George gave to me.\textsuperscript{5}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} H. George Jr., \textit{The Life of Henry George}, p. 389.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Unsigned, Henry Mayers Hyndman, \textit{Encyclopaedia Britannica}, 14th ed., vol. 12, p. 20.
\item \textsuperscript{3} H. George, Hope for Europe, \textit{Irish World}, March 18, 1882, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Text of G.B. Shaw's Address, \textit{New York Times}, April 12, 1933, pp. 14-15
\end{itemize}
At this point a brief digression about Shaw's debt to America may be permitted although the subject deserves a separate monograph. What was, perhaps, the first of his innumerable letters to the press was occasioned by the visit of Moody and Sankey, the revivalists, to Dublin in 1875. On another occasion he roused the ire of John Devoy by saying the latter had a French name:

One of the pet theories about me among certain people is that I am not Irish, but French. This theory has a distinguished sponsor in George Bernard Shaw, who once honored me with a sarcastic article, the occasion of which I don't recall, in which he said he had been for some time a clerk in an Irish land office and had never met the name. Mr. Shaw is a great dramatist and an unusually clever man, but he is not an authority on Irish names.²

In another connection, it would be interesting to know if Shaw had read the following which appeared in the Irish World:

"Under the myth of the battle between their gods and the Titans the ancients typified the strife constantly occurring between the laborers and the capitalists." For this, of course, is the theme of Shaw's The Perfect Wagnerite. It would also be interesting to know whether Shaw had any connection with the Skirmishing Fund. The reader of Heartbreak House will think of the peculiar attention devoted to explosives in that play, but evidence of an even more compelling nature may be cited:

Fabians and Social Democrats, alike, said freely that 'as gunpowder destroyed the feudal system, so the capitalist system could not long survive the invention of dynamite!'

2. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 372.
3. The Conflict of the Ages, Irish World, April 15, 1882, p. 4.
5. G.B. Shaw, Heartbreak House, pp. 116-122.
Not that they were dynamitards. But, as Shaw explains: 'We thought that the statement about gunpowder and feudalism was historically true, and that it would do the capitalists good to remind them of it.'

Finally, returning to Henry George, in a letter dated December 24, 1904, Shaw paid a long tribute to the Single Taxer in a letter to Hamlin Garland. And George's influence can be discovered not only in *John Bull's Other Island* but also in a memorable speech at the end of the second act of *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, a speech which Shaw's American biographer has described as "a feast of which Henry George might have been proud."

In England George renewed his acquaintance with Michael Davitt upon the latter's release from prison on May 6, 1882. This was the very day that the Invincibles killed Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary for Ireland, and Under-Secretary Burke in Phoenix Park, Dublin. The *London Standard* made an amazing appeal to Davitt, who had just been released from fifteen months imprisonment, "to hand over to justice the men who assassinated the two secretaries in Phoenix Park!" George wrote a reply at Davitt's request to which he signed Davitt's name and in which he seemed to indicate that Davitt had abandoned physical force; and when Davitt refused to repudiate George's reply, Devoy wrote to the *New York Herald*:

I do not deny Mr. Davitt's right to change his opinions, but...it is a much more serious case than a change of

6. See pp. 257; 324.
opinion, Mr. Davitt came to America after his imprisonment as a believer in the ultimate use of physical force, and on his positive reaffirmation of that belief secured the support which enabled him to organize the Land League. In short, his personal honor is involved in the explanation of that portion of his letter to the Standard...1

At about the same time, differences between Davitt and Parnell, who was being hailed as "the soon-to-be-elected President of the Irish Republic," became apparent. Davitt denied that he was falling "into the hands of Henry George" and later in the year he united forces with Parnell to form the Irish National League as a substitute for the suppressed Irish National Land League. Meanwhile, Henry George had returned to America. Before another year had elapsed, Ford had stopped his No-Rent Fund and the circulation of Irish World in Ireland had been stopped by Dublin Castle.

The differences between Parnell and Davitt can to some extent be attributed to Henry George. In June, 1882, George had written to Ford that Davitt had become a more important figure in Ireland than Parnell; and in July he wrote again to say that Davitt had "seriously to defend himself from the charges of being captured by Henry George and run by the 'Irish World.'" Late in 1883 George returned to England and was met at Liverpool upon his arrival by Davitt:

5. The Great Meeting, Irish World, July 1, 1882, p. 2.
8. Funds for Patriotic Objects, Irish World, February 18, 1884, p. 10.
Davitt was now without let or hindrance preaching the doctrine of land nationalisation and paying no more attention to the Parnellites (who for the time were in eclipse) than to those physical-force men, who were trying dynamite explosions in England as a means of compelling public recognition of Irish claims.  

While George was in England, Davitt was with him much of the time. Both of them visited Oxford and it may be worth mentioning that  

Yorke Powell, the friend of W.B. Yeats' father, was interested enough in George to preside at the meeting at which the latter spoke.  

In April, 1884, Davitt persuaded George to lecture in  

Dublin on "The Land for the People." Davitt presided and J.F. Taylor, a man who was even closer to W.B. Yeats than Powell was, attended the meeting. The definite rupture between Parnell and Davitt seems to have come soon after as the result of a too radical speech made by Davitt at Drogheda:

This speech disposed of the question of Land Nationalisation. Davitt still held his own views, but he despaired of gaining any adherents in Ireland, and soon afterwards sent on tour to Egypt.  

Before the end of the month, George had departed for America. He had been repudiated, perhaps, in the same way as Davitt. Yet in view of the influence which he had had in Scotland, it may not be incorrect to ascribe to him some indirect part in the formation of the Pan-Celtic Society of which Douglas Hyde, George Sigerson, Ellen O'Leary, and John O'Leary were members and

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1. R. George, Jr., op. cit., pp. 421-422.  
4. Ibid., p. 438.  
in which Ernest Boyd discovered the germ of the Gaelic League.

In January,1882, relations between George and Ford were so cordial that the latter printed an article which prophesied an Irish renaissance for which George was partially to be responsible:

It may not be possible to enumerate all the materials that enter into the foundation of the structure of our New Ireland. There are three prominent principles which it will suffice to mention now. The first of these is FREE LAND. As Mr. George says, 'A people deprived of land are a nation of slaves...' Our second fundamental principle is DEMOCRACY, or the political equality of all citizens of the State...As for titles and all who bear them, we regard them as badges of foreign subjection and their bearers as aliens. Our third principle is to cultivate a CLOSE FRIENDSHIP WITH AMERICA.'

The first rift came about over the Invincibles whose action was repudiated by George but extenuated by Irish World, which collected $8,000 for THE MARTYRS FUND to provide for the dependents of the convicted men. Incidentally, Irish World raised $54,615.78 to pay for the defense of an Irish-American, Patrick O'Donnell, who killed the chief informer against the Invincibles when they were brought to trial.

The rift was healed when George was arrested in Ireland in August, 1882, but in 1885 it was reopened when Ford favored a high tariff whereas George was a free trader. The complete
rupture came in 1887 and then it was on the grounds that Ford refused to side with George in the latter's dispute with the authorities in the Roman Catholic Church. Curiously enough, although Ford broke off relations with George, both remained friendly with Davitt; and evidently Ford persisted in his hostility towards landlordism for W.B. Yeats, seemingly in reference to him, wrote of certain events in 1894 or 1895:

...I was at the time enraged by some wild articles published by some Irish American newspaper, suggesting the burning down of the houses of Irish landlords. Nine years later I was lecturing in America, and a charming old Irishman came to see me with an interview to write, and we spent, and as I think in entire neglect of his interview, one of the happiest hours I have ever spent, comparing our tales of the Irish fairies, in which he very firmly believed. When he had gone I looked at his card, to discover that he was the writer of that criminal incitement.

Summary

The history of the Land League Fund, it may have been noted, fell into two parts -- a period of preparation, and then some thirty-three months of existence.

As early as 1878 Thomas Mooney, Patrick Ford and Michael Davitt were preparing the way for such a fund. In addition, all three were close to the physical force movement, and Davitt had served over seven years of a fifteen-year prison sentence for Fenian activities. Indeed, Davitt was an organizer for the I.R.B. and as such had sought to swear in Charles Stewart Parnell.

1. H. George, Jr., op. cit., p. 500.
2. Ibid., pp. 515-516.
In 1878, John Devoy, the Clan-na-Gael and Irish World, with the approval of John Boyle O'Reilly and the Boston Pilot, proposed a New Departure whereby moral suasionists and advocates of physical force would unite in a struggle to revise the system of land tenure in Ireland. The "elected council" of the I.R.B. was not enthusiastic about the proposition; but "a working agreement was reached" with the Irish-Americans and members of the Irish organization were allowed to take part in the new agitation. The support of Parnell, as an outstanding member of the moral suasionist party who was sympathetic to the Fenians, was also solicited. In Dublin on October 21, 1879, the Land League was formed with Parnell as its president. It was in reality the organized expression of the New Departure.

Parnell immediately felt the necessity of funds and of a parallel organization in America. In 1880 he went to the United States to remedy these defects and soon after was joined by his secretary, T.M. Healy. As a result of the trip, Parnell collected 40,000 pounds and created the Irish National and Industrial League of the United States of which Michael Davitt became secretary. He also acquired the reputation of being an accomplice of the revolutionary Clan-na-Gael in spite of the fact that John Boyle O'Reilly and his Roman Catholic circle of friends were active in both the New Departure and the association which Parnell had formed.

The Land League Fund was established in 1880. Readers of Patrick Ford's Irish World had been ideologically prepared in 1879 for a campaign to raise money for its purposes by the publication as serials of Charles J. Kickham's Sally Cavanagh and
William Carleton's Valentine M'Cullogh, both of which novels were anti-landlord in outlook. In 1880 they were further stimulated in the same direction by the formation of the Irish National and Industrial League of the United States and of a Ladies' Land League. The latter organization was the result of efforts by Parnell's mother and sister, Ford's sister and Michael Davitt. Shortly after its formation, the Ladies' Land League held a farewell meeting for Michael Davitt, who was returning to Ireland as a special correspondent of the Irish World. Among those on the speaker's platform was the author of 'Progress and Poverty,' Henry George, who met Davitt for the first time on this occasion.

Upon his return to Ireland, Davitt found considerable political and social unrest. One of his first acts was to take part in the formation of the Ladies' Land League of Ireland--assisted by sisters of Parnell, John O'Leary and T.P. O'Connor. The Ladies' Land League of Ireland is of particular interest because it did its part to encourage the Celtic renaissance by teaching Irish history in the boys' clubs which it founded. Incidentally, Katharine Tynan was a member.

In 1881, Davitt, Parnell, William O'Brien, John Dillon and many other members of the Land League were sent to prison and the Land League itself was dissolved by order of the Lord Lieutenant. Undaunted, the imprisoned Irish leaders issued their "No Rent" Manifesto urging the Irish tenant farmers to go on a rent strike. At this point, Patrick Ford decided to send Henry George to the United Kingdom as a special correspondent of the Irish World to report the disorders which were anticipated.

When Henry George had settled in New York in 1880, he im-
mediately had become active in Irish-American public affairs. In January, 1881, Irish World reported that it was bringing out a cheap edition of Progress and Poverty. Later in the same year, the single taxer began to win converts in Ireland and Scotland. Perhaps it was these three things which influenced Ford in his decision to send George abroad as his special correspondent.

In Ireland, the single taxer was made welcome, particularly by the Ladies' Land League and the Young Ireland Society. The Ladies' Land League has been associated with the Celtic renaissance, but the Young Ireland Society was even more significant in this connection because at a later date John O'Leary, Douglas Hyde, W.B. Yeats and T.W. Rolleston were to be active in it. At the time when George first visited Ireland, the Young Ireland Society had just been founded and its members were "nearly all" advocates of land and nationalization and, probably, Fenians. In contrast to his enthusiasm for such organizations as the Ladies' Land League and the Young Ireland Society, George reported the administration of Ireland to be "the very worst Government that exists in the civilized world."

In Scotland, George was made welcome by a series of meetings and by a little known but exceedingly ardent Celtic revivalist, John Murdoch, who had mixed up land nationalization and the renaissance in a most marvelous fashion.

In England, the single taxer's most famous recruit was George Bernard Shaw who avowed as late as 1933 that George had "changed the whole current of my life." This, however, was not the only interest which Shaw was to display in the United States, particularly in Irish-American phenomena such as Clan-na-Gael and,
perhaps, the *Irish World*. In England, George also renewed his acquaintance with Davitt when the latter was released from prison on May 6, 1882. Indeed, so well disposed did Davitt feel toward the single taxer that one of his first acts was to request George to write a letter for him condemning the killing of the Lord Lieutenant and Under Secretary of Ireland in Phoenix Park, Dublin.

It was at this time that differences between Davitt and Parnell first became apparent. The rift seems to have been due to Davitt's admiration for George and his theories. At about the same time, Ford, who continued to admire Davitt, disagreed sharply with George about the Phoenix Park affair. Nevertheless, a correspondent of *Irish World* insisted that George's theories of land tenure should be an integral part of "the foundation of the structure of our New Ireland." In 1885, the disagreement between Ford and George was intensified on the issue of free trade. The complete rupture between them came in 1887.

However, the Land League Fund had been closed in 1882, and these later differences between Ford and George fall beyond the scope not only of Chapter VI, but also of the study either of Fenianism or the Celtic renaissance.
CHAPTER VII
DYNAMITE AND THE CELTIC RENAISSANCE, 1881-1891

The last chapter, covering the years from 1879 to 1882, was predominantly political and economic in nature. The period from 1881 to 1891 was characterized by dynamite and belles lettres. In the present chapter these subjects will be investigated but with more space being allotted to the latter. Parnell's association with this phase of Irish-American history, it will be noted, was not nearly as close as his connection with the land agitation.

Dynamite

The dynamite campaign will be divided into a discussion of the attack and its results. Its inspiration can be traced back to the first convention of the Fenian Brotherhood at Chicago in 1863 when the Brotherhood adopted as "our Fenian maxim" a couplet from "A Song for the Irish Militia" by Thomas Davis:

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

Then there was the "Clerkenwell Explosion" of 1867 and the Skirmishing Fund of Irish World.

1. See p. 87.
3. See pp. 98; 178-179.
The Attack

The attack began in January, 1881. Nevertheless, in April Irish World demanded why the trustees of the Skirmishing Fund had not made use of the money which they had collected. Some years later an old Fenian published the following chronicle without the slightest reference to Ford, or his paper:

A writer in the 'Westminster Review' said, 'England never legislated for Ireland except under the influence of fear;... Dynamite has brought Home Rule within the scope of Practical Politics.'

The series of explosions which so affected Parliamentary opinion in England occurred on the following dates:

1881
Jan. 14, Explosion at the Military Barracks, Salford.  
March 16, Attempted explosion at the Mansion House, London.  
May 5, Explosion at Militia Barracks, Chester.
May 16, Explosion at Police Station..., Liverpool.  
June 10, Explosion at the Town Hall, Liverpool.

1883
Jan. 20, Explosion at Buchanan St. Railway Station, Glasgow.  
Jan. 20, Explosion at Gasometer, Irkston, Glasgow.  
Jan. 20, Explosion at Canal Bridge, Glasgow.  
March 15, Explosion at...Whitehall, London.  
Nov. 30, Explosion at Fred St. Station, London.  
Nov. 30, Explosion between Westminster Bridge and Charing Cross.

1884
Feb. 25, Attempted explosion at Charing Cross Railway Station, London.  
Feb. 25, Attempted explosion at Haddington Railway Station, London.  
Feb. 25, Attempted explosion at Ludgate Hill Railway Station, London.  
Feb. 26, Explosion at Victoria Railway Station, London.  
May. 30, Attempted explosion at Trafalgar Square, London.  
Dec. 13, Explosion at London Bridge.

1885

Jan. 24, Explosion at the House of Commons, London.
Jan. 24, Explosion at the Tower of London.

This impressive "series of explosions which so affected Parliamentary opinion in England" seems to have been due to two or three separate Irish-American groups. First there were those who may be associated with the old Skirmishing Fund. They seem to have consisted of two sub-groups: one close to Patrick Ford and the other controlled by O'Donovan Rossa. And second, there was the Clann-na-gael. Considering the attack as the work of these two, or three, groups, those who were associated with the old Skirmishing Fund may be taken up first.

At the same time that Irish World asked why the trustees of the Skirmishing Fund had not made use of the money entrusted to them, Lord Randolph Churchill, who perhaps knew that Ford's paper had claimed that the Irish, not the Russians, had first used dynamite as a "political agent" asked Parliament "why the Irish World was not prevented from circulating in Ireland." And the Home Secretary called on Washington to silence "the 'assassination press,'" objecting particularly to Irish World and a paper which Rossa had founded after his resignation from the Secretaryship of the Skirmishing Fund, United Irishman.

By August, 1881, only six thousand dollars of the Skirmishing Fund remained. Yet Irish World, which was engaged in collecting money for the land agitation, does not seem to have

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1. J. Denieffe, A Personal Narrative, p. 289.
taken any notice of this insolvency. On the other hand, Rossa's interest had not changed and one of the six men arrested, along with Thomas J. Clarke and Dr. Gallagher, in England in March, 1883, confessed:

He joined a secret oath-bound society which met in the Bowery in New York, and had for its object the achievement of the freedom of Ireland by physical force. The society seemed to be divided into small groups, like the Russian Nihilists, and the members of each group knew each other by numbers. He heard frequent mention of 'the old man,' whom he understood to be Rossa. He was summoned to go on a mission for the society, and was directed to Gallagher. The latter was a young physician in Williamsburg. Gallagher furnished him liberally with money, and ordered him to take passage for England. In London he met him again, and after several days of preparation sent him to Whitehead for the first package of dynamite, which was found in his room when he was arrested the night after his return.\[1\]

On December 25, 1883, Ford suddenly displayed a renewed concern for the policies of the Old Skirmishing Fund in an editorial appeal for An Emergency Fund. Within a month, The Emergency Fund endorsed by O'Donovan Rossa made its appearance in Irish World on January 19, 1884. In a signed statement Ford declared:

> The object of this Fund will be to aid the active forces on the other side in carrying on the war against the enemy. The idea is to stimulate deeds of heroism, and to provide for the dependents of men who may fall, but who shall have struck successful blows. It is unnecessary to enter into details. I can only say, in a general way, what I believe in myself, I believe in reprisals... I believe that every informer ought to die the death of a dog. I believe that all the material damage possible ought to be inflicted on the enemy, and that the war against the foe man ought to be persisted in without quarter to the end. I believe that England ought to be plagued with all the plagues of Egypt -- that she ought to be scourged by day and terrorized by night. I believe that this species of warfare ought to be kept up until England, hurt as well as scared, falls paralyzed upon her knees and begs Ireland to depart from her. This is my idea of making war on England.\[4\]

1. Le Caron, op. cit., p. 240.
2. The Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events, p. 416.
In January, 1883, certain of the Invincibles who had carried out  
the stabbings in Phoenix Park, Dublin, were arrested and subse-
quently five were put to death. On May 24, 1884, Irish World  
reported a meeting of an Emergency Club to commemorate the first  
anniversary of one of these executions. A speaker addressed the  
audience in Irish. Rossa praised explosives and an Irish-American  
dynamitard, Dr. Gallagher, who had been imprisoned in England.  
A third speaker threatened Queen Victoria:

...woe to the time when any of the wretched Guelphs, the  
Queen's sons, or the Queen herself dare to put their or her  
feet on the streets of Dublin (great applause) -- for we  
mean to take the avenging knife that killed Caesar in the  
Senate House in Rome (applause) and any man who refuses  
to recognize this means of dealing with the enemies of Ire-
land, put him outside the camp and have no connection with 
him. (Applause)

While these dynamitards, who may be associated with the  
old Skirmishing Fund, were engaged in the activities indicated  
above, another group had entered the field, the Clan-na-Gael. The  
latter organization had adopted a dynamite policy at its Chicago  
convention in August, 1881. Prominent speakers at this assembly  
had been John Devoy and T.V. Powderly, head of "The Knights of  
Labor." Three years later, at another convention of the Clan-na-
Gael, it was acknowledged that $118,000 had been "received and ex-

dended for dynamite purposes" since 1881. Then, in December, 1884,  
William Mackey Lomasney, who had won renown in Cork in 1867 and

1. See pp. 311; 257; 400-409.
5. Ibid., p. 199.
7. Ibid., p. 231.
8. See p. 167.
who was associated with the Clan-na-Gael, perished in an attempt to dynamite London Bridge. Shortly thereafter, in 1885, the dynamite campaign slowed up. Irish World stopped publicizing its Emergency Fund and, indeed, a "secret circular of the Clan-na-Gael...issued two days before Christmas" announced a temporary truce.

In 1888, the arrest and conviction of two Irish-American dynamitards in England indicated a revival of the attack and Maude Gonne MacBride has recorded later activities of P.J.P. Tynan and Luke ("Dynamite") Dillon. However, the murder of P.H. Cronin, a prominent member of the Clan-na-Gael and the friend of John Devoy, in 1889, split the Irish-Americans into two warring factions. Alexander Sullivan, who, according to Katherine Tynan, was married to a "woman-journalist" and was believed by many to have instigated the murder, was the leader of one faction; and John Devoy was the principal figure in the other camp. Incidentally, as late as 1897 W.B. Yeats was to complain that this intestine war hindered a project upon which he had engaged for the I.R.B., of which, it seems, he was then a member.

1. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, pp. 210-212, 277.
2. Le Caron, op. cit., p. 243.
3. The Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events, p. 454.
4. Le Caron, op. cit., p. 245.
5. The Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events, pp. 397-398.
6. K. MacBride, Servant of the Queen, pp. 182-184, 185.
7. Ibid., pp. 200-201, 342.
10. Ibid., pp. 383-384.
11. Le Caron, op. cit., pp. 290-305.
The Results of the Dynamite Campaign

There were English and Irish results of the dynamite attack. The English response to the campaign has been indicated in a curious book by Robert Louis Stevenson and his wife which was dedicated to two policemen, The Dynamiter. Likewise, W.B. Yeats recollected the terror which the dynamitards aroused in telling of a boyhood experience in London:

I am looking out of a window in London. It is at Fitzroy Road. Some boys are playing in the road and among them a boy in uniform, a telegraph boy perhaps. When I ask who the boy is, a servant tells me that he is going to blow the town up, and I go to sleep in terror.4

Two concrete English reactions to the dynamite attack may be specified: an attack upon O'Donovan Rossa and the punishment inflicted upon such convicts as Thomas J. Clarke.

The former was an attempt by an Englishwoman to assassinate O'Donovan Rossa in New York on February 1, 1885:

When asked why she had committed the crime, she answered, 'Because he is O'Donovan Rossa.' The exploit evoked admiration from the Englishmen who had just been raving over the dynamite outrages. The London Standard advised Mr. Parnell to take the shooting of Rossa well to heart: 'Stranger things have happened than that the leader should share the fate of the subordinate.' The Times compared Mrs. Dudley to Charlotte Corday.5

A group of Englishmen employed Joseph Choate, later Ambassador to England, to defend the woman who was adjudged insane, "sent to an insane asylum and after a few months quietly released." 6

However, her words passed into Irish folklore. Patrick Pearse,
writing of his boyhood, told of a ballad in which they occurred:

The names of Stephens and O'Donovan Rossa were familiar to me, and they seemed to me the most gallant of all names; names which should be put into songs and sung proudly to tramping music. Indeed, my mother (although she was not old enough to remember the Fenians) used to sing of them in words I learned, I dare say, from that other who had known them; one of her songs had the lines—

'Because I was O'Donovan Rossa,
And a son of Grainne Mhael'; and although I did not quite know who O'Donovan Rossa was or what his deed had been, I felt that he must have been a gallant and kingly man and his deed a man's deed. Alice Milligan had not yet made the ballad of 'Owen Who Died,' which was to give these heroic names a place in literature—

'You have heard of O'Donovan Rossa
From nigh Skibbereen;
You have heard 'O the Hawk 'o the Hill-top,
If you have not seen;
You have heard of the Reaper whose reaping
Was of grain half green;
Such were the men among us
In the days that have been,'1

The latter English reaction to the dynamite attack involved some twenty-five suspects who had been sent to English prisons by 1886. These convicts had been sentenced under the terms of an Explosives Bill which had passed through Parliament unopposed by Parnell. Three of the convicted dynamite suspects deserve particular attention: Thomas J. Clarke, James F. Egan, and John Daly.

Thomas J. Clarke had been attracted to the I.R.B. in 1878 as the result of a speech by John Daly, "a national organizer of the Fenians"; and he seems to have taken the Fenian oath from both Daly and Michael Davitt. He emigrated to America in 1880

1. P. H. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches, p. 191.
4. L. N. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, p. 15.
5. Ibid., p. 15.
and continued his Fenian activities in the United States:

He was sent over in 1883...to 'help' Parnell by further
dynamite activities in England -- this was the year after
Parnell's repudiation of the Fenians, and the Phoenix Park
murders of the Invincibles! Clarke was caught and with some
eight or ten others sentenced to jail for life.1

Daly and Egan were arrested in 1884. Put in evidence against
them were certain "treasonable documents":

One, dated 1869, gives an explanation of the constitution
of the Irish Republic. Another is a manifesto proclaim-
ing that in case England should become involved in a war
Ireland must rise or Irish nationality would become a by-
word and a reproach.5

Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia for 1884 summed up the case tersely:

A quantity of infernal machines and dynamite flasks and
grenades was discovered at Birmingham, placed there by one
Daly, who was arrested at Liverpool with dynamite bombs on
his person. Daly, an old Fenian, was convicted and sentenced
for life, and his fellow-conspirator Egan for twenty years...
The possession of the bombs was construed by the court as an
act of treason-felony, as proving an intention to levy war
against the Queen.4

The Irish results of the Irish-American dynamite attack
were two-fold. They may be seen in the Home Rule party and the
physical force organization. So far as the former is concerned,
the jail sentences imposed upon these dynamitards led to a re-
vival of the amnesty movement. In 1891, Parnell, after the split
much
in his party, became very interested in it:

He made a great drive for the release of the political
prisoners. During these last few months of his life he suc-
cceeded in bringing forward these cases in the House of Commons.
On July 29, and on August 31, a great Amnesty Meeting was held
in Phoenix Park, Dublin, at which Parnell as President of the

1. S. O'Faolain, Constance Markievicz, p. 175; cf. p. 89.
2. The Bellowing Bull, Irish World, April 26, 1884, p. 5.
4. The Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events, p. 377.
5. LeCaron, op. cit., p. 244.
Amnesty Association made an eloquent appeal for the Irish prisoners in English jails; he said:
'I always think that these politicians, mere Members of Parliament, ought to feel ashamed of themselves when they are permitted to stand upon an Amnesty platform and to plead on behalf of men who have shown, by those many years of suffering, how pure and how good was their love for Ireland...'

T.M. Healy, Parnell's bitter enemy, claimed that he was instrumental in securing Egan's release in 1892 and Daly's in 1896. But Clarke's biographer has given more convincing reasons for the latter's pardon:

Limerick gave a lead in the fight by electing John Daly for Parliament; then Belfast, and then all the Irish cities and Irish colonies in Britain followed in calling for the opening of the jail gates. The fight went on for three years after before Daly won his freedom on August 21, 1896, at the same time as Gallagher and Whitehead, who were insane.

In 1897 the remnants of Parnell's party renewed their pleas for amnesty in Parliament and Clarke was released in 1898. Soon after he was welcomed back to Ireland:

In October Dungannon prepared a public reception for him; Daly accepting the official invitation to be there to welcome Tom. In November the Ulstermen's (Dublin) '98 Club also gave him a reception. The best, however, was yet to come. Tom went to spend a few weeks in Limerick as the guest of John Daly, and Daly's sister-in-law, Mrs. Daly, who had eight daughters and a young son...

John Daly was then Mayor of Limerick, and on his motion the Limerick Corporation unanimously voted the Freedom of the City to Tom Clarke. The ceremony took place in the gaily-decorated Council Chamber on March 2, 1899, before a large gathering of members and citizens.

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1. M. Leamy, Parnell's Faithful Few, p. 84.
3. Ibid., pp. 315-316.
5. The Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events, p. 454.
7. Ibid., pp. 55-57.
In spite of these manifestations of sympathy by the Home Rule party for the dynamite convicts, there was considerable difference of opinion among the Fenians as to the use of explosives. Thus, in 1876, when Ford and Rossa undertook to raise their Skirmishing Fund to wage undeclared war against England, John O'Leary had disavowed the project in a letter from Paris to the Dublin *Irishman*. Indeed, so vehement were O'Leary's objections at that time that an acquaintance asserted in 1877:

Passionate as he is in his love for Ireland he always speaks of Queen Victoria with a chivalrous respect, and rejects the very shadow of a suspicion of approval of political assassination with infinite loathing. 5

This hostility persisted after O'Leary's return to Dublin as W.B. Yeats, describing "the real leader of the I.R.B.," has indicated:

O'Leary had written some letter to the press condemning the 'Irish-American Dynamite Party' as it was called, and defining the limits of 'honourable warfare.' At the next meeting, the papal soldier rose in the middle of the discussion on some other matter and moved a vote of censure on O'Leary. 'I, myself,' he said, 'do not approve of bombs, but I do not think that any Irishman should be discouraged.' O'Leary ruled him out of order. He refused to obey and remained standing. Those round him began to threaten. However, he was seized from all sides and thrown out, and a special meeting called to expel him. He wrote letters to the papers and addressed a crowd somewhere. 'No Young Ireland Society,' he protested, 'could expel a man whose grandfather had been hanged in 1798.' 4

Yeats agreed with O'Leary in such matters and in 1895 the former decided to repudiate "some wild articles published by some Irish-American newspaper, suggesting the burning down of the

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1. J. O'Leary, Correspondence, *Irishman*, April 1, 1876, p. 633.
houses of Irish landlords." This necessitated that he attend a
convention (presumably of the Clan-na-Gael) in the United States
as a delegate from "England and Scotland." He went to his friend
and fellow-poet, Lionel Johnson, for advice:

I told Johnson that if I had a week to decide in I would
probably decide to go, but as they had only given me three
days, I had refused. He would not hear of my refusal with
so much awaiting my condemnation; and that condemnation
would be effective with Catholics, for he would find me pas-
sages in the Fathers, condemning every kind of political
crime, that of the dynamiter and the incendiary especially.1

Nevertheless, Yeats seems to have been active in the Amnesty As-
sociation and Maud Gonne asserted that he had introduced her to
its leaders.

The Celtic Renaissance in America, 1881-1891

Accompanying the Irish-American dynamite campaign, there
was "a silent revolution" at work in Ireland. Lady Wilde, the
mother of Oscar Wilde, spoke of it in a pamphlet which was sum-
marized by Irish World on February 15, 1879, as follows:

If war broke out between England and America, would they
fight against their friend, on behalf of their oppressor?
Such a war is not likely, but a silent revolution is at work,
which may be first revealed by a higher national life. Edu-
cation is the great leverage, and America is the great edu-
cator. There Irish history is taught, continually, daily,
reverently -- so that all these transplanted people know it
intimately. In Ireland it is ignored -- the people have
their traditions, but the upper (and middle) classes are
grossly ignorant. Not in 'national' schools, nor in en-
dowed schools, nor Queens Colleges, nor Dublin University,
is Irish history given its proper place. Irish history --
Irish patriotism -- is not given its proper place in the
Catholic University any more than in Trinity College. It
is looked on as veiled Fenianism.3

2. M.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 125.
In the same vein, Michael Davitt when he was in the United States in 1892 said, "America governs Ireland; American public opinion rules a race three thousand miles away."

This "silent revolution" can be attributed in part to the interest of Irish-American and American writers in Ireland; and some indication of the extent of this concern will be attempted on the following pages.

**Irish-American Writers and Journalists**

The Irish-American writers and journalists who are to be discussed may be associated in some way or other with the Roman Catholic Church. Although these men were all separatists, it would be incorrect on that account to suppose that there was any hostility between the Roman Catholic Church in America and the Irish hierarchy. However, it will hardly be denied that there were differences of opinion between these two branches of Catholicism when it is recalled that both Terence Belkew MacManus and John O'Mahony were accorded the last rites of their church in America; but upon Cardinal Cullen's orders their bodies were excluded from the chapels of Dublin.

Yet even during the episcopacy of Cardinal Cullen, sympathy for the physical force party may be discovered in Irish Catholic circles; and after his death, encouraged by Irish-American example, the Irish Catholic Church experienced a renaissance of sympathy for the Fenians. Therefore, it may be fitting

to introduce the following remarks about Irish-American writers and journalists with a few words about such Roman Catholic sympathy as existed in Ireland in the days of Cardinal Cullen.

Catholic Ireland and the Irish Monthly Magazine (1873-1885)

In 1873, Catholic Ireland was founded by Father Matthew Russell, S.J., who was its editor. At that time there were very few Roman Catholic writers in holy orders who openly professed nationalist sympathies. In the diocese of Archbishop MacHale there was Canon U.J. Bourke and Father Patrick Lavelle. Elsewhere there were Father Thomas N. Burke and Sister Mary Frances Clare (Mary Cusack) of whom a committee, which was seeking to raise funds to pay the debt incurred by Rossa and Kickham when they stood for Parliament, reported:

The programme adopted by the Committee is meant to educate 'the Irish Mind' with National art and genius, and inspire it with the Catholic literature of 'Kenmare Cloister.' Like Davis we desire to see 'art applied to express Irish thoughts and beliefs. To make music sound in every parish. To sprinkle our walls with Irish pictures, and have our poetry and history sit at every hearth.'

Father Russell, although he changed the name of his magazine from Catholic Ireland to The Irish Monthly Magazine at the outset of 1874, could hardly be described as one who openly professed nationalist sympathies; but that he was friendly to them

2. S.J. Brown, Ireland in Fiction, p. 343.
3. See pp. 16-17.
4. See p. 194; 72; 233-234.
5. See pp. 206; 254.
7. O'Donoghue, op. cit., p. 94.
8. See p. 190-191.
9. To the Irish Race (advertisement), Irishman, January 18, 1873, p. 450.
was recognized by John Mitchel before the latter's death in 1875.

In 1874, a poem, "Evicted," which appeared in his magazine, had indicated Father Russell's desire for land reform. Subsequently there were articles in the Irish Monthly on T. J. Irwin and R. J. Joyce, both of whom had been contributors to Irish People. Again, in 1878, there was an eulogistic account of John Keegan Casey; and a year later Knocknagow by Charles J. Kickham was favorably reviewed. Then, to Kickham's amazement, since he was chairman of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., The Irish Monthly published some articles by him. Kickham was so surprised that when arrangements were made for publishing the first he wrote to Father Russell:

...I thought (and think) that nothing at all of mine would be admitted into your magazine, let alone 'Notes on Young Ireland,' which should appear over my name, and in which I should reveal, or at least give glimpses of, the faith that is in me.

Incidentally, the correspondence continued and after Kickham's death in 1882 was printed in The Irish Monthly. In it there is a reference to one of Kickham's poems which Father Russell published and an attack on Patrick Ford's paper by the old Fenian:

I'm on the lookout for assaults, particularly from America. The Irish World really FRIGHTENED me last year, and I gave it a tremendous broadside. But, to my surprise, it never

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2. R. Mulholland, Evicted, The Irish Monthly, August, 1874, p. 211.
10. Ibid., p. 134.
replied, and even actually continued the horrible stuff it was flooding us with. If I could afford it and could find a suitable publisher, I would re-print some of those articles I wrote last year in pamphlet form, with my name on the title-page. So I suppose I must have something of the knight errant in my composition, but it is only when I really believe there is a dragon abroad.¹

The names of other sympathizers with physical force who contributed to The Irish Monthly may be culled from the Index to the First Twenty-Five Volumes...from July, 1873 to December, 1897, which precedes the text of the first volume in the copy at the National Library, Dublin. Among them were: J. F. O'Donnell, Katharine Tynan, Rose Kavanagh, G.R. Count Plunkett, Dora Sigerson, George Sigerson, Ellen O'Leary, W.B. Yeats and Douglas Hyde. D. F. McCarthy, too, might be added to this list in view of his friendship for John Mitchel. And in view of this friendliness toward land reform and Fenians and their sympathizers, it is interesting to note that Samuel Ferguson, Oscar Wilde, W.E.H. Lecky, T.A. Finlay, S.J. and Aubrey De Vere were also listed as contributors in the same Index.

Perhaps the contributions of the Roman Catholic Unionist, De Vere, who wrote for the magazine from the outset, may have reconciled Cardinal Cullen to the combination of Roman Catholicism and nationalism for which Father Russell stood. In support of this theory it may be noted that De Vere's Legends of St. Patrick, in which he took the side of St. Patrick in the debate between the holy man and the aged Fenian pagan, Ossian (Oisin), was published in 1872. The Fenians of the nineteenth century had sided

¹ J.J. Healy, Life and Times of Charles J. Kickham, p. 135.
² See p. 181.
³ A. De Vere, Poem, Catholic Ireland, September, 1873, p. 52.
with Oisin, of course; and so did W. B. Yeats in The Wanderings of Oisin which appeared in 1888. Incidentally, it may be significant that in 1882, after Robert Dyer Joyce and Standish J. O'Grady had been praised in The Irish Monthly, De Vere's The Foray of Queen Maeve appeared:

Three long poems. 1. The Sons of Usnach, told in the same rhymed verse as Dr. R. D. Joyce used in Blainid. 2. The Foray of Queen Maeve, being the Tain Bo Cuailgne told in blank verse... 3. The Children of Lir. No. 2 is told in prose in Standish O'Grady's 'Gates of the North.'

Cardinal Cullen had been succeeded by Cardinal McCabe in 1878; but the latter was no more patriotic than the former and it was not until his death in 1885 that Father Russell was to find episcopal approval in Dublin:

Cardinal McCabe, the last pro-English Archbishop of Dublin, died, and the filling of the See was fraught with consequences akin to those which arose in England when Thomas a Beckett, the first Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury after the Norman Conquest, was appointed. Dr. Walsh, President of Maynooth, was nominated almost with unanimity to the see by the clergy of Dublin, but British pressure at Rome became intense, and the intrigue aroused Irishmen the world over.

According to T. M. Healy "in the popular mind" Dr. Moran"was London's nominee" and it was the pressure of American Roman Catholics in Rome which secured the post for Dr. Walsh:

Harold Frederic, London correspondent of the New York Times, laughingly maintained that, as Rome was then full of American bishops, and the Vatican throbbed with their remonstrances at the proposal to appoint Dr. Moran, his Press messages to New York appointed the new Archbishop.

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2. See p. 334.
7. Ibid., p. 228.
However that may be, it must be admitted that while The Irish Monthly was at variance with the sentiments of the Roman Catholic bishop of Dublin until 1885, similar publications in America were not inhibited by the hierarchy of the United States.

Roman Catholic Separatist Writers and Journalists in the United States, 1876-1890

The thin trickle of Irish Roman Catholic separatist journalism which may be discovered in The Irish Monthly was a broad river in the United States. To these American Roman Catholic journals of a separatist nature an introduction may be made by some mention of Robert Dwyer Joyce and John Boyle O'Reilly. Then the Pilot and Donahoe's Magazine will be discussed and, in connection with the latter, there will be a brief mention of the status of the movement in America to revive the Irish language.

Robert Dwyer Joyce and John Boyle O'Reilly

The names of Robert Dwyer Joyce and John Boyle O'Reilly have already been mentioned in connection with their support of the New Departure, and O'Reilly has been described as a Parnellite who was more interested in literary matters than in land tenure. Since Joyce emigrated to America before O'Reilly, his career will be taken up first.

Joyce left Ireland some time after the suppression of the Dublin Irish People to which he had been a frequent contributor. His most celebrated poem, Deirdre, appeared anonymously in Boston

1. See p. 287.
3. See p. 301.
in 1877 and was an immediate success, not only in New England, but also in Ireland. Especially interesting is the admiration which W.B. Yeats expressed for it as early as 1886 in the second of two articles in Irish Fireside on "The Poetry of R.D. Joyce":

In 1866 Joyce settled in Boston, U.S.A., as a doctor, and, in 1876, appeared 'Deidre,' by far his finest work, written, as his brother Professor Joyce tells us, in his carriage, going from patient to patient.

Founded on one of these romances, called by the old Celtic bards 'The Three Sorrows of Song,' it has all the essentials for a popular poem -- a fine story, swiftness of narration, richness of colouring, typical character, a hero for its centre -- that is to say it was, before all things, bardic. In three or four days ten thousand copies were sold.

Joyce's second long semi-historical poem, Blanid, with its curious dedicatory verses, which might have been intended for Yeats had Joyce been clairvoyant, appeared in 1879. Although Joyce should have had a predilection for the Fenian cycle of Irish mythology, in view of his associations with nineteenth century Fenianism, for these two long poems he utilized material from an older cycle. Cuchulain, the particular hero of this older cycle, appeared in both, but in Blanid he played a more important role than he had in Deidre.

Joyce was at work on a third long poem, The Courtship of Etain, when he died in 1883. And these brief remarks may be concluded with Yeats' estimate of him as a poet:

3. J.B. O'Reilly, Life of John Boyle O'Reilly, p. 137.
I hold Joyce to be the poet of all the external things that appertain to the barbaric earth -- the earth of hunters and riders, and all young people; the poet of armour and hunting, of hounds and horses. That he was in no way a singer, also, of man's inner nature, of the vague desires, though it takes from his stature as a poet, makes him so much the dearer to many worn with the modern unrest. In seeking to restore the young world, long faded, he has restored to us for an instant our childhood. 1

John Boyle O'Reilly

When John Boyle O'Reilly arrived in Boston in 1869 after a thrilling escape from penal servitude in Australia, Joyce, who was already there, befriended the ex-convict by helping him to get a job on the Boston Pilot. The Pilot was a "newspaper devoted to the interests of Irish-American Catholics" and O'Reilly, who was quite liberal in his views, wrote to O'Donovan Rossa:

"Dominus Vobiscum. Writing for The Pilot is next thing to Holy Orders..." In this connection it may be observed that Rossa felt himself to be too radical for the Boston paper because of his cordial relations with the First International and the Paris Communards.

O'Reilly's connection with the Pilot was cemented in June, 1870, as a result of the brilliant manner in which he reported the Fenian raid on Canada at that time. As a writer he was then a member of the narrative school to which, according to Yeats,

3. Ibid., p. 106.
5. See p. 207.
7. O'D. Rossa, O'Donovan Rossa on Irish Affairs, Irishman, June 24, 1871, pp. 842-843.
Joyce belonged. Within a few years the influence of Walt Whitman, whom he liked to quote, became apparent in his prosody. It may be presumed that his companions in the Papyrus Club, which he helped to organize in Boston, 1873, also had an influence on his writing since among the members were such distinguished authors as William Dean Howells and Thomas Bailey Aldrich.

By 1874, O'Reilly was able to describe himself as "chief editor of the Pilot -- which is the most influential Catholic paper in America, probably in the world." His reputation was spreading in America and he contributed to Atlantic Monthly, Scribner's and the North American Review. Furthermore, he numbered among his friends and acquaintances Wendell Phillips, Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Longfellow and William Lloyd Garrison.

In 1876, Patrick Donahoe, owner of the Pilot, was forced to sell his paper. Irish World, remembering, perhaps, that two years earlier the Pilot had condemned a proposed testimonial for James Stephens, observed: "The publisher of the Boston Pilot has failed. Hostile though we have been to many things taught in the Pilot, we are sorry to see the long business career of its

1. O'Reilly, op. cit., p. 125.
3. Ibid., p. 146.
4. Ibid., p. 138.
5. Ibid., p. 134.
6. Ibid., p. 154.
7. Ibid., p. 272.
8. Ibid., p. 142.
11. Ibid., p. 215.
12. Ibid., p. 152.
owner interrupted...." The paper was bought by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston and John Boyle O'Reilly who thereby became one of the most influential religious journalists in America.

In his new position, O'Reilly continued the Pilot's policy of endorsing Home Rule for Ireland although he did not totally abandon his faith in physical force. Likewise, as already indicated, he embraced the New Departure and the Land League, but he took a more moderate position than the Irish World, which so provoked Ford that he called O'Reilly a disguised foe of land reform who wished to see it supplanted by the agitation for Home Rule. As evidence he quoted the Pilot:

As Hungary entered into the life of Austria and grew at a bound to be the most important part of the empire, so Ireland, with a home government and a proper representation in an imperial council or parliament can hold her own and grow rich and respected. 6

Nevertheless, O'Reilly remained on intimate terms with Ford's friend, Michael Davitt, whom he invited to America in the summer of 1882. But later as the rift between Parnell and Davitt grew, the Pilot sided with Parnell; and a lack of discrimination on the part of the London Times is revealed by the fact that it accused both the Pilot and Irish World of "inciting to and approving of sedition and the commission of crimes, outrages, boycotting and intimidations...." O'Reilly died in 1890, 9

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1. Personals, Irish World, February 12, 1876, p. 5.
2. O'Reilly, op. cit., p. 155.
3. Ibid., p. 143.
4. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 159.
5. See pp. 293-294; 301.
just before the Parnell party was split by internal dissensions. As late as March 17, 1890, he had reiterated his belief in the leadership of Parnell, but it is idle to speculate whether he would have changed his allegiance after the split.

Before discussing Pilot and Donahoe's Magazine, it may be fitting to conclude these remarks about O'Reilly and Joyce by citing Oliver Wendell Holmes' estimate of them as evidence of the esteem in which they were held by their New England contemporaries: "Ireland has sent two of her best poets to Boston, and it is not for me to meddle with her harp while it is still singing with the strains of...Joyce and O'Reilly."

Boston Pilot

In spite of the religious nature of the Boston Pilot, a considerable amount of secular material appeared in its pages. This, of course, may be attributed to O'Reilly who was a man of many interests. For example, his volume on Athletics and Manly Sport displayed a Shavian appreciation of boxing. "Seventy pages of the book" told of "Ancient Irish Athletic Games, Exercises and Weapons," a subject which was popular among the Boston Irish-Americans and about which an article had appeared in the Pilot as early as 1879. As another example, it may be pointed out that, like Patrick Ford, O'Reilly was an outspoken foe of the

1. O'Reilly, op. cit., p. 364.
2. Ibid., p. 761.
"stage Irishman."

In addition to reflecting O'Reilly's non-religious interests by writings from his pen, the Pilot encouraged contributions by secular Irish and Irish-American writers. The contributions of one of these Irish writers, Douglas Hyde, to O'Reilly's paper and to the Providence Journal have been presented by Horace Reynolds as evidence to support his contention that the "first pulse-flutterings" of the Celtic renaissance occurred in the United States:

In the late 1880's and early 1890's, some years before the foundation of the Gaelic League, a decade before the hesitant beginnings of the Irish Dramatic Movement and the publication of The Wind Among the Reeds, the zeal for Irish letters of two American editors, Alfred Williams of The Providence Journal and John Boyle O'Reilly of The Boston Pilot, drew into the columns of their papers a considerable sheaf of contributions from a recent graduate of Trinity College, Douglas Hyde. President Hyde says that he had almost forgotten writing for these papers at all. Nevertheless, in their dusty files appear for the first time in print some of the now celebrated Songs of Connacht, both in Irish and English; here are the beginnings of Ireland's discovery of the folk-lore which was to add a strong new string to the bow of both Anglo-Irish poetry and prose...To read these early articles is to feel the first pulse-flutterings of a nation awakening to a new spiritual life, to recover some of the excitement of the beginnings of a movement which has added a distinguished chapter to letters in English.²

In addition to Douglas Hyde, many other Irish and Irish-American writers whose names may be associated with the Celtic renaissance contributed to the Pilot. D. J. O'Donoghue in his Poets of Ireland indicated the following: Katharine Tynan, ³ G. N. Count Plunkett, Louise Imogen Guiney, Hester Sigerson, ⁴

4. Ibid., p. 384.
5. Ibid., p. 175.
6. Ibid., p. 427.
Rose Kavanagh, Ellen O'Leary, and T.W. Rolleston. To this list should be added the names of Fanny Parnell, Lady Wilde, her son Oscar, Douglas Hyde and W.B. Yeats, T. O'Neill Russell, O'Donovan Rossa, and Michael Cavanagh also contributed.

Michael Cavanagh, who has already been described as an enthusiast for the Irish language, Englished two Irish poems by Hyde in 1885 for the *Pilot*:

The first of these, 'Hate versus Love,' which appeared in *The Pilot* for April 25, 1885, was translated by Michael Cavanagh, an enthusiastic Irish-American Gaelic scholar. In this poem Hyde decries the awful hate and bitterness which has consumed the Irish intellect for hundreds of years and was to reach perhaps its height at the time of the Parnell Split. The other poem is 'Smuainte Broni,' 'Mournful Musings.' Two translations of this poem appeared in *The Pilot* (November 21, 1885 and March 20, 1886, respectively), one by Michael Cavanagh, another by O'Donovan Rossa, the well-known Irish nationalist who was then living in New York and editing a paper there.

In addition to the above translations, a poem and fourteen essays by Yeats, and eight of Hyde's original poems appeared in the *Pilot*:

The first of Hyde's contributions was a poem, 'St. Columcille's Farewell,' in *The Pilot* for August 4, 1888; the last, another poem, 'Commacht Love Song' in *The Pilot* for May 27, 1893.

Needless to say, O'Reilly's concern for such writers was deeply appreciated and one of them, an Irishman, wrote:

2. Ibid., p. 361.
3. Ibid., p. 404.
7. Seepp. 83-84.
10. Ibid., p. xv.
I want to arouse interest in John Boyle O'Reilly, not in my opinion of John Boyle O'Reilly. There is too great a lack of Irish poets of a high order to-day to allow of our permitting America, rich as she is in a living Whitman, and a living Whittier, to appropriate one who is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, and as truly and sincerely Irish as when he left this land many years ago.

Donahoe's Magazine

Although Horace Reynolds in his article for The Dublin Magazine discovered the "first pulse-flutterings" of the Irish renaissance to have occurred in certain American periodicals, he made no mention of Donahoe's Magazine in this connection. Yet the interest which that Boston periodical displayed in the revival of the Irish language is noteworthy. This neglected monthly magazine was a publication of the same Patrick Donahoe who had given O'Reilly his start on the Pilot and from whom the latter had purchased that paper.

Donahoe's "American-Irish Catholic periodical" first appeared in January, 1879. Before taking up its interest in the language revival, a few words may be said about its political and literary aspects.

From a political standpoint it may be noted that Donahoe's Magazine, like the Pilot, endorsed Parnell and the land agitation in Ireland; also, in 1882, it repudiated Ford and the Irish World as communistic and subsequently attempted to refute

Henry George's theories. At the same time it mildly criticized O'Donovan Rossa for his advocacy of the use of dynamite to combat England.

The literary aspects of Donahoe's Magazine may be divided into the opinions which it expressed about matters which pertain to literature and the contributions to it. So far as the matters which pertain to literature are concerned, Donahoe's Magazine quoted Emerson, compared Longfellow with Denis Florence McCarthy (John Mitchell's friend) and told of the New England poet's praise of the poetry of the Reverend Matthew Russell, S.J. who had published three volumes of verse and was editor of The Irish Monthly.

Of Father Russell's work, Donahoe's Magazine said:

Some of the poems in these volumes were published first in the Irish Monthly, which is edited by Father Russell, and which has reached its ninth year of publication. One of the chief features of this periodical is its excellent poetry. Among its contributors in this department are found the names of Denis Florence McCarthy, Aubrey de Vere, John O'Hagan, Oscar Wilde, and Rosa Mulholland...

In 1880 it announced Standish J. O'Grady's second volume of his History of Ireland "bringing the history down to the death of the great Ulster or Red Branch hero, Cuculain" and a historical work by John T. Gilbert, Rosa Mulholland's husband. In 1884 it

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5. See p. 181.
printed an announcement which would have been of interest to W.B. Yeats and in which the names of Charles Gavan Duffy and John O'Leary appeared:

A new series of Irish Nationalist publications, based on the lines laid down by the Young Ireland party of 1848, is shortly to be issued by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G., late Premier of Victoria, who was associated with a past Irish struggle, and has for some time been residing at his chateau near Nice. Sir Charles has secured the services of well-known Irish writers and politicians. Mr. John O'Leary will contribute to the series two volumes, 'The Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone,' and a sketch of Fenianism. Thomas Clarke Luby, one of the I.R.B. Council of Three in 1865, will be another contributor, while Sir Charles himself is preparing a 'Life of Thomas Davis, the Irish Nationalist poet.'

In addition to the interest in Irish authors which was indicated in the preceding paragraph, Donahoe's Magazine published two suggestive articles about the popular literature of Ireland. In the earlier Irish Fenny Readings, edited by T.D. and A.M. Sullivan, was described; and the existence of various Irish reading clubs was mentioned. One of these reading clubs was the Southwark Junior Irish Literary Club of London, the name of which will reoccur. Then the article went on to state that the National League, successor to the Land League, maintained reading rooms in "the rural parishes" and in the Catholic Young Men's Societies in the towns of Ireland. The second article about the

popular literature of Ireland called for a well-edited "volume of Irish songs and ballads" even as Douglas Hyde was later to do:

Those songs that are evidently cockney balderdash and blundering, should be rigidly excluded, while many fine pieces of genuine Irish poetry, the work of Irish men and women in this country, should be included. 2

So far as the contributions to Donahoe's Magazine are concerned, more interest may be attached to those of a political and linguistic nature than to those of a literary turn. Of the two wings of the physical force party, it favored the one which repudiated dynamite. Thus, in an anonymous essay on the Irish colony in Paris in which Donahoe's journal questioned the statement that there were Irish dynamitards in the French capital, John O'Leary, James Stephens, and a third were favorably described as Parisians:

These three are the most prominent politicians of the Irish revolutionary school, which does not include the dagger or dynamite in their programme. There are a few score of other Irishmen in Paris who share their opinions in this respect. 3

Yet in an article by Wendell Phillips about Ireland and nihilism the following appeared:

No, no: in such a land, dynamite and the dagger are the necessary and only proper substitutes for Faneuil Hall and the Daily Advertiser; anything that will make the madman quake in his bedchamber and rouse his victims into reckless and desperate resistence. This is the only view an American, the child of 1620 and 1775, can take of Nihilism... 4

Again, a friendly account of the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1884 by Thomas P. Gill was reprinted from the New York Manhattan Il-

1. See p. 365.
illustrated Monthly Magazine.

A literary interest attached itself to the author of this account of the Irish Parliamentary Party because, according to George Moore, W.B. Yeats considered him to be a leader in the Celtic renaissance:

Stopping suddenly, he told me that T.P. Gill, the editor of the Daily Express, expected me to lunch, and he was anxious that I should meet him, for he was one of the leaders of the movement; an excellent journalist, he said, who had been editing the paper with great brilliancy ever since he and Horace Plunkett had changed it from an organ of mouldering Unionism into one interested in the new Ireland. 2

One other item of a literary turn may be mentioned, namely, Rosa 3 Mulholland's contribution to Donahoe's Magazine.

The contributions of a linguistic nature to Donahoe's Magazine indicate its interest in the revival of the Irish language. 4 They were mainly from the pen of George Moore's friend, T. O'Neill Russell, whose "Irish Department" appeared in the first issue of the Boston Journal but subsequently for unspecified reasons was renamed the "Gaelic Department."

Not only did Russell use the space allotted to him by Donahoe for the purpose of giving lessons in Gaelic, but he also employed it as a vehicle for expressing his opinions on various matters. Thus he associated patriotism with an interest in re-

4. See p. 119.
viving the Irish Language:

Ireland will be no more than Yorkshire when her language dies; and it is a great shame for those who say they love Ireland, and do not give any help to the men who are working for the revival of the language of Ireland.¹

Again he stated his opinions on land reform and the revival of the Irish language:

I am against the landlords with my whole strength. I was so always, and think I did as much against them as any other Irishman; but what will foreigners say when they see the Irish fighting and shedding their blood on account of the rent of three acres of bog, and at the same time regarding the death of their language and their music without sigh or sorrow? Will they not say that it is only about what concerns their material welfare that the Irish are patriotic?²

Russell's efforts on behalf of the Irish Language were not limited to the pages of Donahoe's Magazine but before they are considered it may be wise to end this discussion of it by mentioning that in addition to publishing articles on the Irish language, it also helped to promote associations which sought to encourage the study of Gaelic.

The Status of Irish Language Revival in America

At this point it seems appropriate to say a few words about the status of the movement in America to encourage the revival of the Irish language.

Irish World liked to boast that it initiated the renaissance of interest in Gaelic and in 1884 it printed a letter to

¹. Unsigned, Gaelic Department, Donahoe's Magazine, December, 1879, pp. 563-564.
⁵. See p. 231.
that effect which had been sent to it by the editor of the Irish language magazine which was published by the Brooklyn Philo-Celtic Society:

We claim that the language has been the propelling power in bringing Irish nationality to the advanced state in which it is found today... About twelve years ago...the Irish language movement was initiated in and occupied a considerable space of the columns of The Irish World. What sentiments have been since evolved? the reader may see. Why not these sentiments prior to the advent of the Language movement? I hope The Irish World will bring the matter again before its readers, and urge on them the patriotism of preserving the national language, also to patronize the little Gael, founded by the Brooklyn Philo-Celtic Society for the purpose of promoting the movement, and which they have brought to the insignificant cost of sixty cents a year. It will teach any one who tries to study a knowledge of the language.

Incidentally, the "little Gael" which was referred to in the above quotation was more correctly known as An Gaedal and its first number preceded a similar publication by the Dublin Gaelic Union, The Gaelic Journal, by a year.

As already noted, the agitation begun by Irish World had been followed by the formation of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language in Dublin of which T. O'Neill Russell was secretary. A brief sketch of Russell's activities from 1877 to 1883 will show that his contributions to Donahoe's Magazine were but a part of his efforts to revive the Irish language.

In 1878, T.M. Healy was introduced to Russell in London by T.D. Sullivan and he immediately wrote to his brother that he had come across "THE ONLY REAL IRISHMAN I HAVE EVER MET IN MY LIFE";

4. See pp. 227-236.
I gave him my subscription for the Irish Language Society. I don't think he tries to get anyone to become a member, as his enthusiasm does not lie on the practical side. It was he who got from the Revue Celtique and put into the Nation last November that bit about the death of Cumhlin, which T.D.S. praised. If I could have an hour's instruction from such a man every day for a month I would soon know Irish, though I have given no attention to it these six months back.1

In 1879 Russell became active in the Gaelic Union when it was formed in Dublin. In the Report for 1880, the following account of its origin and goals was given:

The Gaelic Union at present consists of a number of gentlemen who were some of the founders of the 'Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language,' and the most active members of the Council of that Society. The immediate object of the Gaelic Union is to publish, at cheap rates, works in the Irish language, original and translated, and to reprint such rare books, or portions of them, as may be required for the use of schools and colleges. The Gaelic Union purposes, if funds permit, to give special prizes to encourage teachers and students of the language.2

The Gaelic Union's success in promoting the revival of interest in the Irish language was noted in the Report under the caption "Gaelic in Dublin Journals":

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 Tuam News and Cork Examiner weekly.3

Douglas Hyde was a subscriber to the Union and among the members of its Council were the Very Reverend Ulick J. Canon Bourke, P.P., and T. O'Neill Russell, who, it would seem, had moved to Chicago.

The exact date of Russell's departure from London after

2. See p. 236.
4. Ibid., p. 11.
5. Ibid., pp. 56-58.
meeting T. M. Healy is not important but his presence in New York on March 4, 1879 is. For at that time, in the company of O'Donovan Rossa and James Stephens, he addressed a meeting at Cooper Union which had assembled to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Robert Emmet. His speech is the more remarkable because in it he anticipated Douglas Hyde's more famous oration on "The Necessity for De-Anglicizing Ireland" by over thirteen years. Russell said:

We are inundated with English literature, English ideas, English everything. In the most trivial things of life you see this gradual Anglicization taking place. But we mean to put a stop to it now, and we can do so thoroughly only by the restoration of our language and our literature. When I was a boy the very plowman in the field would shout at his horses in Irish; the same man will now cry, 'Whoa, Emma!' and damn them in original Lancashire English. Thirty years ago there were twice as many talking Irish as now, and thirty years before that the number was twice greater than then. At this rate there will be no Ireland one hundred years hence — there may be stones and emblems but no nationality.2

In the same year (1879) Russell's contributions to Donahoe's Magazine began.

Apparently at a later date Russell quarrelled with Ford, perhaps over the latter's theories of land reform, because in a letter from Boston to the Irish World in 1882 he appealed to Ford for funds for the Gaelic Union with the following remarkable observation: "As you may see by the letter, they have asked me to get it published in as many American papers as I can, and I hope you will not refuse THEIR request." But whatever his relations

3. See p. 349.
with Ford may have been, it would seem that he remained friendly
with O'Donovan Rossa for according to the latter, Russell sold
him a ticket "to the Gaelic Irish entertainment at Steinway Hall"
1 on April 10, 1883.

In addition to T. O'Neill Russell, Donahoe's Magazine, An
Gaedal, and Irish World, the activities of societies in New York
and Boston for the purpose of reviving the Irish language deserve
mention. In 1882, when Davitt visited America at the invitation
2 of John Boyle O'Reilly, the former was welcomed to Boston by the
Philo-Celtic Society of that city:

As Mr. Davitt resumed his seat he was loudly cheered. When
quiet was restored Mr. P.J. O'Daly, Recording Secretary of
the Philo-Celtic Society, was introduced and in a clear
voice read an address of welcome in the Irish language.
Mr. Davitt's response was in Irish...3

In 1884 the Boston Philo-Celtic Society again broke into print
when it stirred up the Federal Government of the United States
to investigate the extent of the study of the Irish language in
4 America:

PHILO-CELTIC SOCIETY has succeeded in calling the attention
of the United States Commissioner to the work which the
various societies throughout the country are doing toward
the propagation of the Irish language. At a recent meeting... the
President...read a communication from the Commissioners
of Education in Washington requesting to be furnished with
the names and addresses of the different schools established
for the study of the Irish language, and also reports from
such schools. This is the result of an inquiry... 'why men-
tion was not made of schools engaged in the study of the
Irish language' in the annual reports of the schools of the
country. The communication was handed to the superintendent

1. O'D. Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, pp. 206-207.
2. See p. 341.
4. Boston, Irish World, April 12, 1884, p. 3.
of the school, P.J. O'Daly, with the instructions to forward the desired information to the Bureau of Education at Washington. There are at present over fifty schools in the United States devoted to the study of the Celtic tongue.

The New York Gaelic Society deserves mention for an entirely different reason. In 1884 it produced An Bard Gus An Pó (The Bard and the Knight), A Gaelic Idyll which has been described as an "Irish opera." Unfortunately, there seems to be no copy of the production extant but it is interesting to speculate whether it anticipated Douglas Hyde's Casadh-an-Sugain which was presented in Dublin in 1901 and which has been described as "the first production on stage of a play in the Irish language."

American Writers and Journalists, 1881-1891

As evidence of the interest in Ireland which has been displayed by American writers, Washington Irving's edition of Goldsmith's works and his famous essay on Emmet come to mind. Longfellow, who compiled an anthology of Irish verse, and Walt Whitman may also be cited.

The American writers who are to be discussed presently were stimulated to their interest in Ireland by other considerations than those which activated Irving, Longfellow or Whitman. These considerations may be divided into two categories: land

2. O'Donoghue, op. cit., p. 293.
4. O. Goldsmith, Miscellaneous Works.
7. See p. 221.
agitation and the Celtic renaissance. In the following pages the former will receive passing attention and the latter somewhat fuller treatment.

American Journalism and the Irish Land Agitation

Among the American journalists who were drawn to Ireland as a result of the land agitation, Henry George has already received considerable attention. Another American who may be associated with the New Departure was James Redpath. Redpath had anticipated Henry George by touring Ireland as special correspondent of the New York Tribune in 1880. Upon his return to America he was welcomed by Devoy and O'Reilly and delivered a series of speeches during which he compared Davitt with John Brown and called for an Irish Republic. Subsequently, he established a weekly paper "in behalf of the Irish cause."

While in Ireland, Redpath met a celebrated American editor and humorist, D.R. Locke ("Petroleum V. Nasby"). Locke excoriated Irish landlordism for its treatment of the Irish peasant. In lines prophetic of Edwin C. Markham's "The Man with the Hoe," he wrote:

The idea that human beings, made in God's image, having the power to think, to reason, and to act, could live, even exist, in such a novel as that was so incredible that we insisted upon going over and seeing how it was done. 7

2. J. Redpath, Talks about Ireland, p. 5.
3. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
4. Ibid., p. 32.
Incidentally, Finley Peter Dunn was a second American humorist and journalist who was attracted by the Irish but Mr. Dooley in Peace and War did not appear until 1898 and therefore may be passed over at present.

Yet another famous American journalist who visited Ireland in the eighties as a result of the agrarian disorders was "Harold Frederic of the New York Times." He was accompanied by two members of Parnell’s party, T.M. Healy and T.P. O’Connor, and it is safe to suppose that his sympathies were pro-Irish. Indeed, in his novel about the Fenians and the land agitation, The Return of the O’Mahony, Frederic made this abundantly clear. For the protagonist, an American who had passed himself off as the long-lost heir to an Irish estate, declared of Irish landlordism:

I’m the O’Mahony an’ all that, an’ I own more land than you can shake a stick at; but what does it all come to? Why, when the interest is paid, I am left so poor that if churches was sellin’ at two cents a piece, I couldn’t buy the hinge on a contribution box. An’ then it’s downright mortifyin’ to me to have to git a livin’ by takin’ things away from these poverty-stricken devils here. I’m ashamed to look them in the face, knowing as I do how O’Daly makes them creak up pigs, an’ geese, an’ chickens, an’ vegetables, an’ fish, not to mention all the money they can scrape together, just to keep me in idleness. It ain’t fair. Every time one of ’em comes in, to bring me a peck o’ peas, or a pail o’ butter, or a shillin’ that he’s managed to earn somewhere, I say to myself: ‘Ole hoss, if you was that fellow, and he was loasin’ ’round as The O’Mahony, you’d jest lay for him and kick the whole top of his head off, and serve him damned well right, too.’

Still another American journalist who visited Ireland several times during the land troubles was William Henry Hurlbert,

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"one-time editor of the New York World." Hurlbert expressed
hostility to Irish-American agitation on behalf of Ireland, Henry
George, Parnell, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (the Roman Catholic Eng-
lish poet who sympathized with Ireland) and Gladstone, but he
admired Davitt exceedingly and was on friendly terms with John
O'Leary and his two disciples, John F. Taylor (Dublin correspond-
ent of the Manchester Guardian) and T. W. Rolleston.

American Writers and the Celtic Renaissance

In a treatment of the American writers whose interest in
Ireland was stimulated by the Celtic renaissance, the subject mat-
ter may be divided into a discussion of certain scholars and a
newspaper, the Providence Journal.

Certain American Scholars

Among the scholars who took particular interest in sub-
jects which may be associated with the Irish revival were Robert
Ellis Thompson, D. R. McAnally, R.S. MacKenzie, and Jeremiah
Curtin. Probably the most important of these men was Jeremiah

3. Ibid., pp. xliii-lviii.
4. Ibid., pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.
5. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
6. Unsigned, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Encyclopaedia Britannica,
8. Ibid., pp. 192-199.
10. Ibid., pp. 279-280.
11. Ibid., pp. 275-283.
12. C. Weygandt, Irish Plays and Playwrights, Preface.
Curtin who has been described as Douglas "Hyde's immediate predecessor" in the collection of Irish folklore and has been generously praised by Hyde himself. Since Curtin, it would seem, played a part in the Celtic renaissance, a survey of his work on Irish materials may be attempted. His first, fruitful visit to Ireland was in 1887 when "he collected folk-lore from the people of the Gaedhealtacht" and in 1890 he published twenty tales under the title *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*. In 1892 he was sent to Ireland by Charles Dana of the New York *Sun* to collect more folklore and as a result fifty tales "appeared in the Sunday edition of *The Sun*." Referring to an appreciation of Curtin by Douglas Hyde which appeared in the *Providence Journal* of August 24, 1890, Horace Reynolds has told of two other books by Curtin:

Jeremiah Curtin, of whose shaky Gaelic and Americanese Hyde complains in his article in *The Journal*, went on to make two more collections of Irish folk-tales, doing in these volumes for Munster what Hyde had done for inland Connacht, and Larmor had done for the coasts of Connacht and Donegal. These books, *Hero Tales of Ireland* and *Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World*, appeared in 1894 and 1895, respectively. In both these volumes Curtin took Hyde's advice to heart, for he gives in each case narrator and locality. As a matter of fact, Curtin has never received the recognition he should have had for his collections of Irish folk-lore. After all, if Alfred Nutt's opinions are to be trusted, and certainly he is a qualified judge, Curtin has done for Ireland what Campbell of Islay did for Scotland. In the preface of Curtin's *Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World*, Nutt writes: "By the publication of his two volumes, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* and *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, as well as the large collection which, as yet, has only appeared in the Sunday edition of *The Sun* (New York), he has proved himself the foremost collector of Irish oral literature, and has brought

together an amount of material which, for intrinsic
interest, holds its own by the side of Campbell of Islay's
Popular Tales of the West Highlands.'

Providence Journal

Alfred M. Williams became editor-in-chief of the Providence Journal in 1884. His transactions with Samuel Ferguson, Katharine Tynan, W.B. Yeats and Douglas Hyde entitle him to rank almost as high as John Boyle O'Reilly in any consideration of the American aspects of the Celtic renaissance.

Williams was born in Massachusetts and served in the Grand Army of the Republic during the Civil War. Perhaps he became familiar with Fenianism during his military service. At any rate, in 1865, the New York Tribune sent him to Ireland "to report the Fenian disturbance." The result seems to have been an abiding interest in Irish culture, for in 1880 his anthology, The Poets and Poetry of Ireland appeared and three years later he published Gems from the Cork Poets.

Williams' associations with Sir Samuel Ferguson can be traced back at least to the time of the latter's publication in 1880 of "a volume entitled 'Poems,'" a copy of which the Irish poet sent to the American. Williams, acknowledging the receipt of the book, wrote to Ferguson praising especially a poem entitled, "The Sinking of the Monitor":

I immediately republished the very thrilling poem on the loss of the 'Monitor,' and it has been already extensively

1. Reynolds, op. cit., p. 27.
It is especially grateful to us, as European poets so seldom find any themes in our history or experience worthy of notice, and when one does in such a manner as that we feel doubly grateful. I also greatly admire 'The Hymn of the Fisherman,' which you were kind enough to send me in a slip some time ago.  

Ferguson was gratified by these sentiments:

A correspondence ensued which resulted in the dedication to him of Mr. Williams' 'Poets and Poetry of Ireland' in these words: 'To Sir Samuel Ferguson, who has done so much by genius to adorn, and by learning to illustrate, the Poetry of Ireland, this volume is dedicated.'

In view of W.B. Yeats' admiration for Ferguson, the relation between the latter and Williams is of particular interest.

Ferguson collaborated with Williams in selecting poems for The Poets and Poetry of Ireland:

Ferguson had directed the attention of Mr. A.M. Williams, then collecting material for his 'Poets and Poetry of Ireland,' to Mr. Graves's 'Songs and Ballads.' These, as soon as known, were appreciated by the American critic. The young poet wrote in acknowledgement: 'I am greatly obliged for your letter of the 26th of May 1872. I had already received a copy of his book from Mr. Williams. I had noted with extreme satisfaction that he had assigned you that place in Irish poetry which I had always felt you were justly entitled to.'

On the other hand, Williams, like Whittier, admired Ferguson's Lays of the Western Gael (1864) and on at least two occasions he praised Congal (1872). Like W.B. Yeats, Williams particularly appreciated the Celtic element in Ferguson's latter book:

With its faithfulness to tone and character, its skilful reproduction of style and language, its force and vigour

2. Ibid., p. 281.
4. Ibid., pp. 258-259.
5. Ibid., pp. 265-267.
6. Ibid., p. 272.
7. Ibid., pp. 275-277.
8. Ibid., p. 372.
of narrative, its forms of mythologic mysticism, and its appreciation of the magic of nature, 'Congal' is the most perfect reproduction of the form and spirit of ancient Celtic poetry in existence, and from it the English reader who is not a Celtic student can obtain the best knowledge of its pervading elements.1

It is suggestive to compare the neglect of Ferguson in England and his welcome in the United States. When Ferguson died in 1886, W.B. Yeats wrote an appreciation for Dublin University Review in which he described Ferguson as "the greatest poet Ireland has ever produced, because the most central and most Celtic." Elsewhere, but in the same season, Yeats told how Ferguson has neglected in England:

In 1880, was published Ferguson's last volume, 'Poems.' In England it received no manner of recognition. Anti-Irish feeling ran too high. 'Can any good thing come out of Galilee,' they thought. How could these enlightened critics be expected to praise a book that entered their world with no homage of imitation towards things Anglican?

Sir Samuel Ferguson himself, declares the true cause of this want of recognition in English critical centres, in a letter published the other day in the Irish Monthly. He sought to lay the foundation of a literature for Ireland that should be in every way characteristic and national, hence the critics were against him.3

But, like Mangan, Ferguson found the recognition in the United States which was denied him in England. His particular American champion, Alfred M. Williams, paid a visit to Ireland in 1887:

When in Dublin he called on Lady Ferguson. She was then engaged in preparing for the press a popular edition of

2. Ibid., pp. 287-288.
4. See p. 78-79.
her husband's works. Mr. Williams informed her as to the law of American copyright, and most kindly wrote an Introduction which would secure the volumes from piracy.\(^1\)

In the Introduction referred to, Williams once again praised Ferguson for reviving Celtic poetry:

...a few words should be said in regard to the character and magnitude of his great work in recreating and re-inspiring the noble poetry of the early Celtic people of Ireland, and the heroic figures that live in it -- a work which has not been adequately appreciated as yet by the Irish people at home, who should be drawn to it by patriotism, or by scholars and critics in other countries, who should admire its native vigour and genius and its profound and perfect learning; although there cannot be a doubt that both will eventually do so.\(^2\)

Finally, in 1894, Williams reiterated for the last time his praise of Ferguson as a leader in the Celtic renaissance:

The main literary work of Sir Samuel Ferguson was devoted to this revivification of the spirit of ancient Celtic poetry...and in this he was doubtless governed by something of patriotic spirit as well as by natural predilection... In his poems, rather than in Macpherson's Ossian or in the literal translations, will the modern reader find the voice of the ancient Celtic bards speaking to the intelligence of to-day in their own tones without false change and dilution, or the confusion and dimness of an ancient language.\(^3\)

When Williams was in Ireland in 1887, he persuaded Katharine Tynan to write for the Providence Journal and soon she was writing prose for other "American magazines and papers." W. B. Yeats seems to have become a contributor to the Providence paper in the same manner and, perhaps, Douglas Hyde may have

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2. S. Ferguson, Lays of the Western Gael and Other Poems, p. 1.
met Williams while he was in Dublin.

Yeats wrote a poem and five prose pieces for Williams. The poem was "The Legend of the Phantom Ship" and it appeared in the *Journal* on May 27, 1882. The prose pieces appeared subsequently. The first, an appreciation of the Irish poet, William Allingham, was dated September 2, 1882. The last, lamenting the lack of "modern poetic drama" and praising John Todhunter's attempt to supply the want, was dated July 26, 1891, the same year that Williams resigned his post as editor of the Providence paper.

Yeats' three other contributions to the *Providence Journal* were in the nature of book reviews. In one of them he praised a volume by the English poet, William Watson. In a second he criticized an American student of Irish folklore for approaching his subject in too condescending a spirit. In the third, dated February 10, 1889, Yeats once more displayed his interest in the theater and praised John Todhunter "as one of the national writers of the Irish race." This essay is of particular importance because so much of the Celtic note with which Yeats is most commonly associated may be discovered in it.

In spite of the contributions of Samuel Ferguson, Katharine Tynan and W.B. Yeats to the *Providence Journal*, it

3. Ibid., pp. 213-222.
5. Ibid., pp. 204-213.
6. Ibid., pp. 192-204.
was in Douglas Hyde's writings for Williams' paper and the Boston *Pilot* that Horace Reynolds discovered the "first pulse-flutterings" of the Irish renaissance. Reynolds described Hyde's contributions to Williams' paper as "three long articles and one poem." Of the first long article he wrote:

HYDE appears first in *The Journal* and *The Pilot* as a collector of folk-songs. In his first article in *The Journal*, 'Irish Folk Songs' (February 16, 1890), he prints some specimens of the folk-songs he has long been gathering in smoky cabins in Connacht. Later in the same year he is to begin to publish these songs serially in a Dublin paper, *The Nation*, later in *The Weekly Freeman*. They appeared in seven chapters: Carolan and his Contemporaries, Songs in Praise of Women, Drinking Songs, Love Songs, Songs ascribed to Raftery, and two chapters of Religious Songs. The last four chapters have been reissued in book form. Literary histories have hitherto assumed that their first appearance was in these two Dublin papers, but now we know that as early as 1889 Hyde was beginning to print specimens of these songs in *The Pilot* and *The Journal*.

The form of Hyde's first article in *The Journal* is the form of the book that is to be the favorite reading of Synge and many of the young Irish poets of his generation: *The Love Songs of Connacht*. In this article, Hyde strings the songs on a thread of running comment and explanation, printing the songs in Gaelic just as he took them down from the lips of the peasants, with an English translation. Except that the prose comment is not in the English of the Irish-thinking peasant of the West, as it is in *The Love Songs*, the following passage from Hyde's article might well be a page out of that book.²

Reynolds' pointed out Hyde's indebtedness to George Sigerson's ³ *Poets and Poetry of Munster* and noted an important innovation in Hyde's prose translations: "...he is the first to use the peasant dialect for literary purposes, and Synge, Lady Gregoryk and Yeats, among others, here owe him the homage due the pioneer." ⁴

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1. See p. 343.
3. See p. 159.
Hyde's second long article in the *Providence Journal* appeared in August, 1890. In 1888 Yeats had collected an anthology of folk stories (*Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*). In Reynolds' opinion Hyde did not hold Yeats' work in very high esteem. In 1889 Hyde's volume of folk tales in the Irish language, *Leabhar Sréalaigetheachta*, was published and it provided a point of departure for Hyde's second article in Williams' paper:

In his *Journal* article, 'Some Words on Irish Folk-Lore' (August 24, 1890), Hyde does for the folk-tales of the Irish-speaking peasants of Connacht what he had done in his preceding *Journal* article for their songs. He points out that these folk-tales, like the folk-songs, are dying with the language that enwombed them, casts a glance of envy at the rich harvest that Campbell of Ilay had gathered in Scotland, and then proceeds to examine critically the work of the handful of collectors of Irish folklore who have preceded him.

These previous attempts have been too casual and unscientific -- that is Hyde's principal charge against the work of his predecessors.

Hyde's second article, like the first, was prophetic:

As Hyde's articles in *The Journal* on Irish folk-song anticipated the appearance of his influential songs of Connacht, so this article on Irish folk-lore looks forward to his collection of folk-tales, *Beside the Fire*. Indeed, this article in *The Journal* revamped and lengthened forms the preface to that book, which Henley praised highly and which, according to Yeats, caused York Powell to say of its author, 'If he goes on as he has begun, he will be the greatest folklorist who has ever lived.'

Of the poem and the third long article, Reynolds has nothing to say except that the long article was about the folklore of a

North American Indian tribe.

Before concluding these remarks about the Providence Journal, a word should be said about its editor's attitude toward physical force. Whatever Williams' views on the use of dynamite may have been, they are not readily available; but there is circumstantial evidence that he disapproved of the method of the Invincibles. His friend, Sir Samuel Ferguson, loathed the Land League, and wrote two poems to denounce the men who killed Lord Cavendish and Under Secretary Burke in Phoenix Park. Likewise, Williams, in his INTRODUCTION to Ferguson's Lays of the Western Gael, would seem to condemn the Phoenix Park affair, although his words might also be meant to include dynamite and the Land League:

Finally, it may be permitted in one of a nationality, which cannot be accused of unfriendliness to the Irish people, and which has absorbed and is absorbing so many of its elements, to express the desire and the hope that a study of the works of Ferguson and of the lofty and noble type of the ancient heroes whom he depicts, their chivalry and friendliness as well as courage and patriotism, will have its effect upon the spirit of modern times, and calm the passions as well as elevate the tone of patriotic endeavor among all who share the blood of the 'kindly Gael.' It would be the highest honour and most welcome tribute to the genius of the poet who has done so much to renew and vivify the spirit of Celtic Ireland in heroic verse.

And on this note, the discussion of American journalists and scholars who were attracted to Irish culture in the eighties may be brought to an end.

3. Ibid., pp. 258-266.
4. S. Ferguson, Lays of the Western Gael and Other Poems, p. 6.
Summary

In the preceding pages the third chapter about the Irish-American scene during the life of Charles Stewart Parnell has been completed. It covered the period from 1881 to 1891, the time when Parnell reached the height of his powers. The two most important influences during these years were a dynamite campaign against Great Britain and a quickening of American interest in the "first pulse-flutterings" of the Celtic renaissance.

The dynamite attack consisted of some twenty-five, or more, explosions in various parts of Great Britain which are alleged to have affected "Parliamentary opinion in England." Prominently associated with this attack were O'Donovan Rossa, Patrick Ford, Irish World, T.V. Powderly (the American labor leader) and the Clan-na-Gael. The attack slowed up in 1885 and, after a split in the Clan-na-Gael in 1889, came to a halt.

In addition to the terror which it inspired, reactions to this attack were an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate O'Donovan Rossa; and long jail sentences upon some twenty-five dynamite suspects among whom were Thomas J. Clarke. Two other results were reported. First, the Home Rule party, after the Parnell split in 1890, suddenly became interested in the convicts and Parnell, himself, described them as superior to "mere Members of Parliament." Second, there was nearly a split in the I.R.B. over the use of explosives. The leading foe of dynamite in the physical force organization was John O'Leary. Nevertheless his disciple, W.B. Yeats, seems to have been active in the Amnesty Association which sought the release of the convicts.
Hand in hand with this dynamite campaign there was "a silent revolution" at work in Ireland which Oscar Wilde's mother, as early as 1879, attributed to American influences. It would seem that this "silent revolution" was the work of Irish-American and American journalists and writers.

The Irish-American writers and journalists who were causing the "silent revolution" in Ireland between 1881 and 1891 were associated with the Roman Catholic Church in one way or another. Irish Catholic ecclesiastics, with the notable exceptions of Archbishop Mac Hale, Canon Bourke, Father Matthew Russell, S.J., and one or two others, were mostly silent or pro-Union during part of the period under consideration. Father Russell, as editor of The Irish Monthly Magazine, welcomed contributions by Charles J. Kickham, chairman of the supreme council of the I.R.B. He also published writings by W.B. Yeats, Katharine Tynan, Rose Kavanagh, Douglas Hyde and Ellen O'Leary. But he counterbalanced such flirting with Fenianism by such contributors as Sir Samuel Ferguson, Oscar Wilde and, most of all, the Roman Catholic Unionist, Aubrey De Vere. After the death of Cardinal MacCabe, "the last pro-English Archbishop of Dublin," in 1885, separatist sympathies were expressed more openly in Irish Catholic ecclesiastical circles; and the road which Father Russell had been travelling became more popular.

During these years Roman Catholic journalists in America had been under no such restrictions as prevailed in Ireland. Evidence of this was seen in the fact that the Fenian poets, Robert Dwyer Joyce and John Boyle O'Reilly were made welcome in Roman Catholic circles in Boston. Thereby encouraged, Joyce
continued his literary activities and in 1877 his *Deirdre*, which was admired by W. B. Yeats, appeared. It may be noted that in this long poem Joyce anticipated Standish J. O'Grady's handling of the same material in prose.

O'Reilly was even more cordially received in American Roman Catholic circles than Joyce had been; and shortly after his arrival in Boston, he found employment with the *Pilot*. O'Reilly was soon on friendly terms with William Dean Howells, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, John Greenleaf Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. In time he became part owner of the *Pilot* and in his hands it remained an Irish separatist organ until his death in 1890.

The American Roman Catholic journals which were discussed were the Boston *Pilot* and *Donahoe's Magazine*; and in connection with the latter a few words were said about the status of the movement to revive the Irish language in America.

The Boston *Pilot*, although it was essentially a religious periodical, published early writings by so many of the older figures in the Celtic renaissance that the neglect with which it has been treated is difficult to understand. In view of O'Reilly's appreciation of Whitman, it is not surprising that he was equally ready to recognize Irish genius. Among the contributors to his paper were Douglas Hyde, Katharine Tynan, W. B. Yeats, W. Rolleston and Louise Imogen Guiney; and accordingly it adds to the stature of Michael Cavanagh, O'Donovan Rossa and T. O'Neill Russell to know that O'Reilly also published their work.

*Donahoe's Magazine*, another Boston-Irish-American-Roman
Catholic periodical which favored the dissolution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, had no such distinguished contributors as the Boston Pilot. Yet it was eager to encourage the popularity of Irish writers -- such as Standish J. O'Grady -- both at home and abroad; and, more significantly, it helped to promote the revival of the Irish language. For this latter purpose it conducted a "Gaelic Department" by T. O'Neill Russell and in this connection a few words were said about the status of the language revival in America.

Irish World liked to boast that in 1872 it had initiated the renaissance of interest in Gaelic which was to lead to the formation of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language and the Gaelic Union, both of which were Dublin organizations. Similar initiative was displayed in 1881 by the Brooklyn Philo-Celtic Society which anticipated the Gaelic Union by a year in founding a periodical, An Gaodh, "for the purpose of promoting" the language revival. It was also noted that T. O'Neill Russell anticipated the theme of Douglas Hyde's "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland" by over thirteen years in a speech which he delivered in New York in 1879.

In addition to the foregoing agencies, the Boston and New York Philo-Celtic Societies sought to encourage the revival of Irish. Through the former, the Federal Government was informed that in 1884 there were "over fifty schools in the United States devoted to the study of the Celtic tongue." The New York Philo-Celtic Society was interested in the drama and may even have performed the first play in Irish ever to have been produced.

The concern for Ireland displayed by such Irish-American
writers and journalists as have been mentioned was shared by
some noteworthy Americans. Some were attracted by the land agi-
tation: Henry George, James Redpath, D.R. Locke, Harold Frederic
and William Henry Hurlbert. Others were attracted by those sub-
jects which were to be associated with the Irish revival. Such,
for example, were Jeremiah Curtin and Alfred M. Williams.

Jeremiah Curtin and Alfred M. Williams have been neglected,
even as was John Boyle O'Reilly, by students of the Celtic ren-
aissance. Horace Reynolds sought to rectify this in 1938 by
an appreciation of the three men which appeared in The Dublin
Magazine. From Reynolds article, one may learn of Douglas Hyde's
praise for Curtin as a collector of folklore whose researches
in the subject can be traced back to 1887; and one may also
learn of Hyde's contributions to the Providence Journal which
was edited by Williams.

Williams had been interested in Ireland since 1865 and
in 1890 had published an anthology of Irish poetry which he had
dedicated to his friend, Sir Samuel Ferguson. Williams seems to
have been the first critic outside Irish, or Irish-American,
circles to recognize the importance of Ferguson as one of the
founders of the Celtic renaissance; and he did this at a time
when Ferguson was practically unknown in England. When to this
consideration is added the fact that Williams published the
earliest contributions which Katharine Tynan, W. B. Yeats and
Douglas Hyde made to publications outside Ireland (save, of
course, to the Boston Pilot), the justice of Horace Reynolds's
opinion that the "first pulse-flutterings" of Celtic renaissance
may be found in America becomes evident.
CHAPTER VIII
PARNELL'S RISE, 1870-1884

In the three preceding chapters attention has been devoted to the Irish-American scene from 1870 to 1891, that is, during the period of Parnell's rise and fall. The next three chapters will treat the Irish scene during the same time.

In the present chapter the manner of Parnell's rise to eminence will be indicated. The date 1870 has been chosen to mark the beginning of it because the Home Rule movement was inaugurated in that year. Parnell had been attracted to the Fenians at least as early as 1867, but at that time he was a student at Cambridge University and it was not until he had finished his University career in 1869 that he began to take an active interest in Irish affairs.

In discussing Parnell's rise first his early debt to the Fenians will be indicated; then the able group of lieutenants which he recruited among the moral suasionists will be sketched; and, thirdly, two extremist groups which professed allegiance to his cause will be noted. John O'Leary was the leader of one of these groups and the date of his return from exile, 1884, has been chosen as a terminus for the matter to be discussed in the present chapter.

1. St. John Ervine, Parnell, pp. 81-83.
2. Ibid., pp. 69-81.
Parnell's Early Debt to the Fenians

Charles Stewart Parnell made both an indirect and direct appeal to the advocates of physical force. His indirect appeal, which will be considered first, was the result of his American ancestry and of his efforts in the Amnesty agitation.

In connection with Parnell's American ancestry as an indirect appeal to the Fenians, the origin of the Fenian Brotherhood should be remembered:

The word 'Fenian' was applied by Col. John O'Mahony to the organization under his control in the United States, and implied an Irish army returning to rescue their native land from bondage. The word 'Fenian' has been applied by outsiders to Irish revolutionists the world over.¹

Parnell's mother was the daughter of Admiral Charles Stewart of the United States Navy, whose success in whipping the English at sea was celebrated by James Fenimore Cooper in his History of the American Navy. Furthermore, T.P. O'Connor held "that in appearance and to a large extent in character Parnell was much more American than either English or Irish:

He had at once that combination of masculinity and of courage and of nerve which are more American than English or Irish. He had that imperturbability of manner and impassivity of face which also are not characteristically English or Irish.²

It is more than likely that Parnell's American ancestry recommended him to the New York Irish World when in 1874 he un-

³. Con O'Leary, A Wayfarer in Ireland, p. 124.
successfully sought to represent the Home Rule party in Parliament. Accordingly, in 1875, when he was again a candidate, Irish World was pleased that he had contributed to the fund which had been collected to elect John Mitchel earlier in the same year; and it reported that Parnell had been nominated by a priest. Supported by the moral suasionists, the priesthood, and the Fenians, Parnell was elected.

A year later on the anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence, Parnell addressed a throng estimated at sixty thousand people in Dublin. In comparing English hostility to Ireland in 1876 with a similar animosity for the Americans in 1776, he revealed a considerable knowledge of American history; and at the same time made a subtle appeal to the Fenians. Irish World paraphrased his remarks as follows:

When he saw such attempts, he said that the spirit lived today in those classes which incited Cornwallis to let loose the Red Indians upon the defenceless wives, daughters, sweethearts, and children of the brave Americans who were struggling for liberty against British armed oppression. (Hisses). The same spirit lived that incited Lord Percy, on the retreat of the English regiments from Concord to Boston, when they were driven and pelted by the brave irregulars of Massachusetts (applause); when the English soldiers ran away so fast that they ran fifteen miles in forty-five minutes (laughter); the same spirit existed today, which prompted Lord Percy, the commander of those flying forces, to ravish every house he could reach, to kill every man, woman and child within reach of his troops. (Applause). What they did then was what they would do to-day to their American brethren if they could get the chance. Ah, sir! did not a lying Prime Minister, when he told the credulous House of Commons that Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien (cheers for the Manchester martyrs) were murderers, he told them what would have been said to-day of Washington if he had fallen into the hands of the English troops. 3

After this speech Parnell moved that an Address of the People of

1. Personals, Irish World, April 25, 1874, p. 5.
2. Ibid., May 8, 1875, p. 5.
Ireland to the President of the United States be adopted by the assemblage in order to congratulate the American people on the centennial of the outbreak of their War for Independence. Subsequently, Parnell and John O’Connor Power, who was a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., were deputed to present the Address to President Grant.

This visit to America reveals Parnell’s knowledge of the ways of the United States Congress. Upon the arrival of Power and Parnell in New York, the latter visited his mother:

Mrs. Parnell, her daughter Fanny, and her son John, were then living at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York and John records the annoyance which his imperious brother felt when the President, for diplomatic reasons, declined to receive the address except through the British Embassy at Washington. He called Grant ‘a vulgar old dog.’

Grant’s behavior had been inspired by the British Ambassador to the United States. Enraged, Irish World proclaimed: "Ireland today is situated, with regard to Britain, exactly where the American Colonies were a hundred years ago." However, Parnell was aware that Congress might repudiate the action of the President:

Cancelling the illuminated parchment brought from Dublin, he got another illuminated, paying for it from his own purse; and in this copy of the address he substituted for the superscription to President Grant one to the people of the United States. This he determined to have accepted, if possible, by the House of Representatives at Washington. In the end his change of tactics proved eminently successful; although...he crossed the Atlantic before the reception of the address by Congress.

Parnell returned to England and his Parliamentary duties in November.

2. Ervine, op. cit., p. 110.
3. Ireland’s Centennial Address, Irish World, Nov. 4, 1876,p.4.
5. Sherlock and Mahoney, op. cit., p. 98.
vember leaving Power behind to attend to the Address. The result was as Parnell expected:

O'Conor Power was eminently successful, helped as he was by a man who commanded considerable influence in America—Dion Boucicault, the Irish dramatist and actor, who had been associated with the Young Ireland movement and was a sympathiser with the Fenian idea, if not a sworn adherent of it.1

Furthermore, in March 4, 1877, the House of Representatives, in accepting the Address, passed a unanimous resolution of sympathy for nations which lacked self-government.

The conduct of Parnell and Power brought them to the attention of the American Fenians, and so in 1877 when Biggar, Parnell, O'Conor Power, F. H. O'Donnell and three other Irish members were obstructing the business of Parliament, Irish World headlined their activities as "Skirmishing in the London Parliament" and O'Donovan Rossa, who was actively collecting money for the Irish World's Skirmishing Fund, hailed Biggar and Parnell as "The Irish Skirmishers."

During the course of his remarks in Dublin on July 4,1876, Parnell had alluded to the possibility of Russian aid to the Irish in the event of an Anglo-Russian war. Subsequently Irish World hinted at a raid on Canada and at an Irish Brigade commanded by Colonel Rickard O'Sullivan Burke which would take service in the Russian army. At about the same time, negotiations

1. MacDonagh, op. cit., p. 121.
2. Sherlock and Mahoney, op. cit., p. 102.
between the Clan-na-Gael and the Russian government began.

Curiously enough, just as these negotiations foreshadowed similar negotiations with the German government in 1914, so the conduct of John Redmond and his Home Rule party was foreshadowed.

Thus A.M. Sullivan, M.P., offered in Commons "the enthusiastic support of Ireland" to England in her difficulty; and E. D. Gray, M.P., proprietor of the Dublin Freeman's Journal, told Parliament: "The absurdity of promoting the independence of Ireland by means of an alliance with the Czar of Russia is too patent on the face of it for the consideration of any reasoning Irishman." Nevertheless, when some Fenian convicts were released early in 1878, Archbishop Croke spoke of "the Irish Political prisoners, whom the Czar has just released from British dungeons."

And the Emperor of Russia was thanked in a resolution adopted at the reception to the released Fenian prisoners in Dublin. Parnell, who was present at the reception, had already been accused of pro-Russian sentiments in Parliament. Therefore, it is an open question whether Parnell would have called on the Irish people to side with England in 1914 as Redmond did. It is just as probable that, like the Clan-na-Gael, he would have been pro-German.

Parnell's American affiliations may have directed his

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1. See pp. 258-259.
3. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, March 9, 1878, p. 3.
4. Ibid., June 8, 1878, p. 5.
7. See p. 285.
8. See p. 259.
attention toward the Amnesty Association. In February, 1876, Representative Faulkner of West Virginia introduced a resolution in Congress which called on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs to inquire into the case of Edward O’Meagher Condon. Although he was an American citizen, Condon had been sentenced to death along with the three Manchester Martyrs in 1867. At that time Secretary Seward had saved his life by a direct appeal to the British Government. Thereafter, until Faulkner’s resolution, it would seem that the “State Department took no further official notice of this outrage,” because when Parnell inquired about Faulkner’s resolution in Parliament: “See. Bourke, in answer to Mr. Parnell of Meath, said that his government HAD RECEIVED NO COMMUNICATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES REGARDING CONDON.” In June Parnell’s name was linked with amnesty by the Irish World: “Mr. Parnell, M.P. for County Meath, says he will go all the way to Balmoral, where the Queen is now summering, and ask in person, on behalf of the Irish members, for the pardon of the prisoners.” However, Parnell had identified himself with the Amnesty Association as early as the occasion of the O’Connell Centenary in Dublin on August 6, 1875 when he paraded with it.

In 1877, the amnesty movement received more aid from American quarters. On June 25, Thomas Mooney wrote to Irish

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1. An American Citizen in a British Bastile, Irish World, March 4, 1876, p. 5.
2. See p. 185.
3. See p. 185.
5. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, June 24, 1876, p. 3.
World:

Captain Pim, an English member of Parliament, who, I have been told, is a private friend of General Grant, has brought the release of the Fenian prisoners before the House...I hear that Davitt, the one-handed man, will certainly be released, and I have hopes that General Grant will get O'Meagher Condon out.¹

In the same letter Mooney indicated the political significance of Amnesty in describing one of the candidates for Parliament in the approaching Dungarvan election: "Mr. George Noble Plunkett, of Palmerston Road, Rathmines, who has already appeared on the scene in Dungarvan, declares himself in favor of Home Rule, Denominational education, Tenant Right, and Amnesty."² At this time Parnell was active in forming "a committee to arrange for regular visits to the Irish political prisoners."³ And after the release of Davitt and the others in 1878, Parnell acted as a treasurer of the Released Political Prisoners' Fund which was collected in Ireland.

Parnell's American background and his interest in the Amnesty movement were indirect appeals to the Fenians. As examples of his most direct appeal may be mentioned his praise of John Daly and O'Donovan Rossa; and a speech at Manchester on July 15, 1877 in which he told a large audience that he did not "believe in the policy of conciliation of English feeling or prejudices":

I believe that you may go on trying to conciliate English

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¹ Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, July 6, 1877, p. 5.
² Ibid., July 7, 1877, p. 5.
³ Dublin, Irish World, May 12, 1877, p. 2.
⁴ Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, July 13, 1878, p. 5.
⁵ See p. 201-202.
⁶ See p. 251.
prejudice until the day of judgment, and that you will
not get the breadth of my nail from them... Did we get
the abolition of tithes by the conciliation of our English
taskmasters? No; it was because we adopted different
measures, Did O'Connell gain emancipation for Ireland by
conciliation? Catholic emancipation was gained because an
English king and his minister feared revolution. Why was
the English Church in Ireland disestablished and dis-
endowed? Why was some measure of protection given to the
Irish tenant? It was because there was an explosion at
Clerkenwell and because a lock was shot off a prison van at
Manchester! We will never gain anything from England unless
we tread upon her toes; we will never gain a single six-
pennyworth from her by conciliation.1

In September, 1877, Parnell's relations with the advocates
of physical force bore fruit when he was elected president of the
Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain which was controlled
by Fenians and has been described as a "Fenian gang." Not
long after Parnell refused Davitt's invitation to join the I.R.B.,
but in 1879 when Davitt was rearrested, the former sought to give
the impression that he was intimate with the physical force party
by saying to a mass meeting in Dublin:

Hold up your hands with me and vow you will not cease --
great cheering, during which the hands of thousands of
people were held up) -- that you will not cease from this
struggle until the teachings of Michael Davitt, for which
he has been persecuted to-day, shall have been carried out...4

It should be noted that at the time of this speech Parnell, by
his participation in the Land League, had openly joined forces
with Davitt, Devoy and the Clan-na-Gael in the New Departure.

Parnell's Moral Suasionist Recruits

Parnell's rise to the leadership of the Home Rule party followed and was to some extent the result of his associations with the Fenians. The moral suasionists also helped this rise although they were not at first as well disposed towards Parnell as was the I.R.B.

Just as his American ancestry was such as would appeal to the believers in physical force, so Parnell's Irish forebears were approved by advocates of agitation in Parliament. One of the latter was Sir John Parnell who in 1800 had voted against the Act of Union as a member of the Irish legislature.

Charles Stewart Parnell revealed himself in favor of Home Rule when he stood for Parliament in 1874. After his failure to be elected he became a member of the council of the Home Rule organization and sought election for a second time in April, 1875. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, a former editor of the Dublin Nation who had been knighted for his loyal activities in Australia, was nominated for the same seat but when he repudiated the Home Rule League, his backers withdrew their support and Parnell had no difficulty winning the election.

When Parnell arrived at Westminster he found a Fenian, Joseph Biggar, obstructing the passage of legislation by a good
old-fashioned American filibuster. Parnell was immediately
drawn to the speaker and in August joined him in addressing a
mass meeting in Hyde Park, London, in favor of amnesty for the
Fenian convicts. In 1877 Parnell adopted the filibuster himself
and was immediately supported by the Dublin Nation. Anna Parnell
wrote later:

I remember what Mr. Sullivan did in 1877, '78, and '79.
In those days when the policy of obstruction, as it was
called, was first started, and was struggling for existence
against the opposition of Mr. Butt, The Nation, which had
just at that time passed into the hands of Mr. T. D. Sul-
ivan, was the only paper in Ireland...that supported the
new departure.4

Anna Parnell exaggerated. There was another periodical which
supported her brother in 1877, Young Ireland. So important was
this weekly paper that a discussion of it will precede a treat-
ment of some of the earliest and most important of his moral
suasionist lieutenants; namely: T.M. Healy, William O'Brien,
Justin McCarthy, and T.P. O'Connor.

Young Ireland

Young Ireland, "a literary weekly which is published from
the 'Nation' office," was controlled by T. D. Sullivan. As the
first "literary weekly" to support Parnell, Young Ireland de-
serves special consideration.

Of the many interests of Young Ireland, the following

2. P. O'Leary, Ireland's Imprisoned Soldiers, Irish World,
August 28, 1876, pp. 3, 6.
4. T.D. Sullivan, Recollections of Troubled Times in Irish
Politics, p. 198.
seem most significant: the United States, the I.R.B., Parliamentary agitation, Irish folklore, poetry, antiquities, language, sports and Anglo-Irish literature. So far as the United States is concerned, Young Ireland hailed New York's 69th Regiment (the "Fighting Irish"); Irish-American poetry was recognized by the publication of poems by John Boyle O'Reilly, Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa, Michael Cavanagh, and R.D. Joyce; and T. D. Sullivan himself composed a ballad to celebrate the Fenian invasion of Canada in 1866.

Young Ireland's sympathy for the I.R.B. may be deduced from the fact that Michael Davitt and C.J. Kickham were contributors. Furthermore, it published an article on "The Grave of Wolfe Tone." On the other hand, in a serial by Charlotte G. O'Brien, the "Fenian movement" was described as a "pitiable delusion." And another serial by Justin McCarthy, A Fair Saxon, provoked the wrath of John O'Leary. The hero of this latter story was supposed to have been modeled after a prototype of Parnell, The O'Donoghue; but, unlike his original, the hero married a wealthy English girl (thereby anticipating the situation in George Meredith's Celt and Saxon). Another dif-

2. J.B. O'Reilly, The Monster Diamond, Young Ireland, July 15, 1876, pp. 350-351.
3. Mrs. O'D. Rossa, God Speed Thee, Love--God Speed! Young Ireland, December 2, 1876, p. 592.
7. See pp. 88-90.
9. C.J. Kickham, Joe Lonergan's Trip to the Lower Regions, Young Ireland, July 24, 1875, pp. 208-209.
10. The Grave of Wolfe Tone, Young Ireland, December 24, 1876, p. 62.
11. G.O'Brien, Light and Shade, Young Ireland, April 17, 1880, p. 261.
ference between the hero of *A Fair Saxon* and his original is indicated by John Devoe in his *Recollections* where he testified that The O'Donoghue once thought of joining the I.R.B. It was perhaps on this account that John O'Leary said of M'Carty's novel:

The hero of this novel, who is supposed to be the O'Donoghue somewhat idealized, is represented as being brought to some Fenian gathering (such a one, by the way, as could scarcely possibly have taken place), being naturally annoyed at the risk he was made to run, and at other things, and as considering, after leaving, whether he was not bound to give information to the police. The same night, I think, it is told that a French general (the inevitable and invariable Clusseret of course), whom he had met and quarrelled with at the meeting, took refuge in his lodgings, and here again the hero is made to consider what he ought to do. Happily he does what he ought; but the O'Donoghue, though at best not much either as a man or as an Irishman, would at his worst never have even dreamt of acting as his idealized representative thought of doing.2

Young Ireland's position with regard to Parliamentary agitation is revealed in the above. To make moral suasion appear more romantic, an anonymous author wrote on "The Battle-Ground of Parliament"; and to give agitation at Westminster a historic background, a series of articles on "Henry Grattan" appeared in 1876.

In addition to its interest in politics which has already been indicated, Young Ireland devoted much space to other aspects of Irish culture. So far as Irish antiquities are concerned, in the very first number there was "A Legend of Cuchullain, the Red

4. T. Sexton, Henry Grattan, Young Ireland, January 1, 1876, pp. 67 (Begins).
Branch Knight." Later there was an article on "St. Patrick and the Druid." In 1876 there was an account of Fionn MacCumhail, Oisin and other heroes of the Fenian cycle, The Fenians and Their Chiefs. In 1879 there was a series of antique tales, Old Irish Bardic Stories. So far as translations from Irish poetry are concerned, O'Kelly's Curse and Blessing, which told how Cormac O'Kelly's watch was stolen from him at Doneraile and of his mighty cursing thereat, deserves mention. And so far as folklore is concerned, "The Labourin' Man and the Leprechaun," "Phil M'Carthy and the Fairies," and "The MacDermott's Banshee," may be cited. Incidentally, the very title of these tales indicates an unscholarly, even unsympathetic, approach "spiced to the English public," which Douglas Hyde deplored in his article in the Providence Journal of August 24, 1890.

As an example of the interest which Young Ireland displayed in Irish sports, an account of the ancient Irish game of hurling may be noted. Anglo-Irish literature was represented

2. J. Savage, St. Patrick and the Druid. Young Ireland, March 25, 1876, p. 161. (Reprinted from Manhattan Magazine.)
5. Unsigned, O'Kelly's Curse and Blessing. Young Ireland, December 2, 1876, pp. 590-592.
by contributions from the pens of Sir Samuel Ferguson, Aubrey 1
de Vere, A.P. Graves and the "first poem" of Katharine Tynan. 2
Young Ireland gave evidence of an interest in the Irish language
in T.M. Healy's yarn, written in the first person, "Out" on
St. Patrick's Eve. For in it one of the characters, incorrectly
predicting the success of the Fenian insurrection in 1867, ob-
served: "A little while, and the English language would no
longer be heard in Ireland!" Another example was the weekly
Lesson in Gaelic by the Reverend J. E. Nolan, of the Gaelic Union, 6
which began on January 11, 1879 and later appeared under the
title Eire Og. Incidentally, these lessons are supposed to
have made an Irish language enthusiast of Eugene O'Gorman, who
was later to become famous as a result of his efforts to revive
the Gaelic tongue.

After Sullivan's publication came to his support, Parnell
recruited many moral suasionists of whom T.M. Healy, William

1. S. Ferguson, The Pretty Girl of Lochdan, Young Ireland, 1876,
   April 15, pp. 194-195.
2. A. De Vere, The Bishop of Ross. Young Ireland, April 22,
   1876, p. 203.
3. A.P. Graves, Eava Tuaill, Young Ireland, December 11, 1875,
   p. 453.
5. T.M. Healy, "Out" on St. Patrick's Eve. Young Ireland,
   March 17, 1876, p. 136.
6. Anon. ed., The Gaelic Union for the Preservation and Cultiva-
   27.
8. J.E. Nolan, Eire Og, Young Ireland, April 3, 1880, p. 223.
9. A. O'Farrelly, Laothan An Atar Logan, The O'Gorman Memorial
   Volume, p. 130.
10. See p. 516.
O'Brien, Justin McCarthy and T. P. O'Connor may be mentioned.

T. M. Healy

Parnell's first important recruits, T.M. Healy and William O'Brien, were enlisted in 1878. In February of that year, T. D. Sullivan commissioned T.M. Healy to write a weekly letter to the Dublin Nation from London. Healy accepted and wrote "chiefly parliamentary sketches" in which his admiration for Parnell was undisguised. Incidentally, Healy was on intimate terms with at least one Fenian at this time; and, for that matter, had been sent as a delegate from England to John O'Mahony's funeral in Dublin in 1877.

William O'Brien

Parnell's second important recruit in 1878 was William O'Brien who was at that time on the staff of the Dublin Freeman's Journal. O'Brien had been associated with the Fenians even more closely than Healy. For with his older brother, he had smuggled guns into Cork which Michael Davitt had bought in London. Of his position in the I.R.B. O'Brien wrote: "I was accordingly elected Secretary for the Province of Munster, and in that capacity was the medium of communication between the mysterious Supreme Council, and the provincial County Centres."

3. See p. 246.
5. O'Donoghue, op. cit., p. 541.
In this position O'Brien met many men who were later to become prominent members of the Irish party in Parliament. One was Matt Harris. The first time O'Brien saw him "he was presiding over a Secret Congress or Parliament of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in the City Mansion Hotel in Dublin."

Another was David Sheehy, father of Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington and father-in-law of Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, who was murdered by an officer of the Crown during the Fenian insurrection in Dublin in 1916. A third was James Gilhooly:

Gilhooly was one of the 'County Centres' who were obliged to furnish me with periodical reports of their armaments and I remember well that Bantry, with its thirty rifles and twelve revolvers -- clean and bright under Gilhooly's vigilant eye -- outstripped the record of every town in the province, outside Cork and Limerick cities.

A fourth was John O'Connor Power.

When O'Brien was first drawn to Parnell in 1878, the former had drifted out of the I.R.B. However, Parnell seems to have thought that O'Brien was still a Fenian because the latter wrote:

He was immensely interested in my experiences in the difficulty of importing arms or preparing for an insurrection. It was quite clear that his only objection to insurrection was its impracticability.

Indeed, Parnell, it would seem, sought to give O'Brien the impression that he himself was in favor of physical force.

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2. Ibid., p. 123.
3. Red Box, Rebel Irishwomen, pp. 135-137.
4. See p. 570.
8. Ibid., p. 122.
9. Ibid., p. 199.
boasted to O’Brien of the prowess of the Wexford insurgents in 1798 and displayed an interesting outlook on the American War for Independence:

'Washington,' he said, 'saved America by running away. If he had been fighting in Ireland, he would have been brought to surrender in six weeks. Nowadays, with the railways, England could sweep the country from Cork to Donegal in six days.'

It was through O’Brien that Parnell won the support of the Freeman’s Journal. Edmund Dwyer Gray, proprietor of that paper, had not at first shared O’Brien’s enthusiasm for Parnell; and, indeed, in 1879 his animosity "excited popular suspicion of Gray and the Freeman to an alarming pitch." However, O’Brien was able to patch up the differences, and thereafter Freeman's Journal was friendly. Nevertheless, the Parnellites wanted a paper of their own. Accordingly, in the summer of 1881 they bought Irishman and the Flag of Ireland from Richard Pigott, who had been even more hostile than Gray. Irishman was continued under the editorship of the Fenian, James O'Connor, but the Flag of Ireland was metamorphosed into United Ireland with William O’Brien as editor.

The relationship between Parnell and O’Brien became even closer in October, 1881. On the thirteenth of that month, Parnell was sent to Kilmainham jail. The evening before he had

2. Ibid., p. 223.
3. Ibid., p. 224.
4. Ibid., pp. 297-299.
5. Ibid., pp. 300-302.
6. Ibid., p. 300.
9. See p. 300.
been discussing physical force with O'Brien and some other friends:

Whereupon we fell a-debating the old controversy, Young Ireland v. Old Ireland, Parnell holding largely with O'Connell, who had difficulties of which the self-confident 'young men' knew not, but appraising higher than any of the Young Irelanders Fintan Lalor, who alone had a workable plan. If there had been railways then to enable him to travel over the country, and any means of getting him the ear of the people, Lalor might have anticipated the Land League by thirty years, and produced a very respectable rebellion which could not well have been worse for the country than the Famine. 1

O'Brien was arrested not long after Parnell. In Kilmainham the discussion continued and Parnell revealed his opinion of Robert Emmet:

'Emmet was not such a fool as many foolish people think,' Parnell observed. 'There was Napoleon with his Army of England cooling their heels at Boulogne. Any success in Ireland might have decided him to cross. Emmet's idea of striking at the Castle to begin with was a good one. He might have done better without bothering about uniforms; but going for the Castle right away is the only sensible way of beginning in Ireland. The plan at the Fenian Rising of marching away from the towns was not business; but of course the Fenians never had a chance after '65.' 2

O'Brien's interest in physical force continued after his release. In 1882 the Dublin Metropolitan Police went out on strike. A deputation visited him in the offices of United Ireland and invited him to address the strikers. Remembering, perhaps, what Parnell had said in Kilmainham, O'Brien projected a raid on Dublin Castle:

Briefly, my notion was, without disclosing my plan...to go to the police mass meeting, to raise to the highest possible pitch the excitement with which they were boiling over, and straightway, under cover of a deputation to the Viceroy, to march my thousand constables through the streets to Dublin Castle, helping ourselves to revolvers in the

2. Ibid., p. 397.
gunshops on the way, and, having made a separate arrange-
ment to seize upon the guard at the entrance to the Upper
Castle Yard the moment they tried to close the gate, take
possession of the Viceroy and his Chief Secretary, convey
them to a place of safe keeping whence they and we would
negotiate, and in the meantime get possession of the wires
and precipitate a revolt of the Royal Irish Constabulary
throughout the country to strengthen us in the negotia-
tions.1

Indeed, at Parnell's suggestion, O'Brien got in touch with the
leaders of the I.R.B., but when they refused to cooperate, O'Brien
2
dropped the plot.

Still O'Brien persisted in dreaming of physical force and
in 1884 United Ireland published a fanciful editorial entitled
"The Tricolor on Irish Soil." England was pictured as having
declared war against France and Russia. England's difficulty
was Ireland's opportunity. With the help of French and Irish-
Americans, Irish volunteers staged a successful rebellion. The
editorial ended with Parnell and the provisional Irish govern-
ment working out the details of their demands for independence.

So anguished was the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union by these
sentiments that it published the entire editorial as a leaflet,
apparently in the naive belief that the very sight of such "se-
dition" would turn the Irish people against the Parnellites.

However, such sensational proposals probably were aimed at win-
ning the support of the physical force party and if they provoked
Unionist wrath this objective became easier to reach.

2. Ibid., pp. 494-498.
3. W. O'Brien, The Tricolor on Irish Soil, Irish Loyal and
Patriotic Union, Leaflet No. 12, 8 pp.
Justin M'Carty

Farnell's third important recruit was Justin M'Carty who had been elected to Parliament to represent County Longford in April, 1879. Although not truly a Parnellite at that time, M'Carty wrote some years later that he was believed to be one in England:

I believe...that the paragraphs in the newspapers gave it to be understood that if elected to Parliament I might be expected to take my place among the most advanced of the Irish Nationalists -- among those who are beginning to acknowledge the influence of Parnell.2

M'Carty had been a Young Irisher and had studied the Fenian movement. As a result, he had decided that moral suasion was a better way than physical force to achieve home rule for Ireland. In 1865 he had become editor of the London Morning Star which at that time was controlled by John Bright. Bright introduced M'Carty to Moncure Conway, an American disciple of Emerson, who had emigrated to London in 1865. Through Conway, M'Carty's interests in American letters was aroused. The former had become a Whitmaniac in 1855:

When Moncure Conway went to England he took with him his personal memories, and his great admiration for Whitman, with whom he maintained a correspondence. In 1866 he had written a long and favorable, if somewhat diffident, article on Whitman for the 'Fortnightly Review.'11

7. Ibid., p. 145.
8. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 55-58; cf. J. M'Carty, An Irishman's Story, pp. 120-123.
In 1868 M'Carty resigned from the Morning Star because John Bright had decided "to withdraw from any direct connection with the paper" and John Morley succeeded him as editor. Shortly after his resignation, M'Carty decided to visit America and sailed for New York. One of the first acquaintances he made in the United States was William Cullen Bryant, and M'Carty was pleased to learn that the American shared his enthusiasm for James Fenimore Cooper. However, when he asked about Whitman, whom his "friend Mencur Conway had just been introducing to the English public," Bryant indicated that Walt was "intolerable to him." Others whom M'Carty met in New York were George Ripley, Horace Greeley, Whitelaw Reid and Wendell Phillips.

From New York M'Carty went to Boston where he was introduced to James Russell Lowell, William Dean Howells, Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Julia Ward Howe and Emerson. He asked Emerson about Whitman and received a friendly, if somewhat qualified response:

I spoke to him of Walt Whitman, the talk I had had with Bryant on the same subject recurring to my mind. I knew that Emerson had been the first great patron of Whitman,
if one could use the word patron in describing the in-
fluence exercised by a man of Emerson's simple exalted
nature. Emerson told me that he had had and still re-
tained a strong faith in Whitman as possibly the first
poet to spring straight from the American soil without
foreign graft or culture of any kind. 1

From Boston M'Carthy went to Washington where finally he
met Whitman himself:

We had a long and pleasant talk on many subjects; and he
asked me various questions about English life and English
literary men. He found good natured fault with some of the
friends who had gone too far, as he thought, in sounding
his praises throughout England; and he altogether disclaimed
the idea that he considered himself as a man with a grand
mission to open a new era for the poetry of his country.
He claimed no mission, he said, and he had only written
poems because they came into his mind, and he wrote them
in the form which they had worn when they presented them-
selves to his imagination. 2

Incidentally, it was either at this time, or on the occasion of
another visit to Whitman in Washington that M'Carthy was accom-
panied by John Morley. For his interest in the American poet
continued. Indeed, M'Carthy visited Walt in New Jersey some
time after 1884, when the latter had established his residence
in Mickle Street, Camden.

M'Carthy returned to London in 1871 and began to write
leading articles for the Daily News, a task at which he was to
labor "with little interruption for more than a quarter of a
century." In 1876 he met Charles Stewart Parnell and became

2. Ibid., pp. 223-228.
4. Ibid., p. 230.
5. E. Holloway, Whitman, p. 311.
6. Ibid., p. 304.
one of the latter's intimates. And Parnell told M'Carty how "he had found himself brought into hostility with the existing system of rule" in Ireland as a result of his mother's sympathy with the Fenians in 1867:

...from that time his determination grew and grew to give himself up to the Irish National defense. He became convinced that the House of Commons was the only battle field on which the question could be fought out with any real hope of advantage to Ireland.2

When M'Carty stood for Parliament in 1879, he diagnosed his constituency, County Longford, as friendly to "the rising claims of Parnell":

Among the Longford constituents these Parnellite claims were certainly growing in strength, and it was probably well known that I was a personal friend of Parnell, although not yet actually pledged to his Parliamentary policy.4

In 1880, Parnell was elected leader of the Irish Home Rule party by a vote of 23 to 18. In an attempt to heal the ill-will between the Parnellite and their opponents, M'Carty was elected vice-chairman. M'Carty later declared that this was done "at Parnell's suggestion."

Although M'Carty is alleged in 1848 to have "dreamed of rifles and bayonet charges and death in the midst of fierce fight for the cause of Ireland," it is probably more accurate to describe him as a London journalist who, like Parnell, had

2. Ibid., pp. 94-95.
3. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 288.
4. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 94-95.
American connections and who, like so many other Irish authors, was particularly attracted to American letters.

T. P. O'Connor

T. P. O'Connor, Parnell's fourth important recruit, was among the twenty-three who voted for the latter when he was elected leader of the Irish Parliamentary party in 1880. O'Connor had first won renown in 1879 when he wrote his "unsparing" biography of Disraeli, The Life of Lord Beaconsfield. Later in the year, certain radicals nominated him for an English constituency. O'Connor went to Parnell to ask for "the support of such Nationalist voters as resided in" it. However, the radicals' nomination seems to have been withdrawn for in the same year O'Connor was elected to represent "Galway as a Nationalist."

George Bernard Shaw, it may be remembered, was impressed by O'Connor's "Fenian sympathies and his hearty detestation of the English nation"; and John Devoy also has remarked on O'Connor's connection with the Fenians. Nevertheless, in 1880, T. M. Healy thought T. P. was more of a radical than an Irish Nationalist; and Parnell seems to have agreed. O'Connor himself had been a regular correspondent of Irishman, which he knew to depend on the Fenians for support; and in 1881 when Pigott sold out his newspaper interests to the Parnellites, the former be-

3. Ibid., p. 138.
4. See p.186.
5. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 392.
lieved that Parnell must have overcome Fenian objections to Parliamentary agitation. Indeed, as evidence of his knowledge of Parnell's desire to woo the Fenians a curious story which he told may be cited:

I have told you already how O'Connor Power, who hated and underrated him, used to repeat as an instance of the younger man's folly that Parnell had once proposed to him to come down to the House of Commons arrayed in the historic garb of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Robert Emmet, two of the martyrs of Irish liberty, and so compel the House to expel him after a course of tumultuous scenes. The scenes which Parnell created did not quite reach this form, but they were histrionic enough.  

In 1881, Parnell dispatched O'Connor on the first of his six missions to America. Not long after his arrival, he was joined by T. M. Healy. They decided to separate in order to cover more ground in their efforts to raise money. Incidentally, on the eve of their parting Healy wrote a curious note about O'Donovan Rossa:

O'Donovan Rossa spoke at meetings for the Gaelic language tonight. He made a further 'amende'... Rossa had been represented as saying, when someone sneered at me, that he knew my father, who was 'a decent man.' The sneers imputed to Rossa he never made. He seems a harmless fellow. How he found fame puzzles me. To-night he prophesied Irish freedom within ten years! So look out.  

Healy, who seems to have been a correspondent of the Boston Republic and also perhaps of John Devoy's Irish Nation, wrote to his father on January 8, 1882 about the work he and O'Connor were doing:

2. Ibid., p. 114.
3. Ibid., p. 206.
5. Ibid., p. 157.
T. P., O'Connor and I will meet at 'Frisco. I shall probably leave New York on the 7th February, whether via Havre or direct depends on the political outlook.

I have since the 10th November, lectured in thirty-seven towns, netting about $1,700 for the League, apart from the Chicago Convention collection. In some places the lowest admission was a dollar, and never less than a 'quarter.'

T. P., O'Connor probably will have earned three or four times as much, as he went to the larger towns, and was a month longer at work. Sometimes the meeting is free, and they make a collection. $170 was raised after my speech in Joliet, a little quarrymen's town in Illinois, in a hall that wouldn't hold three hundred. I am wretched at that work.

To conclude these remarks about Parnell's moral suasionist recruits, it may be observed that when O'Connor and Healy returned to Ireland in 1882 negotiations had begun between Parnell and the Liberal Government which were to lead up to the "Kilmainham Treaty" and the subsequent release of most of the Parnellites who had been imprisoned along with their chief.

Two Extremist Groups of Sympathizers with Parnell

Parnell's early friendship with the Fenians was not forgotten by the advocates of physical force and after he had become head of the Irish Parliamentary Party, two extremist groups continued sympathetic to his cause although they refused to dedicate themselves to moral suasion. These two groups were the Invincibles and certain Dublin intellectuals who grouped themselves around John O'Leary. As they both possess literary interest, they deserve some consideration.

The Irish National Invincibles

The world first learned of the existence of the Invincibles dramatically. As a result of the "Kilmainham Treaty" a new Chief Secretary for Ireland had been appointed:

On Saturday, 6th May, 1882, the incoming Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, arrived in Dublin. That evening as he and the Under-Secretary, T.H. Burke, were walking through the Phoenix Park to their Lodges they were stabbed to death. The tidings so impressed everybody that it was a common saying that no one forgot where he stood when he heard the news.2

President Garfield had but recently been assassinated in America and Czar Alexander II had been killed in Russia on March 13, 1881 as the result of "a nihilist plot." The Dublin police thought the killing was inspired by American, rather than Russian, precedent. Likewise, although Parnell and Davitt on May 7th had signed a manifesto "condemning the murders and expressing the hope that the assassins would be brought to justice," the London Times blamed the former for the killings and joined the Manchester Guardian in attributing the affair to Irish-Americans.

Five men were known to have taken part in the attack, and Henry George, who was in Dublin, wrote to the Irish World:

...the police are showing their zeal not only by patrolling the place where the murders were committed, but by arresting everyone with an 'American hat' wherever they catch him.

5. H. George, Letter from George, Irish World, June 10, 1882, p. 5.
(I discarded mine long ago, and when I am in England I say 'saunt' and 'haulf,' and when I am in Ireland adopt a faint brogue.)...

Bad as these assassinations are it is not correct to talk of them as the most horrible that ever happened in Ireland. There have been worse murders committed in the name of the law.

He found "more of the fanatic recklessness of the Mihilists than the calculation of the paid assassin" in the deed; and, correctly, attributed it to some Irish secret society other than the I.R.B. or the Ribbon men.

The reasons for suspecting Irish-Americans or an Irish society deserve more investigation. Irish World had published a letter which encouraged the assassination of "the fountain head of authority" in Ireland as long ago as May 4, 1878. Later in the same year, Ford's paper displayed a passing interest in the Russian nihilists. In April, 1879, in an editorial entitled "The Mihilists or Annihilists", Irish World approvingly recorded attempts to assassinate royalty from 1852 to 1879. In May, Ford's paper printed another friendly editorial. In June, Irish World published a curious Socratic dialogue in which the question, "Is assassination ever justifiable?" was obliquely answered:

MARY - What do the Mihilists require?
FATHER - The Mihilists of Russia propose simply to utterly destroy the present systems of government, which they assert to be full of evils, past all cure, and utterly despotic.
TOM - By what means do they hope to accomplish that end?
FATHER - By the burning of towns and cities, and by the assassination of their enemies. Mihilism is the introduction into the world of 'barbaric war.'

2. See p. 257.
4. The Mihilists or Annihilists, Irish World, April 26, 1879, p. 5.
In 1881, Ford joined Wendell Phillips in condemning the United States government for denying asylum to the Russian revolutionary, Leo Hartman. Earlier in the same year on March 21, Thomas Mooney had written to *Irish World* about the assassination of Czar Alexander II, pointing out that he had predicted it "a few months ago" in *Irish World*. A few weeks later there had been an editorial in Ford's paper about the arrest of J.J. Most, "editor of Freiheit, a socialist paper published in London":

The head and front of the Freiheit's offence is that when the Czar was executed by the Nihilist, it came out and said it served him right, and also intimated that if a few more crowned heads met with the same fate the world would be the better for it.4

This attitude on the part of the *Irish World* probably led Englishmen to suspect that Irish-Americans were the instigators of the killing of Burke and Cavendish.

The evidence for suspecting Irishmen, however, was even stronger. Violent attacks on landlords had long been a theme of Anglo-Irish literature as well as a matter of history. Furthermore, Irish moral suasionist leaders had sided or extolled both anarchists and Nihilists. Thus J.J. Most, who had sympathized with the Land League, had for his leading counsel the Irishman, A.M. Sullivan; and shortly after the Phoenix Park affair, Freiheit was suppressed once again, this time for condoning the

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5. See pp. 18-20.
"murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, and thereby encouraging persons to commit murder." Again, not long after the killings Irish World recalled that one of Parnell's colleagues, Joseph Biggar, had extolled "the example of the Nihilist Hartman" in Cork in March, 1880. Biggar was contemptuous of the distress caused by the killings:

It was said (and Biggar said it in words of somewhat brutal detachment, worthy of a Times leading article on the blowing to pieces of a Russian Grand Duke) that all these manifestations were excessive and hysterical, in reference to a crime for which English misgovernment had a deeper responsibility than Irish leaders, who had striven their best to keep discontent within constitutional bounds.

Sympathy toward Nihilism was also to be found in Irish literary circles. Oscar Wilde in 1882 wrote a play which took its name from a Nihilist, Vera. George Noble Plunkett, founder of Hibernia, a monthly review which appeared in 1882 and 1883, published a series of articles on Nihilism in his periodical. W.B. Yeats, too, was interested in Nihilism. Mary M. Colum in 1938 reported that he had once regarded her as his "ideal of a youthful nihilist":

This was what he used to say to me in my student days when I was so delighted to be Yeats' ideal of anything that I didn't care what the word meant. Nihilism was the romantic form of revolt in Yeats's early days; his friend, Oscar Wilde, had made a first play about Vera, the girl-nihilist. I think, vaguely, in his mind it represented a youthful fighting spirit that went with reading Russian novels, French Symbolist poetry, and Nietzsche. To attribute to anyone a fighting spirit was Yeats's most heartfelt compliment.

The Fenians, too, had been suspected of a belief in the efficacy of assassination by the Crown authorities as early as 1867. That this suspicion was well-grounded has been admitted by John O'Leary; and Devoy even condoned the practice as necessary.

As a matter of fact, the Irish secret society which was responsible for the stabbings probably had no connections with America whatsoever. Indeed, the "chief of the Invincibles," P.J.P. Tynan, in his history of The Irish National Invincibles, asserted that the administration of the society "did not permit its spread to the United States."

Tynan said that the organization had been formed and was directed by Farnellites with the help of dissident members of the I.R.B. for the purpose of "guerilla attacks" which "might eventually lead up to a war for independence." The organizers were particularly incensed against the offices of Chief Secretary and the Under Secretary of the State for Ireland, and against Dublin Castle in general:

It was resolved by the earliest council held by the Executive of the Invincibles, that these ferocious offices should be kept vacant by the continued 'suppression' of their holders. This order was not leveled at any particular or especial occupant of these blood-stained posts of the foe, but all and every succeeding invader who came to

1. See pp. 256-257.
7. Ibid., p. 551.
occupy these 'suppressed' bureaus...

Also that every satrap of Britain, carrying on and conducting her war in any part of the island, should be summarily removed.\(^1\)

In view of Tynan's account of its origins, it is not surprising that the society was bewildered when Parnell and Davitt issued their manifesto denouncing the Phoenix Park killings. This amazement was mitigated when the Dublin \textit{Irishman} hinted that the document was a ruse; but nevertheless, the Invincibles decided "to declare a truce."

The identity of the five men who had participated in the stabbings remained a mystery until January 13, 1883, when 21 suspects were committed to prison in Dublin. On January 27, one of the suspects testified that all of the prisoners belonged to "a very formidable secret society, known as the Assassination Society of Dublin." Then two more suspects were imprisoned, one of them, John Fitzharris, having "the sobriquet of 'Skin the goat.'"\(^7\)

On February 17, one of the suspects, James Carey, Town Councilor, informed on the others. The net result of the ensuing trial was that five of the prisoners were sentenced to death and the rest -- except for Carey and two others -- were sentenced to serve jail terms of various lengths. The first In-

\begin{enumerate}
  \item P.J.P. Tynan, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 528-530.
  \item Ibid., pp. 414-415, 424.
  \item Ibid., pp. 563-64.
  \item See p. 400.
  \item P.J.P. Tynan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 447.
  \item Anon., \textit{The Mysteries of Ireland}, p. 261.
  \item P.J.P. Tynan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 453.
  \item \textit{The Mysteries of Ireland}, pp. 265-266.
  \item Ibid., pp. 288-296.
\end{enumerate}
vincible to be hanged, Joseph Brady, died on May 14th. The remaining four were executed subsequently. Years later Katharine Tynan remarked in connection with the executions which followed the Irish insurrection of 1916: "I remember mornings long ago in the land league days, and the days of the Invincibles, when one prayed not to wake till late because there was a hanging at Kilmainham jail...." That Katharine Tynan was not alone in this sympathy for the Invincibles was brought out at the trial of Parnell in 1889 when he was cross-examined about the Dublin Irishman, an organ edited by a Fenian which Parnell had been able to buy with money sent to him from the Emergency Fund of the Irish World:

Sir Richard Webster read out a very long series of extracts of a more or less violent character, some of them extremely violent. One of the extracts called Carey, the informer, 'a hypocrite and cunning coward,' and Brady, one of the Phoenix Park murderers, 'a sincere, lighthearted enthusiast.' 'Do you approve of that?' Sir Richard asked. 'I do not,' was the answer... But Mr. Parnell was a shareholder of this very Irishman...'

Two repercussions of the Phoenix Park affair deserve special notice. The first was the killing of the informer, James Carey, on July 29, 1883 by Patrick O'Donnell, who, according to P.J.P. Tynan, was an Invincible. On being brought to trial, O'Donnell was defended by A.M. Sullivan and Charles Russell, brother of the editor of The Irish Monthly. Irish-Americans

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1. The Mysteries of Ireland, pp. 297-302.
3. See P. 138-139.
4. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, September 5, 1883, p. 1; see p.
took great interest in the trial and commissioned an American lawyer to cross the Atlantic to assist in the defense. Nevertheless, O'Donnell was hanged. This made an even greater hero of him in Irish opinion: "His name and fame were celebrated in many songs, and a popular ballad commencing 'Pat O'Donnell is my name, and I come from Donegal,' was sung throughout the length and breadth of Ireland."

The second repercussion which may be noticed involves "Skin-the-goat" Fitzharris. James Joyce, whom W.B. Yeats once rather condescendingly characterized as "the son of a small Parnellite organizer," has situated one of the episodes of 

Ulysses in a Dublin cabmen's shelter owned by Fitzharris. It was in that place that Leopold Bloom and Stephen Dedalus (Joyce's name for himself) overheard the description of a fatal stabbing in Italy. Furthermore, they learned that "Skin-the-goat" had remained a rabid Parnellite until that very day, June 17, 1904. As a result, Bloom felt "a certain kind of admiration for a man who had actually brandished a knife, cold steel, with the courage of his political convictions:

...until it just struck him that Fitz, nicknamed Skin-the-goat, merely drove the car for the actual perpetrators of the outrage and so was not, if he was reliably informed,
actually party to the ambush which, in point of fact, was the plea some legal luminary saved his skin on. In any case that was very ancient history by now and as for our friend, the pseudo Skin-the-etcetera, he had transparently outlived his welcome. He ought to have either died naturally or on the scaffold high. Like actresses, always farewell, positively last performance then come up smiling again.  

An earlier episode of Ulysses was laid in the office of the Freeman’s Journal where the editor outlined to some friends the route over which "Skin-the-goat drove the car": "-F to P is the route Skin-the-goat drove the car for an alibi. Inchicore, Roundtown, Windy Arbour, Palmerston Park, Ranelagh." One of the editor’s friends then pointed out how Lady Dudley, the wife of the Lord Lieutenant, had discovered that the Invincibles were well remembered in Dublin:

- Talking about the invincibles, he said, did you see that some hawkers were up before the recorder...  

-0 yes, J.J. Molloy said eagerly. Lady Dudley was walking home through the park to see all the trees that were blown down by that cyclone last year and thought she'd buy a view of Dublin. And it turned out to be a commemoration post-card of Joe Brady or Number One or Skin-the-goat. Right outside the viceregal lodge, imagine!

In addition to the above allusions to "Skin-the-goat" Fitzharris, scattered through Ulysses there are allusions to Joseph Brady, James Carey as a hypocrite, and an agent provocateur and to the position of the Invincibles in the annals of Irish patriotism. The last mentioned allusion was made by an atavistic advocate of physical force, modelled after the pic-

1. J. Joyce, Ulysses, p. 626.
4. Ibid., p. 233.
5. J. Joyce, Ulysses, p. 136.
6. Ibid., p. 239.
7. Ibid., p. 80.
8. Ibid., p. 161.
9. Ibid., p. 324.
turesque Fenian, Michael Cusack, who was known to his intimates by a republican title, "the citizen":

So of course the citizen was only waiting for the wink of the word and he starts gassing out of him about the invincible and the old guard and the men of sixty-seven and who fears to speak of ninety-eight and Joe with him about all the fellows that were hanged, drawn and transported for the cause of drumhead courtmartial and a new Ireland and new this, that and the other.2

John O'Leary's Circle

Before discussing the Dublin intellectuals who grouped themselves around John O'Leary after his return to Ireland in 1884, something should be said about his life after he had been sentenced to prison in 1865.

While in prison, unlike O'Donovan Rossa, O'Leary retained a tight-lipped silence regardless of the conduct of his jailors. After his release in 1870, he went to France. He was a prominent figure in the Irish colony in Paris, as George Moore reported, and founded L'Association du Saint Patrice for descendants of the Wild Geese -- those seventeenth century Irish Jacobite refugees who had served in the Irish Brigade of the French army.

In France, O'Leary did not lose sight of Irish politics. As far as the physical force party is concerned, it may be noted that to O'Donovan Rossa's chagrin he opposed the dynamite policy; and to John Devoy's regret he took issue with the Clan-na-Gael.

1. See p. 248.
2. J. Joyce, Ulysses, p. 300.
4. See p. 165.
5. See p. 125.
6. M. G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 165.
7. See p. 96.
8. J. O'Leary, Correspondence, Irishman, April 1, 1876, p. 633; cf. O'Donovan Rossa, Our American Letter, Irishman, November 11, 1876, p. 310.
when it participated in the New Departure. As far as moral
suasion is concerned, it may be reported that he met Charles Stewart
Parnell for the first time in 1877 and took an immediate liking
2
to him.

O'Leary had known the Parnell family since the days when
3
he was editor of Irish People. Perhaps this prepared the way
for O'Leary's favorable estimate of the future leader of the
Irish Parliamentary Party. In due time O'Leary even was willing
4
to accept him as a leader of the calibre of Tone, James Stephens,
or O'Connell:

Of Charles Stewart Parnell, O'Leary used to say that he
did not so much love Ireland as hate England. This hatred
he approved of as the next strongest force, and, I think,
respected 'the Chief' for his insolence to the British and
his own immediate followers.5

However, although O'Leary believed that the Irish could only
employ physical force against England with success when the lat-
er was at war with another great power, it must not be assumed
from his friendly feeling for Parnell that the old Fenian ap-
proved of Parnell's brand of constitutional agitation. Thus,
of O'Leary's attitude toward dynamite and assassination as com-
pared with Parnellism, W.B. Yeats wrote in his Autobiography:

Such men were of his own sort, though gone astray, but
the constitutional politicians he had been fighting all his
life, and all they did displeased him. It was not that he
thought their aim wrong, or that they could not achieve it;
he had accepted Gladstone's Home Rule Bill; but that in his

1. See p. 294.
2. See p. 289.
4. J. O'Leary, Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism, vol. 2,
p. 169.
5. H. Piatt, The Fenian Leader, By One Who Knew Him. The Irish
Press, Christmas Number, 1933, p. 16.
6. O'Leary, op. cit., p. 228, note.
eyes they degraded manhood. 'If England has been brought
to do us justice by such men,' he would say, 'that is not
because of our strength, but because of her weakness.'

Upon his return to Dublin, O'Leary lived with his sister
2 Ellen. Hester Sigerson, daughter of George Sigerson, has told
how the old Fenian attracted "a circle of literary and patriotic
young people" of which her father was a member and which "was
the nucleus of the Irish literary revival." The O'Learys, Mrs.
Platt declared, held "a little salon every week" and John used
to tell his visitors "that Willie Yeats was the only one of them
who had genius": "I remember meeting at these evenings -- to
choose names at random -- Katharine Tynan, Douglas Hyde, Hannah
Lynch, John F. Taylor, John Todhunter, Rose Kavanagh..." As
members of this "circle of poets, politicians, makers of all
sorts" Katharine Tynan also included "the three children of
Johnston of Ballykilbeg" who helped to introduce Theodosphy into
Dublin. George Russell (A.E.) was a close friend both of Yeats
and the Johnstons and Charles Johnston was a friend of John
Devoy; but if A.E. was one of O'Leary's disciples at this time,
neither Katharine Tynan nor W.B. Yeats mention it. Incidentally,
in his Autobiography Yeats has several curious comments of Charles
Johnston.

Of the Dublin intellectuals who grouped themselves around

3. Platt, op. cit., p. 16.
5. Ibid., pp. 277-281.
7. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 262; see p. 306.
8. J. O'Leary, Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism, vol. 2,
p. 169.
O'Leary, W.B. Yeats and Maud Gonne may be singled out for more detailed consideration because of their associations with Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance.

Yeats dated his first acquaintance with O'Leary from the time of the latter's return to Ireland in 1884. O'Leary had become president of the Young Ireland Society, presiding over debates and poetry declamations which Yeats believed to have influenced him profoundly: "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 to since." It was to Ellen O'Leary, however, that he attributed his knowledge of the history of the Fenian movement and Yeats has recorded that he "found sister and brother alike were of Plutarch's people," Yeats' father also was attracted to the old Fenian and painted his portrait.

In 1889, O'Leary helped Yeats in a more material way when the latter published by subscription his first book of poems. Of this help Yeats wrote:

I often wonder why he gave me his friendship, why it was he who found almost all the subscribers for my Wanderings of Usheen, and why he now supported me in all I did, for could he like verses that were all picture, all emotion, all association, all mythology? He could not have approved my criticism either, for I exalted Mask and Image above the eighteenth-century logic which he loved, and set experience before observation, emotion before fact. Yet he would say, 'I have only three followers, Taylor, Yeats, and Rolleston,' and presently he cast out Rolleston... I think that perhaps it was because he no more wished to strengthen Irish Na-

3. Ibid., p. 84.
tionalism by second-rate literature than by second-rate morality, and was content that we agreed in that. 'There are things a man must not do to save a Nation,' he had once told me, and when I asked what things, had said, 'To cry in public,' and I think it probable that he would have added, if pressed, 'To write oratorical or insincere verse.'

Yeats may have been aware of O'Leary's aversion to "oratorical or insincere verse" from the latter's writings in Irish People and he may have developed a taste for the "Come-all-ye" from the same source. On the other hand, it is more probable that Yeats got these things from O'Leary at first hand. For some time after Ellen O'Leary's death in 1889 the two men lived on the most intimate terms. Later Yeats wrote of the association: "I shared a lodging full of old books and magazines, covered with dirt and dust, with the head of the Fenian Brotherhood, John O'Leary." Yeats "was writing The Secret Rose" and O'Leary was at work upon his Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism. Yeats wrote:

In the evening, over his coffee, he would write passages for his memoirs upon postcards and oldscrap of paper, taking immense trouble with every word and comma, for the great work must be a masterpiece of style. When it was finished, it was unreadable, being dry, abstract, and confused; no picture had ever passed before his mind's eye.

Profoundly as O'Leary may have influenced Yeats by the preceding considerations, there remains another. In 1887 the Yeats family went to live in London:

Presently a handsom drove up to our door at Bedford Park with Miss Maude Gonne, who brought an introduction to my

3. See pp. 149-151.
6. Ibid., p. 182.
father from old John O'Leary, the Fenian leader. She vexed my father by praise of war, war for its own sake, not as the creator of certain virtues but as if there were some virtue in excitement itself. I supported her against my father, which vexed him the more, though he might have understood that, apart from the fact that Caro!us Duran and Bastien-Lepage were somehow involved, a man young as I could not have differed from a woman so beautiful and so young.

Thus O'Leary was responsible for the first meeting between W.B. Yeats and Maud Gonne. Of the relationship between the two, Stephen Gwynn later wrote, somewhat gushingly:

Born, like Helen or like Deirdre, to be a danger and live dangerously, her beauty, 'because of that great nobleness of hers,' was never overpraised even by the poet whose recurring theme it was for half a lifetime. Much it would appear, and much of the best, written for her and about her in early years, was not published till later; early theories tied Yeats to express himself, for the public, through symbols. Yet before the century ended Yeats was already the man who had written the best love poetry of his age. Taking into account what has been added later to that expression of long worship, I do not know the poet in any language out of whom more beauty has been wrung by the passion for a woman.

Such poetry reaches all. If Yeats is more than an esoteric, the thanks are due to her who inspired it. Yet if he were only a writer of noble love poetry, one need not dwell on the person that he wrote of. But he is so much more for Ireland that it is necessary to show how this lady was to him not only an inspiration but a helper. It was never in her nature to be a locker-on at life's adventures; nationalist of the most ardent kind, she was soon involved in movements of revolt, and not only to her poet but to thousands of Irish folk she was the incarnation of that vision which had cheered the Irish imagination through centuries of defeat -- known by endearing names, namely, the Dark Rosaleen, the 'Shan van Vocht,' or 'Cathleen the Daughter of Houlihan.' Like all other workers in the movement of which he was the true directing force, Yeats aspired to serve his country. But as a lonely writer of dreamy verse, however beautiful, he could never have given such an impetus as came out of an enterprise whose very essence involved a fellowship of artists. The Irish literary movement really became a force from the day when Yeats entrusted to a company of Irish players the play in which he had brought this embodied vision on to the stage as part of an episode linked to famous memories in Irish history -- and when the part of Cathleen

ni Houlihan was taken by the woman who had inspired it.  

Maud Gonne, it would seem, had sought out O'Leary because he was "head of the Fenians" and he had given her the same advice he had given Yeats:

'You must read,' he said, 'read the history of our country, read its literature; I will lend you the books and then you must lecture.'

And we arranged that I should have tea with him and his sister Ellen, next day. Soon she was on friendly terms with O'Leary's circle. Indeed, so intimate did she become with W.B. Yeats that the irrepres-sible George Moore once asked the poet if it had "always been a pure love."

Summary

In tracing Parnell's rise, two things have been kept in mind: his debt to the physical force party and his moral suasionist recruits. His debt to the Fenians was later to embarrass him with sympathizers for whom he had little use; and to win for him the support of a group of young intellectuals who grouped themselves around John O'Leary after the latter's return to Dublin from exile in 1884.

Parnell's appeal to the Fenians was both indirect and di-

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1. S. Gwynn, Irish Literature and Drama, pp. 143-144.
3. Ibid., p.90.
4. Ibid., p. 140.
5. Ibid., p.99.
6. Ibid., p. 92.
rect. Indirectly, his descent from an Admiral of the United States Navy who had whipped the English appealed to advocates of physical force. He skillfully used his American ancestry and acquaintance with the customs of the United States in speeches and public conduct. He also followed Irish-American precedent in expressing sympathy for Russia in the event of an Anglo-Russian war. Parnell made a different sort of indirect appeal to Fenians and Irish-Americans, by his work for the amnesty of Fenian convicts. It is little wonder that O'Donovan Rossa and Irish World expressed admiration for him.

Parnell's direct appeal to the physical force party may be seen in his fulsome praise of such men as O'Donovan Rossa and John Daly. Likewise, in a speech made at Manchester on July 15, 1877, he announced that he did not "believe in the policy of conciliation." As a result of these indirect and direct appeals, Parnell was elected president of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain in 1877, an organization which had been described as a "Fenian gang." And later by accepting the presidency of the Land League, Parnell openly joined hands with the Clan-na-Gaal.

After Parnell had captured a Fenian following, he began to win moral suasionist recruits. They could approve of his ancestry because of his descent from Sir John Parnell who had voted against the Act of Union in 1800. He made his first serious inroad among the moral suasionists by winning the support of Dublin papers controlled by T.D. Sullivan, the Nation, and Young Ireland, for his adoption of the old American tactic of fili-
bustering. Young Ireland is of particular significance as the first Irish "literary weekly" to support Parnell. It reflected popular Irish interest in the United States, Irish agitation at Westminster, Anglo-Irish literature and such more uniquely Celtic phenomena as the I.R.B., the Gaelic language, Irish folklore, antiquities and games.

After he had won the support of Young Ireland, Parnell soon recruited four able lieutenants among the moral suasionists: T.M. Healy, William O'Brien, Justin M'Carthy, and T.P. O'Connor. Healy, O'Brien and O'Connor were either ex-Fenians or else had been suspected of intimacy with the physical force party. All four were journalists and O'Connor, of course, was to win considerable fame in this field.

Particular interest may be attached to O'Brien and M'Carthy for literary reasons. O'Brien became editor of United Irishman which was owned by the Parnellite party and in it he preached a mixture of moral suasion and physical force which was relished by both Fenians and less violent individuals. M'Carthy, like Parnell, was somewhat of an expert on American affairs. His chief concern was American letters and on visits to the United States he usually went out of his way to call on Walt Whitman. Unlike Parnell, however, he was so well-known as an opponent of physical force that when the former was elected chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, he suggested that M'Carthy be made vice-chairman in order to placate those moral suasionists who were most hostile to the Fenians.

As a result of his continued appeal to the Fenians, Parnell won sympathizers who were not bound to follow his orders
by any party lines. Among such the Irish National Invincibles and John O'Leary's circle of friends are noteworthy.

Although the Invincibles were repudiated by Parnell and Davitt, who as a member of the Land League might be described as a Parnellite, there is evidence to show that they considered themselves to be responsible to leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party. The Invincibles in some ways resembled the Russian Nihilists and in other ways created the impression that they were an Irish-American organization. However, they seem to have been completely Irish. The admiration which such Irish writers as Oscar Wilde and W.B. Yeats expressed for Nihilism and which Irishman, a Parnellite organ, displayed for the Invincibles is indirect evidence that their methods were not repugnant to all sections of Irish opinion. Further proof that they were completely Irish exists in the history of the Invincibles written by P.J.F. Tyman, their alleged chief. Incidentally, James Joyce in Ulysses was later to exhibit considerable interest in the Phoenix Park affair which made the Invincibles famous.

Like the Invincibles, John O'Leary and his circle of friends sympathized with Parnell but they did so because of his anti-English sentiments rather than because of his love for Ireland. The circle included such people as Katharine Tyman, Douglas Hyde, J.F. Taylor, Rose Kavanagh, and, especially, W. B. Yeats and Maud Gonne. For it was O'Leary who helped Yeats to sell his first book which the latter had published by private subscription. And O'Leary introduced Yeats to Maud Gonne, who was to inspire the poet to compose some of his most celebrated writings.
CHAPTER IX
ORGANIZATIONS, PUBLICATIONS AND TRIBUTES INSPIRED
BY PARNELL, 1882-1889

In the following chapter the career of Parnell when he attained the peak of his power will be viewed obliquely through a consideration of the organizations, publications and tributes which were inspired by him. The organizations were either closely or loosely allied with Fenianism. On the other hand, the tributes which will be considered were mostly from sources which were unfriendly to the physical force party; and at least four of them were involuntary. Furthermore, two of these four were deliberate attempts to discredit him; and can only be considered as tributes in the sense that their very elaborateness is an indication of the power which Parnell was generally believed to have at his command.

Organizations

The five organizations to be discussed were all related to Fenianism in one way or another; and they all assisted the Celtic renaissance either directly or indirectly.

Organizations Closest to the Fenians

The organizations nearest to the I.R.B. were the Political Prisoners Amnesty Association, the Gaelic Athletic Associa-
tion and the Young Ireland Society, and they may be mentioned in that order to re-emphasize Parnell's continued reliance on the advocates of physical force.

The Political Prisoners Amnesty Association

Mention has already been made of Parnell's work for the Fenian convicts who had been imprisoned after the rising in 1867 and of his efforts on behalf of the Irish dynamitards. In connection with his work for the latter group, it should be pointed out that he was president of the Political Prisoners Amnesty Association which was organized to help them. Incidentally, as already mentioned, the Fenians themselves were split on the subject of the use of dynamite. Maude Gonne wrote in this connection:

O'Leary was angry with me because of my share in the agrarian movement, of which he disapproved. Nor was he more sympathetic when I announced my intentions of working for the release of treason-felony prisoners. 'Dynamitards,' O'Leary said, 'are all mad or bad, or both.' Yet that man was the leader of the physical force party, and lauded the rifle and the sword. 5

The Irish Parliamentary Party, too, was split on the amount of help that should be offered to these prisoners. T. P. O'Connor, whose connections with the Fenians has already been mentioned, refused to help them. T.M. Healy claimed that he had worked on their behalf; but in his historical novel, Bird

7. Fitz-Gerald, op. cit., p. 113.
8. See p. 329.
Alone, Sean O'Faolain told how Healy was despised and John Redmond admired by certain Fenians who were working for amnesty and who were Parnellites:

But when we saw Mr. Redmond in the House of Commons and he shook hands with us, the old flame leaped up again because he was the only one of the Party who ever visited these prisoners or tried to intercede for them with the British; the others scratched and squabbled and forgot.¹

The Gaelic Athletic Association

The differences of opinion among the Fenians as to the effectiveness of the use of dynamite to secure Irish independence were not discernable so far as the Gaelic Athletic Association was concerned.

According to his historian, the founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association was Michael Cusack "in whose heart it was ² conceived." It may well have been on this account that the organization called itself the "Gaelic" rather than the "Irish" Athletic Association. Cusack had been enthusiastic for the revival of Gaelic as early, at least, as 1880:

He was closely associated with the Gaelic Union and, while conducting an educational column in 'The Shamrock,' had been advocating the revival of Irish as far back as 1880. He had taught Irish classes at many periods in Dublin and for some time conducted the senior Irish class for the Celtic Literary Society in Lower Abbey Street.³

Hence, it is not surprising that the Congress of the Gaelic Athletic Association adopted a resolution in favor of the study of ⁴

Gaelic in 1889; nor that when the Gaelic League was proposed in

¹ S. O'Faolain, Bird Alone, pp. 159-163.
² P.J. Devlin, Our Native Games, pp. 13-19.
⁴ Gaelic Athletic Annual, 1936-1937, p. 117.
1893, Cusack should have been present:

Cusack was one of the small body of enthusiasts who formed the nucleus of the Gaelic League. He was present at the meeting at which it was decided to launch an organisation more energetic than the Gaelic Union or the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language had been and to frame it on popular lines. This meeting was held in the classroom of a fellow-countryman and former pupil of his own, the late Mr. Martin Kelly...

Cusack hoped to find in this League the counterpart of the Gaelic Athletic Association, with a democratic appeal to the highest instincts of the people to preserve and utilize their most distinctive possession -- the national language.

It was Cusack's interest in the language which acquainted him with Lady Gregory:

During the course of his career as a teacher Cusack resided in Eniscorthy, Carr and Newry and, as those who know anything about him as an educator must be aware, established the most successful private academy of the time in Dublin. He was tutor in the family of the late Lady Gregory at Cork and Professor in the Diocesan Seminary at Violet Hill...

Interest in the revival of Irish sports has already been noted in America; and in this connection it may be pointed out that the formation of the Gaelic Athletic Association has been directly attributed to the Irish Fenians:

...This association, composed of the finest types among the young men of Ireland and imbued with deep National feeling, had evolved out of the Fenian movement and was the first group of Irishmen to found an athletic association based on John O'Mahony's teaching: 'Self-restraint, self-discipline, self-sacrifice.' All were members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

The first organizer selected by this Fenian group was Michael Cusack, now revered throughout the length and breadth of Ireland for his devotion to the ideas of Gaelic Erin.

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3. Ibid., p. 20.
Parnell, it seems, was one of the founders and a less friendly historian than the above said:

The Gaelic Athletic Association was an organization whose association with disintegrative policy had been manifest since its initiation. It was founded in 1884 by Parnell, Michael Cusack and Michael Davitt. It was nominally an association for the preservation and cultivation of national games and pastimes. It was also nominally non-political and non-sectarian. In actual point of fact the true function of the G.A.A. was to stimulate the national anti-British spirit. All English games, such as cricket..., etc., were barred...

The great G.A.A. game is 'hurling,' a primitive kind of hockey, but a special kind of football and handball were also admitted, as were athletics as distinct from games. The underlying idea was the physical fitness of the youth of the nation as a preparation for achieving political independence by physical force methods; thus the G.A.A. has always been dominated by the spirit of the Clan-na-Gael, rather than that of the Gaelic League, with which it had no direct connection and little more than a sympathetic interest.

In 1910 we find Austin Stack on the committee, while here and there crop up the names of men who are later prominent in sedition and active rebellion. The Association has never been under the patronage of reputable people and has always borne an invidious reputation.1

As a matter of fact, the original patrons of the Gaelic Athletic Association were the Most Reverend T. W. Croke, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, Parnell and Davitt. Later John O'Leary and Douglas Hyde acted in this capacity. Others associated with the Association were P. M. Fitzgerald, who had been arrested on charges of complicity with the Invincibles, and Maurice Davin, whose name was to appear in James Joyce's A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man in connection with that of another Davin who "had sat at the feet of Michael Cusack, the Gael." 4

4. See p. 248.
P. J. Devlin has traced his first acquaintance with Cusack to "the Gaelic Athletic championships of 1890" when he "saw him competing...in the weight events." He had somewhat the same effect on Devlin as he was later to have on Joyce:

He represented to me the embodiment of all the traditions of my race, which I had only glimpsed, or conjured up...

He awakened emotions of race-pride and national duty which must have slumbered for generations. He brought back for me a sense of the dignity and splendour of the Ireland of old... Besides all this, he enlightened me on many aspects of life and the braver attitude towards life -- material and spiritual. All that, and an invaluable volume of literary and historical knowledge, was imparted by him without the slightest trace of patronage or pedantry.2

According to Devlin, George Moore's Irish-American friend, T. O'Neill Russell, was also a crony of Cusack's:

Mention of O'Neill Russell reminds me of 'wits-combat' he and Cusack used to have -- and enjoy. Many of those took place in 'An Stad' then presided over by the genial Cathal McGarvey. What a rallying place that was for native genius and eccentricity, egoism and self-sacrifice in long past years!5

"An Stad" has been described also in books by Canon James Owen Hannay (George A. Birmingham) and Oliver St. John Gogarty; and from the former one may gather that Cusack sided with Parnell when the Irish Parliamentary Party split. In the same connection it may be pointed out that Parnell's funeral in Dublin "was headed by five hundred strapping young men, members of the Gaelic Athletic Association."9

1. See pp. 408-409.
3. See p. 349.
7. See p. 248.
8. G.A. Birmingham, Hyacinth, pp. 30-34.
Young Ireland Society

More significant from a literary standpoint than either the Political Prisoners Amnesty Association or the Gaelic Athletic Association was the Young Ireland Society. It had been formed in 1881 at the time of Davitt's arrest, and thus was an offshoot of the New Departure. Accordingly its early sympathies were for physical force together with a measure of land reform along the lines laid down by Henry George.

In 1883 the Young Ireland Society became interested in "erecting memorials over the graves of James Clarence Mangan, Terrence Bellew Macmanus, Col. John O'Mahony" and other neglected Irish patriots. Davitt encouraged this project by suggesting that various Dublin place names be changed to commemorate these patriots. Later in the same year Frederick J. Allan, prominent I.R.B. leader, and several others signed a letter asking for contributions to erect a monument for J. K. Casey ("Leo").

In 1884 the Young Ireland Society became interested in another educational project which was described by Irish World as follows:

THOMAS DAVIS AND JOHN BLAKE DILLON and their associates of the Young Ireland Party made an effort to establish libraries and reading rooms in 1883 but it was hardly successful. They had not the proper material to work on. The masses were unlettered as England had made them. Since their time the national school system has been perfected, and many in Ireland under 40 years of age have had good educational advantages. They have very generally profited thereby. The Young Ireland party gave them a literature

1. See pp. 304-305.
3. L.N. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 77.
and the idea of organization, which the men of the present day have and fittingly acknowledged by calling their societies after the leaders of that body, and the central organization in Dublin the Young Ireland Society.¹

Needless to say, the Young Ireland Society was interested in Parnell. In 1884 Irish World reported that "a paper entitled 'Fanny Parnell: Poetess and Politician,' was read" before a branch of the society in Dublin. On his part Charles Stewart Parnell was interested enough in the organization to lecture on January 23, 1885 to "the Cork 'Young Ireland Society' on Ireland and her Parliament." An eye witness later wrote:

When Parnell showed himself he received a magnificent reception. When he ascended the platform they cheered him again and again. What a king he looked, standing on that platform that night; so handsome, so quiet, so self-possessed, so dignified. People thought of looking at no one but him... I heard the cheers, and they cheered from beginning to end.²

According to John Devoy, after his return from exile (in 1884) John O'Leary used the Young Ireland Society as a recruiting ground for the I.R.B. and enlisted T.W. Rolleston, F.J. Gregg, Charles Johnston and Charles Hubert Oldham into the Fenian ranks. Incidentally, it may have been the Gaelic school which the Young Ireland Society established in 1886 that attracted Douglas Hyde to it.

Others

Two other organizations, the Contemporary Club and the

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¹. Notes and Queries About Ireland, Irish World, April 5, 1884, p. 2.
². Dublin, Irish World, April 26, 1884, p. 2.
⁴. See p. 409.
⁵. See p. 305.
⁶. See p. 306.
Pan-Celtic Society, deserve mention.

The Contemporary Club

The Contemporary Club was the more conservative of the two and among its members were close associates of the "strongly Unionist" Trinity College professor, Edward Dowden, who was a great admirer of Emerson and Whitman. It met "every Monday night for discussion of all manner of subjects" in the rooms of Charles Hubert Oldham, who, according to Maud Gonne and Katharine Tynan, "was a Protestant Home-Ruler" but, according to Charles Johnston, was a Fenian. Frequent in attendance at its meetings were George Sigerson, W.B. Yeats and his father, Douglas Hyde, T.W. Rolleston, J.F. Taylor and John O'Leary. "Michael Davitt came sometimes to the meetings; and W.B. Yeats wrote of them in his autobiography:

In Ireland harsh argument which had gone out of fashion in England was still the manner of our conversation, and at this club Unionist and Nationalist could interrupt one another and insult one another without the formal and traditional restraint of public speech."

Perhaps the most distinguished visitor who was entertained by the society was William Morris of whose stay in Dublin Stephen Gwynn, who was himself a member of the Contemporary Club, wrote

2. S. Gwynn, Irish Literature and Drama, p. 117.
6. M.G. MacBrude, A Soldier of the Queen, pp. 88-93.
7. See pp. 306, 411.
in his autobiographical Experiences of a Literary Man.

The Pan-Celtic Society

The Pan-Celtic Society, which was founded in March, 1888, was more akin to the Young Ireland Society than to the Contemporary Club. Although it expressed the desire to be "non-political," as a matter of fact it was not very successful in this objective. For at least one of its members believed: "We should go in for intellectual as well as political Home Rule." Another was a Parnellite member of Parliament; and an even more celebrated Parnellite, Katharine Tynan, was a member of the society. Other sympathizers with Parnell who belonged to the Pan-Celtic Society were John O'Leary, George Sigerson, Rose Kavanagh, Ellen O'Leary, Dora Sigerson, her sister and mother, and Maud Gonne.

Douglas Hyde was a member and contributed to Lays and Lyrics of the Pan-Celtic Society, which was published in 1889.

P. S. O'Hegarty has described Hyde's contributions tersely: "One translation and two original poems, including a fine democratic poem, An Appeal, which is unique in Dr. Hyde's work." Another contributor to the anthology was A. P. Graves; but John Todhunter, who was a member of the society, is not listed as having been represented in the collection.

1. S. Gwynn, Experiences of a Literary Man, pp. 42-44.
3. Ibid., p. 42.
6. Ryan, op. cit., p. 46.
7. Ibid., p. 47.
8. Ibid., p. 48.
9. Ibid., pp. 48-49.
11. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 45-46.
12. Ibid., p. 45.
13. Ibid., p. 49.
More important than this anthology, however, was the interest which the Pan-Celtic Society displayed in the revival of the Irish Language. R. J. O'Mulrenin of Trinity College, co-editor with John Fleming of the Gaelic Journal, was a member:

Mr. O'Mulrenin took charge of the Gaelic department of the Pan-Celtic Society, and it was through his influence that Irish titles, such as Ceann for Chairman, Runaire for Secretary, were adopted by the officials. 4

Publications

Publications associated with the last three of the organizations discussed above are notable. First, Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland may be mentioned, then the Dublin University Review, and finally Irish Fireside.

Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland and Dublin University Review

Stephen Gwynn has called Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland one of the three "old books" which "may help to trace the evolution" of the Irish literary revival. The anthology was dedicated to the Young Ireland Societies and to John O'Leary, who wrote to Katharine Tynan that he was gladdened thereby. The first poem in the volume, "To John O'Leary," was by one of the editors, T.W. Rolleston. Another notable poem was Douglas Hyde's

2. Ryan, op. cit., p. 42.
3. See p. 351.
4. Ryan, op. cit., p. 44.
5. S. Gwynn, Irish Literature and Drama, p. 139.
7. K. Tynan, The Middle Years, p. 22.
"Death Lament of John O'Mahony," which has already been cited.

Poems by two erstwhile contributors to Irish People, Ellen O'Leary and George Sigerson, were included in this anthology. In addition, there were four poems by W.B. Yeats, three by Katharine Tynan, three by Rose Kavanagh, one by George Noble Plunkett (who already has been mentioned as a candidate for Parliament) and one by Charles Gregory Fagan, whose father's pro-Irish sympathies resulted in such rough treatment by the police that he "sustained an injury to his knee which caused him to limp a little till the day he died." Yet another contributor was John Todhunter of whom W.B. Yeats wrote:

There was Todhunter, a well-off man who had bought my father's pictures while my father was still pre-Raphaelite; once a Dublin doctor he was now a poet and a writer of poetical plays; a tall, sallow, lank, melancholy man, a good scholar and a good intellect... If he had liked anything strongly he might have been a famous man, for a few years later he was to write, under some casual patriotic impulse, certain excellent verses now in all Irish anthologies; but with him every book was a new planting, and not a new bud on an old bough. He had I think no peace in himself.

Rolleston, like O'Leary, opposed extreme land reforms and W.P. Ryan's remarks about the anthology are interesting in this connection:

T.W. Rolleston, W.B. Yeats, Dr. Douglas Hyde and other singers who were more or less strangers to the people were the lyricists who now addressed Young Ireland. Readers of

1. See pp. 248-249.
2. See pp. 157-159.
7. See p. 294.
Mr. W.H. Hurlbert's 'Ireland Under Coercion' (how fortunate we have been as a nation in the foreigners who have studied us, and given us moral lectures!) will remember a reference to his book, and an account of a dinner at Mr. Rolleston's in Delgany, when there were present besides Mr. Hurlbert and the host, John O'Leary, Dr. Sigerson and J.F. Taylor, the Dublin correspondent of the Manchester Guardian. Mr. Hurlbert, I think, found himself in rather strong-minded company. The 'Poems and Ballads' had just appeared, and were taken as indicating a new inspiration in Ireland. Mr. Rolleston was in the 'black books' just then, on account of a pamphlet on boycotting, and certain strictures on some aspects of the national movement. Of his lofty ideals, national spirit, and staunch integrity there was no question, but I scarcely think that he grasped the full nature of the difficulties and harassing circumstances surrounding a less fortunate peasantry. He said during the evening that Ireland's salvation would be found in a return to the principles of Thomas Davis. In this he was certainly right.

The Dublin University Review, according to Katharine Tynan, had a distinct taint of Nationalism. Father Brown also remarked on its Nationalist spirit in his brief notice of the magazine. He described it as a monthly periodical published in 1885 and 1886 and mentioned an Irish story contributed to it by J. Todhunter. Irish World, reprinting an article by Davitt on "Irish Conservatism and its Outlooks," which was a reply to an earlier article by Standish J. O'Grady, made the following comment:

The Dublin University Review of August contained an article written by Standish O'Grady, an Irish landlord. The purpose of the article was to show how O'Grady and his class might maintain their ascendancy over the Irish people. In this month's issue of the Review Michael Davitt replies to O'Grady in an interesting and able paper...

Other contributors to the Dublin University Magazine were

Rose Kavanagh, who was a friend of Charles Kickham, and Jane

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5. Landlord Polly, Irish World, September 26, 1885, p. 6.
7. Badf Russell, Rose Kavanagh and Her Verses, pp. 16-17.
Barlow, who, although she was a Unionist, was to recognize that some sort of land reform was justified in her Bog-Land Studies.

Still another was Katherine Tynan, who thereby came to meet W. B. Yeats. Yeats, of course, was the most distinguished contributor and in his Autobiography associated it with the Contemporary Club. He wrote:

I had been invited to read out a poem called The Island of Statues, an arcadian play in imitation of Edmund Spenser, to a gathering of critics who were to decide whether it was worthy of publication in the College magazine. The magazine had already published a lyric of mine, the first ever printed, and people began to know my name. We met in the rooms of Mr. G. H. Oldham...

Stephen Gwynn also connected the Dublin University Review with the Contemporary Club in describing Oldham and T.W. Rolleston as its editors. On the other hand, John Devoy reported that both editors were Fenians; and Yeats was well aware that Rolleston was held in high esteem in revolutionary circles:

I have known young Dublin working men slip out of their workshop to see the second Thomas Davis passing by, and can even remember a conspiracy, by some three or four, to make him 'the leader of the Irish race at home and abroad.'...

Irish Fireside

Finally, Irish Fireside, whose editor belonged to the Pan-Celtic Society, remains to be considered. The years 1886 and 1887 may be chosen for more detailed consideration, but first

5. S. Gwynn, Irish Literature and Drama, p. 119.
a few words may be said about its beginnings.

Its Beginnings

On Monday, July 2, 1883, the proprietor of the Parnellite Freeman's Journal started a penny "Irish literary weekly," Irish Fireside. "James Murphy, the novelist, was its first editor. It did much to encourage young Irish writers and for a long time was really racy of the soil." The title of the new weekly may have been derived from a collection of Patrick Kennedy published in Dublin in 1870, The Fireside Stories of Ireland, for many of these stories were republished by Murphy although sometimes under a different title. Thus, for example, Kennedy's "The Lazy Beauty and Her Aunts" became "The Idle Girl that was Handsome" in Irish Fireside. Incidentally, The Fireside Stories of Ireland, which was admired by Douglas Hyde, was not the first collection made by Kennedy and it may not be amiss further to digress by pointing out that W.B. Yeats liked the form of Kennedy's Fictions of the Irish Celts well enough to imitate it in his Irish Fairy and Folk Tales and to reprint four pieces from Kennedy's earlier work as well as three from The Fireside Stories of Ireland.

To return to Irish Fireside, it may be observed that in the very first number Murphy announced his deep interest in Irish

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3. Unsigned, Irish Fireside, July 16, 1883, p. 36.
folklore and Irish ballad poetry. By the latter Murphy meant the poetry of the Young Irish; and W. B. Yeats later expressed considerable interest in the same subject in the pages of Irish Fireside.

Murphy was also enthusiastic for the revival of the Irish language. In November, 1882, the Gaelic Union had begun to publish The Gaelic Journal. From the index of Volume 1, the following names may be quoted as contributors: Douglas Hyde, T. O'Neill Russell, U.J. Cannon Bourke, Katharine Tynan and James Murphy.

In 1883 Murphy reprinted two of these contributions in Irish Fireside, and in the same year a correspondent was advised:

"The Irish language CAN be learned without a tutor. For information as to the necessary books, write to Mr. Gusack of the Gaelic Union..."

Rose Kavanagh, who contributed from the first year of its existence, is a link between the Gaelic Union and the Gaelic League for in 1888 she founded the Irish Fireside Club. The branch of the club to which William Rooney belonged deserves special mention in this connection:

One of the earliest resolutions passed by this branch was a resolution in favour of the Irish language, and a copy of the resolution was ordered to be sent, amongst other

1. Irish Folklore, Irish Fireside, July 2, 1883, p. 4.
2. Selected Poetry, Irish Fireside, July 2, 1883, p. 4.
6. Answers to Correspondence, Irish Fireside, November 5, 1883, pp. 303.
7. R. Kavanagh, Selected Poetry, Irish Fireside, August 20, 1883, p. 121.
places, to the Gaelic Union, which was then in existence, and to the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language. A correspondence with the Gaelic Union ensued, and the members of the Fireside Club expressing a desire to start an Irish class in connection with the club, Mr. R. J. O'Mulrennin, who was then a member of the Gaelic Union, immediately offered to take charge of the class. To Mr. O'Mulrennin William Rooney owed his first lessons in Irish... Irish classes were not so plentiful in Dublin then, as now, and we must, therefore, give all the greater honour to the man who was one of the first, if not the very first, to lead the way.

Irish Fireside in 1886 and 1887

Murphy seems to have given up the editorship of Irish Fireside some time before 1887 because in her reminiscences Katharine Tynan spoke of "Mrs. Dwyer Gray, wife of the proprietor of the Freeman's Journal" as having been succeeded by Rose Kavanagh as editor in that year.

The issue of Irish Fireside for January 2, 1886, edited, presumably, by "Mrs. Dwyer Gray," is worthy of particular note because it was devoted to the Irish renaissance:

What we hold is, that no Irishman of whatever political views can truly love his country and its welfare who does not strive strenuously and continuously to make the social life of himself and his fellow-countrymen thoroughly independent -- as thoroughly independent as it could possibly have been had we never been subject to outside rule. 'Ireland a Nation' should be the motto of every Celt, but it needs something more than mere politics to attain the full truth of the words. Taking our people as a body, at the present day we do not possess one of the true characteristics of a nation -- no independent trade, no independent language, no independent pastimes, no independent art or literature, no independent music; even the musical names of our men and women have faded away, and each succeeding generation is sent down through life bearing English names. There is no real reason why this humiliating truth should continue to brand us with disgrace, and to prove it we have today

1. W. Rooney, Poems and Ballads, p. xvi.
2. K. Tynan, Twenty-Five Years: Reminiscences, pp. 234-236.
gathered together the work of the pens of the men who are best fitted to establish an opinion on each particular subject. We place the work before our readers in the hope that it may bear beneficial results in the course of the coming twelve months. 1

In keeping with this announcement an article called for an Irish orientation in the curricula of Irish schools. In addition there were articles on "The Revival of Irish Music," "The Revival of the Irish Language by John Fleming (editor of the Gaelic Journal)," "The Revival of Irish Trade by Michael Davitt," "The Revival of Irish Literature" (an article the purpose of which was to stimulate public interest in patriotic subjects handled by Irish writers in the English language), "The Revival of Irish Names" and "The Revival of Irish Games."

Since Irish Fireside called upon its readers to encourage a Celtic renaissance in 1886, it may prove instructive to consider the contents in this year and the next in greater detail. This consideration may be broken down into the interest which Irish Fireside showed in Ireland's past, in the United States and in Irish Letters.

Ireland's Past

The renaissance of an interest in Ireland's illustrious past was encouraged mostly by fiction and history. As an example

2. Unsigned, Our Fireside Students, Irish Fireside, January 2, 1886, p. 5.
of the former, a serial about Ireland in the days when Elizabeth was Queen of England may be noted. It began in April with "A First Word to the Reader":

If our brief sojourn amongst the people of a bygone day teaches us that our race was then -- as it will ever be -- unconquerable and indestructible, it will not be in vain that we have roamed for a few hours through the shadowy fields of fiction.¹

As examples of the latter may be cited a "series of papers" entitled '98 and its Memories which began in October, and another series entitled Reliques of '48 in which articles by such representative Young Irishmen as Mangan (a poem), John Mitchel, J.F. Lalor, T.F. Meagher and Michael Doheny were reprinted.

The Fenians of 1867 were dealt with in a "Romance of the Fenian Movement" which ended in February with an exceedingly interesting note "by the author":

As many -- indeed most -- of the personages who figure in the romance are still living, it may be possible that the writer has in a few instances put language into their mouths which they are themselves perhaps unconscious of ever having used. At the same time, he ventures to hope that whatever may have been the defects of the work, it has succeeded in vindicating (if indeed that were necessary) the high motives and rare unselfishness of the men who took part in the Fenian movement... The men who, some twenty years ago, sought to teach the lessons that Ireland, oppressed, pauperized, and disarmed as she was, had still gallant hands ready to strike a blow for freedom, did not believe in the

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1. F. O'Gara, The Curse of Baltyerna, Irish Fireside, April 24, 1886, p. 278.
2. S.J. Greene, '98 and Its Memories, Irish Fireside, October 4, 1886, p. 198.
6. T.F. Meagher, The Queen Will Visit Ireland This Summer, Irish Fireside, March 13, 1886, p. 182.
narrow creed of utilitarianism. They recognized the great truth that a nation struggling to achieve its independence must have its Martyrs as well as its Tribunes. It will be an evil day for the cause of Irish liberty when this truth is forgotten. It was not in vain that Emmet perished on the scaffold, or that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was foully murdered by the myrmidons of British power. Nor was it in vain that in 1865 and 1867 the torch of insurrection was re-kindled in Ireland. If 'The Dragon's Teeth' has placed this fact in strong relief before those who have condescended to read it, its author may well rest satisfied. It is not for him to predict the future of his country. For those who love her, it is enough to know that they can best serve her by fearless self-sacrifice.1

2 This, of course, is the theme of Yeats' Cathleen Ni Houlihan. In 1916, when the Countess Markievicz was in an English prison as a result of the part she had taken in the Easter Week rising, she wrote of Yeats' play:

You remember 'They shall be remembered for ever.' What we stood for, and even poor me will not be forgotten, and 'the people shall hear them for ever!' That play of W.B.'s was a sort of gospel to me. 'If any men would help me, he must give me himself, give me all.'3

Less than a month after the conclusion of this serial in Irish Fireside, another began on the same subject -- that is, the Fenian rising in 1867. The second story was entitled, "A Soldier for Ireland." It opened with a "Prologue" which predicted that the Parnellites would soon achieve "liberty" for Ireland and went on to say:

...it is good, I think, for us to look back from our present attitude of patient organisation and resolution, by which we hope to advance step by step into the white light of freedom; unfastening one by one with infinite pains and difficulty the chains that have bound us for seven hundred years, to that time, now almost twenty years ago, when our nation

2. See p. 414, 417.
made one great appeal to arms, and in her agony lifted the pike against the rifle and the bayonet, to think a little of those pure and heroic-hearted men, who gathered from town and village and city -- without proper arms, proper discipline, proper provisions -- to face death, imprisonment and exile, as their fathers had done, for Ireland.¹

A third serial deserves mention in connection with the two preceding. In January, 1886, Charles J. Kickham’s For the Old Land! began. Irish Fireside’s advertisement of the novel, which is suggestive of Rose Kavanagh’s association with the author, declared:

The Ms. has lain in the hands of Kickham’s relatives until this year, when negotiations were opened by the proprietor of the Fireside, and the sole publishing right secured. It is especially interesting from the fact that it was not completed until three weeks before the death of the great novelist. Those of his friends who have perused it, assert it to be a greater work than even his immortal ‘Knocknagow’ or ‘Sally Kavanagh.’ His descriptions of the Old Election, the Eviction, the scenes in the American War, the incidents in the Fenian Movement, which run through portions of this great work, are depicted as no other pen could ever depict them. Every Irishman who reveres the name of Charles Kickham -- and what Irishman does not so -- should read this, the last and greatest of his works, now commenced in the Irish Fireside.²

By way of explanation, it may be pointed out that Kickham died in August, 1882, and it may also be reported that the Young Ireland Society had taken part in the obsequies and that the dynamitard, John Daly, had “delivered a short funeral oration.”³

As far as For the Old Land! is concerned, Yeats’ admiration for

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¹ A.M. Butler, A Soldier for Ireland; Irish Fireside, March 13, 1886, p. 135.
² Advertisement, Irish Fireside, January 2, 1886, p. 32.
³ J.J. Healy, Life and Times of Charles J. Kickham, p. 44.
⁴ J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 318.
the "scene of the pig-driving peelers" (which appeared in a January issue of Irish Fireside accompanied by an amusing illustration) may be recalled.

The United States

As might be expected, Irish Fireside displayed considerable interest in the United States. Turning over the pages one may note articles about General Grant, Sam Houston and the Alamo, Molly Pitcher, George Washington and England's help to the Confederacy during the Civil War. Articles on Artemus Ward, James Fenimore Cooper, Mark Twain, a poem by Whittier and a parody of Edgar Allen Poe testify that Irish Fireside was interested in American literature as well as the history of the United States. Irish Fireside's interest in Irish-American literature was evidenced by the reprinting of poems by Joyn Boyle

1. C.J. Kickham, For the Old Land! Irish Fireside, January 30, 1886, pp. 81-84.
2. See pp. 133-134.
3. Unsigned, General Grant's Chinese Experience, Irish Fireside, January 2, 1886, p. 16.
10. Mark Twain, Henty of Room at the Top, Irish Fireside, October 30, 1886, p. 271.
Irish Letters

This concern for Irish-American literature, however, was but ancillary to a deeper interest in Irish letters. In April a list of the hundred best Irish books was published and it is curious to relate that not one of them either was in Irish or was a translation from the Irish. Undoubtedly, Irish Fireside sincerely desired to see the Irish Language revived, yet not only did it fail to publish anything in that tongue, but it also confused its effort to resuscitate Irish with an attempt to create a reading public for literature "written for Irishmen by Irishmen in the English language." And so it declared:

1. J.B. O'Reilly, Our Own Green Island Home, Irish Fireside, April 24, 1886, p. 285.
4. L.I. Guiney, Charondas, Irish Fireside, April 3, 1886, p. 239.
5. See p. 160-161.
We have left no effort, compatible with the nature of our journal, untried to arouse interest in the poetry, music, romance, and oratory of this country. We have endeavoured to pour a strong spirit into the hearts of those whose national vitality would seem to require its vivifying influence. We have pleaded unceasingly and unselfishly for encouragement to the literary productions of Irish authors.1

This concern for Irish letters was reflected in contributions to Irish Fireside and in the persons of the contributors. An artificial attempt to separate the two may be made.

Irish Fireside on Irish Poets and Irish Poetry

So far as contributions are concerned, Irish Fireside attempted to arouse interest in the poetry of Ireland (in the English language) by a series of articles entitled "Irish Poets and Irish Poetry." The first, which announced the intention of the series, was by Katharine Tynan:

IN writing this series of articles on the Poetry of Irish Poets, for Irish readers, it is not intended that the articles shall deal with such well-known poets as, for instance, Moore, whose Melodies have made him well known in every Irish household, but rather with poets who, however widely read and established in the world of literature, are, to our shame, be it said, little known -- almost unfamiliar amongst ourselves.2

She regretted the apathy of Trinity College to Irish culture; but she conceived that the Irish might educate themselves without its help and thereby "be delivered from the reproach of neglecting our own in art and literature":

To help towards this end is the design of the present series of papers, and the writers in sympathy with their object desire only to make known to others what knowledge they possess themselves. They ask to be received with the

sympathy they bring to their work. Every Scotch home, no matter how humble, has its Burns by its Bible; if one could bring to Irish homes and hearts Mangan and Ferguson, Davis and Duffy, and many another whose very names are unfamiliar to Irish ears, a great advance would be made towards laying of the corner-stone, and more than the corner-stone, of Ireland a Nation -- Ireland and Mother of Nations.

She reminded her readers of Ireland's heroic age, of "the story in Deirdre, of Diarmuid and Grainne, of the Children, of Lir, and of Tuirrean," and she outlined a Celtic renaissance:

A new Ireland will have a great, a glorious, and yet a most arduous task in rebuilding our ancient renown, our love of the arts which long ago made us a beacon-light, and the name of Baire as a lantern set for the feet of them who would travel the way of learning, which makes even now the memory of that Ireland of saints and scholars to flame like a white light in the pitchy darkness which then enveloped most of the European nations. The dawn of that new day is red on the horizon; without any question of men or parties, the day must soon break...\(^1\)

The first article to follow Katharine Tynan's introduction was by William Butler Yeats, "The Poetry of Sir Samuel Ferguson." Years later Yeats wrote his famous poem, "To Ireland in the Coming Times." Vague lines in the poem are immediately brought into focus when Yeats' article on Ferguson is read:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Know, that I would accounted be} \\
\text{True brother of a company} \\
\text{That sang, to sweeten Ireland's wrong,} \\
\text{Ballad and story, rann and song} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nor may I less be counted one} \\
\text{With Davis, Mangan, Ferguson} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Ferguson had died on August 9, 1886 and Yeats' "clever article

on his poetry" was to some extent an obituary. In it Yeats laid special emphasis on the ignorance of Ferguson in England as compared with the esteem in which his work was held in the United States; and on the latter's return to Gaelic antiquity for inspiration:

Sir Samuel Ferguson's special claim to our attention is that he went back to the Irish cycle, finding it, in truth, a fountain that, in the passage of centuries, was overgrown with weeds and grass, so that the very way to it was forgotten of the poets; but now that his feet have worn the pathway, many others will follow, and bring thence living waters for the healing of our nation...

Yeats' article on Ferguson was followed by an essay on "Gerald Griffin's Life and Poetry" by Rose Kavanagh in which she condemned the Irish people for "taking London music-hall ditties to its heart" when "Irish song-writers have interpreted every shade of Celtic feeling." However, music alone was not enough:

It is not alone in speech or song that patriotism finds its field. Every man and woman, and boy and girl, who has escaped the blight of West Britainism -- by which term I mean adulation of all things English, and shame of the land that gave them birth, indifference alike to her grief and her glory, ridicule of her aspirations, and contemptuous pity for the men who found their highest honour and happiness in dying that she might live -- and, I must add, in order to complete my West Briten--an unquenchable desire to keep on kissing the foot that kicks him; every Irishman, I say, who is not as these are ought to act now as if the welfare of the country rested with him alone.

After Rose Kavanagh's article came one by Katharine Tynan on "The Poetry of William Allingham." Although insisting that

2. See pp. 360-367.
Allingham was "Irish of the Irish", she told how he won "the friendship of the pre-Raphaelites" when in London in 1854.

Next there was an article by J. F. Taylor, a disciple of John O'Leary's, who regarded Yeats "with much hostility" and who later, according to Hail and Farewell, was to achieve the distinction of rendering Moore speechless:

...Yeats! Do speak for me. Yeats tried to push me to my feet. 'No, no,' I said; 'I will not. My one claim to originality among Irishmen is that I have never made a speech.'

Yeats, more honest perhaps than Moore, confessed that Taylor was too much for him. One of Moore's biographers, describing Taylor's triumph, declared:

It was the first time that Moore had ever made a speech in public, and Yeats who has described the scene, says that his opponent though not on this occasion quite at his best, was 'the greatest orator I have ever heard.'

Taylor's article for Irish Fireside was on "The Work of Thomas Davis." Taylor shared O'Leary's concern for "morale" and in his essay on Davis he traced this Carlylean conception:

.....recognition of the power of ethos or character was to him the very keynote of political work.

Napoleon used to say that in war moral power (morale), was to physical power as three to one. In war or in peace moral power has at least three times the momentum of the intellect. When both are joined, and when both are mighty, the effect is prodigious. And so indeed has been the work of Davis.

Modern Ireland began largely with him; he brought us back to the old, pure, large-limbed men of our best ages, and through him they still act upon all Irish hearts. 1

Ellen O’Leary, whose essay on “Charles Kickham” followed J.F. Taylor’s article, traced Kickham’s “morality” to Thomas Davis:

Charles Kickham, in common with all the young men of his day, was greatly influenced by the teaching of the Nation under Davis and Duffy. The higher the nature, the purer the heart which drew moral and mental sustenance from this source, the deeper and more lasting was its effect. His strong, manly, full of enthusiasm and love of justice, took in this teaching, imbibed it as he did the pure air from Slievenamon, unconsciously. Both prose and verse taught him political morality, and set his soul on fire with love, deep and abiding, for his country. Irish he was to the heart’s core, always full of Irish sympathies, Irish prejudices even; but under Davis, ‘his prophet and his guide,’ his sound judgment and sterling patriotism ‘grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength.’ 2

After Ellen O’Leary, came W. B. Yeats’ criticism of “The Poetry of R. D. Joyce,” which has already been quoted, and next Katharine Tynan wrote on “Aubrey De Vere.” She considered her subject from the standpoint both of “his faithful adherence to the Catholic Church” and his devotion to Ireland; but she found him more English than Irish and, indeed, she expressed disappointment in his “two heroic Irish stories — “Deirdre” and “The Children of Lir”:

Coming from Mr. de Vere’s pen the poems could not but be scholarly, stately, and grand, but they are a little disappointing in their lack of the wild Irish note. They are beautifully told stories, and serve well to expound to the

world outside the exquisite myths, but they have no mark of their Irish parentage, other than that we are told they are Irish.1

Then, almost as though to strengthen her claim that de Vere was more English than Irish, she quoted Swinburne's extravagant praise of him.

Two more chapters of Irish Poets and Irish Poetry appeared in 1886. One by Rose Kavanagh was on a Young Irelander who has already been quoted as an imitator of Longfellow, "Richard D'Alton Williams"; and the other, by Frederick J. Gregg, was about "John Boyle O'Reilly."

Irish Fireside on Irish Authors and Poets

In 1887, the title of the series was changed to Irish Authors and Poets. The first article under the new heading was by Katharine Tynan. It told of various translators from the Gaelic after the work of Charlotte Brooke, who in 1778 was "the first writer who sought to direct attention to native Irish poetry." The article mentioned Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, which appeared in 1831, and O'Curry's "valuable" Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish. P.W. Joyce's Old Celtic Romances was also described as "full of value":

4. See p. 348.
5. F.J. Gregg, John Boyle O'Reilly, Irish Fireside, December 25, 1886, p. 394.
6. See p. 41-42.
Callanan was the first translator who gave any idea of the spirit of his original. He was followed in point of time by Edward Walsh and Clarence Mangan, and then comes Sir Samuel Ferguson... Dr. John Anster also did good work, as in our own day Dr. George Sigerson has done.1

In the next article, R.D. Joyce, Maria Edgeworth, Samuel Lover, Benim, Griffin, Rosa Mulholland, Justin M'Carty, Emily Lawless and most of all Charles Kickham were praised. Then an article by T.W. Rolleston on a Trinity College poet was followed by another on "Kottabos and Some of Its Poets." A third essay by Rolleston was devoted to yet another Trinity College poet, "Joseph Sheridan Lee Fanu," who wrote two celebrated patriotic ballads, "Phaudrig Crohoore" and "Shamus O'Brien." Next W.B. Yeats, anticipating James Joyce for almost two decades, wrote on "Clarence Mangan 1803-1849." Yeats had discovered that Mangan had been jilted by a Miss Stackpole and believed that the experience had influenced Mangan's poetry. Yet Yeats did not consider Mangan "a weak character" for the latter "had powerful convictions, political and other; and convictions bear the same relation to the character as thoughts do to the intellect." Of Mangan's poems Yeats singled out "Dark Rosaleen,

2. Ibid., January 8, 1887, p. 24.
5. T.W. Rolleston, Joseph Sheridan Lee Fanu, Irish Fireside, February 26, 1887, p. 133.
7. Ibid., pp. 131-140.
8. H. Gorman, James Joyce, pp. 76-78.
WB Yeats too!!!

See letter to the New Island. Yeats made connexion with O'Really through John O'Heany according to Reynolds. May have been other Fenian connections.

If it's for the Office -- We have it
"The Nameless One," "Siberia," and "Twenty Golden Years After" for special praise although he did not include the last named in his anthology of Irish verse. Yeats liked an autobiographical Poesque poem, "The Nameless One," particularly:

Tell how this Nameless, condemned for years long
To hard with demons from hell beneath,
Saw things that made him, with groans and tears, long
For even death.

Go on to tell how, with genius wasted,
Betrayed in friendship, befooled in love,
With spirit shipwrecked, and young hopes blasted,
He still, still strove.2

Curiously enough, Yeats had been familiar with the writings of Poe since boyhood and yet he made no reference to the striking resemblance between the Irish and the American poets. Of "The Nameless One" Yeats wrote: "He who has once learned this poem will never forget it; it will stay with him with something of the eternity of painful things." And of Mangan himself Yeats declared:

He can never be popular like Davis, for he did not embody in clear verse the thoughts of normal mankind. He never starts us by saying beautiful things we have long felt. He does not say look at yourself in this mirror; but, rather, 'Look at me - I am so strange, so exotic, so different.'5

Yeats' essay on Mangan was followed by an article by Frederick J. Gregg on the Fenian poet, "John Keegan Casey ("Leo")."

2. Ibid., p. 56; see pp. 73-75.
5. Ibid., p. 170.
7. F.J. Gregg ("Leo"), Irish Fireside, April 9, 1887, p. 235.
Then **Irish Authors and Poets** was concluded with appreciations
of "Arthur O'Shaughnessy" by Katharine Tynan and "Charles Wolfe" by T. W. Rolleston.

O'Shaughnessy seems to have been Irish in little else than his name but perhaps it is not too far-fetched to detect a trace of Irish anti-Imperialism in the second stanza of his famous "Ode":

One man with a dream at pleasure
Shall go forth and conquer a crown,
And three with a new son's measure
Can trample an empire down.

Charles Wolfe was somewhat more patriotic, as Rolleston pointed out elsewhere. Like O'Shaughnessy, Wolfe is remembered chiefly because of one poem, "The Burial of Sir John Moore":

NOT a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corpse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried.

Incidentally, in his article for **Irish Fireside** Rolleston traced the connection between Theobald Wolfe Tone and Charles Wolfe:

The poet's father was Theobald Wolfe, of Blackhall, County Kildare. Theobald Wolfe -- are there any Irish readers whose attention that name does not arrest? The coincidence is not merely a fortuitous one. Peter Tone, a Dublin coachmaker, was tenant of a farm of Mr. Wolfe's near Bodenstown. His relations with his landlord were of such cordial character that the coachmaker's eldest son received the name -- now written so deep in history -- of Theobald Wolfe Tone.

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6. Ibid., pp. 53-55.
Contributors to Irish Fireside

So far as contributors to the Irish Fireside are concerned, it may be noted that in the foregoing remarks the names of Katherine Tynan, W.B. Yeats, Rose Kavanagh, J.F. Taylor, Ellen O'Leary, F.G. Gregg, and T.W. Rolleston have appeared. The artificial distinction between contributors and contributions will now be reversed with emphasis upon the former.

Taking these contributors up chronologically, the first to be mentioned is "Uncle Remus," pseudonym of Rose Kavanagh. Father Matthew Russell has written of her:

She was an ardent patriot, and was by no means an idle spectator during the stormiest days of the Land League. She for several years, with great energy and ability, conducted the youthful confraternity or club that had a department of its own in The Irish Fireside (whose name it adopted), and afterwards in the Weekly Freeman, where it is still flourishing under the gentle but potent sway of Uncle Remus II. I am not sure that it was Rose Kavanagh who chose that venerable name, borrowed from Mr. Joel Chandler Harris, the immortaliser of Brer Fox and Brer Rabbit. Under this name and title Rose Kavanagh wielded a far-reaching sceptre.

It may have been early in 1887 when "Uncle Remus" first appeared that Rose Kavanagh became editor of Irish Fireside. In any event among her admirers and friends at that time were John and Ellen O'Leary, George Sigerson and his daughter, Hester Sigerson Piatt (who succeeded her as "Uncle Remus"), Dora Sigerson Shorter, Katharine Tynan and William Butler Yeats, who praised

her in the Boston Pilot. In the same connection it may be pointed out that Rose Kavanagh's principal admirers in America were John Boyle O'Reilly and Alfred Williams; and Father Russell's account of her success in the United States as compared to her failure to interest an English audience once again emphasizes the sympathy between Ireland and America as compared with the indifference of England to Ireland.

Continuing chronologically from the initial appearance of "Uncle Remus," the next important contributor to Irish Fireside was T.W. Rolleston who was represented by "The Dead at Clonmacnois," an exquisite translation from the Irish poem by Enoch O'Gillan. In view of the fact that Rolleston had translated Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass into German at about this time, it may not be incorrect to detect a note of Walt's prosody in the poem:

IN a quiet water'd land, a land of roses,
   Stands Saint Kieran's city fair;
And the warriors of Erin in their famous generations
   Slumber there.

Rolleston's masterpiece was followed by a poem by W. B. Yeats and in the same issue a series on various aspects of the atmosphere began by the versatile George Sigerson, who was to teach James Joyce biology at University College slightly more than

5. T.W. Rolleston, The Dead at Clonmacnois, Irish Fireside, January 22, 1887, p. 58.
a decade later. In February, 1887, the first article bearing
the initials of Standish O'Grady appeared; and it is curious to
remember that, like Rolleston, O'Grady was an admirer of Whitman.
Later in the month a poem signed "An Chraobhbin Aochbhinn" (Douglas
Hyde) was published; and another in July by Hyde seemed to pro-
phesy "Liberty" though "far away" for Ireland. To conclude this
brief survey of contributors to the Irish Fireside, a serial by
Max O'Rell which began in August and a review of "Miss Tynan's
New Book" (Shamrocks) by W.B. Yeats may be noted. In the latter
Yeats singled out the poem "St. Francis to the Birds" for its
particular and patriotic merits:

The pre-Raphaelite mannerism and alien methods of thought
that obscured the nationality of Miss Tynan's first volume
are here almost entirely absent; and in this finding her
nationality she has found also herself, and written many
pages of great truthfulness and simplicity.  

Voluntary and Involuntary Tributes

Before 1885

By 1882 Parnell had already been hailed as the "uncrowned
king of Ireland" and other tributes had been paid to him. These

1. H. Gorman, James Joyce, p. 56.
2. S. O'G., The Last of the Vikings. Irish Fireside, February
19, 1887, p. 122.
4. "An Chraobhbin Aochbhinn," St. Columcille and the Heron, Irish
Fireside, February 26, 1887, p. 133.
5. "An Chraobhbin Aochbhinn," A Dream, Irish Fireside, July 2,
1887, p. 426.
6. M. O'Rell, The Land of the "Darned Mounseer," Irish Fireside,
August 13, 1887, p. 524.
8. W.B. Yeats, Miss Tynan's New Book, Irish Fireside, July 9,
1887, p. 444.
10. See pp. 381 et seq.
have been mentioned incidentally, but it seems illuminating to gather the following under one heading.

A beginning may be made with the Dublin Exhibition of 1882:

*All flags of the universe, it seemed, were afloat except the flag of England. The Irish and the American colors were, of course, the prime favorites. They drooped together from a thousand windows. The French tricolor ran next in favor.*

More interesting than this display of flags, however, was an entertainment prepared by Thomas Stanislaus Cleary, a Parnellite who sympathized with the dynamitards and who was to be a member of the Pan-Celtic Society. (Incidentally, Cleary was somewhat of a poet for in 1888 his *Songs of the Irish Land War* was published.) Joseph Holloway has described Cleary's entertainment rather curtly, "Shin-Fain; or, Ourselves Alone. A Drama of the Exhibition. By 'Tom Telephone.'" (Dublin), 1882." Although Cleary had been anticipated by an organization in the United States, it is curious to see a Parnellite using the name (Sinn Fain) which Arthur Griffith was later to make famous.

Three more tributes may be ascribed to the period before 1885. First, in 1885, a rumor was current that Oscar Wilde was to stand for Parliament as a Parnellite. Second, at about the same time in spite of a hostile papal rescript, 40,000 pounds was

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3. O'Donoghue, *op. cit.*., p. 70.
6. See pp. 582-583.
raised in Ireland to help Parnell pay off a mortgage. And third, in the winter of 1883-1884, George Moore was in Ireland gathering impressions for *Parnell and His Island*.

*Parnell and His Island* has been described as "perhaps the most ironic criticism of the Nationalist Movement ever written," yet it may just as readily be considered an involuntary tribute. Moore had spent the greater part of this winter at his ancestral estate Mayo:

There is autobiographical interest in an article which he wrote a year later as a chapter for his book, *Parnell and His Island*: he is himself the poet who returns to Ireland with Verlaine and Mallarme in his pocket and finds people who take his word for it that Wagner was a first-rate cattle dealer. As a result he had accepted with considerable reservation the feudal view of the relation between landlord and serf and had been hostile toward a local agitator for land reform. Furthermore, like Standish J. O'Grady, he hoped that Lord Randolph Churchill would save the landlords who were hard-pressed by Gladstone's agrarian reforms.

Yet, perhaps because of his father, Moore experienced little difficulty with his tenants:

Tenants' deputations, headed by the local politician, called at Moore Hall, and instructed him in the grievance of the

5. G. Moore, *Parnell and His Island*, pp. 6-10; 31-32, 34, 89-93, 250-252.
7. Ibid., pp. 163-184.
confiscations and in the history of Irish land tenure, explaining why no rents were being paid. He affected to be bored by such subjects; but he kept his eyes and ears open and formed his own opinions, as Parnell and His Island and A Drama in Muslin testify.

The organized peasant uprising threatened the Moore family with ruin, as it threatened all other encumbered landlords; but George Moore went in no danger of his life during the winter of 1880-81 and he was not obliged to follow the example of neighbors in carrying a revolver or applying for police protection. The Moores had never been hard upon their tenants.

Parnell and His Island has been described as excellent journalism, "the ordinary reporter would give his eyes to produce anything as good," which "showed all the familiar signs of Zola's influence." Nevertheless, when Moore returned to Ireland in 1899, attracted by the Celtic Renaissance, he discovered antipathy toward him because of the book. He reported: "...there were in fact some complaints against Yeats -- they came chiefly from the London Irish -- for having introduced the author of Parnell and His Island and of A Drama in Muslin into a patriotic movement." Consequently, Moore regretted having written it and described the contents to Douglas Hyde as "mere gabble." Indeed, he went so far to the other extreme as to call Parnell a "great man."

From 1885-1889

From 1885 to 1889 the tributes to Parnell which particularly merit attention are three -- two involuntary and one voluntary.

5. Ibid., p. 237.
They may be considered chronologically.

An Involuntary Tribute to Parnell

The first involuntary tribute to be considered was the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ireland in 1885. Parnell denounced the affair as a political manoeuvre to win the Irish from the Irish Parliamentary Party; and William O'Brien abetted him in the pages of *United Ireland*. As a result, the royal visitors were received in some quarters with black flags and other inhospitable devices and T.D. Sullivan persuaded the Dublin Corporation to abstain from taking any part in their reception, believing that the presentation of addresses and other such demonstrations are unsuited to our country, and calculated to mislead the public opinion of England and other nations as to the condition of Ireland and the feelings of the Irish people.  

The "Union of Hearts": A Voluntary Tribute to Parnell

The second tribute, which may be ascribed to the period from 1885 to 1889, may be considered as voluntary. It was known as the "Union of Hearts."

As a prelude to this "Union of Hearts" certain events in 1885 should be noted. Not long after the royal visit to Ireland, the Gladstone Government was overthrown through the connivance of the Irish Parliamentary Party. In order to help the Parnellites in the general elections which followed, the dynamitards determined to cease fire temporarily:

So, for the time, in deference to the 'exigencies of the Constitutional party,' the Dynamite Campaign was brought to a close, leaving as its record little or no damage to the enemy, but no less than twenty-five of the unfortunate instruments in prison, sixteen undergoing life sentences, two, sentences of twenty years' penal servitude, and seven, sentences of seven years each. Of course, some of these prisoners are not men from the American side. In many cases those coming from America picked up colleagues in England, and unfortunately for these latter, the knowledge which the local police possessed proved disastrous to them.\(^1\)

The general elections established beyond question Parnell's immense popularity in Ireland:

Behind Parnell was a thoroughly united Ireland at home and abroad. In military parlance the formation of his army may be described thus: in centre the Parliamentarians; left wing, the Clan-na-Ga\(\text{e}\)el, and many of the rank and file of the I. R.B.; right wing, the Catholic Church. With these forces, naturally antagonistic, but held together by the attractive personality and iron will of a great commander, Parnell swept Ireland from end to end... Out of a total of 105 Irish members, 85 Home Rulers and 18 Tories were returned.\(^2\)

Parnell held the balance of power in the new Parliament.

Various Parliamentary manoeuvrings resulted with both Conservatives and Liberals bidding for Parnell's support. Gladstone through Hugh Childers and John Morley made the highest offer and as a result became Prime Minister on February 1, 1886: "He immediately set to work on the Home Rule Bill, the principle of which was the establishment of an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive for the management of Irish affairs." On June 7, 1886, the Bill "was rejected in a full House by 343 to 313 votes." As

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6. Ibid., p. 119.
a result Gladstone resigned and T.M. Healy prophesied to some Home Rule sympathizers "that it would take thirty years to undo the disaster."

In defeat Gladstone and the Parnellites became so friendly that the coalition was hailed as the "Union of Hearts";

By many this phrase is supposed to have been coined by Mr. Gladstone; it was in fact used by Henry Grattan in his final and most eloquent speech the Union in the Irish Parliament on the 15th of January 1800.

During Gladstone's brief period in office Lord Aberdeen had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and John Morley, Chief Secretary. When Lord and Lady Aberdeen left Dublin after Gladstone's defeat, T. D. Sullivan, who was Lord Mayor, made a speech in which he expressed his regrets. The significance of this new departure can only be grasped by recollecting that a year earlier Sullivan had opposed demonstrations of loyalty on the occasion of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ireland.

So far as the present research is concerned, two important results of the "Union of Hearts" may be noted. First, a pamphlet campaign and second, the establishment of a Home Rule newspaper in London.

In England, besides Morley, other literary men came under the influence of the "Union of Hearts." George Meredith was of particular importance because he suggested to R. Barry O'Brien a campaign to enlighten the English public on Irish aspirations.

4. Ibid., p. 213.
5. See p. 457.
As a result O'Brien and Davitt urged Parnell to publish pamphlets with this objective in view.

Perhaps the most celebrated of the ensuing brochures was Gladstone's *The Irish Question*. Others also are noteworthy. A lecture by Thomas Lough on *Glimpses of Early Ireland* is of interest because in his "List of Authorities" John O'Mahony's translation of Keating, Standish O'Grady's *History of Ireland* and a book by Lady Ferguson were included. H.W. Massingham, the distinguished English journalist who was associated with George Bernard Shaw on the staff of T.F. O'Connor's newspaper, *The Star*, was another who contributed a pamphlet to the campaign. In the Preface he explained the composition of it:

The following pages are in some measure a compilation and summing up of the material which appeared in the *Star*, in the *Scottish Leader*, the *Western Daily Mercury*, the *Bristol Mercury*, and other papers, during the Maryborough trials and evictions in the neighborhood of Falcarragh.

Another pamphlet on the agrarian problem in Ireland was The *Plan of Campaign*. The name of T.P. Gill, who wrote a pamphlet on *The Home Rule Constitutions of the British Empire*, comes to mind in connection with the former pamphlet because of the sly fun which George Moore poked at Gill for his inconstancy with regard to the plan of campaign:

The Plan had faded with the trimming of his beard; and he could hardly believe that he had been connected with it, except, indeed, as a romantic incident in his career. The only difficulty -- if it were a difficulty -- was to find a means of explaining his repudiation of the plan satisfactorily. The Irish atmosphere is dense, and to tell the people that it had gone away with the shaggy ends of his beard would hardly satisfy them. But in Ireland there is always Our Holy Mother the Church, and the Church had quite lately condemned the Plan. Gill is a faithful son of the Church. Of course, of course. The error into which he had fallen had gone with the shaggy beard, and with his trimmed beard, and his trimmed soul, Gill appeared in Dublin, henceforth known to his friends as Tom the Trimmer.1

A leaflet sympathetic to the Irish peasantry by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt may be mentioned in connection with the pamphlet campaign and will serve as an introduction to another English literary man who was affected by the "Union of Hearts":

In 1885 and 1886 he stood unsuccessfully for Parliament as a Home Ruler; and in 1887 he was arrested in Ireland while presiding over a political meeting in connection with the agitation on Lord Clanrickarde's estate, and was imprisoned for two months in Kilmainham.3

According to his "friend of forty years," Lady Gregory, Blunt had first been attracted to the Irish party in 1882 when, like Standish J. O'Grady and George Moore, he was attracted to Lord Randolph Churchill's "Tory Democrats" in their opposition to Gladstone's Government. Katharine Tynan, who admired Blunt for his Roman Catholicism as well as for his sympathy for Ireland, has told of his arrest and imprisonment in Galway Jail in 1886. In

5. See p. 455.
8. Ibid., p. 140.
The Land War in Ireland Blunt described his experiences in Ireland prior to 1888 when he decided to quit "the Celtic quarrel":

It told how, having fought my battle for Nationalism there and lost it (for my imprisonment had failed to win me the seat in Parliament which alone would have justified me in English eyes for the part I had played in the Celtic quarrel) I resolved to look no more to action at home but to seek other ways that I still felt to be my mission in life, that of pleading the cause of the backward nations of the world...

The starting of a Home Rule newspaper in the British capital was a second important result of the "Union of Hearts." In 1888 T.P. O'Connor, who was a Parnellite member of Parliament, established The Star. In his Memoirs, O'Connor declared that the paper was launched because the "cause of Home Rule was without any advocate in the evening press of London." The new paper was financed mainly by Liberals; and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt was on the board of directors until he resigned in October, 1889. O'Connor was interested in other things as well as Home Rule, of course: "I was an extreme Radical, and I devoted my pen and the new paper which I had brought into being almost as much to the British Radical as to the Irish Cause."

At least one regular contributor to The Star deserves mention. To the editorial staff O'Connor appointed H.W. Massingham, A.B. Walkley and Clement Shorter and George Bernard Shaw. Find-

3. Ibid., p. 270.
6. Ibid., p. 256.
ing Shaw's contributions hostile to the Liberals and downright Socialist, O'Connor was greatly concerned, although he had no hesitation in identifying The Star with the theories of Henry George. Accordingly, he wrote to Sidney Webb "asking him to re-monstrate with Shaw." Webb's unexpected reply was that he, too, was a Socialist.

To prevent Shaw from airing his political opinions in The Star, at Massingham's suggestion O'Connor made him music critic. In this position he used the name "Corno di Bassetto" and expressed an interest in music for the working-man and for the Irishman. In the same connection it is noteworthy that O'Connor had been a student of Wagner as early as 1878 and that therefore Shaw's opinions on the social significance of the "Ring" as expressed in The Perfect Wagnerite, may not have been entirely original. On the whole, Shaw's relations with O'Connor seem to have been cordial in spite of the fact that in his "valediction" on resigning from the paper to take a more remunerative position, he told the latter "that he knew nothing about politics":

It will hardly be believed that he retorted by aspersing my capacity as a musical critic. One memorable Friday, when the machines failed to keep pace with the demand for the paper, he declared that the newly-issued report of the Parnell Com-mission, and not my column, was the attraction. He even said that nobody ever read my articles; and I felt then that I owed it to myself to affirm that nobody ever read anything else in the paper.

1. O'Connor, op. cit., p. 266.
2. H. George, Jr., The Life of Henry George, p. 513.
5. Ibid., pp. 240-241.
7. See p. 310.
The Times' Commission: an Involuntary Tribute to Parnell

The third tribute to Parnell during the period of 1885 to 1889 which particularly merits attention was involuntary and was the result of an attempt by the Conservative Government to discredit the Irish leader.

In 1887, a series of articles appeared anonymously in the London Times. It was entitled Parnellism and Crime and helped to pass a "perpetual Coercion Bill for Ireland in March" of that year:

On the day fixed for its second reading in the House of Commons, (Monday, 18th April, 1887), The Times published a forgery of Parnell's signature to a letter containing an admission of guilt in connection with the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke -- the Chief and Under Secretaries for Ireland slain in the Phoenix Park (6th May, 1882).

T.M. Healy immediately suspected a forgery and persuaded Labouchere to accuse Richard Pigott of it in Truth, a London newspaper owned by Labouchere. At that time Healy lacked evidence to prove Pigott's guilt, but soon he was prepared should Pigott bring a "writ for libel":

When the forgery appeared, Pat Egan, ex-treasurer of the Land League, sent me from America a packet of Pigott's letters. These enabled Sir Charles Russell to smash him on cross-examination.

Parnell was unwilling to prosecute the Times:

Then there came in aid of the Government a litigation which seemed at first freakish and only calculated to arouse banter. It was a libel action by F.H. O'Donnell, ex-M.P., who pretended that he was implicated in The Times indictment of the Irish Party.

1. See p. 456.
3. Ibid., pp. 271-272.
4. Ibid., p. 273.
5. Loc. cit.
The "case was tried and dismissed in July, 1888." At its conclusion the leading counsel for the Times sought to indict the Irish party in a three-day speech. In spite of the fact that O'Donnell, it seems, was encouraged by Michael Davitt, T. M. Healy suspected the former's good faith:

O'Donnell's bona fides may be judged by the fact that thirteen years after Parnell's death he unloosed a torrent of bitterness against him in a pamphlet purporting to analyse Mrs. O'Shea's Love Story. It was published in 1914 by Murray and Co., 150 Brompton Road, S.W., price 6d. Therein he invented a charge never before made, viz.: 'We know that £5,000 were granted to found the Invincible Society' (page 8).

This fabrication was omitted a quarter of a century after The Times had failed to connect Parnell or his colleagues with the crimes of the Invincibles.5

Parnell's reluctance to sue the Times may have been due to the fear that "his relations with Mrs. O'Shea would be exposed in cross-examination" and perhaps "he believed Captain O'Shea to be the forger"; but Maud Gonne's theory seems more intelligible. In a vehement attack on F.H. O'Donnell, in which she failed to mention his name, she attributed Parnell's reluctance to his desire not to antagonize the Irish-American advocates of physical force who had supported him up to that time. Of O'Donnell she wrote:

He had been turned out of the Parliamentary party by Parnell for having taken an independent libel action against the London Times for a series of articles entitled 'Parnellism and Crime,' which Parnell had decided to ignore,

6. Ibid., p. 281.
not wishing to put himself in the position of having to
break with the physical-force party in America from whom
he was getting much financial support.

The action must have cost a lot of money and it was thought
had been taken in collusion with the Times for the sake of
forcing Parnell's hand, which it did and resulted in the
setting up of the Times Commission. This Commission, which
committed Parnell to repudiating all acts of violence, com-
promised his relations with the physical-force party. 1

At all events the attack upon the Irish party by the coun-
sel for the Times provoked Parnell to action. On July 9, 1888,
he demanded "a Select Committee of the Commons to inquire" into
the charges. As a result, the Government passed a Bill to inquire
into the conduct of the Irish "'M.P.'s and OTHER PERSONS' -- an
inclusion nation-wide," 2 A special commission consisting of three
judges was appointed to weigh the evidence.

The Government made a supreme effort to convict the Irish
Parliamentary Party. It inveigled an Invincible convict into
testifying but was rebuffed by John Daly and Tom Clarke when it
sought to enlist their support. The "legal business of the de-
fence" was conducted by Sir Charles Russell, chief of Parnell's
counsel, and inter alia by the future Liberal leader, H. H. As-
quith. The highlight of the trial was Russell's cross-examination
of Richard Pigott and a few words about Pigott's biography should
be said in that connection.

Pigott's friendship with George Bernard Shaw's parents

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1. M.G. MacBridge, A Servant of the Queen, pp. 307-308.
4. Ibid., pp. 616-617.
   26-32, 57-59.
7. A.G. Gardiner, Herbert Henry Asquith, Oxford and Asquith,
in the early sixties has already been mentioned; as has his work for the Fenians as publisher of the *Irishman* in the sixties and seventies. His hostility to the Land League in 1881 was notorious and resulted in the purchase of *Irishman* by Parnell's organization. In 1882, he had appealed to the Chief Secretary for Ireland for financial backing to publish his *Recollections of an Irish Journalist*; and when O'Leary's *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism* appeared, the Fenian chief candidly described the former's work as "the notorious Pigott's book, which is, on the whole, the best that has appeared on Fenianism up to this."

By 1885, Pigott had so far drifted from his former associates as to find employment with the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, and this was what brought him before the *Times* Commission. His subsequent history has been told by Davitt. After his confession that he had forged Parnell's signature, he fled to Madrid where on March 1, 1889 he either committed suicide or was murdered. Evidence of the popular interest in Pigott's fate may be found in a letter from W. B. Yeats to Katharine Tynan in which "Poor Pigott!" was mentioned:

1. See p. 203.
3. See p. 298.
The Figgott affair must have been a blow to some of our Unionist friends. I wish I were back amongst them to see what change is in their opinions, or what loophole they have found. But here I am stranded for I know not how long in this London desert. As soon as ever I find my work beginning to sell somewhat I shall be away out of this to where there is something of green to look at.

Did I tell you that I dined at the National Liberal Club with T.P. Gill? I liked him greatly. 1

To conclude these remarks about the second important, involuntary tribute to Parnell which was paid to him during the period from 1885 to 1889, some literary and political aspects of the trial may be mentioned.

So far as the literary aspects of the trial are concerned, it is noteworthy that T.P. Gill, to whom Yeats referred in another letter to Katharine Tynan as "your friend Gill," was one of the defendants. George Meredith's friend, John Dillon, was another. A third, T.P. O'Connor, discovered his accustomed seat occupied by the novelist, Henry James, one day.

The trial revealed that Swinburne had become particularly hostile to Parnell:

The only one of Swinburne's Unionist poems of lasting interest is 'The Ballad of Truthful Charles,' published in the St. James' Gazette, July 18, 1889. When reprinted in the Posthumous Poems of 1917, Clement K. Shorter and other critics, ignorant of the occasion that had prompted this satire, objected so strenuously to it that, apparently as a result of these complaints it has been most unfortunately omitted from the Bohn Edition. Swinburne rails Parnell as 'the crownless king... of holy Liarland'; and the refrain of the ballad, put into Parnell's mouth, is 'I meant to cheat you when I said it.' The point of the accusation is lost upon those who do not

2. Ibid., p. 54.
remember that during the inquiry growing out of the forged Parnell letters published in the Times, Parnell was asked why he had told the House of Commons in 1881, that secret societies had ceased to exist in Ireland and had replied, 'It is possible that I was endeavoring to mislead the House of Commons on that occasion.'

Rudyard Kipling was another Unionist who paid an involuntary tribute. In spite of the "Parnell Commission Report" which exonerated the defendants, he wrote an extraordinary poem, "Cleared," in which he said of the Irish Parliamentary Party:

They only took the Judas-gold from Fenians out of jail,
They only fawned for dollars on the blood-dyed Clan-na-Gael.
If black is black or white is white, in black and white it's down,
They're only traitors to the Queen and rebels to the Crown.

So far as the political aspects of the trial are concerned, it may be noted that Parnell won considerable popularity in England as a result of it. Indeed, Cecil Rhodes sent him "10,000 pounds for the Home Rule cause." However, in spite of his attempt not to offend Thomas Mooney -- "the outrageous writer 'Trans-atlantic' of the Irish World" as T.P. O'Connor called him -- in Maud Gonne's estimation the trial compromised Parnell's "relations with the physical-force party." It certainly widened the breach between Healy and Parnell and continued the latter's differences with Davitt. And so it may be said that although Parnell and his Party as a result of the involuntary tribute paid by the English Conservatives seemed to be on the verge of even greater triumphs, portents of defeat might be detected by one who looked closely.

3. R. Kipling, Collected Verse, pp. 139-142.
Summary

In Chapter IX, Parnell's career when he had attained his greatest power was viewed obliquely through various organizations, publications and tributes which were inspired by his activities.

Of the five organizations which were discussed, three were lumped together because they were little more than extensions of the I.R.B.: The Political Prisoners' Amnesty Association, the Gaelic Athletic Association and the Young Ireland Society.

The purpose of the Political Prisoners' Amnesty Association was the same as that of the similar organization which was discussed in the preceding chapter. Its objective was to secure the release of the imprisoned dynamitards and in addition to Parnell's the name of Maud Gonne was prominently associated with it.

The purpose of the Gaelic Athletic Association was to revive Irish games. Parnell, O'Leary, Davitt and Hyde were interested in this project, but Michael Cusack was most largely responsible for it. Additional interest may be attached to Cusack because of his connections with T. O'Neill Russell, Lady Gregory, Oliver St. John Gogarty and James Joyce.

The Young Ireland Society originated as an offshoot of the New Departure. The names of Davitt and Henry George are associated with its early days. After his return to Ireland in 1884, John O'Leary became its chief and attracted Yeats, Oldham, Rolleston and Hyde to it. The Young Ireland Society is of particular interest to the student of the Celtic Renaissance because of its interest in memorials to Irish heroes, in libraries and reading...
rooms, in lectures which stressed Irish Nationalism and in the revival of the Irish language.

Other organizations, not quite so close to the Fenians, which were fundamentally Parnellite were the Contemporary Club and the Pan-Celtic Society, although both professed to be non-political. The Contemporary Club drew support from the circle of the Dublin Unionist Whitman enthusiast, Dowden. But its chief, Oldham, has been variously described as a Protestant Home Ruler and a Fenian. Other active members of the Contemporary Club were Stephen Gwynn, George Sigerson, T.W. Rolleston, Douglas Hyde, W.B. Yeats and his father, Michael Davitt, J.F. Taylor and John O'Leary.

The Pan-Celtic Society had no relations with such a conservative Unionist as Dowden. Among its members were Katharine Tyman, John Todhunter, George Sigerson, Dora Sigerson (Shorter), Rose Kavanagh, Maud Gonne, and John and Ellen O'Leary. It published a volume of verse and even more than the Young Ireland Society was interested in reviving the Irish language.

Publications which may be associated with Parnell's rise to power were Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland, the Dublin University Review, and Irish Fireside. Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland, as the name indicates, was connected with John O'Leary and the Young Ireland Society. It has been described by Stephen Gwynn as a "help to trace the evolution" of the Celtic renaissance. The Fenian associations of certain contributors to it are therefore particularly interesting. The anthology was introduced by a dedicatory poem which T.D. Rolleston, composed in honor of John O'Leary and also contained the "Death Lament of John O'Mahony" by Douglas
Hyde. Other contributors who were closely lined with the physical force movement were George Sigerson, Rose Kavanagh, W.B. Yeats and Ellen O’Leary. To these may be added the names of Katharine Tynan, George Noble Count Plunkett, G.G. Fagan and John Todhunter.

What Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland was to the Young Ireland Society, the Dublin University Review may be said to have been to the Contemporary Club. According to Katharine Tynan who contributed to it, the magazine "had a distinct taint of Nationalism." Dublin University Review was edited by Oldham and Rolleston and among the contributors, in addition to Katharine Tynan, were Todhunter, Davitt, S.J. O'Grady, Rose Kavanagh, Jane Barlow and Yeats.

Irish Fireside, which "did much to encourage young Irish writers," might be said to have been the organ of the Pan-Celtic Society except for the fact that the periodical made its initial appearance several years before the organization was formed. Founded by the Parnellite Freeman's Journal in 1883, from its very beginning this Dublin weekly gave evidence of an interest in Irish fairy tales and folklore as well as in the revival of the Irish language. Indeed, Rose Kavanagh through its pages was a link between the Gaelic Union and the Gaelic League. So significant is this periodical for the student of the Celtic renaissance in Ireland that it might be read from the first to the last issue, but the years 1886 and 1887 were selected perhaps to indicate its nature. The issue of January 2, 1886, was devoted to the aspects of the Irish renaissance which it wished to see reflected in a patriotic reorientation of Irish schools. The revival of Irish music, language,
business enterprise, literature, names and games was particularly urged. Thereafter three motives were traced in its pages: an interest in Ireland's past, the United States and Irish letters. The first two motives were passed over quickly. The interest in Ireland's past was reflected in the fiction and history published in the paper. In the realm of fiction, novels about sixteenth-century Ireland and the Fenian movement were noted. More historical were a series entitled '98 and Its Memories and another entitled Reliques of '48. The interest which Irish Fireside displayed in the United States was discovered in items about figures prominent in American history and literature, both native and Irish-American.

In spite of the fact that Irish Fireside practically ignored authors who used the Irish language, the interest in Irish letters which it displayed was stressed as of the utmost importance to the student of the Celtic renaissance. In order to present this interest in Irish letters in as clear a form as possible, the subject was considered first from the standpoint of the contributions and then of the contributors to the paper.

From the standpoint of contributions, a series of articles entitled Irish Poets and Poetry in 1886 and Irish Authors and Poets in 1887 was discussed in some detail. The purpose of the series entitled Irish Poets and Poetry, and presumably of Irish Authors and Poets also, was to revive interest in such Irish writers as Davis, Mangan and Ferguson. In other words, its objective was to revive Irish letters.

An article by Yeats about Ferguson followed the introduction to the earlier series, which was by Katharine Tynan. In
Yeats' opinion Ferguson's special merit was that he returned to the semi-mythological cycles of Celtic antiquity for inspiration. Next Rose Kavanagh wrote about Gerald Griffin, incidentally expressing herself as opposed to "London music-hall ditties" and asserting that "Irish song-writers have interpreted every shade of Celtic feeling." Then there was an article about Allingham. This was followed by an appreciation of Thomas Davis by J.F. Taylor who asserted that modern "Ireland began largely with him."

After this appreciation of Davis, there were articles about two Fenian poets, Charles Kickham and Robert Dwyer Joyce. The article about Kickham was by Ellen O'Leary and in it she pointed out that, like her brother, Kickham took Davis for "his prophet and guide." Yeats was the author of the essay on Joyce who, like Ferguson, returned to Celtic antiquity for his materials. Following Yeats, Katharine Tynan wrote about Aubrey De Vere, who also returned to Ireland's prehistoric period but in her opinion lacked "the wild Irish note." The series concluded with essays on Richard D'Alton Williams and John Boyle O'Reilly.

Irish Authors and Poets, which in 1887 succeeded Irish Poets and Poetry, began with an essay by Katharine Tynan on various translators from the Gaelic of whom Charlotte Brooke, Hardiman, O'Curry, P.W. Joyce, Gallanen, Edward Walsh, Mangan, Ferguson and Sigerson were mentioned. Subsequently she praised the prose of R.D. Joyce, Emily Lawless, Charles Kickham and others. Essays by Rolleston on various Trinity College poets followed, of whom Joseph Sheridan LaFamu perhaps wrote the most Nationalistic verse. Then Yeats wrote on James Clarence Mangan and in view of the fact that in Hail and Farewell George Moore mocked Yeats for this very
reason it was noted that Yeats approvingly attributed to Mangan the words, "Look at me -- I am so strange, so exotic, so dif-
ferent." To conclude, articles about John Keegan Casey (Leo),
Arthur O'Shaugnessy and Charles Wolfe, whose indirect connection
with Wolfe Tone was emphasized, may be mentioned.

In the foregoing remarks about the contributions to Irish
Fireside the names of Katharine Tynan, W.B. Yeats, J.F. Taylor, and
Ellen O'Leary appeared. A few words were added, mostly about
other contributors. Rose Kavanagh, who became editor in 1887,
received special mention because of the Irish Fireside Club which
she conducted in the paper, borrowing the name "Uncle Remus" from
Joel Chandler Harris for that purpose. Incidentally, like Davis,
Mangan and Ferguson, she was comparatively well-known (at least
in Irish-American circles) in the United States and almost com-
pletely unheard of in England. The signatures of the Whitmaniacs,
T.W. Rolleston, who contributed "The Dead at Clonmacnois," and
Standish J. O'Grady also appeared in Irish Freedom; as did those
of George Sigerson and Doublas Hyde.

In addition to the organizations and publications which
were inspired by Parnell's activities, certain voluntary and in-
voluntary tributes to him were described. The title "uncrowned
king of Ireland" was conferred upon him at least as early as 1879.
A second popular tribute occurred at the Dublin Exposition of 1882,
at which the name Sinn Fein was used many years before Arthur
Griffith made it popular. Other voluntary tributes were the rumor
that Oscar Wilde was to stand for Parliament as a Parnellite and
the collection of 40,000 pounds for Parnell by popular subscrip-
tion. George Moore's Parnell and His Island and A Drama in Muslin,
and the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ireland in 1885 were certainly involuntary tributes.

Between 1886 and 1889 two more tributes may be noted. The printing of a forged document by the London Times was not a voluntary tribute but it revealed how powerful Parnell had become when so respectable a paper as the Times would risk its reputation in a vain attempt to smash him. The other tribute referred to was the so-called "Union of Hearts" which was essentially a coalition of Gladstonite Liberals with Parnellites to achieve a measure of Home Rule for Ireland. These two tributes undoubtedly reveal a new departure in England's relations with Ireland. To be sure, Swinburne and Kipling remained faithful to the tradition of Thackeray, Macaulay, Carlyle and Froude; but Gladstone, Morley, George Meredith, H. W. Massingham, W. S. Blunt, Clement Shorter, and H. H. Asquith heralded a new era and in this they were ably abetted by such Irishmen as T. P. O'Connor, G. B. Shaw, T. M. Healy, Davitt, Lord Russell of Killowen and T. P. Gill.

Before turning to Parnell's fall, it may be well to remember that the "Union of Hearts" bore certain superficial resemblances to the New Departure. Both were of the nature of an axis at one end of which was the Irish Parliamentary Party. Both were involved in attempts to promote reform in the ownership of the land in Ireland. And both were the indirect cause of many journalists visiting Ireland. The essential differences between the "Union of Hearts" and the New Departure will be indicated, perhaps, in the next, and succeeding chapters. It may be noted here that, even as in so many other Irish matters, the United
States had prepared the way, American sympathy had preceded English sympathy and American journalists had preceded English journalists.