

HOME RULE.

ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

Mr. A. M. Sullivan's Exposition of Both.

(Continued from our Last)

Mr. Butt had spoken to a complete series of resolutions, which he now submitted to the conference: he concluded by formally moving the first of them:—

"I, That, as the basis of the proceedings of this conference, we declare our conviction that it is essentially necessary to the peace and prosperity of Ireland that the right of domestic legislation on all Irish affairs should be restored to our country."

It was seconded by Mr. Joseph P. Roynayne, M. P. for Cork City, a man as honest and as just as Aristides; a "Nationalist," one in whose honor, sincerity, and earnestness Fenians and non-Fenians alike implicitly confided. "I did not take part," he said "in public life for the last twenty years, and I hesitated a long time before joining the Home Rule movement. I was a simple Repealer, when simple Repeal was the form in which Ireland demanded the restitution of her nationality. I was a rebel in '48." After this manly avowal of his position, Mr. Roynayne closed a brief but forcible speech as follows:—

"I have no quarrel with the English people; their sins against Ireland are sins of ignorance, not of intention. Our quarrel is with the government and against the system which has prevailed ever since England claimed possession of this country. The measure of Mr. Butt will solve the difficulties of the situation. I think we will maintain what is the sentiment of the Irish people—what they contended for with England when England and Ireland were Catholic as well as when England and Ireland were Protestant and Catholic—that is, the nationality of Ireland. And I see no way but that proposed by Mr. Butt by which this great end can be obtained, consistently with the friendly relations between the two countries."

A still more important announcement, from what is called the "Nationalists" as well as the Repeal point of view, was made by the next speaker, Mr. John Martin, M. P., who moved the second resolution. He, too, avowed himself by preference a Repealer, and every one knew he had been a martyr, prisoner, and exile for his share in the events of '48. But in language strong, clear, and decisive he gave his approval to the Home Rule scheme:—

"Because I believe that this measure of home government, this new arrangement of the relations between the two countries, will operate sufficiently for the interests—for all the interests—of the Irish people; because I think, if carried into effect according to the principles enunciated in these resolutions, it will be honorable to the Irish nation, it will be consistent with the dignity of the Irish nation, and it will be safe for all its interests; and also because, as to so much rights and prerogatives of the Irish nation as are by this scheme of Home Rule to be left under the jurisdiction of an Imperial Parliament in which we shall be represented, I consider that those are only the same rights and attributes that, under the old system, were practically left together, to the control of the English Parliament and the English Privy Council and Ministry."

The full report of the proceedings at this conference, compiled from the daily newspaper and published by the Home Rule League, is one of the most interesting publications of a political character issued in Ireland for many years. The speakers exhibited marked ability, and they represented every phase of Irish national opinion. There was very earnest debate; amendments were moved and discussed; points were raised, contested, decided, but the great fact that astounded the outside public, and utterly confounded the prophetic English journalists, was that, warm, protracted, and severe as were some of the discussions, free and full interchange of opinion in every instance sufficed to bring about conviction, and settled every issue without resort to a poll of votes. Every resolution was carried unanimously, and on no question, from first to last, was there need to take a division. "It is not like Ireland at all," said an astonished critic. "What on earth has become of our traditional contentedness and discord?"

The following were the principal resolutions of the conference, besides the first, already quoted above:—

Moved by Mr. John Martin, M.P., seconded by Mr. Roland Ponson by Blennerhasset, M.P., Kerry:—

"That, solemnly reasserting the inalienable right of the Irish people to self-government, we declare that the time, in our opinion, has come when a combined and energetic effort should be made to obtain the restoration of that right."

Moved by the Mayor of Cork (Mr. John Daly) seconded by the Hon. Charles French, M.P. (Roscommon, brother of Lord de Freyne):—

"That in accordance with the ancient constitutional rights of the Irish nation, we claim the privilege of managing our own affairs by a parliament assembled in Ireland, and composed of the sovereign, the lords and the commons of Ireland."

Moved by the Rev. Joseph A. Galbraith, F. T. C. D., Trinity College, and seconded by the Rev. Thomas O'Shea, P.P. (the celebrated "Father Tom O'Shea," of the Tennant League):—

"That, in claiming these rights and privileges for our country, we adopt the principle of a federal arrangement, which would secure to the Irish parliament the right of legislating for, and regulating all the matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, while leaving to the Imperial Parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the imperial crown and government, legislation regarding the colonies and other dependencies of the crown, the relations of the empire with foreign states, and all matters appertaining to the defence and stability of the empire at large, as well as the power of granting and providing the supplies necessary for imperial purposes."

Moved by Sir Joseph Neill McKenna, and seconded by Mr. McCarthy Downing M.P. (Cork Co.):—

"That such an arrangement does not involve any change in the existing constitution of the Imperial Parliament or any interference with the prerogatives of the crown or disturbance of the constitution."

Moved by Sir John Gray, M.P. (Kilkenny), and seconded by Mr. D. M. O'Connor, M.P. Roscommon, (brother of the O'Connor Don):—

"That, to secure to the Irish people the advantage of constitutional government, it is essential that there should be in Ireland an administration of Irish affairs, controlled according to constitutional principles, by the Irish parliament, and conducted by ministers constitutionally responsible to that Parliament."

Moved by Mr. Mitchell Henry, M.P. (Galway), and seconded by Mr. W. J. O'Neill Daunt, Kilkaskan Castle, county Cork:—

"That, in the opinion of this conference, a federal arrangement, based upon these principles, would consolidate the strength and maintain the integrity of the empire, and add to the dignity and power of the imperial crown."

Moved by Mr. W. A. Redmond, M.P. (Wexford), and seconded by Mr. Edmond Dease, M.P. (Queen's County):—

"That, while we believe that in an Irish parliament the rights and liberties of all classes of our countrymen would find their best and surest protection, we are willing that there should be incorporated in the federal constitution articles supplying the amplest guarantees that no change shall be made by that parliament in the present settlement of property in Ireland, or to subject any person to disabilities on account of his religious opinions."

Moved by Mr. C. G. Doran, T. C. (Queenstown), and seconded by John O'Connor Power (Tuam):—

"That this conference cannot separate without calling on the Irish constituencies at the next general election to return men earnestly and truly devoted to the great cause which this conference has been called to support, and who, in any emergency that may arise, will be ready to take counsel with a great national conference, to be called in such a manner as to represent the opinions and feelings of the Irish nation; and that, with a view of rendering members of Parliament and their constituencies more in accord on all questions affecting the welfare of the country, it is recommended by this conference that at the close of each session of Parliament the representatives should render to their constituents an account of their stewardship."

Moved by Mr. George L. Bryan, M.P. (Kilkenny), and seconded by Mr. P. Callan, M.P. (Dundalk):—

"That, in order to carry these objects into practical effect, an association be now formed, to be called 'The Irish Home Rule League,' of which the essential and fundamental principles shall be those declared in the resolutions adopted at this conference, and of which the object, and only object, shall be to obtain for Ireland, by peaceable and constitutional means, the self government claimed in these resolutions."

The remaining resolutions dealt with the constitution of the new organization thus founded, and decreed an appeal, "to the Irish race all over the world" for funds to assist them in the great struggle now entered upon.

Thus was established the "Irish Home League," which to-day holds so prominent a position in Ireland.

American readers, familiar enough with O'Connell's demand for Repeal, will naturally be anxious to learn in what precisely does the above programme differ from that of the great Liberator, O'Connell, who had himself seen the Irish Parliament, and, young as he was, sought to resist its overthrow, grew into life with the simple idea of undoing the evil which yesterday had wrought: in other words, restoring the state of things which existed before the "Union"—Repeal and nothing more. Such a demand, arising almost on the instant, or out of the evil act complained of, was quite natural; but when time had elapsed, and when serious changes and alterations in the circumstances and relations of the countries had come about, men had to perceive that simple Repeal would land them, in some respects, in an antiquated and impossible state of things. Thus in the Irish Parliament no Catholic could sit, while the act of 1829 admitted Catholics to the Imperial Parliament. Again, the franchise and the "pocket" constituencies that had returned the Irish House of Commons could not be restored without throwing the country into the hands of a Protestant minority. Numerous other absurdities and anomalies—things which existed in 1799, but that would be quite out of all sense in 1844—might be pointed out. O'Connell saw this, but relied upon the hope of obtaining not only simple Repeal, but also such improvements as the lapse of time had rendered necessary; and he relied further on the necessity which there would be for Ireland and England after Repeal, agreeing upon some scheme for the joint government of the countries; in other words, some shape or degree of federalism.

But the great blot upon the old system was that, although under it Ireland had a totally separate legislature and exchequer, she never had (or under it had the right to have) a separate responsible administration or cabinet. The cabinet or administration that ruled Ireland was formed by, and solely responsible to, the English Parliament. The Irish Parliament had not the right or power to remove a Minister; was not able, no matter by what majority, to displace even an administration actually conspiring against Irish liberties. Without a separate Irish administration, responsible to the Irish Parliament, removable by the vote, and liable to its impeachment, it may be said that the legislative independence of Ireland was a frail possession. Events showed this to be so.

The Home Rule scheme has been concisely described by some of its advocates as offering beforehand the arrangements between the two countries which under the Repeal plan would have to be laid down afterwards. Instead of first simply severing the Union, and then going to work to reconstruct everything, the Home Rulers project their reconstruction beforehand, and claim that one advantage of this is, a large degree to allay alarms and avert hostility. Their plan proposes to secure for Ireland the great advantage of a separate, responsible Irish ministry; offering, in exchange for this, to give up to the imperial executive such powers as the States in America give to the Washington Congress and executive, as distinguished from the powers and functions reserved to the State Legislatures and governments in fine, the Home Rule scheme has been borrowed largely, though not altogether, from the United States of America: Ireland to rule and legislate, finally and supremely, on all domestic affairs; all affairs common to England, Ireland and Scotland to be ruled and legislated for by an administration and parliament in which all three will be represented. There are, no doubt, in America many patriotic Irishmen who think this far too little for Ireland to demand; who contend she should seek nothing less than total separation and independence; the price, undisguisedly, being civil war, with its lottery of risks and chances. However, this may be, the Irish people, if ever their voice has been heard for a century, on the 18th of November, 1873, solemnly and publicly spoke for themselves, and their demand so formulated is now before the world.

There can be no doubt—it is now very well known—that the proceedings at the Irish National Conference, especially the unanimity, power, and influence there displayed, had been keenly watched by the London Government. Mr. Gladstone had been losing ground in the English by-elections for a year past; but as long as there was a hope of the Irish Liberal vote remaining he had no need to fear yet awhile. The conference, however, was read by him as a declaration of war. The Home Rule leaders themselves realized the critical state of affairs; they were confident Mr. Gladstone would dissolve Parliament and strike at them in the approaching Summer; and accordingly they set themselves to prepare for the conflict. The "Christmas holidays" intervening, it was the first or second week in January before the newly-formed Home Rule League had fully constituted itself and elected its Council. Its leaders, however, scenting danger, went quickly to work, and arranged for beginning in February a thorough organization of the constituencies. In February! They were dealing

with a man who had no idea of giving his adversaries six months, or even six weeks to prepare. They were doomed to be taken unawares and nearly swept off their feet by a surprise as sudden and complete as the springing of a mine.

On the morning of Saturday, January 24, 1874, the people of the British Islands awoke to find Parliament dissolved. No surprise could be more complete; for Parliament had stood summoned for the first week in February. At midnight, on the 23rd, Mr. Gladstone sprang this grand surprise on his foes, English Conservative and Irish Home Ruler, hoping to overwhelm both by the secrecy and suddenness of the attack. And for a while it quite seemed as if he had correctly calculated and would prevail. The wildest confusion and dismay prevailed. There was no time to do anything but simply rush out and fight helter-skelter. In Ireland the first momentary feeling seemed to be one almost of despair. "Oh! had we but even an other month!" Yet no cowardly despair; only the first gasp of a brave people taken at utter disadvantage.

For the Home Rule leaders it was a moment of almost sad and certainly oppressive responsibility and anxiety. They knew how little allowance would be made for the mere dexterity whereby they had been thus outwitted, if they should lose the campaign, as it seemed to many they must. But not a moment did they waste in sighing for what might have been. There was an instantaneous rush to the Council-rooms, and before the tidings from London were twenty-four hours old there had begun what may be called a three weeks' sitting on permanence of the Home Rule executive. It is almost literally true that it sat night and day throughout that time, receiving and forwarding despatches from and to all parts of the country, by telegraph, by mail, and by special messenger. The Home Rulers had always held forth as an object which they could achieve, or rather determined to achieve, with fair time and necessary preparations, the conquest of some seventy seats out of the Irish one hundred and three. To secure even thirty just now in this rush was deemed a daring hope. But it seemed as if enthusiasm and popular indignation at the Gladstonian coup compensated for lack of preparation or organization. It was a great national uprising. North, South, East and West the constituencies themselves set the Home Rule flag flying. Ireland was aflame.

This was the first general election under the free and fearless voting of the ballot. No more complaints by voters of "coercion" or "intimidation" by "landlord" or "clergy" or "mob." Neither bullying nor bribery would any more be of use. At last, for the first time, the mind of the elector himself would prevail, and the constituencies of Ireland were free to pass a verdict on the Act of Union.

One drawback, however, threatened to baffle their purpose. Candidates! Where were trustworthy candidates to be found? The Home Rule Council had gone upon the plan of refusing to provide or recommend candidates, thinking to force upon the constituencies themselves the responsibility of such selection. "We will set up no candidate factory here in Dublin," they said, "it might lead to intrigue. We'll keep clear of it; let each county and borough choose for itself." But this had to be given up. The cry from the constituencies showed its folly: "Candidates! candidates! For the love of God send us a candidate, and we'll sweep this country for Home Rule." As a matter of fact, owing to the dearth of suitable candidates, no less than a dozen seats had to be left by default without any contest at all; while in as many more cases converts from mere liberalism to Home Rule, whose sincerity was hardly acceptable, had, from the same cause, to be let pass in "on good behavior."

There was, there could be, but little of general plan over the whole field; it was fought all round, the whole island being simultaneously engaged. This was Mr. Gladstone's able generalship; to prevent the Home Rule leaders from being able to concentrate their resources on one place at a time. Nevertheless, they were his inferior neither in ability nor in strategy, as the event proved. Upon the vantage points which he deemed most precious they delivered their heaviest fire, and in no case unsuccessfully. The contests that, each in some peculiar way, most forcibly demonstrate the determination of the people, their intense devotion to the Home Rule cause, were: Cavan, an Ulster county, where for the first time since the reign of James II. a Catholic (one of two Home Rulers) was returned; Louth, where the utmost power of the government was concentrated, all in vain, to secure Mr. Fortescue's seat; Drogheda, where Mr. Whitworth, a princely benefactor to the town, and an estimable Protestant gentleman, was rejected because he was not a Home Ruler; Wexford, where the son of Sir James Power, a munificent patron of Catholic charities, was rejected by priests and people for the same reason; Limerick County, where a young Whig Catholic squire, whose hoisting of Home Rule was disbelieved in by the electors, received only about one vote to eight cast for a more trustworthy man chosen from the ranks of the people, although the former gentleman was believed in and strenuously supported by the Catholic clergy; and Kildare, where the son of the Duke of Leinster, who owned nearly every acre in the county was utterly routed!

At length the last gun was fired, the last seat had been lost and won, and as the smoke of battle lifted from the scene men gazed eagerly to see how the campaign had gone. The Home Rulers had triumphed all along the line! Strictly speaking, they fell as to one, and only one, of the seats which they contested—namely, Tralee, where the O'Donoghue (a former National leader, but now an anti-Home Ruler) succeeded against them by three votes. They had returned sixty men pledged to their programme. In the late Parliament the Irish representation stood 55 Liberals, 38 Conservatives, and 10 Home Rulers. The National party thus outnumbered all others, Whig and Tory combined; and, for the first time since the Union, that measure stood condemned by a majority of the parliamentary representatives of the Irish nation.

(To be Continued.)

The ballot-voting in Ireland under the act of 1873, unlike that in America, is strictly secret: there being no "tickets" to be seen by outsiders. Only on entering the booth, where the few persons necessarily present are sworn to secrecy, the voter receives a paper on which the names of the candidates are printed. In a secret compartment of the booth the voter marks a cross alongside the name of the man for whom he wishes to vote, fold up the paper so as to conceal the mark which he has made, brings it forward, and drops it through a slit in a sealed box. He then quits the booth, and no one, inside or outside (but himself), knows for whom he has voted.

The defeat of his Irish Cabinet Minister and former Chief Secretary, the Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, in Louth County, was generally regarded as a crushing blow to the whole campaign, as Mr. Fortescue was Mr. Gladstone's influential representative in Ireland. He was deemed invulnerable in Louth, having sat for it twenty-seven years, and being brother of Lord Claremont, one of the largest and best landlords in the county. The Government laughed to scorn the idea of disturbing him. The Home Rulers selected for this critical fight Mr. A. M. Sullivan, editor of the *Nation*. It was a desperate struggle; but not only was the Home Ruler returned at the head of poll, but he polled two to one against the Cabinet Minister.

One of them, in Lettrim, subsequently lost his return, though in majority, by a stupid mistake of one of his agents.

ST. BERNARD "ON CONSIDERATION" TO B. EUGENE III.

By J. F. L., D.D.

Ilabet vera amicitia nonnunquam oburgationem adiutorem nunquam.—St. Bern. Ep. 242.

Many books, more or less estimable, have been written "for the edification or instruction or consolation" of Bishops, but St. Bernard's treatise to B. Eugene is as far superior to them all as Rome was greater than little Mantua. And it is natural enough; for, in the first place, who would presume to compete with Bernard in genius, in experience, in sanctity? Moreover, what ecclesiastic has dared to apply the axe so mercilessly to the root of evil? We must remember that Bernard, though but a priest in orders, was, nevertheless, in the estimation of Eugene and of Christendom, as important a personage as the Sovereign Pontiff himself. *Adiut non te esse Papam, sende me, says the Saint complacingly.* It was his firm persuasion, and that of the Church, that he had been sent by God "to declare His truth and His salvation" to a perverse generation. But in the accomplishment of this mission, he never took a step unless by the authority of the Holy See. He preached the truth fearlessly, but, like St. Paul, he was anxious that his doctrine should be approved by Peter. We shall find St. Bernard inveighing against abuses as fiercely as any Arnold or Luther has ever done, but reflect, (1.) that he had been requested to do it by the constituted authorities, and (2.) that in his most vehement invectives he never requested to do it by the constituted authorities, and obedient due to those who for the time being sat in the chair of Moses.

One word more, when we hear a Bernard or an Augustine bewailing their own vices or those of others, we must remember how exalted their standard of morality was, and how greatly they abhorred the very shadow of sin. A man of ordinary uprightness would appear imperfect to the eye of a saint; and, gentle readers, many of those rebuked by the Holy Fathers were better men than we are. We may not say that they exaggerated the vices which they reproved, but that *understanding* sins better than the bulk of mankind, they discovered defects in characters which to eyes less keen appeared to be perfect.

The treatise "on consideration" was wrung from St. Bernard by the urgent requests of Pope Eugene. It is divided into five books, and was written at intervals between the years 1149 and 1152. The first book treats of the utility and necessity of earnest consideration. The saint censures the Pontiff for allowing himself to be involved in a constant whirl of bustle and tumult from morning till night, "And would the day were satisfied with its wickedness! but not even the night is left free to you, inasmuch as you have scarce time to breathe or take your rest. I do not doubt that you deplore this state of affairs; but that is not sufficient, you ought to take means to better it." "If you wish to become all things to all men like the Apostle, I praise your benevolence, provided it be universal; but how can it be universal if you are excluded? The wise and the unwise, the slave and the freeman, the rich and the poor, the young and the old, the clerk and the layman, the just and the unjust, all may drink wisdom from your breast, while you alone stand there thirsty."

But how can the Pontiff find leisure? St. Bernard points out several ways. Let him relegate temporal matters to temporal tribunals, "not that he was unworthy to judge, but because these things were beneath the dignity of one occupied in more important concerns." Besides, let him banish from his court the disputes of the lawyers, "who had taught their tongues to speak falsehoods; eloquent against justice, learned in favour of error," and let him judge according to the law of God, not of Justinian. Besides, let him not lose time with those who are manifestly guilty, for at times he must not prepare his ear to hear, but his rod to strike. "In this manner you can redeem not a few moments of time, by refusing to hear some things, by remanding others to lower tribunals; and by dispatching briefly and justly those which you may deem worthy of audience."

In the second book, St. Bernard proposes to the Pope four points for consideration. "There are four things which occur to me as meriting to be considered by you—first, yourself; secondly, what is below you; thirdly, what is around you; lastly what is above you." Thus, says an author, St. Bernard places himself with the Pope, in the centre of the divine edifice of the Church, obtaining in this central position the most advantageous standpoint for observing its immense plan and its vast dimensions.

But is it not to be feared that the consideration of his sublime dignity may fill the Pontiff with vanity? Not if St. Bernard is his guide. "What were you before your elevation? It is more becoming that you should recall it, than that I should remind you of it." Say within your breast, "I was an abject in the house of my God. What prodigy has raised a pauper and an abject above nations and kingdoms? Who am I or what is my father's house, that I should sit higher than the highest?" And He that raised me up has power to cast me down! There is but little power in high positions to flatter, since they increase our anxiety. That you have been made superior, we cannot deny, but by all means, consider for what purpose. Certainly not for the sake of lordling it over us, nor for your own ease, not for pomp. The very name of Bishop intimates not dominion, but work. Your chair is not a throne for idle display, but a watch-tower. You are the heir of the Apostles. Read the testament which they have drawn up. What was it that Peter left you? What I have, said he, I give thee. And what was that? Thus much is certain, it was not gold or silver, for he said, *Silver and gold I have none.* If you happen to have them, use them, not arbitrarily, but as the occasion demands; for in themselves they are neither good nor bad. The use of them is good, the abuse is bad, solicitude worse, passion for them still more shameful. But remember, you got them not by inheritance from the Apostle. For what he had not he could not give. He bequeathed to you his care for all the churches. Did he also bequeath to you a spirit of lordship? Hear himself: *Not lordling it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock.* How could you then be an Apostle, if you loved to lord it, or domineer, if you are truly Apostolic. If you wished to be both at the same time, you would lose both."

After developing this idea in an exceedingly eloquent strain, the man of God concludes: "There is no more splendid gem than humility in the diadem of the Sovereign Pontiff." He tells him that unless he clothes himself with virtue, his sublime dignity will expose him more publicly to disgrace. "A foolish monarch seated on a throne, is but an ape on a house-top. And now listen to my canticle. It is not a pleasant one, I confess; but it contains saving truths. A monstrous thing it is to be the highest in dignity and lowest in soul; first in position and last in behavior; fluent in speaking and remiss in performing; grave in looks and trifling in actions; supreme in authority and unsteady in purpose. . . . Look into the mirror, that you may see in what you are lacking; for you lack everything, if you fancy you lack nothing. What if you are the great High Priest? Does it follow that you are the greatest of men? Know that you are the least, if you think yourself the greatest."

"Quid si summus Pontifex ess? Numquid quia summus Pontifex, ideo summus?"

If there was lurking any faint temptation to vanity in Eugene's breast, I think this vigorous assault of the holy Doctor must have chased it away forever. It is very unpleasant canticle to men in authority, and for that reason seldom sung in courts and when sung, badly received.

But the consciousness of one's personal nothingness must not interfere with a just appreciation of the graces of God. Hence St. Bernard next requests Eugene to consider the excellence of the Pontifical dignity.

You are the prince of Bishops, the heir of the Apostles, in primacy Abel, in government Noe, in patriarchate Abraham, Melchisedech in priesthood, Aaron in dignity, in authority Moses, in jurisdiction Samuel; Peter in power, in union Christ. You are he to whom the keys have been confided. There are, indeed, other door-keepers of heaven, other pastors of flocks, but you are by so much more glorious than they, by how much the name you inherit, excels theirs. They have each of them his apportioned flock, but to you alone the whole flock has been confided. Nor of the sheep only, but also of the pastors you are the pastor. *If thou lovest me, Peter, feed my sheep.* Which sheep? Of this or that city, region or kingdom? My sheep, said the Lord. Is it not clear that he assigned them all since he designated none in particular? Nothing is excepted, where nothing is distinguished.

Although others, then, are called in to share your toil, to you alone belongs the fulness of power. Their jurisdiction has its limits and boundaries, yours extends even over those who have power over others. For can you not close heaven against a Bishop, depose him, deliver him over to Satan. . . . Behold who you are."

But Bernard will not allow the Pontiff to be dazzled by this vivid description of his greatness. He brings him back to the humiliating condition of human nothingness.

"In becoming Pontiff you did not cease to be human. You still remain what you were. Wash off the varnish of this fleeting honor and the splendor of this tinsel glory, and consider yourself in the nakedness of your origin. Did you come into this world adorned with a diadem? or rustling in silks? Dissipate this cloud of haubles, which, thick as the early fog and just as transient, hem you round about and obstruct your view—now tell us what you are. A naked man and poor, wretched, and miserable. A man born for labor, not for honor. Consider, Sovereign Pontiff, the greatness of your dignity, but forget not the vileness of your being."

In this manner, the mellifluous Doctor teaches the Pope to "distinguish vigilantly that which he is by nature, from that which he has become by the free gift of God." Let him earnestly examine, then, how he has employed the graces conferred upon him; "whether he has made progress in virtue, in wisdom, in understanding, in goodness; or whether, perchance, he may not have deteriorated," and concludes this point and the second by "congratulating Eugene that thus far he has governed without occasioning much complaint, whether without sin, the Pontiff's own conscience must decide."

He then passes to consider *what is below* the Pope, in which he gives him excellent advice concerning the good government of the Church as we shall see in the next number.—*Catholic Standard.*

THE LAST CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF CATHOLIC ENGLAND.

Dr. Maziere Brady has just published a most valuable compilation entitled "The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A. D. 1400 to 1875." His two volumes are evidently the result of lengthened and most painstaking research. As illustrative of the interest of the historical facts enumerated, we select from among the multitude of names and dates brought together by Dr. Brady the following, which we have put in sequence as a complete catalogue of the last Catholic Bishops in England under the old hierarchy:

Reginald Cardinal Pole, the last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury, who was succeeded by the apostate Cranmer, died 10th November, 1558.

Edmund Bonner, the last Catholic Bishop of London, who was deprived of his See on the accession of Elizabeth, died in prison on the 5th September, 1569.

John White, the last Catholic Bishop of Winchester, deprived in like manner of his temporalities by Elizabeth, died six months afterward, on the 12th January, 1560.

Thomas Thirby, the last Catholic Bishop of Ely, deprived of his See by Elizabeth in the November of 1559, died in confinement at Lambeth—being there in the custody of Parker, the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 27th August, 1570.

Thomas Watson, the last Catholic Bishop of Lincoln, deprived of his See by Elizabeth, died, after a quarter of a century's imprisonment, at Wisbeach Castle on the 27th of September, 1584.

Ralph Bain, the last Catholic Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, removed from his See by Elizabeth, died soon afterwards, on the 18th of November, 1559, at Islington and was buried in St. Dunstan's.

Peter or William, afterwards Cardinal Pole, the last Catholic Bishop of Salisbury, was made Papal Legate instead of Pole, but died in March, 1558, before he could assume his Legatine authority.

Gilbert Dourne, the last Catholic Bishop of Bath and Wells, deprived by Elizabeth, died in the custody of the Protestant Dean of Exeter on the 10th of September, 1569.

John Horton, the last Catholic Bishop of Norwich, died through grief at the loss of Queen Mary, at the close of December, 1558.

Richard Pates, the last Catholic Bishop of Worcester, removed from his See by Elizabeth, died in exile at Louvain.

Robert Wharton, the last Catholic Bishop of Hereford, died on the 22nd September, 1558.

John Christopherson, the last Catholic Bishop of Chichester, died towards the close of 1558.

Maurice Griffin, the last Catholic Bishop of Rochester, died on the 20th November, 1558, and was buried in the Church of St. Magnus, near London Bridge.

Robert King, the first and the last Catholic Bishop of Oxford, died on the 4th of December, 1557, and was buried towards the north of the high altar in his church at Oxford.

David Poole, the last Catholic Bishop of Peterborough, was in 1559 deprived of his temporalities by Elizabeth.

John Holyman, the first and last Catholic Bishop of Bristol, died on the 26th of December, 1558.

James Brooks, the last Catholic Bishop of Gloucester, died on the 7th of September, 1565.

Henry Morgan, the last Catholic Bishop of St. David's died on the 23rd of December, 1559.

Anthony Kitchen, the last Catholic Bishop of Landaff, although he refused to consecrate Parker, retained his bishopric until his death, on the 31st October, 1663.

William Glynn, the last Catholic Bishop of Bangor, died on the 21st May, 1558, and was buried in his Cathedral.

Thomas Goldwell, the last Catholic Bishop of St. Asaph, deprived of his temporalities by Elizabeth, survived in exile 30 years, dying in Rome in 1581.

Nicholas Heath, the last Catholic Archbishop of York, deposed by Elizabeth, retired to a small farm at Cobham, in Surrey, where he died in 1579.

Cuthbert Tunstall, the last Catholic Bishop of Durham, died a prisoner in the House of Cranmer on the 18th November, 1559, and was buried at Lambeth.

Owen Oglethorpe, the last Catholic Bishop of