

sparkling board seem to catch the pleasing in- fection; while these things are going on," said she, "am I the only person alone? No, there is yet another, whose empty and solitary cham- ber, not illumined by a solitary taper, remains hushed in silence. And what has he done?— Maintained his father's rights, and succoured the distressed. Perhaps his mother and sis- ters are at this moment lamenting his absence, and perhaps another is lamenting it more."

On this subject, she could have meditated much longer, but was interrupted by her sis- ter, who came to ask if she was recovered.— She said she was, and upon this they joined the party.

But ten days after M'Ilvennan appeared be- fore the ramparts, a private soldier, who had been in the country all night, and learning something privately from the peasantry, whom he perceived making much preparation, came in great haste to inform them that old M'Quil- lan, assisted by the great O'Neill of Clanbuoy, and an irresistible body of the clans, was di- recting his march towards the castle—that he heard the sound of the war-trumpet, and saw two flags descending the heights at some miles distance.

A general confusion now reigned through the garrison. The soldiers were ordered to rest under arms, and a huge portcullis was erected over the drawbridge; the ladies were detached to the back part of the castle, and a detachment of infantry ordered to kneel behind the north wall, in order to take the enemy in flank if they should attempt to enter the outer gate. As the advanced guard appeared top- ping the hill, they were led on by M'Quillan's eldest son, and came at a quick pace, marching to the tune called Patrick's day. O'Neill was on the right, commanding a choice body of cavalry. They were received with a sharp broadside of musketry from the front, while they were taken on the left by the ambuscade. This M'Quillan's second son soon overthrew and cut to pieces. The soldiers were now or- dered to pull down the wall, in the execution of which many brave fellows fell; but as soon as the first breach was reduced so low as the height of a man's breast, M'Quillan, on a tall bay charger, swept over it, followed by all his cavalry, and after them O'Neill, with the Clan- buoy boys. They were, however, warmly op- posed by the garrison, but all could not resist the invincible M'Quillan, seconded by the Clan- buoy men. They drove forward to the bridge, and as the guards were about to drop the port- cullis, they were sabred at their post.

At the great door they were met by the gov- ernor, who delivered up his sword, together with the keys of the castle, and while the royal troops laid down their arms to the elder M'Quillan, O'Neill and the others rushed forward to find young Garry. As soon as the clashing of arms and noise of musketry were heard at the bridge, the sentinel who guarded the door dropped the key, and ran to support the con- test. The key was no sooner dropped than the ladies, who were running from one apartment to the other for safety, seized it, and unlocked the prisoner's door.

Caroline threw herself into his arms, and ex- claimed, "Oh! my father, save him! Oh, save us all!"

Young Garry in a minute was at the great door, and meeting his father, brothers, and other friends, was joyfully received by them. Being assured of the governor's safety, and that the carnage was ceased, he in haste return- ed to the ladies, and told them that their fa- ther was safe, and all hostilities at an end.

During the combat, M'Ilvennan rushed in with his cudgel in his hand, and was engaged for some time with a swordsman, who could not touch him so long as the cudgel stood; but at a sweep of the broadsword it was cut in two near to his hand, when, with a spring he cleared himself of his enemy, and taking to a rising ground, was distinctly heard encouraging the gallow-glasses. "Now, my brave fellows, bowl a halliagh, hannamondwowl knock out his brains with that dornig. Hirroo, there goes the fagaballagh boys. Strike, you dog you.— Now, agaddy, stand your ground, Paddy Mul- lin, and don't let that haugman rogue be driv- ing you back. Whillilu for the Irish shillelahs and the rattlers from Clanbuoy! Now, the bridge! Don't be looking into the sai to make your head dizzy. Now you hivy it: lie to that. Hurra! the day is our own. Now, you sheep thieves and out-throat rascals ye, didn't I tell yes what we would do? Go home, bad luck to the breed of yes, and toll your king we don't value him a snuff of tobacco, tiggum te shin."

* Do you understand that?

(To be Continued.)

GOD AND CÆSAR.

Whatever may be doubtful about the original constitution of the Christian Church, this at least is certain, that its Founder did not consult the civil authorities. Neither Herod nor Pilate were invited to approve it. If those eminent persons had not been in existence, they could not have been more completely overlooked. Cæsar and his satellites, potent as they were in their own sphere, had no voice in this. They had authority in the kingdoms of the world, but none whatever in the Kingdom of God. It was established in spite of them. And as soon as it was established, the ruler of nations, and lord of many legions, though he had not been con- sulted at all, was bound to bear the Church, like the humblest peasant, and submit his soul to her guidance, on pain of eternal banishment from the presence of God. He might pretend to command, where it was his duty to obey, but the mistake was sure to be disastrous to himself, as indeed the final result proved.

When the Master had finished His work, and His Vicar reigned in His place, the independence of the spiritual power in its own province was, if possible, still more evident. We know what was the attitude of the Apostles towards the State. In questions of the soul they set it at naught. They taught loyalty to Cæsar, in all which religion does not condemn, as their successors do at this day—so that among Christians were found a host of martyrs, but not a single conspirator or assassin—but when Cæsar re- quired disloyalty to God, they bade him defiance. They knew the penalty and accepted it. It was per- fectly understood that Cæsar, like other beasts of prey, had claws and teeth, and could use them. He did use them with considerable effect. He had sol-

diers, victors, prisons, axes, and scaffolds. But such engines, destructive as they were, could only hurt the flesh: and Christians were told not to "fear them that kill the body, and are not able to kill the soul." They were warned that they would be "brought before governors," but that they were not even to take thought what they should say. The Master would teach them what to say, as He still does at this day in Germany and elsewhere.

For the conditions of the combat between God and Cæsar are not changed. The conflict now raging in more than one province of Europe is not so much between the State and the Church as between Paganism and Christianity. Most of our English journals have ranged themselves, consciously or otherwise, on the side of Paganism. Every fresh usurpation by the civil power of purely spiritual functions, every impious assault upon the most sacred rights of conscience, every cynical persecution of men whose only crime is that they are faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, finds in our English press a sympathetic echo. Not a protest is heard on be- half of outraged liberty. Even the sacrilege of the Piedmontese usurpations, which displays its gross form on the very throne of Christ's Vicar, like an ape who has climbed on the altar, is greeted with cheers and laughter. With the exception of a faint remonstrance in one or two religious newspapers, timidly urged as if they blushed at their own temerity or a feeble disclaimer on the part of some philoso- phical radical solicitous about his own consistency, we meet in English writers only expressions of approval.

Yet the battle, as we have said, is really between Paganism and Christianity. This is so evident, that some of our contemporaries, of whose good in- tentions we are fully persuaded, will probably dis- cover the mistake into which they have been be- trayed. They are not yet definitely committed to the cause of Satan. They are far from denying the sovereignty of Christ, but they are so muddled by heresy and the gross delusions of what is called "modern thought," that they fight against God with- out knowing it. Their notions of the spiritual authority may be vague and confused, but that it has a sphere of its own, within which it is supreme, they readily admit. There is even in Great Britain a Church, established by law, of which it is a fun- damental maxim that the spiritual is, and ought to be, wholly independent of the temporal power, and that to resist the latter unto death may become a solemn Christian duty. It was of this Church that Dr. Chalmers said, with the applause of his co-religion- ists, that if it perished in a conflict with the State, its proper epitaph would be: "Here lies the non- Erastian Kirk of Scotland." And the civil magis- trate in our own day is so little disposed to take umbrage at these pretensions,—maintained in other days by the sword, and maintained with success, against the English crown,—that some who now reiterate them with most vehemence are styled "Chaplains to the Queen," whose statements habitually frequent churches from which any who should question this first principle of Scottish theology would be promptly ejected.

If we ask why Cæsar, elsewhere so fiercely in- tolerant of the spiritual power, makes an exception in this case,—as he is also beginning to do in Russia,—the explanation is twofold. He comprehends that no human sect will ever really be his rival, and he knows that his spiritual pretensions are no more serious than his own; but he knows also that the disciples of the heresiarch will fight on sufficient provocation, and that, unlike the disciples of the Cross, the only martyrdom to which they aspire is on the battle field. It is safer not to provoke them. And the journalists, who are Cæsar's friends, reason as he does. They make a treaty with the sects, but gnash their teeth at the Church; they joke with Simon Magus, but knit their brows at Peter. The claims of national or established churches they are content to tolerate, as long as no urgent political motive suggests a revision of their compact with the State, because they hardly even pretend to rest on a supernatural basis, and make religion little more than a department of police; but the serene majesty of the Church, which even to them seems unworthy, and upon which they look with mingled awe and rage, and that imperium which she exercises, by God's command, over the whole wide domain of the human conscience, in all lands and in all ages, moves them to cry out in a transport of fury: *Tolle, crucifige.* The same feeling makes them applaud acts done in other nations which they would be ashamed to see done in their own. There is no senseless brutality, worthy of an Asiatic prefect of the Roman Cæsar, which they are not ready to pal- liate. They tell us, for example, with evident glee, that the Cabinet of the new German Emperor "has decided" that the sect of Dr. Reinkens still belongs to the Catholic Church. If the Bishops should de- cide that officers cashiered by a court-martial were still entitled to their rank and pay, it would be less odious and not more absurd; for these German free- thinkers, who pretend to tell Peter who are the mem- bers of his flock, do not themselves belong to it. Yet our journalists see in this grotesque assumption of Pontifical authority by a few unbelieving laymen only a noble example of "resistance to the encroach- ments of the Church." In the long annals of human folly there is nothing to surpass this. Even the pagans hardly attained to such a height of unreason. When it was proposed a few years ago to abolish the punishment of death in France, Alphonse Karr replied: "With all my heart, but let the gentlemen who assassinate begin first." In like manner we may say: "If the Church is to be confined to her own functions, at least let the State set her the example."

St. Peter was accustomed to say to the civil authorities of his day: "If it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye." Both Jews and Pagans seemed to have been much im- pressed by this argument. Upon our journalists it would produce no impression at all. The most flagrant tyranny of the State in spiritual things is in their judgment an act of self-defence, the most essential exercise of authority by the Church an act of usurpation. She must not even determine who are her own members. Her modern accusers are more pagan than the pagans. If Pliny could read our daily papers—the *Times* or the *Daily News*, and much more the *Pall Mall Gazette* or the *Saturday Review*—he would think that Trajan was still Em- peror; but he would think also that the old man had become more vindictive and anti-Christian than he used to be. The supercilious scorn of Tacitus, and the malignity of Celsus and Porphyry, are surpassed in our day. Here, for example, is what the *Times* can say, in the third quarter of the nineteenth cen- tury, about the friends of the Church and her ene- mies. "The eminent ecclesiastics of North Africa were much given to the persecution of heretical sects, and the Arians and Donatists especially were pursued with furious bitterness by the Emperors Theodosius and Honorius, and by St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo." If the *Times* can represent St. Augustine, in spite of his own treatise on the subject of persecution, as a furious persecutor, and the Arians and Donatists, in spite of their atrocities, as the amiable victims of that intemperate ecclesiastic, our contemporary may well call the German Bishops seditious, and consider Bismarck worthy of praise. The *Conservative Standard* is hardly less ingeniously perverse. Scoffing at the "dismal dirge of the Ul- tramontanes," who ridiculously complain that they are fined, imprisoned, or exiled, for adhering to the See of Peter, the *Standard* says: "There is a certain verse of Juvenal about the 'Gracchi' and 'sedition,' which might be recommended to their serious med- itation." The Jews said much the same thing of the Redeemer of the world, and complained that His apostles "stirred up the people." Why does the *Standard* imitate these perfidious men? Why does it exalt Cæsar above God? The only "sedition" of

the venerable Archbishops of Posen and Cologne, the Bishops of Fulda and Mayence, and their apo- stolic colleagues, whom St. Peter would embrace as worthy heirs of his ministry, consists in this, that they obey God's Vicar, believe what the Church teaches, claim the right to train their own clergy, and to decide who are members of their communion and who are not. If this is sedition, the Apostles were conspirators, and Christianity was built up on treason. Either the German Bishops are innocent, or the Apostles were criminal. If they had accepted the legislation of the Bismarcks of their age, or approved the maxims of our journalists, Christianity would have been stifled in its cradle. It is precisely because the Apostles of Jesus Christ acted in all things as the Bishops of Germany and Switzerland are now acting, regarding subservience to the State in spiritual things as equivalent to apostasy, and died rather than prefer Cæsar to God, that the Cross won all its victories, and that the heirs of their office and gifts have still at this hour an altar to serve and a faith to proclaim.

And the issue of the renewed combat between God and Cæsar will be in the nineteenth century what it was in the first. Nothing, observes a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*—April, p. 530—but an apostasy on the part of Catholics, such as took place in the time of Luther, can give success to the German Dio- cletian. "If the thirteen million Germans professing the Roman Catholic faith should present an unbroken opposition to (his) policy, . . . then we must abandon expectations of any organic move- ment towards permanent emancipation"—he means towards state bondage; but if they remain true, "the movement now a-foot in Germany will show the fate of the ephemeral efforts of Joseph II." We ac- cept the prediction. Our English contemporaries are warring, perhaps unconsciously, not simply against the Holy Roman Church, but against the Gospel of Christ, and His scheme of redemption. Who can doubt the issue? The persecutors whom they applaud will have a temporary success, but just when they think that their work is done, and that they have at last overcome the invincible God will "put a hook in their nose and a bridle in their lips," and the demon whom they serve will reward them into the abyss.—*London Tablet.*

IRISH INTELLIGENCE.

PASTORAL OF THE MOST REV. DR. FURLONG.—The Most Rev. Dr. Furlong has issued a pastoral address to his flock, prohibiting modern or fast dances, which was read throughout the diocese on Sunday. He has enjoined it on the clergy, as a sacred and solemn duty in the discharge of their office as directors of conscience, to follow strictly the principles laid down in the address, and withdraws their powers of administering the Sacrament of Penance to those who are not resolved to abstain from the dances mentioned. His lordship appeals strongly to parents with regard to their children; and he said he had feebly re-echoed the sentiments of men distin- guished not only for piety and zeal, but also for learning and wisdom, who have denounced these dances much more vehemently than he hath done. Cardinal de Bonald exclaims, "Who would not be tempted to ask if those assemblies or balls are not celebrating some Pagan festival? Where can you allow your eyes to rest in the midst of such shame- ful nudity and lascivious dances? No one will dare to say they are Christian assemblies." The late Bishop of Ghent said, "With sorrow I perceive that for some years past the fever of pleasure impels Christian women to permit their daughters to en- gage in immoral dances. These same women make profession of piety, and they are seen often to approach the Sacraments." The Archbishop of Malines says, "These dances were unknown in France until they were introduced by men and women of loose character (*les impures*) during the license of the French revolution." The Bishop of Le Mans says, "That to take part in dances grievously indecent from the model of dancing is a mortal sin—hence the German dance commonly called waltz can never be permitted."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER AND IRELAND.—The London correspondent of the *Nation* pays the following graceful tribute to his Grace the Arch- bishop of Westminster:—"It is with no intent to dis- parage its great importance that I have deferred al- lusion to the letter addressed by the Archbishop to your most reverend Primate, because I know that it will be dealt with in your leading columns with a fullness equal to its grave significance and import- ance. His Grace, hitherto, has avoided every pronouncement that might be calculated to commit him to the Home Rule policy. He maintained a prudent, honorable reticence, but certainly his silence was not undignified or meaningless. Some months ago, when delicately pressed home upon the subject by a number of Irishmen then concerned in the founding of a Catholic Club in London, his Grace declined to say yes or nay; and even then his graceful hesitation lent new life to the friends of the Lord soon be reckoned amongst the friends of Irish Parliamentary autonomy. He is its avowed friend to-day, and all Catholic Ireland in these king- doms are more than ever his friends—loyal men and gentle women who would face the hard death rather than see a hair of that august head injured. Cer- tainly to the Archbishop—seeing, around and on all sides, the wickedness to which no man with eyes in his head can be blind, and constantly hearing the things to which no man with ears can be deaf—the spectacle of a great nation and a great people, such as the Irish fairly claim to be, 'perverted by faith, and openly serving God by every form of public and private duty,' forms a hope, and a rallying ground, impregnable to the assaults of all despairs and misgivings. The man who writes a century hence, the story of the Irish in England, will nat- urally seize upon his Grace's letter as indicating the exact point at which our people, abused by the Eng- lish press, somewhat scurrilously used by the Eng- lish masses, and contemptuously patronised by the doctrinaires, found in the greatest, purest, gentlest, boldest Englishman of his day not a barren fount of emotional sympathy, but one who—

"Should in his own greatness—calm and wise— The hidden thunder clinging to the roof Of a cloud bright with morning—was himself, Not for himself, but for their sakes who writhed Under the yoke, and passed their blood in tears. And looked to him, who said, 'This may not be!'"

We have great pleasure in announcing that it is the intention of the Home Rule party to convene a Conference of men of all shades of opinion who, holding the principle that a free people should possess the right and enjoy the power of regulating their own domestic concerns, are disposed to assist in giving vitality to that principle. With a generous abnegation of self, the leading members of the Home Government Association have expressed a desire that a Conference should be convened with the assent, concurrence, and at the call of men of all sections of the Irish party, whether they be members of the Association or not. We under- stand that a meeting of the Council of the Associa- tion was held on Wednesday, and that the draft circular which we submit, having been submitted to that body, was unanimously adopted as one to which they could give their entire sanction and approval. The following is the circular to which we refer:—

"Imperial Hotel, Sackville-street, Dublin. "DEAR SIR.—In order to meet what is believed to be the general wish and feeling of the country, the accompanying requisition has been drawn up, and has already received many influential signatures. If you approve of the object, we shall feel obliged by your attaching your signature and returning it

to any of us at the above address. Although it has been thought advisable that this requisition should embrace all classes of Home Rulers, and not emanate from any existing organisation, the step that has been taken has the hearty concurrence and approval of the Home Government Association, and the co- operation of its leading members.—We remain, dear Sir, &c., &c."

We think the time has come when such a step as that indicated by the foregoing circular is not only justified but demanded.—*Dublin Freeman.*

LORD SOUTHWELL TO THE "DAILY NEWS."—The following letter was addressed by Viscount South- well to the Editor of the *Daily News*:—

"Rathkeale, Co. Limerick. "Sir,—Having observed in the columns of your contemporary, the *Times*, an article on the Pilgrimage of United Kingdom Catholics to Paray-le-Monial, I beg you will allow me, in the first place, to contradict a statement that the Irish banner cost an hundred pounds. It did not cost even one-fourth of that sum. We Catholics endeavour to give our surplus to the suffering poor and to those need- ing help.

"As to the attacks of the *Times* on Dr. Manning, no Catholic acquainted with the manners and cus- toms of that journal is surprised at them, consider- ing the continual attacks it has always made on our objects and motives. I only wish it would leave us to the quiet tenour of our ways, and address its talents to things it is better acquainted with. Perhaps the *Times* would give a hint to its co-religionists in the north of Ireland not to destroy public property on a Sunday by pelting innocent and unoffending persons returning by the train from the opening of a Catholic cathedral. Indeed, no one should be allowed to hold the commission of the peace who belongs to an Orange Lodge or secret society, as from frequent experience it has been shown that even murderers can escape with the con- vivance of Orange juries.

"Allow me, before I lay down my pen, to thank you, sir, for an article on the Idea of Home Rule, which appeared a few days ago in your columns. We in Ireland have now become quite business-like enough to understand our advantages. Those in- terested in the real welfare of this country are not to be misled, nor will Ireland as a nation be misled by the Utopian ideas of speculative lawyers, who have had far too much to say to us already, or by the equally Utopian, and, therefore, equally foolish, schemes of empty-headed would-be statesmen, who are as ignorant of the theory as they are of the practice of government. Irishmen wish everyone to 'live and let live,' and England owes many of her greatest men to this side of the water. For mutual co-operation, however, we must have mutual good- feeling; and it is not a little mortifying to those who in Ireland are trying their best to bring this about, to find that writers in your public press, and conspicuously in your 'leading journal,' take every petty opportunity afforded by passing events, to attack our religion and our nationality. On the lamentable want of good sense, good feeling, and good policy, which this evinces it is unnecessary to comment.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

"SOUTHWELL.

DUBLIN, SEPT. 17.—The annual meetings of the Diocesan Synods of the Disestablished Church of Ireland are now being held in different parts of the country. Revision and education form the chief subjects of discussion after the consideration of financial matters. Some novelty was imparted to the proceedings of the Elphin Synod on Wednes- day by the introduction of a motion by the Dean to abolish the title of "My Lord" in addresses and documents referring to the Bishops. The Very Rev. gentleman argued that since the passing of the Church Act the title was not maintainable, and that there was no authority for it in Scripture. He addressed the Bishop of Kilmore, who was in the chair, as "Right Rev. Sir." His resolution was strenuously opposed by the Rev. Fitzmaurice Hunt, Vicar-General of the diocese, who contended that the title was justified by ancient usage in the Church, and that it was a mistake to suppose that it was given to a Bishop because of his appointment by the Sovereign. Colonel Ffolliott proposed as an amendment that, inasmuch as the title had been conferred by the Crown, it was beyond the functions of the Synod to discuss its legality. The Bishop expressed pain at the discussion of the subject, and explained that after the passing of the Church Act two Bishops were appointed to the diocese—the Rev. Charles Leslie and himself, and they were appointed under a patent exactly as their predecessors were. After his own appointment he had been furnished with a bill for £261 on account of it, and one of the items was £145 13s. 6d. for "fees of hon- our." He felt quite indifferent as to what title he was called by, but did not wish that a tender con- science, such as the Dean appeared to have, should suffer, and, therefore, if the very rev. gentleman re- paid him the amount he had been obliged to pay he would undertake to ease the Dean's conscience and entreat the Synod never again to call him "my Lord." The Dean proposed to refer the question to eminent counsel, but a lay representative, Mr. William Wallace, protested against the time of the Synod being taken up with the discussion of such questions, and Colonel Ffolliott's amendment was adopted.—*Times Corr.*

FATHER O'KEEFE.—The *Dublin Evening Post* of Sept. 22 has the following in a leading article headed "Good News from Callan":—"The intelli- gence which we publish this evening from the me- morable Callan of Kilkenny will be received with joy, not alone by every Catholic throughout Ireland but, we may safely say, by every Catholic through- out the world. Its name had become a name of sorrow to the universal Church, and the deplorable scenes at Callan constituted the solitary shadow on the glory of the Catholic faith and Catholic unity of this country. But, blessed be Providence, all the weary past is over now, and there is the certain prospect of peace and happiness. On Saturday last Father O'Keefe went freely to Kilkenny, sought an interview (which we need not say was cheerfully granted) with his Bishop the Most Rev. Dr. Moran and fully and unreservedly tendered his submission to episcopal jurisdiction. It is not necessary or fitting to enter into details as to the result of the interview, but we may mention that, in testimony of the earnestness of his submission, Father O'Keefe announced to his Lordship that he would not col- lect his customary masses on the immediately suc- ceeding Sunday, or officiate in any way publicly in the church. The entire five of our Dublin morning contemporaries have been quite mystified by the fulfilment of this promise to the amiable Bishop. Father O'Keefe did not say mass yesterday, and they are bewildered at the incident. Had there been a single Catholic journal among them, it would have explained—what every intelligent Catholic layman is aware of—that Father O'Keefe's absten- tion from the celebration of the Holy Sacrament on yesterday morning meant simply an acknowl- edgment of the validity of the much debated suspen- sion. It was a profession—to a certain extent a public profession—of his recognition of his author- ity by which the suspension was issued, and a sub- mission to its terms and its requirements."

Writing upon the subject of the Cloyne decla- ration, the *Pall Mall Gazette* says:—"The Home Rulers themselves are sanguine of securing in the coming contest about three-fourths of the Irish representation, and the remainder, which belongs to Ulster, is tolerably certain to be exclusively Conservative. A speculative contem- porary, remarkable for devotion to Mr. Gladstone, counts upon carrying this latter stronghold of Tory Protestantism outright; and we are expected to believe that the Orangemen of the North have not only made up their differences with their Roman

Catholic neighbors, but that both parties have been converted to the Constitutional Liberalism. We confess we are somewhat sceptical as to the conversion of the Orangemen, and we do not see how they can combine with their old enemies in rendering al- legiance to Mr. Gladstone, when the latter have just declared to themselves vehemently in favor of Home Rule, and have separated themselves distinct- ly from the Parliamentary organisation of the Lib- eral party. Making all due allowance for the extra- vagance of the Home Ruler's hopes, we may admit that the possibility that these irreconcilables may win some sixty seats now held by Liberals of some shade. This would leave between thirty and forty seats to the Conservatives, and perhaps six or seven to non-official Liberals, strong in local influences and of unimpeachable Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The present policy of the Home Rulers and their priestly allies is not to turn out the existing Liberal representatives but to put the screw upon them so as to exact their adhesion to the Home Rule pro- gramme; and to this pressure already some sca- dalous concessions have been made. Men of edu- cation, property, and social standing, who must be perfectly well aware that the Home Rule is imprac- ticable, and were it practicable, would be mischiev- ous, have belied the whole tenor of their lives and all the traditions of their class, and have gulped down the pledges tendered them by priests and de- magogues. Whenever liberal members refuse to accept these pledges, the influence of the priesthood, it is now pretty clear, will be thrown wholly into the scale against them; and we do not see how they are to escape exclusion. We must, therefore, be prepared to see in the next House of Commons a compact body of members, organized with the ex- press purpose of extorting from whatever party may be in power, under penalty of their opposition or as the price of their support, a concession of what is called self-government for Ireland. Fortunately, the demand is outside the bounds of possibility. No English Minister, Liberal or Conservative, is likely to burn his fingers by meddling with it, for it is plainly more difficult to tamper with than even the University question, which both Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone have so much reason to dread. It is not difficult to foresee, however, a period of weak and unstable government to which the Home Rule party will add another element of perplexity and confusion. A feeble ministry, whether Conservative or Liberal, working with a narrow majority—and this is likely to be the form of Government, what- ever may be the issue of a general election—is al- ways the creature of circumstances; and, when cir- cumstances are shaped by an influence so malignant and anarchic as the Irish craze for Home Rule, it is easy to forecast mischief."

The nation writes in a more enthusiastic tone. It says:—

"The Cloyne declaration—by far the most im- portant event in Irish politics since the close of the Repeal agitation—registers another lengthy stride in the onward course of the Irish nation. Hope and confidence, love and gratitude will swell within the Irishman's heart wherever he is found as he reads that noble pronouncement in favour of the rights and privileges of the Irish nation. It tells of un- shaken alliance between the pastor and his flock—between the Irish priests and the Irish people; it shows that in love of Ireland and devotion to her welfare they are still, as they always were, united; and it gives earnest of a joint effort, vigorous, pru- dent, and timely, for the restoration of those rights which were lost in an hour of national disaster."

The time has come when the people in one grand combination must take up the work hereto- fore carried out by the Home Government Associa- tion. This body has never claimed for itself the character or the powers of a great national organiza- tion. It was established by a number of patriotic gentlemen to disseminate and support the doctrines and principles of Home Rule, but it eschewed any- thing like a representative character, and it recog- nized from the outset the fact that it was nothing more than a precursor society. The idea of a general Conference of the friends of self-government, embracing the entire people, as the Cloyne resolu- tions say, without distinction of creed or class, and of a national organization founded thereon, is as old as the Home Government Association itself. We want something broader, larger, stronger, and greater. We want an organization which will embrace the whole manhood and intellect of the National party, which will include every honest Home Ruler within its fold, and which will strike its roots deep in the population of every barony and every parish. The time is come for it. The imminence of the General Election throws a responsibility and an amount of work upon the country which can only be satisfac- torily dealt with through some such gigantic agency. Towards the establishment of such an organization the Council and members of the Home Government Association have pledged their warmest co-operation."

DANIEL O'CONNELL.—If the younger men among us shall live to see complete and cordial union between the people of both islands, there can be no doubt that, in the roll of national benefactors, to whom that consummation shall be due, the foremost name will be that of Daniel O'Connell. It is not only that he was the first to compel the rulers of the empire to commence the era of justice that alone makes him possible. His work was greater than this.— He found his countrymen slaves; he raised them from the dust, and first taught them to assume at least the attitude of freemen. The education of a people is slow work; but if at no distant time they are fully worthy to take the place that is prepared for them—that of free citizens of a great united em- pire—sharing the van guard post in the great advance of political and social progress, they must never forget that the first lessons of freedom were received from the lips of O'Connell. Of O'Connell the man, such as he was known to his contemporaries, the next generation will find it difficult to form a just conception. Nothing could be stronger than the animosity which he excited among his opponents, unless it were the enthusiastic attachment felt to- wards him by his personal friends and followers.— His faults were on the surface, and were exactly those that most surely shock and offend educated Englishmen. His invectives not rarely descended to scurrility, and his disregard of literal truth and probability in his popular addresses were such as, in an Englishman, would have implied utter want of principle. The irrepressible tendency to exag- geration inseparable from the Irish nature will not, however, be severely judged by posterity. It must be noted that, with scarcely an exception, his vio- lence was excited, not by personal, but by national feelings. His vituperation was directed against the enemies of Ireland, not against the enemies of O'Connell. If his political friends learned to place implicit confidence in his courage, his energy and the boundless resources of his inventive intelligence, the personal devotion that he awakened was due to qualities of another order. He was a true friend, faithful to all who had ever done him service, and possessed in the highest degree that personal charm of manner and conversation that people of other countries usually attribute to the typical Irishman. But he proved himself to own virtues of a higher and rarer order. On several important occasions, and notably in regard to trade combinations and the Poor-law question, he boldly took the unpopular side, and did not shrink from the clearest expres- sion of his opinions. This does not appear difficult to men who depend upon parliamentary support for political influence. They may reasonably expect that justice will in due time be done to their motives. The case is very different with a man who holds power and importance by the fleeting tenure of popular favor; and one such sacrifice made to conscience should outweigh many a blemish in the