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FATHER BURKE'S LECTURE

"Grattan and the Volunteers." THE FOURTH LECTURE IN ANSWER TO MR

THE SYMPATHY BETWEEN IRELAND AND AME-

CAUSES OF THE PAILURE OF IRISH SELF GOVERNMENT UNDER

GRATTAN.

(From the New York Irish American.)

Music, on the occasion of Father Burke's fourth lecture, on the evening of the 21st ult., was not while in fervid enthusiasm it exceeded any beappeared.

As usual there was a large attendance of the clergy; and among the audience were many distinguished Americans. The Irish patriot, John Mitchel, with his family, occupied one of the proscenium boxes, and on being recognized informers of the country, - offering them bribes cuthusiastic cheers, which were heartily renewed when Father Burke, in the course of his lie priesthood of Ireland, as if they were ferolecture, alluded to his name.

addressed the audience as follows:-

public papers, that Mr. Froude seems to be somewhat irritated by remarks that have been gree, the just susceptibilities of an honorable says, there were two reasons which, in his mind. man, I beg, beforehand, to say that nothing was further from my thoughts than the slight- English Government. The first of these was est word either of personality or disrespect for that, after all, these laws were only retalliation, one who has won for himself so high upon the Catholics of Ireland, for the terrible a name as the English historian (applause).-And, therefore, I sincerely hope that it is not nots, or Protestants of France. And, he says, any word of mine, - which may have fallen from | that the Protestants of Ireland were only folme, even in the heat of our amicable controto that gentleman. Just as I would expect to me explain this somewhat to you. The Edict receive from him, or from any other learned of Nantes was a law that gave religious liberty and educated man, the treatment which one to the French Protestants as well as to the

plause). ter in hand. On the last evening, I had to testants of France were laid open to persecution. traverse a large portion of my country's history in reviewing the statements of the Eng- French Protestants and the Catholics of Irelish historian; and I was obliged to leave al- land:-The French Protestants had never

had fought with so much bravery in 1649.— The return that the Irish people got from this good lady was quite of another kind from what they might have expected. Not content with the atrocious laws that had been already enacted against the Catholics of Ireland; not content with the flagrant breach of the articles of Limerick, of which her royal brother-in-law, William, was guilty; -no sooner does Anne come to the throne, and send the Duke of Ormonde, as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, than the Irish Ascendency,—that is to say the Protestant faction in Ireland, -got upon their knees to the new Lord Licutenant to beg of him, for the honor of the Lord, to save them from these desperate Catholics (laughter). Great God! —a people, robbed, persecuted, and slain, until only a miserable remnant of them were left; without a voice in the nation's councils :without a vote, even at the humblest board that sat to transact the meanest parochial business; these were the men against whom the strong Protestant Ascendency of Ireland made their complaints, in 1703. And so well were these complaints heard, my friends, that we find edict after edict coming out, declaring that no papist should be allowed to inherit or possess land, or to buy land, or have it even under a lease: declaring that if a Catholic child wished to become Pretestant, that moment that child became the owner and the master of his father's estate; and his father remained only his pensioner, or a tenant for life upon the bounty of his apostate son; declaring that, if a child, no 4 50 matter how young,—even an infant,—conformed and became Protestant,—that moment that child was to be removed from the guardianship and custody of the father, and was to be handed over to some Protestant relation. Every enactment that the misguided ingenuity of the tyrannical mind of man could suggest was adopted and put in force. "One might be inclined," says Mr. Mitchel, "to suppose that Popery had been sufficiently discouraged; seeing that the Bishops and clergy had been bannished, that Catholics were excluded, by law, from all honorable or lucrative employments; carefully disarmed, and plundered of almost every acre of their ancient inheritance." But enough had not yet been done to make the inferior in numbers or brilliancy to that which obliged to remain several miles outside the greeted him on the previous Tuesday evening, town, as if they were lepers, whose presence James the Second, succeeded to the throne of and in the old race, that still terrified them fore which the Reverend gentleman has as yet | Protestant fellow-citizens of the land (hisses,). | Hanoverian, or Stuart, that ruled in England,

The persecution went on. In 1711, we find them enacting new laws; and later on, to the very last day of Queen Anne's reign, we find them enacting their laws, hounding on the magistrates and the police of the country, and the and to hunt the Catholic people and the Catho-The Rev. Father Burke, on coming forward, Mr. Froude justifies all this on two grounds. word has he of manly protest against the shed-ding of that people's blood (A Voice—" He is seemed to justify the atrocious action of the persecutions that were suffered by the Huguelowing the example of King Louis the Four-I also wish to give him that treatment (ap- justice. It was a law founded on the sacred rights that belong to man (applause). And And now, my friends, we come to the mat- this law was revoked; consequently the Pro-But, there is this difference between the

the celebrated Edmund Burke on this very | England! Well did that brave Irish gentle- | men, who were now in the ascendency in Iresubject of the revocation of this edict:-

"This act of injustice" (says the great Irish statesman)-" which let loose on that monarch, Louis the Fourtcenth, such a torrent of invective and reproach, and which threw such a dark cloud over the splendor of such an illustrious reign,-falls far short of the case of Ire-

Remember, he is an English statesman,though of Irish birth,—and a Protestant, who speaks :--

"The privileges which the Protestants of France enjoyed, antecedent to this revocation were far greater than the Roman Catholies of Ireland ever aspired to, under the Protestant establishment. The number of their sufferers, if considered absolutely, is not half of ours; and, if considered relatively to the body of the community, it is perhaps not a twentieth part. Then the penalties and incapacities which grow from that revocation, are not so grevious in their nature, or so certain in their execution, nor so ruinous, by a great deal, to the people's prosperity in that state, as those which were established for a perpetual law in the unhappy country of Ireland.

In fact, what did the revocation of the Edict of Nantes do? It condemned those who relapsed into the Protestant faith, after having renounced it,-it condemned them; not, indeed, to the confiscation of their goods, -- there was no confiscation, except in cases of relapsation, and in cases of quitting the country. There was nothing at all of that complicated machinery which we have described in referring to Ireland's persecutions: there was nothing at all beggaring one portion of the population, and giving its spoils to the other part; while, side by side, with this, we find the Irisl people ruined, beggared, persecuted, and hunted to the death; and the English historion comes, and says: "Oh, we were only serving you as your people, and your own fellow-religionists in France, were serving us!"

The other reason that he gives to justify these persecutions, was that "the Irish Catholics were in favor of the Pretender,"-that is to say-of the son of James the Second ;-"and, consequently, were hostile to the gov Protestant interest feel secure; consequently these laws came in, and clauses were added, under this "good Queen Anne," declaring that plause). The Irish Catholics had had quite into the suburbs of these towns; they were in the succession; nor cared they one iota whether the Elector of Hanever, or the son of would contaminate their sleek and pampered England. For well they knew, whether it was the faction at home in Ireland and the prejudices of the English people would make him. whoever he was, a tyrant over them and over their nation (applause). And thus the persecution went on, and law after law was passed privilege. Accordingly, they set to work.—to make perfect the beggary and the ruin of They had their own Parliament. No Catholic by the audience, was greeted with a round of and premiums to execute these atrocious laws, the Irish people: until at length Ireland was could come near them, or come into their reduced to such a state of misery, that the towns: they were forbidden to present themvery name of Irishman was a reproach. And cious and untamable wolves. And, my friends, at length a small number of the glorious race had the miserable weakness to change their Not a single word has he of compassion for the faith and to deny the religion of their fathers Ladies and Gentlemen:—I perceive, from the people who were thus treated. Not a single and their ancient race. The name of an Irish-hatred. What! They, the sons of the Puriublic papers, that Mr. Froude seems to be word has he of manly protest against the shedman was a reproach! My friends, Dean Swift tans! They, the brave men that had slaughwas born in Ireland; Dean Swift is looked made as to his accuracy as a historian. Lest too mean!")—by unjust persecutions, as well upon as a patriotic Irishman; yet Dean Swift any word of mine might hurt, in the least de- as their robbery by legal enactment. But, he said—"I no more consider myself an Irishman, because I happened to be born in Ireland, any more than an Englishman, chancing to be born in Calcutta, would consider himself a Hindoo!" Of the degradation of the Irish, and their utter prostration, he went so far as to say, he would not think of taking them into account, on any matter of importance, "any more than he would of consulting the swine." Lord Mucaulty gloats over the state of the Catholics in Ireversy,—that can have given the least offence | teenth who revoked the Edict of Nantes. Let | land, thus; and Mr. Froude views,—perhaps not without some complacency,-their misery. Lord Macaulay calls them "Pariahs," and says that they had no liberty even to breathe gentleman is supposed to show to another, so do | French Catholics. It was a law founded on | in the land, and that land their own ! And we find this very view emphasized, by Lord Chancellor Bowes, in the middle of the century, rising in an Irish court, laying down the law quite coolly and calmly, and saying that, rich Ireland,—that the English Parliament plause.) And, therefore, I do not find the "The law did not presume a Papist to exist denied. Mr. Froude attributes this, in his slightest fault with this learned Englishman, in the Kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of Government!" Chief most untouched one portion of that sad story; had their liberty guaranteed to them by Justice Robinson made a similar declaration. namely, the period which covers the reign of Queen Anne. This estimable lady, of whom history records the unwomanly vice of an overlistory records the unwomanly vice of an overlist the law does not suppose any such person to the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated, and came over to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated, and came over to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any such person to the law does not suppose any such person to dreds of them emigrated in the law does not suppose any Orange, in 1702; and on that throne she sat until 1714. As I before remarked, it was, per-treaty of Limerick was broken with the limerick was one limerican limer haps, natural that the Irish people,—the Ca- Catholics of Ireland, and in the breach Mr. Froude says that they favored the Pre- day to break up the British Empire (applause). —telling King George III. that they would tholics of Ireland,—trodden into the very dust, of it, the King of England, the Parliament of tender at the very time when the Government I have another theory on this great question. be only too happy to go out at his command, that they should have expected some quarter England, the aristocracy of England, as well as itself was attributing the quietude of the peofrom the daughter of the man for whom they the miserable Irish Protestant faction at ple in Ireland, not to their prostration, not to all, that made England place her restrictive that statement true or not? My friends, the

man, John Mitchel, reject that idea (applause). [1:nd, imagined that, because they had ruined "They were," he says, "as degraded as England could make them; but there was another degradation that could only come through that would be the degradation of loyalty" (applause).

Now, my friends, we have at this very time an Irishman of the name of Phelim O'Neill,one of the glorious old line of Tyrone, -one in whose veins flowed the blood of the great and the heroic "Red Hugh," who struck the Saxon at the "Yellow Ford," and purpled the stream of the Blackwater with his blood (great applause); one in whose veins flowed the, per-O'Neill should be a Protestant; so he changed his name from Phelim O'Neill, and called himself "Felix Neale" (laughter). There has been a good deal said lately about the pronunciation of proper names, and what they rhyme with. This man made his name rhyme with cel,-the slippery eel (laughter). Now, on this change of the gentleman's name and religion, an old parish priest wrote some Latin verses, which were translated by Clarence Mangan, I will read them just to let you see how things were in Ireland at that time:-

All things has Felix changed. He changed his name; Yet, in himself, he is no more the same.

Scorning to spend his days where he was reared, To drag out life among the vulgar herd, And trudge his way through bogs, in bracks and

brognes, He changed his creed; and joined the Saxon rogner By whom his sires were robbed; and hid aside The arms they bore, for centuries with pride-The 'ship,' the 'salmon,' and the famed 'Red Hand And hlushed when called O'Neill in his own land. Poor, paltry, skulker, from thy noble race!

Infelix Felix, weep for thy disgrace !" -(applause and laughter).

But, my friends, the English Ascendency.or the Protestant Ascendency in Ireland, if you will,-seeing, now, that they had got every penal law that they could ask for; seeing that only that the work was too much, and that there was a certain something in the old blood, when they approached them (applause): they had so far subdued the Catholics, that they thought, now, at last, their hands were free. and nothing remained for them but to make Ireland, as Mr. Froude says, "a garden."-They were to have every indulgence and every selves at all. They were greatly surprised to find that, now the Catholics were crushed into the very earth, England began to regard the very Cromwellians themselves with fear and tered so many of the Trish, and of the Catholic religion! Are they to be treated unjustly? Is their trade, or their commerce, or their Parliament to be interfered with? Ah! now, in- one. (Applause.) deed, Mr. Froude finds tears, and weeps them made a law ;-these Protestant tradesmen were first-class woollen weavers; they made splendid and they shipped off and came to America.'

 $(\mathcal{A}_{ij}) = \frac{1}{2} (q_i + d_j q_j) + \frac{1}{2} (q_i + d_j q_j)$

The state of the s

and beggared the ancient faith, therefore they were friends, and they would be regarded as friends by England. I hold that it was at that themselves, that they were not guilty of ; and time, and in a great measure as is to-day, the fixed policy of England to keep Ireland poor, to keep Ireland down, to be hostile to Ireland, no matter who lives in it-whether he be Catholic or Protestant, whether he be Norman, Cromwellian, or Celt (applause). "Your ancestors," says Curran, speaking to the men of his time, a hundred years afterwards--" your ancestors thought themselves the oppressors of their fellow-subjects, but they were only their jailors; and the justice of Providence would roe O Neill, the glorious victor of Benburb (renewed applause). And this good Phelim O'Neill changed his religion and became a Protestant. But it seemed to him a strange and unnatural thing that a man of the name of the punishment for their vice and their folly." That slavery came, and it fell on commerce. The Protestant inhabitants of Ireland, the Protestant traders of Ireland. lation of England, simply because they were now in Ireland and had an interest in the Irish soil, and in the welfare of the country. The inimitable Swift, speaking on this subject, makes use of the following quaint fable of Ovid. He says: "The fable which Ovid relates of Arachne and Pallas is to this purpose. The goddess had heard of a certain Arachne, a young virgin who was famous for spinning and weaving. They both met upon a trial of skill, and Pallas, the goddess, finding herself almost equaled in her own art, stung with rage, after knocking her rival down, turned her into a spider, enjoining her to weave forever out of her own bowels and in a very narrow compass." "I confess," the Dean goes on, "that from a boy, I always pitied poor Arachne, and never could heartily love the goddess, on account of so cruel and unjust a sentence, which, however, is fully executed upon us by England; with the further addition that while she requires the greatest part of our bowels, eventually, they are extracted without leaving us the liberty of either spinning or weaving." He alludes in this to a strange lice of legislation, which Mr. Froude acknowledges. The Irish wool was famous for its superior fineness, and the English were outbid for it by the French manufacturers. The French were the only thing that remained for them was to utterly exterminate the Irish race,—and this for the wool; and the English passed 2 Papist or Catholic could live in a walled enough of the Stuarts; they had shed quite they had nearly accomplished; for they had law that the Irish people,—the farmers,—could The audience which filled the Academy of cown, especially in the towns of Limerick or enough of their blood for that treacherous and driven them into the wilds and wastes of Connected their wood anywhere but in England; usic, on the occasion of Father Burke's fourth Galway; that no Catholic could even come shameless race; they had no interest whatever naught; and they would have killed them all, so they fixed their own price on it; and they took the wool, made cloth, and, as the Dean says, poor Ireland-Arachne,-had to give her vitals without the pleasure of spinning or weaving. (Laughter.) Then the Dean gees on to say :- " The Scripture tells us that oppression makes the wise man mad; therefore the reason that some men in Ireland are not mad is because they are not wise men." (Laughter.) "However, it were to be wished that oppression would in time teach a little wisdom to fools." Well, we call Dean Swift a patriot. How little did he ever think, -as great a man as he was, - of that oppression, compared with which the restriction upon the wool trade was nothing,-the oppression that beggared and ruined a whole people; that drove them from their land; that drove them from every pleasure in life; that drove them from their country; that maddened them to desperation; and all because they had Irish names and Irish blood. and because they would not give up the faith which their conscience told them was the true And now, my friends, Mr. Froude, in his

over the folly of England, because England in- lecture, comes at once to consider the conscterfered with the commerce and with the trade quences of that Protestant emigration from Ireof the Protestant Ascendency in Ireland. They land; and he says: "The manufacturers of Ireland and the workmen were discontented. cloth, which took the very best prices in all the | And then he begins to enlist the sympathies of markets of Europe, because the wool of the America upon the side of the Protestant men Irish sheep was so fine (applause). The Eng- who came over from Ireland. If he stopped lish Parliament made a law that the Irish here, I would not have a word to say to the traders were not to sell any more cloth; they learned historian. When an Englishman were not to go into any of the foreign markets claims the sympathy of this, or any other land, to rival their English fellow-merchants. They for the men of his blood and of his religion,were to stay at home; they had the island, if they are deserving of that sympathy, I, an and they might make the most of it; but, any Irishman, am always ready, and the first to trade, any freedom; anything that would en- grant it to them, with all my heart. (Aplecture, to the accident that England at that when he challenges the sympathy of America time, happened to be under the dominion of a for the Orangemen of Ireland, and the Protespaltry, pitiful-hearted lot of selfish money-job- tants who came to this country. If these men had shed their blood, and from the grand-daugh- home, became perjurers before history and their ruin,—as was the real state of the case, laws on the Irish woollen trade. I hold that learned gentleman quoted a petition that was ter of the other Stuart king for whom they the world (applause). Here are the words of __but to their devoted loyalty to the Crown of it was the settled policy of England. These presented to Sir John Blaquiere, in 1775, the