

A LIFE

OF THE

RT. REV. EDWARD MAGINN,

COADJUTOR BISHOP OF DERRY,

WITH

Selections from His Correspondence.

BY

THOMAS D'ARCY M'GEE,

AUTHOR OF

"A HISTORY OF THE ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND;"
DISCOURSES ON "THE CATHOLIC HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA;"
"THE IRISH SETTLERS IN AMERICA," ETC., ETC

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.

"It is the duty of a Bishop to judge, to interpret, to consecrate, to ordain, to offer, to baptize, and to confirm."—*Form of Consecration of a Bishop according to the Latin Rite.*

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1863.

TO

HIS SURVIVING RELATIVES AND FRIENDS,

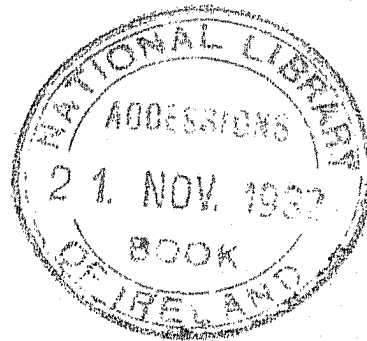
"AT HOME" AND ABROAD.

I Respectfully Dedicate this Memoir

OF

THE LATE RIGHT REVEREND DR. MAGINN,

COADJUTOR BISHOP OF DERRY.



Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1857, by
P. O'SHEA,
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for the Southern District of New York.

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CHAPTER VII.

INFLUENCE OF THE FAMINE ON PUBLIC SPIRIT—DR. MAGINN'S LETTERS ON "TENANT-RIGHT"—HIS LETTERS TO LORD STANLEY—HIS POPULARITY—EFFECT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION ON IRELAND—PATRIOTIC ATTEMPTS TO RE-UNITE THE NATIONAL PARTIES—THE PROTESTANT REPEALERS AND MR. SHARMAN CRAWFORD, M. P.—EXTRAORDINARY CIRCULAR OF THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY—THE YOUNG IRELAND CATASTROPHE—DR. MAGINN'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE CASTLE IN RELATION THERETO—HIS SYMPATHY WITH THE DEFEATED PARTY AND THE STATE PRISONERS.

NOR was Dr. Maginn's attention wholly or even principally directed to Roman affairs and English intrigues, in those eventful years '47 and '48. The condition of the poor, the distribution of the charities of many countries, the niggardliness and maladministration of the government grants, the stealthy ravages of proselytism following famine like its shadow—all claimed his attention. It was in this year, the second of his episcopacy, that by a succession of public services to the country and religion, his talents became familiarly known and widely influential. Of these we shall speak in the order of time.

After O'Connell's death, and the second general failure

This pastoral conveyed and read to the Holy Father at Gaeta drew forth his warmest approbation. A previous letter of the Bishop's received before His Holiness' flight, had the honor of a direct acknowledgment from the illustrious object of it.* It is hardly too much to say that in those eventful days no Irish Prelate stood higher at Rome than Dr. Maginn, and that the personal influence thus honorably obtained promised the best results for the future relations of the Irish Church with the Holy See.

* See Dr. Cullen's letter of September 5, 1848. Appendix.

of the potato harvest, social questions were forced upon the Irish mind with an emphasis, which in less times, would have been quite thrown away on an imaginative and immaterialist nation. The question of land, superceded "repeal" in the hearts of most, wholly broken down by the pressure of the taxes. An "Irish Council" to promote re-employment on the soil, taking the government method, sat regularly in Dublin. It contained the capital and improved modes of cultivation; patriotic men; Lord Cloncurry, Sir Colman O'Connell, Mr. Butt, Mr. Duffy, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Chetwood, Monsell, the poet Ferguson, and many more. A meeting had been attended by O'Connell, who soon made a last mournful plea for the poor in Parliament, and went abroad to die. The Young Ireland party endeavored to become practical, and began to study in statistics political economy. The decaying association contrasted its slower impulse to the general current of men's minds. Tenant-right meetings were held in Ulster; through the North generally, a fierce agitation sprung up in opposition to the imposition of an average poor-rate over the island. Sir Robert Peel's dictum that the property of Ireland should be made to support the industry of Ireland," was looked upon by the industrious tenant of the North with as much dislike as by the mortgage-ridden squire of the South. They both held

the calamity being imperial, the relief ought to be imperial; that the taxation of each union should be rated according to its internal condition; that employment for labor, and legal security for improvements on land, was what the country wanted, not alms and an army of fresh officials. These discussions certainly turned the Irish mind into new channels, and although there was a digression to revolutionary experiments in '48, that mind has ever since, it seems to me, kept the direction the famine gave it.

Dr. Maginn, gifted with the intuitive eye of a wise patriot, was one of the first in the new field of discussion. His letters to the Cork Tenant league, to Dr. McKnight of Derry, and to James Caufield, Esq., were among the earliest and the best writings on the land question. Taken in connection with his evidence before the Devon Commission, they form a monument of information and observation on the social state of Ireland.*

At the close of '47, Dr. Maginn considered himself called upon to rebut and refute in a series of letters to Lord Stanley, an intolerable statement made by that nobleman in his place in Parliament against the priesthood of Ireland. The words spoken on the 23rd of November, in the House of Lords, were these:

"In the main," said Lord Stanley, "I think the Roman Catholic priesthood to be untiring in the discharge of their religious duties, de-

* See Appendix.

serve the most marked secrecy at home, as to what proceedings are going on at Rome relative to our ecclesiastical affairs, though one of the leading ministers has just now avowed that they have received from Rome most useful information.

6. That besides the marked secrecy just mentioned, what fills us with alarm is to see the conflicting conduct of Lord Minto at Rome, and the conduct in England of his son-in-law, the present prime minister of England. Lord Minto is doing all that his station and money can effect, to obtain, not only the good will of His Holiness and of those in authority in Rome, but even of the populace of Rome, and also to obtain great ascendancy there. Whilst at home Lord John Russell is not only publicly declaring his hostility to the Catholic religion, as he avowed the other day, in his public printed answers respecting the appointment of Dr. Hampden to a Protestant Bishopric, but that he and his fellow ministers are continuing to persecute the Regulars, Clergy and Laity, both in Ireland and England, acting still up to what he (Lord Russell) lately said in one of his works, that he considered the Regulars no better than "sharpers."

Such also is the present conduct of the ministers acting under Lord John Russell. When we look at the conduct of our civil government at home, totally opposed to the conduct of its representative at Rome, have we not every reason to be filled with the most serious suspicion and alarm?

7. Another cause of our serious alarm is the very long continued hostile conduct of our Protestant government towards the Catholic religion in this kingdom. When a bloody persecution for nearly three hundred years could

not extinguish our religion here, and the penal laws began to be partially repealed; from that period to the present time, and at the present time it is perfectly notorious to all in Britain, that the British government does leave nothing unattempted to undermine our holy Church. We should feel happy to specify what these various attempts to undermine our holy religion have been and now are, should your Holiness call for this information from us. At present we beg leave merely to point at the outrageous calumny now vociferated by the present government, and the members of Parliament against the Irish priests, falsely charging them with being the abettors of the horrible crime of murder.

And further, my Lords, I believe that there is no court in Europe in which it would be more useful for the British government to explain the nature of our transactions; or to induce that court to use its peculiar sources of influence in certain parts of Her Majesty's dominions.—*London Morning Post*, Dec. 15, 1847. *Vide Tablet*, Dec. 18, 1847.

RESPONSE TO LORD STANLEY'S LETTER
THOMAS STEELE, ESQ., TO DR. MAGINN.

NENAGH, County Tipperary, December 24, 1847.*

MY DEAR AND VENERATED LORD:

I have read your almost miraculous letter to Scorpion Stanley, with admiration and with astonishment.

* Mr. Steele writes, as will be inferred in relation to Dr. Maginn's "Letters to Lord Stanley," in justification of the Confessional, as an institution preventive of agrarian crime among the peasantry of Ireland. His style is his own; his veracity as to matters of fact was never questioned.

That letter is "a voice as the voice of many waters, as the voice of a multitude, as the voice of God!"

I most reverentially pray your Lordship's permission to send you a late number of the *Tipperary Vindicator*, and after you shall have read the passages I have marked, I trust your Lordship will deem that I only perform a common-place social duty: that of not *by wilful silence* bearing false witness against my neighbor, when I can give testimony, the result of actual knowledge, in his favor.

Although withdrawn from political agitation since the death of my august and beloved friend and leader, I feel it to be a duty privately to come forward to give your Lordship what I believe to be evidence of *a very original* and overwhelming character, as my position was unique in Ireland, with respect to the conduct of the Catholic Clergy, of which I had an opportunity of being an intense observer.

I am, as your Lordship will condescend to recollect, a Protestant, and a member of the Senate of an English Protestant University; but as O'Connell's seconder, at the Clare elections of 1828 and '29, and his Head-Pacifcator of Ireland since the autumn of the latter year, I have had more expansive and confidential inter-communion with the Catholic Clergy of Ireland, in Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Connaught, and with the Catholic Peasantry, while in a state of agrarian insubordination and outrage, than any Protestant who ever lived.

Judge Burton while passing sentence of imprisonment upon the august father of his country, volunteered the admission, that he firmly believed that "Mr. O'Connell was anxious to keep the peace of the country, and that he did keep it."

I have been at noontide and midnight among Terry Alts, Lady Clares, Whitefeet, and reviving Rockites ; and after I left the Richmond Prison among Molly Maguires and Tipperary men—and I now proceed to prove how well-grounded was the atrocious and revolting lie of Scorpion Stanley, and therefore pray with profound reverence permission to give your Lordship the *rationale* of a Protestant pacificator's mode of producing tranquillization, by the *analogy*, of course I do not say identity, of his relation to the Catholic Priest at the Confessional.

Instead of diffusing the subject over several cases, I select one as an illustration, but that is a very remarkable one.

In the year 1831, during the time of the Terry Alt insurrection in Clare, Jones, Gleeson and Hogan, dressed in female attire, with painted faces, and bonnets on their heads, shot an unfortunate herdsman near Cratloe Wood, and then in open day, danced with their guns in their hands a reel round the body of their slaughtered victim.

In some time after Jones gave me up his gun in Cratloe Wood, about midnight, on an occasion when I was out in the execution of my duty as O'Connell's Head Pacificator of Ireland.

I was accompanied in my work of peace over the mountain side, by my lamented friend, the late Rev. Dr. Fitzgerald of Cratloe, and by a young gentleman, then a divinity student of Maynooth, and now a Catholic clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Considine.

Well, I went to England after the pacification of Clare, and returned in 1832 ; and in the spring of 1833 I was sent by my bemoaned leader among the Kilkenny Whitefeet.

After the repression of that outbreak I returned to Clare, my native county.

In some time after I heard that Jones had committed another savage murder, and I sent him word that I wished to meet him.

We did meet him at midnight in Tradree; I was accompanied by Mr. Considine, still a student.

I whistled, and Jones came out of a brake of bushes.

On his meeting me, I said, "Jones, do you remember the night when you gave me up your gun in Cratloe Wood, and the conversation I had with you when we were walking alone, Father Fitzgerald and Mr. Considine being at some distance before us, on the night when I got up so much arms on the mountain?"

He replied, "I do remember it very well, Sir."

I then said, "Well, as you do, you must recollect that you asked me what agreement had been made by the Lord Lieutenant when he was in Ennis?"

I told you that "the arrangement made by his Lordship, Dr. McMahon, with the Marquis of Anglesea, was this:—that any of the Terry Alts and Lady Clares who committed only the ordinary outrage of the country, and who, after giving up their arms should return to courses of peace and order, would not be disturbed;—but for those who had committed *murder*, or any crime of that kind, there could be no hope of mercy."

I then said to him, "The fact is, Jones, I then knew who you were as well as I do now; though I did not seem to know it, but my business was to get arms out of the 'Terries' hands, and to save them if I could.

"I thought that after this solemn warning, you would try

to make your escape to America, or to some other country, where, by a life of penitence, you would try to make atonement for whatever you had done wrong at home—but now, after two years, I find you with the blood of another man upon your soul !”

“ Where is this to end, Jones ; are you to murder every man that you take it into your head intends to give information against you ?”

“ From me you well know that you are as safe as from your own Priest at the Confessional ; for I told the Terry Alts, and Lady Clares in this county, and the Whitefeet in Kilkenny, that although I am a Protestant, they should be as safe in talking with me, as in making a Confession in the Chapel to their own Clergy.”

This, my venerated Lord Bishop, is *the moral analogy* I have alluded to ;—and let any one show me the living man, or the man who ever lived in Ireland, who being in the closest co-operation with the Catholic Clergy, and using the magic name of O’Connell as his talismanic spell, did so much as I did, to preserve, or to restore the peace of Ireland.

The Catholic Clergy are, as your Lordship well knows, in every part of Ireland wonder-workers, by legitimate means—without the violation of the sanctity of the Confessional, in preventing murder and other crime.

When I was in this county in 1845, I was reviled as a “Thug” by the *Evening Packet*, because I did not transmute myself into an Informer !

There is very much more of deep interest interwoven with the story of Jones—but I abstain from over-laying this communication to your Lordship with more matters than are

absolutely necessary for the purpose of demonstrating not merely by absolute facts, *but by ethical analogy in the case of a Protestant*, the inestimable value of the sanctified secrecy of the Confessional, in preventing or repressing of Irish crime;—of crime in retribution for other ghastly crime, committed by perpetrators who ought to possess moral illumination superior to that of the Irish frize-coated peasant.

One incident I must not omit.

Before meeting Jones the second time, I went specially to the Palace of my illustrious and ever-lamented friend, that glorious Prelate, Doctor M'Mahon, the Catholic Lord Bishop of Killaloe, and told him I was that night going to meet Jones the murderer, to try, if I could, to divert him from his course of crime.

His sanctified Lordship, not only condescended to express his fervid approbation of my work of peace, and preventing multiplied murder, but he gave me his benediction on my retiring from his presence.

I may as well mention what Jones said to me that night, when he declared that he did not intend to be a second time a homicide :

“ I did not intend to kill him, Mr. Steele ; I had reason to think that he was preparing to give information against me, and I wanted to frighten him by giving him a terrible beating. If I wanted to kill him, Sir,” continued he, taking a brace of pistols from his breast pockets and displaying them to Mr. Considine and me, “ I could have killed him very easily.”

I pray leave to conclude by stating that when I went on my three missions of peace into Ulster, it was solely to warn the Catholics not to interfere with the intended marching

of the Orangemen, then recently LEGALIZED by the expiration of the Processions Act.

Wishing your Lordship, from my heart, many and very happy returns of Christmas and New Years, I have the honor to remain, your Lordship's most sincere and faithful servant and friend,

THOMAS STEELE.

The Catholic Lord Bishop of Derry.

My Dear Sir,—I have read with much attention the terms for a re-union of Repealers, and am happy to have to say that they are such as to meet with my unqualified approval. I fondly hope that no obstructions will be thrown in the way of a cordial, perfect reconciliation between all sections of Repealers. It is the one thing necessary for us. Division has ever been the curse of our country; and what we are, the most miserable people on earth, we would not have been, were it not for our foolish, our wicked altercations. Fortunately for us, we can now unite without any compromise of principle; recent events have removed the ground of difference, and have made the feelings and duties of all parties identical. We have not now much left of our constitution to contend about. Indeed, for my own part, during my mission in Ireland, I but seldom had the gratification of seeing its beautiful theory practically and beneficially illustrated. Three-fourths of our people were placed beyond its pale, and depended for life and liberty on the nod of some village lord, who was as much an autocrat as the Emperor of Russia. There was neither

voting themselves to their faith, and sparing neither pains nor time in the due performance of the functions of their holy office. But I must not conceal the fact, that the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland do not lend themselves to the support of the law. There is a fatal breach between the Roman Catholic clergy and the law; the confessional is conducted with a degree of secretness, and carried to an extent dangerous alike to the civil government and the peace of the country. The priest conceals the secrets of the guilty penitent, and is ever ready to denounce the informer. Among recent instances there are many startling proofs of the knowledge or connivance of the priesthood in the sanguinary crimes of the peasantry."

On this text, Dr. Maginn wrote those three right manly and eloquent letters, which will be found in our Appendix, under the title "Letters to Lord Stanley."* Coming out immediately after his brilliant letters on Tenant-right, they crowned his reputation with a religious triumph, and made him almost immediately, after Dr. MacHale, the most popular Bishop in the Kingdom. The name of Derry became familiar where it had long sounded strange; it was gratefully recognized as one of the popular strongholds of the Tenants' cause; everything that bore its date was carefully read and pondered, and men blessed God that he had raised up in those dark, perplexing days, its gifted and courageous Bishop.

Among the new correspondents attracted to him by the letters to Lord Stanley, was the faithful and eccentric Tom Steele, "O'Connell's Head Pacificator of Ireland," as he proudly styled himself. A couple of very curious and characteristic letters of poor Steele's, will be

* Appendix.

found among the documents in this volume.* Other and more important correspondents he also gained about the same time, but we doubt if any accession to his list could have gratified him more than that of O'Connell's most faithful adherent. His own attachment to the deceased leader had been almost as enthusiastic as Steele's. He was one of his sincerest followers living, and one of the most deeply affected of all the immense multitude who followed him to his honored rest, in Glasnevin cemetery.

It had been one of O'Connell's most cherished objects to transfer the party he had formed—if two-thirds of a nation may justly be designated a party—to the leadership of his favorite son, John. Those who were nearest the capital of the agitation early saw that Mr. John O'Connell had neither the gifts of mind, body or temper, necessary to supply his father's place. To throw on him the whole blame of "the secession" of 1846, would be unfair and untrue; there was on the the other side some precipitancy, much self-opinion, and great recklessness of consequences. Had, however, the new candidate for chieftainship possessed the ordinary qualities by which power once created is conserved, there is little doubt that the majority of the present generation would have faithfully followed him. We write with the impartiality

* See Appendix.

of many added years of experience, when we avow our firm conviction that he was wholly deficient in the amenity, generosity, vigor and justice so necessary in the successor to a popular sovereignty. The patriotic prelates who had most heartily entered into the fond father's views, began one by one to make this discovery, as time wore on. In June, '48, we find the Bishop of Clogher, one of the most devoted friends of O'Connell, writing to Dr. Maginn: "Mr. J. O'Connell is pursuing a course which will strengthen his opponents and leave him powerless. I made an effort last week to communicate briefly to him my poor opinion, but my letter, though not marked as such, he has, I suppose, looked upon as 'private,' likewise Dr. Blake's—" the aged Bishop of Dromore. It is plain, from the letters of several Bishops which we have seen, that, though no one could be more obsequiously humble while they were cooperating with him, he could also be petulantly self-willed when they became his catechists or counsellors. Like most small minds he seems to have mistaken obstinacy for firmness, and to have clung the more desperately to his few driftless ideas, as adviser after adviser parted his company. It is impossible to account for his conduct in the first half of '48, on the hypothesis of his political honesty, without admitting the aggravating ill effects of his most unfortunate temper.

The political torpor of 1847 was thoroughly dispelled

by the French Revolution of February, '48, and the stirring events that followed it. Every lover of the country was stirred by the glorious opportunity presented. The high-spirited old peers, Lord Cloncurry and Lord French, who remembered Ireland before the Union, declared emphatically for its "repeal;" Lord Wallscourt, a Connaught proprietor, half French socialist, half feudal chief, joined the Young Ireland party; Lord Miltown returned to the old one. Many patriotic Priests began to agitate the union of both sections, and the co-operation of the Bishop of Derry was earnestly solicited.

Dr. Maginn's relations at that time to each section, may best be stated in the language of his own letters. In '47 he had given in his adhesion to Mr. John O'Connell, in a public letter characterized by all his usual fervor and energy. In acknowledgment of this adhesion, he received the following reply from Mr. John O'Connell :

DALKEY, (GOWRAN HILL,) DUBLIN, *May*, 8, 1847.

Right Rev. my Very Dear Lord :

I am in receipt of the great and kind favor of your lordship's condescending letter enclosing ten pounds, (half note,) your own munificent donation and that of your respected clergy to the Repeal Rent. I say *munificent*, for its actual magnitude is enhanced by the circumstances of the terrible distress and terrible burthens upon you, which the calamity of the country has caused.

I shall of course observe your lordship's injunction as to not giving the names to the papers. How is it possible I can thank you for your generous, your affectionate kindness to my dear, dear father ! Alas, he is in a *very* low state. The *hope* is yet left to us, in addition to our

humble trust that Providence raised him up for a special purpose, and will support him to its accomplishment.

If I want words to thank you for him, how can I possibly hope to express my feelings at the surpassing kindness and generous encouragement of your *too*—I must say *FAR too high* opinion of myself. Would to God I in any way merited it! *Then I might* be of use to poor Ireland; whereas now I can do little more than give her my ear's best wishes, and if need were, its blood

The attempted conference between "YOUNG" and "OLD" Ireland has failed of good results, and the "Nation" fiercely attacks me upon the *untrue*—most *utterly untrue*—assertion that I contemplated *alliance and place-seeking with and from* the government. In the "Nation" itself they have been obliged to give my correction of this gross mis-statement, although they so furiously attack me. They also attack me because I refused to consent—at least without my father's assent duly had, to the dissolution of the Association, to spare the Young Irelanders the "mortification," as they alleged, of re-joining the body. They want to establish a new body, made up of the old, and of their own confederation; but OBJECT to the *spirit*, as well as the *sense* of the peace resolutions, (see "Nation," leading article this day,) although they talk of taking counsel's opinion on the rules of the new body, whatever kind of thing it should turn out to be. They are very indignant at my not at once consenting to give up the association *that weathered the storm* of the state-prosecutions, &c., &c.

Coupling this with the *exceedingly* violent speeches made on recent occasions by Meagher, O'Gorman, Mitchel and Doheny, I do not indeed, my dear lord, see how it is possible, at least at present, to make another advance towards these gentlemen. Their language is getting every day more and more inflammatory, and there is an attempt at fraternization with the fag-end of the *implacable* Orange party, who *delude* them with some fair words, and who really want to gather aid against what they call "priestly encroachments."

We have no immediate letter about my dear father, at least that I have as yet seen—(2 P.M.) but by the newspapers we learn he has been again able to move a little way on—slowly. I fear he cannot possibly go farther than the South of France this summer. Believe me, reverend my dear lord, most respectfully and most heartily your much obliged and very faithful,

JOHN O'CONNELL.

At the end of the previous year, just at the time "the Irish Confederation" was founded, and six months after the secession, he had the following correspondence with Mr. Duffy, Editor of the *Nation*:

DR. MAGINN TO MR. DUFFY.

Dear Sir—I herewith send you a post-office order, amount, £1 6s., due, or coming due, for the *Nation* newspaper. You will have the goodness to desist, for the present, sending it to me, lest my continuing a subscriber should be interpreted an approval of a schism inauspiciously begun and mischievously persevered in. Having had the pleasure of an early acquaintance with your respectable family, I do candidly say that I took an interest in everything that appertained to you, and was proud, as a Northman, of the exceedingly able paper which you edited. Since, however, it has become an instrument of dissension, advocating the eternal separation of those whom a common aim and object should unite in the strong sentiments of brotherhood, and aspersing the sacred character of one so justly dear, even had he a thousand faults, to every genuine Irishman, to retain it longer must seem a dereliction of duty. If you were to take the advice of one who wishes you well, I would in all earnestness recommend, for the good of your country, a sacrifice of your own cherished opinions—a forgetfulness and a forgiveness of whatever wrongs you may think you have endured, and a speedy reconciliation with "the Liberator." If nothing else could induce you to take this advice, the fact of your paper becoming the pet of the unblushing haters of your country, should make you perceive that your present course is not a proper one. Believe me, since Mr. O'Connell's proposed reconciliation, public opinion is fast ebbing from you, and the abettors of your party are here merely a few among the dregs of society, whose support of any cause must prove its ruin. To speak thus to you gives me exceeding pain, and were I not your friend I would have been more brief and less candid.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly, ✠ EDWARD MAGINN.

MR. DUFFY TO DR. MAGINN.

January 6, 1847.

My Dear Lord—I am sincerely obliged by your kind letter and by the motives that suggested it; and I am not the less grateful to your

lordship for your personal kindness because you deem it right to discontinue the *Nation* on the grounds stated. But in my own justification I must remind your lordship, that it was not I nor my friends who commenced the quarrel, nor is it our fault that it continues. We would willingly have gone back to the Association, if Mr. O'Connell had consented to a fair audit of the accounts for the future—they have been *unfairly* audited and disbursed hitherto—and to a real, *bona fide*, honest agitation for Repeal. His refusal of those concessions left us no option but to join what appears to us, who have seen the working of the system for years, the mere pretence of a Repeal Agitation, conducted with personal objects alone, or to take the course we have taken.

I am sorry to learn from your lordship that our supporters in Derry are of such a character; but we did not choose these men, and do not communicate with them; while on the other hand, we know that the men of best character and ability, prominent in the agitation, have openly sympathized with us. But in either case, the opinions, not the men, are the questions of importance.

I trust, and indeed feel convinced, that time will convince your lordship that the Seceders had, and have, no other object than the honest service of their country.

Believe me, my dear lord, very faithfully yours,

C. G. DUFFY.

The Right Rev. Dr. Maginn, Bishop of Derry.

Subsequently, we will find the hope expressed in Mr. Duffy's letter fulfilled by the change wrought in Dr. Maginn's mind. It was not, however, a change of principle, but a modification in his estimate of persons, brought about by a closer and more lengthened observation of the principles in "the secession."

Immediately after the French Revolution, the Rev. Dr. Miley, of Dublin, who had accompanied O'Connell in his last journey and closed his eyes in death, believing the time to be propitious, resolved to renew the attempts of the preceding year for a "Union of all Repealers."

In conveying to the Bishop a printed proposition of Dr. Gentili's, that all Ireland should be placed under the special patronage of the Blessed Virgin under the title of the Immaculate Conception, Dr. Miley writes, in March :

While I was absent from home—in England—I saw with reviving hope for our down-trodden Ireland, some statement to the effect that your lordship was occupied on some plan for setting us in motion on the uphill, but still sacred, enterprize of battling BY TONGUE AND PEN for the rights, and against the wrongs, of our country. I beg most earnestly to offer myself as a conscript in this crusade under the *gonfalon*, which I trust ere long your lordship will unfold to the longing eyes of as many amongst us as have not as yet acquiesced in slavery, or been guilty of despairing of a cause which Christianity convinces us must be in the highest favor with the Almighty.

Never were the minds of the empire so intently turned on this country as now. Never, I believe, did there exist such a disposition to be enlightened as to the *mystery* of its misfortunes. Now, my Lord, if some fifteen or twenty good men and true of the clergy, if possible, with your lordship and a few more of our prelates (should that be deemed expedient), were to assemble quietly here in Dublin, and having well digested the case of Ireland in their conference together, and apportioned the subjects to come together with certain lay gentlemen, (if it should be deemed advisable), and by speeches *well prepared and full of facts*. and by reports to break out suddenly amidst this silence of expectation, with such an impeachment of the misrule and the grievances to which our misery is to be traced as no one could deny or refute—don't you think, my Lord, that the best results might follow, especially were we to take judicious and effectual measures, by a standing committee, occasional meetings, reports, and deputations to England, &c., &c., to follow up the blow with continuous and persevering exertion? This would rid us of all by-gones, whether leagues or associations, and of all old factious responsibilities; it would lift up hope in the people; it would keep the clergy in their position, that is at the helm. If your lordship would not, or could not, be present—which Heaven forbid!—would you not commission some one or two

of your clergy to take part in such meeting. It is *another* opportunity which, if not seized, we shall be sure to see when there is no remedy. Of course, to arouse the world to a sense of the despotism, making haste to come in the now, alas! familiar form of famine, and to force the rulers either to do their duty or be disgraced, should form a main object of that meeting. I know your lordship will generously and readily excuse the liberty with which I have written, and believe me to be your lordship's ever faithfully and most respectfully, J. MILEY.

Dr. Maginn received this proposition with all the heartiness of his nature, and out of the correspondence sprung those conferences between Young and Old Ireland which, in the month of June following, led to the dissolution of both "the Association" and "the Confederation," and the formation from both of "the Irish League." The share of Dr. Maginn in this coalition, then so promising, was active and influential from the first. A mob in Limerick having been excited to break up a Young Ireland meeting, and offer personal violence to Mr. Smith O'Brien, in April, Dr. Maginn took advantage of the occasion to offer Mr. O'Brien, by letter, the assurance of his personal sympathy and regard. This letter we have not found among his papers, but Mr. O'Brien's reply indicates its cordial character:

MR. O'BRIEN TO DR. MAGINN.

DRUID LODGE, KILKENNY, *May 5, 1848.*

My Dear Lord:

Your very kind letter, prompted by the most generous emotions, has been productive of the sentiments which you desired, in writing it, to inspire. I need not assure your Lordship that the bodily injury which I have sustained in consequence of the affair at Limerick, has not been deemed by me worthy of consideration, but I confess that my

my spirit is deeply wounded by this occurrence, and that my hopes for Ireland's freedom have been greatly discouraged by it.

The assurances which I receive from every quarter, that the perversity which gave occasion to this proceeding finds no support or approval amongst any portion of the Repealers of Ireland, tend, indeed, to counteract its consequences, both as regards myself and the Cause; and you will believe me when I say that such a manifestation of feeling could emanate from few persons with more soothing effect, than from your Lordship. Accept, therefore, my very sincere thanks for your very gratifying letter.

A circumstance has occurred with regard to your Lordship's letter, which, I trust, will not cause you as much anxiety as it has occasioned to me. I received it to-day when in Dublin, engaged with several visitors, read it hastily, and not perceiving that you were desirous that it should be regarded as a confidential communication, intimated its contents to those present. Upon re-perusing it carefully, when I returned home, I found that you are desirous that your name should not be mentioned in connection with your subscription to the Defence Fund. I instantly dispatched a messenger to the Office of the *Nation* to stop the publication of your name, and trust that I have thus atoned for the inadvertence of which I had been guilty.

Believe me, my dear Lord, your very obliged friend,

W. S. O'BRIEN.

Simultaneously with his entering into communication with Mr. O'Brien, the Bishop had urged the necessity of a re-union on Mr. John O'Connell, Mr. Duffy, and other gentlemen. Their replies will show the spirit in which they received these paternal advices:

MR. JOHN O'CONNELL TO DR. MAGINN.

[Private]

May 31, 1848

My Revered Good Lord:

Duty and respectful attention make me anxious to submit to you the result, so far as yet obtained, of our "conferences" with the Confederates.

After our next meeting, Friday, I expect we shall meet no more; but shall each be calling on the country to discountenance the other.

I send a similar document to Dr. Cantwell; and I am, my revered Lord, most deeply, respectfully, and faithfully, yours ever,

JOHN O'CONNELL.

MR. JOHN O'CONNELL TO DR. MAGINN.

DUBLIN, June 7, 1848.

My Dear and much respected Lord:

I am truly happy that your Lordship approves of what has as yet been done.

You may depend on my doing my best to forward the re-union of Repealers so much desired.

I shall do so *heartily* and in earnest, while in my own mind, doubting much the decision the country has made; and fearing the results, I am, my dear Lord, with deep respect, esteem, and affection,

Yours most faithfully,

JOHN O'CONNELL.

MR. DUFFY TO DR. MAGINN.

MORTON RANELAGH June 22, 1848.

My Dear Lord,—I am exceedingly sorry that I have been deceived into using your Lordship's name in connexion with the Derry meeting. The Confederation were certainly under the deluded impression that the movement was one countenanced by you, and since it is not, I am tolerably sure they will not take part in it.

There is no longer any impediment to the Irish League but mere personal hesitation on the part of Mr. John O'Connell. At a meeting of the "Conference last night, he proposed to retire from politics for some time, to give the League a fair trial; but as it was apprehended that his retirement would deter some of the clergy from going, he was strongly urged not to do so. It is not yet certain how he will act

Believe me, my dear lord, very truly yours,

C. G. DUFFY.

The Right Rev. Dr. Maginn.

P. S. I too think Mr. Kenyon's letter most indiscreet and injurious; but we must not allow the escapades of individuals, on either side, to separate the Irish people any longer.

The protraction of these meetings was most perilous and impolitic at such a season of excitement, and truth compels us to declare that the delay was mainly, if not

solely, the work of Mr. John O'Connell. At an early sitting he asked a fortnight's delay, which was granted; at the next he asked a second fortnight, which was again granted. In that eventful month the impetuous Mitchell was arrested, the suspension of the *habeas corpus* was determined on, whole counties were proclaimed under martial law, the Club system expanded with dangerous suddenness, and the country, long accustomed to associated control, was abandoned to the frenzy of the hour. A month's time wasted in indecision, under the circumstances, was a national calamity of the most serious kind, and this calamity the unworthy son of O'Connell brought assuredly upon his country.

While this willful waste of time was made at Dublin, gleams of hope arose and shone for Ireland in most unexpected quarters. A society called "The Protestant Repeal Association" had been improvised in the capital, out of the more advanced members of "the Irish Council." Mr. Vance, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Ireland—all able and honorable men—were its founders. Greater names were whispered as to come. Mr. Sharman Crawford, the Nestor of Ulster liberalism, was certainly well disposed towards this movement, as the following letter will show :

MR. SHARMAN CRAWFORD TO DR. MAGINN.

LONDON, *May 9, 1848.*

My Dear Lord,—I did not till yesterday receive your kind letter of the 3d inst., it having arrived at my residence after my departure for

London, it was forwarded after me to this place, and this was the cause of delay in my receiving it.

I am truly thankful for the expressions of confidence which it contains. I can assure you I should feel it the proudest day of my life, if I could lead on the Protestant population of Ulster in an effort for the restoration of a domestic Parliament.

I have always felt that no good could arise from the Repeal of the Union, if carried in hostility to Protestant feeling. If, however, the Protestant interest can be brought to bear upon it favorably, I conceive it to be the only chance of salvation for Ireland. I expect that in a few days you will see my sentiments more fully developed on this point. I was requested to attend a meeting of the Dublin Protestant Repeal Association. It was not in my power to do so. I, however, wrote a letter in terms which, I trust, you will consider calculated to foster the Protestant movement. It will probably be published in the report of the meeting which was appointed to take place this day. I agree with you that an amalgamation of Protestant support with that of your denomination, in this great, and, I think, just cause, is the only escape which we can look forward to from continued and increasing agitation, discord and confusion, and perhaps in the end to that greatest of all evils, *civil war*. You may depend on my using every effort in my power to give effect to Protestant opinion on this question, if a sufficient body of my brethren come forward to indicate it.

Yours, my dear lord, faithfully,

W. SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

Right Rev. Dr. Maginn. &c., &c., &c.

About this time the following extraordinary proposition was sent in circular form from the Earl of Shrewsbury's friend, the Rev. Dr. Winter, to all the Irish Bishops:

LORD SHREWSBURY'S CIRCULAR, RECOMMENDING A NEW REPEAL
AGITATION

[Copy.]

ALTON TOWERS, April 6, 1848.

Dear Ir. Winter:

Each day the condition of Ireland seems to me more and more alarming. Hitherto I have ever been an enemy to Repeal, because I conceived repeal to be Republicanism, and republicanism to be Communism.

besides which I always hoped for justice to Ireland by some less dangerous process, and was also satisfied that the power of England was capable of maintaining order and subordination in Ireland till that happy day should arrive. But the French Revolution has changed all things, and put at nought all our calculations. Now I begin to feel even Repeal might be a blessing—it might save Ireland from Rebellion and England from Chartism. If all would become Repealers; if the whole Hierarchy of Ireland would embrace Repeal as the last hope of averting the dreadful alternative of civil war—and the certain consequence of civil war, if it were successful. Communism—then, indeed, we might expect to see a less deplorable result. If the whole Clergy of Ireland were united in the cry for Repeal, it would also unite with them a large body of the middle classes, and even a very numerous landed proprietary. In this case they would be able, it is to be hoped, to guide the destinies of the people into a more moderate course, and retain them under the influence of religion. Whereas, if Repeal were the consequence of rebellion, the government of the rabble would be the result, and Ireland would be France on a small scale at the very best.

The present administration is infatuated, and I feel confident that we have no hope from them. Their intentions are equally good, but they have not the energy to carry them out, and give for a reason that the prejudices of Scotland and England are too great to be surmounted by anything less than bloodshed and confusion, both here and in Ireland.

If, then, a sufficiently formidable display of Repealers could be organized, I think the Government would resign their power to Sir Robert Peel, to whom every one looks forward as the probable Saviour of his country. This would be another hope; for, perhaps, *Peel's justice*, and the settlement of the Church question, might even avert Repeal itself; if not, *he* would be far more likely to make the necessary sacrifice to escape that most awful of all calamities. Civil War. In fine, things cannot go on as they are, and any expedient is worth the trial for the safety of the Empire. Ireland, alas! is not like Sicily, but is full of antagonistic races and antagonistic principles; so that unless the whole power of the Catholic clergy were brought to bear upon the conduct of the legislature in case of Repeal, we should soon be involved in a worse predicament than that from which Ireland is now seeking to escape. All, then, will depend upon the assertion of sound principles by the clergy; if they fall into Republicanism,