

to overflowing. They joined the police in the chase, and when the assassins were captured they were strongly inclined to lynch them. It was deposed at the inquest by one of the police-sergeants that the only expression of regret made by the landlord was one to the effect that he was sorry he didn't shoot more. It was shown that the crime was committed without provocation, and a verdict of wilful murder was returned against Sweeney, and of being accessory thereto against Lloyd. Both were taken to Clonmel Gaol, but whether only to join the liberated assassins of Coolgreany and Mitchelstown remains to be seen. Unhappily the landlords and the licensed revolver-men have been but too well taught the lesson that the law, "thou shalt not kill," has no recognition in jury-box or Dublin Castle when murder is brought home to their doors.

The world has been led to believe that Ulster is a land flowing with milk and honey—a perfect Arcadia of contentment, prosperity, and all the heavenly virtues and attributes. Intellect, culture, and enlightenment, it has been over and over asserted, are to be there found almost none in Ireland; and its burning loyalty is, above all, its sign and signal. This bright picture, we now learn, has a very different reverse. The revelation comes in a somewhat startling fashion. There exists in Ulster a body called the Handloom Weavers' Association, one of the objects of which appears to be to investigate the social condition of the poor cottiers who eke out an existence by working at their looms at home. The report just published discloses a state of things which, we do not hesitate to say, could not be matched outside of Ulster. The investigators report that "In many cases the poor weaver and his family have only one 'bay' of a house to live in, and in it what they term a bed—the bedstead being simply a few old sticks, with an old quilt thrown over it, but neither blanket nor pillow, nor any comfort of any kind that I could see—nothing but the old quilt to hide their poverty—the man (of the house) sitting there almost naked, his wife almost terror-stricken at her condition, and three or four little children running about dressed in rags, and hunger pictured on every face. In other cases the family have got two 'bays' of a house. These families generally have six or seven children—the eldest of them pass the day 'winning' for their father and mother—all of them in rags, dirt, and poverty, growing up in complete ignorance, kept from school or from being educated in any way by the hands of those who, instead of letting the parents of these poor children earn a fair living, go on in their unjust dealings, heaping up their thousands and thousands of pounds sterling, and building for themselves splendid mansions."

But it is not alone that there is starvation, dirt, and outraged decency; but there appears to be in some cases also shocking cruelty. Children of tender years are set to work when they ought rather to be at school or at play. In one case, say the investigators, "we went into a house where we found a poor little boy of eleven years of age, chained to the looms by the ankles, with a hanging lock worn at each ankle, the keys of the locks in his father's pockets, sitting there at the wheel, with no shirt of any kind on him. In this same house there were three more children 'burrowing' through the floor, the mother out looking for something for them to eat, and one sick girl lying in a state of consumption; and all these are huddled together in one 'bay' of a house, along with the loom, and what they call a bed." What say the "loyal" and prosperous manufacturers of Ulster to this terrible indictment? It is a companion-picture to that of the great insurance frauds in Belfast. The pious church-going gentlemen mixed up in these transactions are nothing if not "loyal," and would fight to the death to maintain the Union. Verily, there seems to be a good deal of the whitened sepulchre about "loyal and prosperous" Unionist Ulster.

#### MR. T. M. HEALY M.P., ON THE ROMAN RESCRIPT.

THE following is a speech made by Mr. Healy at the fortnightly meeting of the Central Branch of the Irish National League held in the offices, 43 Upper O'Connell street, Dublin, as reported by the *Nation*—

I presume, meeting as we do to-day for the first time after the recent declaration by the Irish Catholic Members of Parliament in the Mansion House, in respect of the recent circular from Rome, that it would be supposed that some remarks on the subject should be made here to-day. I confess I myself approach the subject with some reluctance, if not with hesitation—first, because I imagine that to a large extent the effect of the declaration from the Holy Office has considerably worn off; secondly, because of the inherent difficulties in dealing with any matter of the kind by way of a public address to a mixed assembly. However, what strikes me in the first instance in relation to the matter is this—and it must be one which I think should give our friends in Rome cause—that the Pope would never have been appealed to by the British Government if the people in Ireland, in the first instance, had not made themselves formidable to the British Government (applause), so that the Papal power is only invoked because we have demonstrated our power of opposition and resistance in this country by means of our organisation to the existing tyranny that prevailed in the land. In the same way, looking within the last ten years at the play of Vatican diplomacy in its intervention in the affairs of the people of Europe, one must be struck by the fact that the rulers of any country never asked aid or counsel from his Holiness until they found themselves in a position of extreme embarrassment with the National Catholic parties in their own land. Now what occurred in Ireland in 1883 at the time of the Errington mission under a Liberal Government, and what has occurred now with the mission of the Duke of Norfolk under a Tory Government, resemble to a large extent what has taken place in Belgium and Germany, and to some extent in Spain, since the opening of the present pontificate of his Holiness Leo XIII., and I think myself that we must be largely guided in our judgment as to the way in which we should receive any extraordinary intervention in our domestic and municipal affairs by reference to the manner in which other countries have received such interventions.

#### THE CASE OF BELGIUM.

Now, let us first look at what took place in Belgium. It will be remembered that before his elevation to the exalted position of Sovereign Pontiff his Holiness had been Minister or Nuncio to Brussels, and, therefore, he must have had a large acquaintance with Belgian politics. Well, Belgium is we know in majority a Catholic country, but it was ruled just as France is ruled at this moment, to a large extent by Jews, Freemasons, and Protestants. I say this without the least offence to any class or creed, and I merely state a fact. It was under the premiership of Frere Orban, who was one of the leading Freemasons in the country, and as the result his Ministry suppressed the Papal Embassy at Rome, which had been sent there by the Government of Belgium. Indignant at this conduct and at the general policy of the Freethinking Cabinet, the Catholics of Belgium, for the first time I may say, rallied together as one man. An agitation of extraordinary strength was organised, and at its head were the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of Belgium. What happened? No sooner had the Catholic party become strong, no sooner had they begun to make themselves formidable to the atheistic Government which had outraged the Holy See, than we find Frere Orban intriguing with the Vatican, and opening negotiations with the Pope for the re-establishment of the Belgium Embassy at the Vatican, and as a price for that re-establishment of diplomatic relations, he proposed that the Pope should intervene to mitigate the agitation of his Catholic subjects in the kingdom of Belgium. Had the Catholics of Belgium been let alone they would have done what absolutely happened within the next three or four years—they would have established a Catholic Government in that country; but some diplomatists were anxious to pluck the apple before it was ripe, and remonstrances were addressed to the Archbishop of Malines and other Catholic dignitaries from Rome. This gave rise to high debates in the Chamber, and finally the high contracting parties, being unable to come to terms, Frere Orban coolly read the whole of his correspondence with the Pope in the Belgium Chamber creating panic, alarm, and indignation on the part of the Catholic people in Belgium, and such was the resentment thereat aroused, that if anyone wants to see the way in which exterior intervention in domestic affairs should be treated I would advise him to read the pastoral upon the subject by the Archbishop of Malines on the intrigues of the atheistic Government of Belgium and his Holiness. I say that if the terms used in that pastoral by the Archbishop of Malines towards the authorities of the Church in Rome had been employed by any of the Catholic dignitaries in this country his position would not be worth ten minutes' purchase (hear, hear), and it is only that the people of Belgium are a people with their own Government, and their own Parliament and their own laws (applause), that their Archbishop and the Catholics of that country were enabled to take up this important and independent stand (applause). We in this country are accustomed to being kicked. We in this country are like the toad under the stone. A kind of callousness has come over us, our skin has become thickened, and so we don't treat with the same spirit of indignation the intervention by an exterior power which other people, like the people of Belgium, would display; and the position of the Belgian Catholics was the position of the Irish Catholic Nationalists, which is that if the Curia would be good enough to leave us alone (loud applause) we should settle our contest with the British Government in double-quick time (loud applause). I am not saying for one moment but that the Curia does display courage from a Catholic point of view; and we as Catholics must take some pride in the fact that, in a situation certainly of great doubt, the Holy Office should have the courage to run the risk, in their view, in the interests of religion, of alienating a large body of the Irish nation here and in America and Australia (applause).

#### THE CASE OF GERMANY.

Now, take the case of Germany, and no more fatal instance could be quoted than the effect of the intervention of the Holy See with the Centre or Catholic party in the Reichstag of the German Empire. What was the case in Germany? The case was this. After the war with France a federated Parliament was created in the German Empire. At that time, 1872, no religious question had arisen, and there was no Catholic party to safeguard the interests of the Catholic population; but owing to causes into which I will not now enter, the May Laws, or Falk Laws, as they were called, were passed, by which the Church in Prussia was put as much under the dominion of the Emperor as a regiment of his own Hussars. Well, the Catholic people of Germany, who were inert and inactive, as were the people of Belgium, had for the first time to consider their strength, and, under the lead of the ablest Parliamentarians of the time, the ex-Prime Minister of Hanover, Windhorst, in a short time Catholic unions, and Catholic clubs, and Catholic newspapers were started like daisies all over Germany, and at the next general election a Catholic party, strong in numbers, was created. Well, we all know that Bismarck had used the celebrated phrase that "he would never go to Canossa," as a German Emperor had done in the days of Hildebrand. No sooner, however, was the Catholic party formed than Bismarck changed his tune, and one of the most remarkable things in Continental history was the manner in which, by the action of that party, bit by bit the May Laws were relaxed, and at every fresh election the party achieved fresh victories, until they numbered 80, and I believe, ultimately 90. What happened then? The Catholics being strong, Bismarck went with his petition to the Pope. They were interfering with the German Empire, and had become a cause of offence to the Government. Bismarck, just about this time, seized an island belonging to Spain, apparently with the object of asking the Pope to negotiate as an intermediary in the matter between himself and the King of Spain. The Pope, of course, was highly flattered that a man who passed the May Laws should now "go to Canossa," and the result of the Pope's intervention was that he gave back the island to Spain. What happened then? Bismarck made one of the most unconstitutional proposals, from a British point of view, that could possibly be imagined. He asked that in view of the apprehension of war the Reichstag should vote the war taxes seven years