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The Impact of Daniel O'Connell on the Origin and Development of the Catholic Movement in Germany 1830-50
THE IMPACT OF DANIEL O'CONNELL
ON THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN GERMANY 1830-50

by

GERALDINE F. GROGAN

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Dublin
1988
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Summary

The impact of Daniel O'Connell on the origin and development of the German Catholic Movement, with particular reference to the years 1830 - 1850

The purpose of the present thesis is to demonstrate the role played by O'Connell, as both a symbol and as a working model, for the developing German Catholic movement between the years 1830 and 1850, in particular the significant impact of his organisational and propaganda policies on the **Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit**, founded in Mainz in March 1848 and subsequently renamed the **Katholischer Verein Deutschlands** in October of that year.

An examination of the main channels of reception by which information on O'Connell's career reached prominent German Catholics in the important centres of growing self-confidence and political awareness (Baden, Mainz, Munich and the Rhineland) has as its principle focus an analysis of the French liberal Catholic movement and their links with their German co-religionists, using primarily the correspondence and other published works of Buß, Görres, Lacordaire, Lamennais and Montalembert. A close account of their views of O'Connell and his methods is followed by details of his popularity among Catholics in the Rhineland and mention of the favourable coverage he received in the German media.

Having established the support O'Connell and his methods received from influential Catholics in Germany, especially from those later active in the establishment of the **Katholischer Verein**, a brief analysis of O'Connell's political career is given. Attention is focussed on the innovative tactics he used in the campaigns for Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Act of Union, and this is followed by a survey of the adoption and implementation of his methods by the organisers of the German Association in 1848.
Introducing a more detailed study of this organisation is a consideration of the condition of the Catholic Church in the first half of the nineteenth century. It concentrates on the four areas outlined in Chapter one, and uses important contemporary Catholic publications, books, newspapers and pamphlets. Section two of this, the third chapter, is concerned explicitly with the Piusverein / Katholischer Verein Deutschlands. A detailed account of its foundation and development (necessitated by the lack of work carried out in this area) is followed by a close analysis of the interrelationship between O'Connell's policies and those of the Verein, based on the reports of the general assemblies (1848-1852), on newspaper articles and the works issued by the first president of the German association, Franz Josef Ritter von Buß.

The final chapter places the admiration felt by German Catholics for O'Connell in the context of the time and examines the image of O'Connell portrayed in Catholic and non-Catholic contemporary publications; newspapers (Der Katholik, Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung und Erbauung, the Historisch-politische Blätter, the Allgemeine Zeitung and the Kölnische Zeitung), encyclopaedia (the Conversationslexika issued by the liberal/Protestant publishing house of Brockhaus and the Catholic publishers Herder and Manz, along with Rotteck and Welcker's liberal Staatslexikon), travelogues (by Pückler-Muskau, Kohl, Raumer and Venedey); and biographies or works which contain a brief biography of the Irish leader (by Brühl, Lutz, Moriarty, Schipper and Sly).

The conclusion reiterates O'Connell's symbolic and practical influence on the German Catholic movement, culminating in the establishment of the Piusverein / Katholischer Verein Deutschlands and demonstrates how this was of lasting importance for German Catholicism.
Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to Prof. Eda Sagarra for her constant guidance, encouragement and expert criticism in the writing of this thesis. I am also most grateful to Prof. Kevin B. Nowlan for his advice and helpfulness. My thanks too, to Dr. Gilbert Carr, Dr. Timothy Jackson and Dr. Nicholas Saul and to Ms. Monika Schlenger for the care and attention with which she typed this thesis.

I should also like to acknowledge my gratitude to Prof. Adolf M. Birke and the German Historical Institute, London for the scholarship which enabled me to carry out further research in Germany, and to the staff of the following institutions: the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; the National Library of Ireland; the Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Köln; the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln; the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München; the Franziskanerkloster St. Anna Bibliothek, München and the Stiftsbibliothek Abtei St. Bonifaz, München. My thanks are also due to the Institut für Zeitungsforschung, Dortmund for the photo-copies they provided me with and to the inter-library loan service of the Goethe-Institut, Dublin.

Finally I would like to express my special thanks to my parents for their love and support.
I ndíl-chuimhne mo sheán-áthar,
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While the influence of Daniel O'Connell on the European Catholic movements in the nineteenth century has been well-documented, attention has centred primarily on the Catholics of Belgium, France and Italy. The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate O'Connell's role, as both a symbol and as a working model, for the emerging German Catholic movement between the years 1830 and 1850, culminating in the establishment of the influential and geographically extensive Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit. Already re-named, by October 1848, the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands, this organisation was based on the foundations of O'Connell's Catholic Association, founded in Dublin in 1823.

O'Connell's dramatic victory over a powerful and hostile British government in 1829, when Catholic Emancipation finally became law, gave inspiration to his co-religionists throughout the German Confederation that they too could achieve greater civil and political rights for themselves and their Church, despite the anti-Catholic policies of most of the state authorities in Germany at this time. Similarly O'Connell's successful implementation of a combination of organisational strategies and propaganda tactics in his two major campaigns in Ireland in the 1820's and 1840's provided the increasingly motivated Catholic middle class in Germany with a blueprint for practical action.

The first chapter deals with how details of O'Connell's policies initially reached prestigious German Catholic intellectuals through their close contacts with the leaders of the French liberal Catholic movement. A brief analysis of this movement is followed by a detailed account of their relationship with key figures in Germany - Joseph Görres
and Ignaz von Döllinger in Munich, Franz Josef Ritter von Buß in Baden and Adam Franz Lennig in Mainz— all of whom (with the exception of Görres who died prior to its establishment) were involved in the foundation and development of the Katholischer Verein. Their views of O'Connell and his methods are examined in some detail, as is the popular reception of the Irish leader in the Prussian-controlled Catholic Rhineland, where he was regarded as a national hero. Reference is also made to the favourable impressions of O'Connell in many of the leading publications of the day, dealt with at greater length in Chapter four.

Having established the admiration felt by prominent Catholics for O'Connell and his methods, it becomes necessary to provide an analysis of O'Connell's political career, focussing on his main tactical devices. While this forms the main content of the second chapter, the final section provides an outline of the adoption and implementation of these tactics by the organisers of the Katholischer Verein, the details of which are given in Chapter three, section two.

An important preliminary to a discussion on the Verein and its foundation in 1848 is a consideration of the conditions of the Catholic Church in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century, to show how and why the German Church was ready for the acceptance of O'Connell's policies. Attention is centred, in the first section of the third chapter, on the main areas of growing Catholic self-assurance and political activity— the Rhineland, where the 'Cologne Incident' of 1837 took place, Munich, where Görres issued his revolutionary Catholic pamphlet Athanasius early in 1838, and where from 1839 onwards the members of the Görres Circle were active producing the influential journal the Historisch-politische Blätter, the liberal state of Baden,
where Buß was already conducting campaigns for greater civil rights for Catholics, and Mainz, which saw the establishment of the Piusverein in March 1848. Moreover by-products of this new-found militancy are also covered, such as the upsurge in demonstrations of popular piety, the formation of missionary societies and an interest in social reform.

Section two of this chapter deals exclusively with the Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit - the first real demonstration of the transformation of German Catholics into a strong unified force of clergy and laity, and one which had important implications for the future of Catholics as an identifiable entity in Germany from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Because of the fact that very little work has been done on the Verein in general or in detail, this chapter contains a close account of its foundation and development, as well as an analysis of the inter-relationship between O'Connell's organisational and propagandist policies and those of the Verein. In addition a consideration of Buß, the first president of the Katholischer Verein, is given, concentrating on his reputation as the 'German O'Connell' and his advocacy of O'Connell and his campaigns as the ideal exemplar for the Catholic movement in Germany to follow.

To set the impact of O'Connell on German Catholics in context, the fourth and final chapter contains a detailed analysis of the perception of the Irish leader promoted among the German middle classes between the years 1830 and 1850, through the popular forms of the written medium - newspapers, reference works, travelogues and biographies. Particular attention is paid to Catholic publications however, in order to pinpoint those aspects of his character/policies which especially appealed to them.
This chapter is divided into four main sections, the first dealing with newspaper coverage of O'Connell in the period 1840-50 and focussing on the three most influential Catholic journals, Der Katholik, Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung und Erbauung and the Historisch-politische Blätter, along with the liberal newspapers the Kölnische Zeitung (with a large readership in the Catholic Rhineland) and the Allgemeine Zeitung, the most widely read journal of the Vormärz period.

Section two is concerned with the image of O'Connell in the highly popular reference works produced by the liberal Protestant publishing house of Brockhaus, the Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon) (7th, 9th and 10th editions, 1827-53), and those of the Catholic firms of Manz and Herder, the Allgemeine Realencyclopadie oder Conversationslexikon für das katholische Deutschland (1st and 3rd editions, (1847-68) - the title of the third edition being changed to the Conversationslexikon für alle Stände), and Herder's Conversations-Lexikon (1st edition, 1855-56), as well as Rotteck and Welcker's noted reference work for liberals, the Staats-lexikon (1833-48).

The third section covers the view of O'Connell expressed by well-known German writers in their accounts of visits to Ireland and meetings with O'Connell, starting with Pückler-Muskau's critically acclaimed Briefe eines Verstorbenen, first published in 1829, and including the works relating to Ireland by Friedrich von Raumer (1836 and 1842), Johann Georg Kohl (1843 and 1844) and Jakob Venedey (1844) - the first two sharing an aristocratic Protestant background, with Kohl representing the bourgeois Protestant classes and Venedey, a Rhenish former Catholic of radical principles.

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The final section deals with contemporary works on O'Connell – the three biographies of him produced in the 1840's by Moritz Brühl, Edward A. Moriarty and Ludwig Schipper, R. Sly's account of his trial (which is preceded by a brief biography of the Liberator) and Josef Lutz' \textit{Ventura und Lacordaire über O'Connell und Pius IX}. Lutz concentrates on the funeral orations for O'Connell given by these two men. While often superficial and in this symptomatic of most biographies of the period, they share a striking similarity with the more critical treatments of the Irish leader in the press, the reference works and the travelogues, in that the picture of O'Connell which emerges is a highly favourable one, all of them focussing on those aspects of his career admired and copied by the German Catholic movement in the 1840's, and which played an intrinsic part in the development of German Catholicism into a vibrant, confident force.
Chapter 1

Daniel O'Connell, channels and modes of reception in Catholic Germany 1830-1850 - with particular reference to Baden, Bavaria and the Prussian Rhineland

By the mid-nineteenth century the international image of O'Connell was already well established. Throughout America, Australia, Britain and continental Europe news of his demands for a Church free from secular interference and for the repeal of the Act of Union, which had brought the Irish parliament on College Green in Dublin to an end and had placed Ireland under the direct control of Westminster, aroused considerable interest, of a negative as well as of a positive nature. Governments, among them those in Berlin and Vienna, viewed the development of O'Connell's popular mass movement with disquiet, while many of their citizens, in particular the members of the increasingly politically aware Catholic middle classes, saw in O'Connell's campaigns the blueprint for the establishment of their own organisations, which could aid them in their endeavors to achieve improved civil and religious rights for the Catholic Church and its followers. This is especially true in the case of the German Catholics, who founded a virtual replica of O'Connell's Catholic Association in March 1848. While branches were established in each of the German states, the initial impetus came from three main areas, where the influence of O'Connell's ideas had greatest impact: the liberal state of Baden, the Bavarian capital of Munich, and the Prussian-controlled Catholic Rhineland. Thus in examining the impact of O'Connell on Catholic Germany in general and on the Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit (renamed the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands in October 1848) in particular, the geographical terms of reference are best set at these three centres of O'Connellite influence.
There were many factors which favoured the progress of O'Connell's ideas in Catholic circles in these areas in the period between the revolutions of 1830 and 1848. Not least in terms of importance was the growing political awareness of Catholic intellectuals in general and the impact upon them of members of the vibrant French liberal Catholic movement, which was decidedly pro-O'Connell in its sentiments. Their views spread among their German co-religionists not merely by means of the publication of most of their works in German translation, but also by the establishment of personal contacts with influential German Catholics. In addition the general European fascination with the personality of O'Connell, resulting in increased coverage of the political struggles in Ireland in both the popular and the embryonic Catholic press in Germany, as well as in the widely read travelogues on journeys to the 'wild' and 'romantic' island of Ireland, did much to popularise his successful tactics and campaigns. Indeed this awareness of O'Connell's success—particularly in 1829 when he achieved Catholic Emancipation—is a key factor. For while realising the similarities between the Catholics in the Rhineland and those in Ireland (both faced strong anti-Catholic Protestant administrations), the Rhenish Catholics also saw how their Irish counterparts had fought and won a significant battle for their rights. Consequently, the popularity of O'Connell and his campaigns grew, not only among the Catholic intelligentsia, but also among ordinary people, thus facilitating the later invocation of appeal to his policies and persona in the establishment of the Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit in Mainz in 1848.

The main channel for the reception of O'Connell's policies was the link between the French liberal Catholics in Paris and German Catholic intellectuals, both clerical and lay, especially those of the so-called
Görres Circle in Munich. Victor Conzemius has commented on the difficulties of defining the term 'liberal Catholicism'. First coined in Paris in the 1820's, liberal Catholicism opposed the narrow patriotism of Gallicanism, espoused Ultramontanism in its earlier form and thus encouraged the concept of an international Catholic Church - in particular one unrestricted by any interference from secular rulers. Moreover liberal Catholicism represented the doctrine of those Catholics who supported the post-1789 political climate and believed in the fundamental principles of religious freedom, a non-censored press, the right to self-determination and to political and individual liberties, deriving from legal rights rather than privilege.

A further contentious aspect of the French revolutionary ideals was the belief in the need for the separation of church and state - a radical solution, which at this time, found little support among either conservative or liberal Catholics in Europe, though this was soon to change.

One of the most vigorous exponents of liberal Catholicism was the controversial priest and writer, Hugo-Félicité de Lamennais (1782-1854), who, along with the influential Dominican, Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802-1861) and the journalist and politician, Charles de Montalembert (1810-1870), developed the movement in France. In 1830, after the July Revolution, Lamennais founded the liberal Catholic newspaper L'Avenir. With a subscription of more than 1200, the newspaper had widespread success, winning support especially from the ranks of the younger clergy. The editorial line of L'Avenir, the motto of which was 'Dieu et liberté', expressed strong sympathy with the struggle of the Catholics in Ireland, Belgium and Poland. The editorial work fell largely to Lacordaire, who also wrote most of the articles, but Montalembert was
in charge of foreign coverage. He had been interested in Ireland since the late 1820s and in 1830 had toured the country and even met O'Connell; his enthusiasm for the man and his cause can be gauged by the continuous and extensive coverage on the Irish leader in L'Avenir.³

The men who produced this journal believed passionately in the freedom of the church from state intervention. They were opposed to the payment of the clergy by the state and used the Irish Veto issue of 1814/15 to support their view.⁴ On that occasion O'Connell had led the Irish bishops in rejecting Rome's decision to allow the British king have final approval of those selected to fill vacant diocesan seats (though without providing them with a regular endowment). The staff of L'Avenir believed that once the Church had become independent of the state, it would have closer contact with the people, especially in this period of French Catholic spiritual renewal, and would become more effective in influencing the social order. Moreover their love of church freedom was matched by their support of national freedom movements. Those countries where these two forces came together, such as in Ireland, were the objects of their particular concern and admiration.

The example of Ireland also figures largely in two organisations set up by the French liberal Catholics — the Agence générale pour la défense de la liberté religieuse, established in December 1830 and the Comité pour la défense de la liberté religieuse. In an article in L'Avenir, in January 1831, Montalembert explained the influence of O'Connell's Catholic Association on the Agence générale.⁵ In addition Montalembert was president of the Comité pour la défense de la liberté religieuse, which was set up in 1845, his vice-president being de Vatismesnis, a former cabinet minister, who had once been an outspoken opponent
of the Jesuits. Their demands included freedom of the church from secular interference, the freedom to establish religious orders and the right to have Catholic schools. Here again O'Connell's influence on Montalembert is evident:


Moreover O'Connell's influence on these men extends into their writings, where their subjective, non-critical treatment of the Irish leader - a common trait of most nineteenth century writers when dealing with a character they favoured - is often complemented by the use of emotive imagery. In the following extract taken from Montalembert's 1852 work, Des Intérêts catholiques au XIXe siècle, his constant use of the verb 'regner', coupled with the use of the term 'roi moderne' conveys the notion of O'Connell as king - an analogy perhaps with Christ the King. In addition, by regarding O'Connell as primarily the champion of the Church of God, he suggests an antithetical confrontation of two sets of values, where those of a religious nature take precedence.

Il a regnè, sans avoir jamais fait verser une goutte de sang, sans avoir même engagè une seule lutte violente ou illégale, mais par la seule force de la parole, de cette parole à la fois libre et contenue, que les merveilleuses institutions de l'Angleterre garantissent même aux adversaires de sa domination. Il a regnè, et son regne a profitè plus que celui d'aucun roi moderne à la cause catholique. Il a reçu de ses concitoyens le nom de libérateur, et la posterité le lui conservera, non pas pour avoir délivéré sa patrie, ce que d'autres ont pu faire ailleurs, mais pour avoir délivéré l'Eglise de Dieu dans le plus puissant empire du monde, ce qui n'avait encore été donné à personne.

O'Connell becomes for Montalembert the king of 'la cause catholique' - a term which creates a sense of an international Catholic movement, an important concept for the liberal Catholic movement in general.
O'Connell's place in this so-called international Catholic movement is, for Montalembert, beyond doubt:

Je remarque, en outre, que tous les hommes qui ont exercé une influence durable et profonde sur l'opinion catholique ont tous, tot ou tard, aimé et servi la liberté. Je citais tout à l'heure O'Connell, dont le nom seul suffit; ...

Similarly Lacordaire's funeral oration for O'Connell, delivered four years earlier in the cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, on 10. February 1848 also shows clearly, not only the admiration felt by Lacordaire and his contemporaries, but more importantly the impact of O'Connell's ideas on their movement. Similar evidence can be found in the correspondence of these three men, where O'Connell figures prominently.

Lamennais' letter to the future Young Irisher, John Blake Dillon, dated 1. September 1835, is a good illustration of this:

Si, dans votre voyage, vous voyer M. O'Connell, je vous prie de lui exprimer l'admiration que m'inspiré son grand caractère, son magnifique talent et son courage infatigable. Il aime Dieu et les hommes et c'est pourquoi l'avenir bénira son nom.

Such opinions were later expressed by influential men in the German Catholic Movement. The principal intermediaries between O'Connell and German Catholics throughout the Restoration period were Lacordaire and Montalembert, though Lamennais also played a significant role. As early as 1829 he had set up the Association des Etudes Allemandes, to encourage young Frenchmen to study in Munich. Lamennais himself was in Munich in 1832, accompanied by Lacordaire and Montalembert. They were well received and made contacts with men such as the historian and journalist Joseph Görres, his son Guido, and the theologians Ignaz von Döllinger and Franz von Baader. Despite the fact that the year 1832 marked the end of the good relations between Lamennais and his recently acquired German acquaintances - a rupture caused by his dispute with the Papacy over the orthodoxy of L'Avenir - a letter written by Lamennais to Eugène
Boré, the future superior general of the Knights Hospitallers, shows the closeness of their early relationship:

Rappelle-moi au souvenir de mes amis de Munich, Döllinger, Moy, Görres père et fils, Ringseis, Bader (sic), Cornelius, Schelling, et tutti quanti. Dis-leur combien je serais heureux de les revoir, et principalement Döllinger.

In 1833 Montalembert returned to Germany, travelling from the Rhineland to Dresden and Prague. While on this trip, he stopped off to visit Karl Windischmann, whom he had met in Munich, and who was now in Bonn, and to visit Maria Steingass, the married daughter of Joseph Görres, in Frankfurt. He then returned to Munich, which was his base from December 1833 to October 1834. During 1834 he went on study trips around Germany (going even as far as Vienna) and continually sent letters to Lamennais, informing him of his reception and of the attitudes of German Catholics, especially on the topic of the separation of church and state.

In Munich, his relationship with Döllinger and Görres (father and son) continued to develop, and he was a regular visitor to the 'Tafelrunde' in Görres' house:

Montalembert lebt hier ruhig, studiert und arbeitet viel und einige fixe Ideen, die sich ihm koaguliert, fangen an, aber ganz langsam, sich aufzulösen.

The young Frenchman was influenced by both Joseph Görres and Döllinger, but they in turn were also influenced by him. This was especially the case with Döllinger. Montalembert's speeches on the freedom of the Church received the unrestricted support of his friends in Munich, and his obsession with the struggle of Catholics in Belgium, Poland and Ireland, also received their approbation. In fact, the references to Ireland in Döllinger's speech to the Frankfurt Parliament in 1849, entitled: Die Polenfrage, in which he compares the situation of the Poles to that
of the Irish, are attributed to the influence of Montalembert. Döllinger's views on democracy were further influenced by Lamennais; this influence can clearly be seen in one of Döllinger's speeches, entitled Die Freiheit der Kirche, which he gave at the third general assembly of the Katholischer Verein in Regensburg in 1849. Meeting for the first time in 1832, their friendship developed quickly:

Die Stunden, die ich mit Ihnen in München zu verbringen das Glück gehabt habe, werden die wunderbarsten meines Lebens bleiben. Von nun an wird eine Reise nach Frankreich einer meiner Lieblingswünsche sein. Und wenn ich Sie dann nicht finden werde in Paris, so werde ich nicht verfehlen, Sie zu verfolgen bis in die Bretagne.

As a result Döllinger also wanted to have some of Lamennais' articles published in the Munich paper Eos, with which he was involved. Although his attitude changed in the 1830's, in the 1860's Döllinger "rediscovered" the Frenchman's works, and the influence of his Affaires de Rome (1837) can be seen in Döllinger's Papsttum und Kirche speeches over twenty years later.

While these personal contacts are important, the effect of Lamennais' newspaper L'Avenir (1830-32) in Germany is of equal, if not greater, significance. As an independent publication with no links with the Catholic hierarchy in France, L'Avenir eventually ran into difficulties with the French episcopate. In December 1831, Lacordaire, Lamennais, and Montalembert went to Rome to plead their case before the Vatican, after the banning of L'Avenir by the Archbishop of Paris. Leaving his fate in the hands of the Pope, Lamennais, accompanied by Montalembert, left Rome for Paris. Travelling via Munich (where Lacordaire later joined them), they were treated to the hospitality of the members of the Görres Circle. At a banquet given by them for their visitors, on 30. August 1832, the news reached them of the papal condemnation of L'Avenir in the bull Mirari Vos. Görres reported
the resulting effect on Lamennais to his friend, Dock, deacon of Solothurn Cathedral, in a letter dated 1. September 1832:

Abbé de la Mennais war die letzten drei Wochen bei uns, ein braver, milder, gerechter, wackerer, religiöser Mann, wenn auch etwas vorgefasste Meinungen, eine Anzahl absoluter übertriebener Gedanken und einige eigensinnige beharrliche Vorurtheile sich der honorablen Gesellschaft beigesellt. Er ist hier freundlich von uns aufgenommen worden, und hat sich ungemein an dem hiesigen Wesen erfreut. Ihn hat hier der Schlag der Litera encyclica ereilt, und die Weise, wie er sich dabei benommen, hat ihn mir erst recht achtbar gemacht. Er wird sich unterwerfen und zurücktreten, und nun erst wird sein Einfluss in allem Guten recht befestigt sein ...

Lamennais' later decision to rebel against the Pope's judgement eventually resulted in his leaving the Church. Yet despite its condemnation by the Pope, Lamennais' journal L'Avenir, in its short period of existence, had a widespread effect on German Catholics. Guido Görres had this to say of it:

Seit einigen Tagen sind auch die Blätter des neuen Journals L'Avenir, welches unter der Direktion von Lamennais herauskommt, hier. Sie verteidigen die Freiheit der Kirche vom Staat sowie die gänzliche Freiheit des Unterrichts. Es ist alles gut.

After the ban, Montalembert, during his 1833 trips, still found considerable support for L'Avenir, especially in the Rhineland, Mainz, and even in Protestant Berlin:

Le premier fait que j'ai reconnu, c'est l'immense popularité dont a joui l'Avenir dans tout l'Allemagne Occidentale, et surtout sur les bords du Rhin, a Coblentz et a Mayence. Il était lu avec avidité et traduit dans les nombreux journaux catholiques (tous mediocres) qui paraissent dans ce pays.

The popularity of such a journal, which kept reports on O'Connell to the forefront, is obviously an important channel through which the Irish leader's fame reached Germany.

Moreover there was intense interest in the works of Lamennais, Lacordaire and Montalembert among Catholics in Germany, which usually appeared in German translation shortly after the original publication. The popularity of Lacordaire's funeral oration on O'Connell is of particular
interest. Published in sermon form in *Kanzelvorträge in der Notre-Dame Kirche zu Paris gehalten im Jahre 1848* (München, 1848), it was also included in a book entitled *Ventura und Lacordaire über O'Connell und Pius IX* (Tübingen, 1848) by Joseph Lutz, a Catholic priest, whose praise of Lacordaire and of the influential Italian Catholic philosopher and orator Fr. Gioacchino Ventura is more than equalled by his high regard for O'Connell. Moreover Montalembert's *Des Intérêts catholiques au XIXe siècle* in which O'Connell and his cause feature prominently was very popular in Germany and in his earlier work *Über die Lage der Kirche in dieser Zeit, für die Freiheit des Unterrichts, und für die religiösen Orden - Drei Reden an die französische Pairskammer*, translated in Mainz in 1844, the example of O'Connell's Catholic Ireland is held up as one to be emulated:

UND WÄHREND DER ZEIT RICHTET SICH IRLAND WIE EIN RITTER FÜR DIE KIRCHE DICHHT AN ENGLANDS SEITE EMOR UND FORDERT RECHENSCAHT FÜR DIE UNTERDRÜCKUNG, WELCHE DORT SCHON DREIHUNDERT JAHRE AUF DEN KATHOLIKEN LASTET.

In addition in Montalembert's biography of Lacordaire, published in German in Münster in 1862, O'Connell's important place in the nineteenth century Church and his powerful influence on Montalembert and the French can be seen:

**Dieser Redner (Lacordaire), dieser Mönch, dieser Volksmann, der unter uns der Spross und Erbe von St. Dominikus, Bossuet und O'Connell war, gehört allen großen Kreisen des menschlichen Denkens an.**

And on Montalembert's own discovery of L'Avenir in Ireland and brief meeting with O'Connell he writes:

**MICH AN DEM WERKE ZU BETHELIEGEN, EILTE ICH MIT ALLEM FEUEREIFER MEINER Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Aus dem Innern Irland's Hierbei, Wo Ich Eben O'Connell an der Spitze eines Volkes Gesehen, Dessen Unbesiegbare Katholische Glaubensstreue Drei Jahrhunderte der Verfolgung Müde Gemacht hatte, und Dessen Religiöse Emancipation So Eben Durch die Freie Presse und das Freie Wort Errungen war.**

Interest in a free press was also strong in German Catholic circles, especially among the members of the Görres Circle in Munich. This group
was made up of a number of Catholic theologians and philosophers, who, although holding a very conservative theological outlook, had progressive views on the issue of church and state relations, and on the social questions of the period. The key figure in the group was Joseph Görres, "... critic, poet, and scholar, ... historian, politician and journalist, ... medical scientist, psychologist and theologian".

Following a brief period of non-belief, Görres had returned to the Catholic Church in 1824, largely through the influence of his friend, Franz von Baader. From January 1814 he had edited the Rheinische Merkur, which was banned in 1816 by the new Prussian government; in the summer of 1819, Görres published Deutschland und die Revolution and an order for his arrest was issued by the Prussian authorities. In order to escape arrest he went first to Frankfurt, then to Strasbourg and finally to Switzerland. While in Strasbourg he wrote for the Catholic newspaper Der Katholik, which became one of the most important journals of the German Church in the period 1820-1850. He believed that the paper should be aimed at all German Catholics and that provincialism should at all costs be avoided, his intention being to transform Catholics into a united force in German society with the ability to press successfully for better treatment of the Church. While working on Der Katholik (1824-26), Görres developed a plan to have a printing works set up, to publish not only his newspaper, but also good religious and educational books for Catholics. Although this did not come to fruition, the Borromäus-Verein later performed this function. In October 1827 Görres went to Munich at the invitation of Ludwig I to take up the position of professor of History at the recently opened Ludwig-Maximilian University there. In the Bavarian capital the Görres family home became not only an important meeting place for men such as Ignaz von Döllinger, but also a place of 'pilgrimage' for Catholics from Ireland,
England and France. As previously mentioned Görres' friendship with these visitors, especially with Montalembert, was of great importance, not only to the Frenchman, but also to Görres himself, and to his son Guido, who spent a considerable amount of time in Paris. Moreover it has also been claimed, that not only did Guido write the foreword to the first German edition of Lacordaire's *The Holy See* in 1838, but that he did in fact translate the book himself. This work, which had been written in 1836, was not published in France until the end of 1837, because of Lacordaire's knowledge that it would upset the Archbishop of Paris. However he was prompted to give the work for publication by the event which took place in Cologne in November 1837, known as the 'Cologne Incident', which was brought about by the conflict between the Prussian government and the Archbishop of Cologne, Droste-Vischering, over the issue of mixed-marriages, and was to be of great significance for the future of the German Catholic Church. Following the publication of Görres' *Athanasius* (1838, 4th reprint also 1838), written in defence of the Archbishop of Cologne, the event achieved widespread attention throughout the German states and abroad. O'Connell's knowledge and condemnation of the event is of particular interest.

Görres was not only interested in the state of Catholicism in Germany, but he was also well aware of the condition of the Church in other countries. This led him, like many of his contemporaries, to be concerned about what was happening in Ireland. Although O'Connell is discussed by Görres in a number of letters, especially in his correspondence with his close friend, Joseph Freiherr von Giovanelli, a prominent Catholic lawyer and merchant in the Tyrol, perhaps the best example of Görres' attitude towards O'Connell is the article entitled 'Der Gustav Adolph-Verein und die Irische Sache', which appeared in the chief organ of the
Görres Circle, the periodical Historisch-politische Blätter. In this article he compares the situation in the Prussian controlled Rhineland, where Catholics had to deal with the government-sponsored Protestant Gustav Adolph-Verein, with that of Ireland, where Catholics had to contend with the Protestant Orange Order - "so wenig sonst auch Analogie in den Zuständen sich bot". In addition he praises O'Connell, portraying him as the reaper who brings new life to the people of Ireland:

O'Connell war nur gesendet, in Irland die Garben zu binden und er hat nun mit Ehren dieses Geschäft vollbracht ...

It is his interest in O'Connell's organisational skills which are particularly important, especially since a growing desire to set up a similar Catholic association in Germany in the 1840's became evident. As a result he praises O'Connell and his Repeal campaign in other articles in the Historisch-politische Blätter, and no doubt his reading of the English Catholic newspaper The Tablet, whose editor was the convert Frederick Lucas, did much to inform him on events in Ireland, which he believed to be "die wichtigste politische Begebenheit, seit dem Sturze Napoleons ...

A more critical view of O'Connell was taken by another member of the Görres Circle, the theologian Ignaz von Döllinger, who disapproved of O'Connell's Repeal campaign, resulting in strained relations between him and the other members of the Circle. Interestingly Döllinger's reason for opposing Repeal was similar to Metternich's reasons for disliking O'Connell - both men feared the revolutionary potential of popular mass movements. However Döllinger did recognize O'Connell and his organisation as providing the best blueprint for a Catholic association:

Es war zu erwarten, daß uns dasjenige Beispiel, welches allerdings in Bezug auf das Vereinswesen das glänzendste und bestechendste ist, vorgeführt und gleichsam als Schild des politischen Vereinswesens vorgehalten würde, nämlich
Further on in this speech, which he gave in the Bavarian Second Chamber in 1850, he condemns the fact that O'Connell became the "Herr und Meister eines grossen Landes". Nonetheless, his acknowledgement of the success of the Irish prototype Catholic Association led to his involvement in the setting up of the Katholischer Verein in 1848, and to his presence at the first general assembly of the organisation in Mainz in October of that year. He believed the association should be spread throughout Germany and Austria and should help politicise German Catholics as a united force. The issue of unity he held to be critical - not simply the unity of the laity, but also, like the politician August Reichensperger, the unity of the bishops. While thus striving towards greater unity in his own church, he also advocated better relations between Protestants and Catholics. Involved also in the campaign for the separation of church and state, following his return to his position as professor of Theology in Munich in 1850, Döllinger ceased to play an active role in the Catholic movement as such.

Nevertheless he had come to the fore at the Frankfurt Parliament as one of the leading Catholic politicians of the day. His speech there in 1849 on Die Polenfrage was, as already mentioned, influenced by Montalembert, especially the references to Ireland. His friendship with Montalembert began in 1832 and lasted until the Frenchman's death in 1870 and there is no doubt that Montalembert's enthusiasm for O'Connell must have had some effect on him. But this was not the only way Döllinger became acquainted with what was going on in Ireland. In 1832 he had met Bishop John MacHale, an important supporter of O'Connell in Munich,
and had been very impressed by him. On that occasion MacHale promised him the scholarly acclaimed work by the liberal Catholic Irish ecclesiastical historian and former professor of Hebrew, Sacred Scripture and Ecclesiastical History at Pavia University, John Lanigan. This four volume work, entitled *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the First Introduction of Christianity among the Irish to the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century*, contained incisive biographies of the principal Irish saints, and Döllinger eventually received a copy from Montalembert.

Nor was Montalembert Döllinger's only source for books on Ireland. In 1842 Döllinger visited Paris where he met Professor Matthew O'Kelly of the Irish College, who was impressed by Döllinger's interest in "dem lang unterdrückten Irland", and by his extensive knowledge of Irish literature. O'Kelly put him in touch with a young professor in Maynooth College named Russell, who contributed to the Dublin Review, which had been set up in consultation with O'Connell in London in 1836 and for which Döllinger also wrote; soon both Russell and O'Kelly were supplying him with the latest books on Irish literature. Russell visited Munich in 1841 and probably again in 1843 and the friendship between the two men became closer. As a result, the number of Irish clergy and scholars visiting Munich increased and many Irishmen sent their sons to continue their education there. This harmonious scene was interrupted when Döllinger, influenced by an Irish scholar, Kane, voiced his support of the Queen's Colleges, a scheme to which the majority of the Irish bishops were opposed.

The right of the Church to have its own institutions of education was also a major preoccupation with another notable figure who held an
important position within the Catholic spectrum - the professor of Political Science and Law at the University of Freiburg, Franz Josef Ritter von Buß (1803-1878), who was based in Baden. Although Baden had a constitution and the reputation of being a liberal state, the administration had a definite anti-Catholic bias. It was Buß who led the movement against this, speaking against religious discrimination in the Baden Second Chamber in 1846 and putting his argument in print. Moreover he was also involved in the establishment of various Catholic organisations in Baden in the 1840's, such as a Gesellenverein (part of Kolping's movement), and branches of the St. Vincent de Paul organisation; he also supported the establishment of the Order of the Sisters of Charity there. By such activities Buß helped strengthen the position of the Church in Baden, but more important was his belief in the necessity of political representation for Catholics in parliament and the need for their own newspaper to combat the secular liberal press. Thus in 1846 he stood as a candidate in the elections to the Second Chamber and was elected, was involved in setting up various Catholic journals and was actively involved in the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands, a branch of which he, along with the archival director, Mone, founded in 1848 in Baden, following the example of Lennig's organisation in Mainz.

A year earlier volume one of his popular work Kirche und Staat im Wettkampf um die Leitung des öffentlichen Unterrichts, in Frankreich im offenen Streit zwischen dem Klerus und der Universität, in Teutschland im verdeckten Kampf zwischen der Geistlichkeit und der Staatspolizei was published, volume two appearing in 1850. Both volumes contained articles by men such as Montalembert, Alphonse de Lamartine (1796-1869), the poet and
politician, and Viscount Louis-Marie Delahaye de Cormenin (alias Timon) (1788-1865), a well known French publicist and magistrate, and letters by Buß to these men, discussing topics such as Catholic education and, as a matter of course, the relationship between church and state. The image of O'Connell and his achievements occurs often in these articles and Timon's article 'Feuer, Feuer' is worthy of particular note:

Grünes Erin, jämmerliches Land, das England zittern macht, das die Könige zittern macht, siehe deinen O'Connel(1) knieend am Fuße des Kreuzes mit vier Millionen Menschen: er spricht und sie alle erheben sich, sie alle, den Arm ausgestreckt, die Augen gen Himmel emporgerichtet. Wir schwören, sagen sie, zu sterben für die heilige Vertheidigung der Religion, der Freiheit und des Vaterlandes! Wir schwören! Welch' ein Schauspiel! Hat es je ein schöneres auf Erden gegeben?

Buß' reply is equally eloquent:

Sie haben Recht, mein Herr, in Frankreich wie in Teutschland, ist ein O'Connel(1), ... unmöglich. Weil der Glaube in der Gesellschaft fehlt, so haben die Fähigen an sie selbst und folgeseh фай an sich keinen Glauben. Wie ist aber ohne diese ansteckende Macht des Glaubens eine Leitung des Volkes möglich? Keine Zeit hat aber so ungewichtige materielle Mittel geboten wie die Gegenwart. Und wie schwach ist ihre Wirkung gegen die geistige Macht, mit welcher O'Connel(1) fünf Millionen Iren auf die Knie wirft, ... Ja gegen diese Naturkühne des Geistes sind wir Bastarde der Verkrüppelung.

Buß was obviously deeply impressed by the person of O'Connell and his achievements. As in his 1851 work Die Aufgabe des katholischen Theils deutscher Nation ..., in his reply to Montalembert in Kirche gegen den Staat ..., the exemplary importance of O'Connell's organisational and tactical skills for Buß is evident. Montalembert believed Catholics in France should follow his example in the struggle for Catholic Emancipation (which, he claims, was harder for the Irish, as they faced more obstacles than the French) and achieve their rights through non-violent means. Buß, in his reply, states how he too recognized the need to form an association in this manner, and sent off addresses to the Association...
catholique pour la liberté religieuse in Paris and to the Catholic Association in London, to form contacts with these groups. For Buß the situation in Ireland, where the church of the majority was oppressed by the Protestant authorities, mirrored that of the Catholic Church in the majority of states of the German Confederation, most notably in Prussia; thus the success of the Irish struggle under O'Connell was one of the best examples the Germans could have:

Wer wollte läugnen, daß die jüngst - verhandelte irische Maynoothbill und die irische Collegienbill Anliegen der katholischen Kirche in Irland betreffen, deren Befriedigung die katholische Kirche Teutschlands zur Stunde noch ersehnt, und daß überhaupt der vom Episcopat und von O'Connell geführte Riesenkampf der katholischen Kirche Irlands gegen Englands Suprematie in dem Kampf der katholischen Kirche Teutschlands gegen die Allmacht der Staatsgewalt nahe Analogien finde?

A contemporary of Buß who was also influenced by O'Connell's tactics in Ireland, especially that of forming associations, was the theologian Adam Franz Lennig (1803-1866), who was based in Mainz, another main centre of Catholic revival in the 1840's. Lennig had spent two years in Paris in the early 1820's and had come into contact with the French liberal Catholics, counting Lamennais and Montalembert among his friends. Indeed the diocese of Mainz, where Lennig worked from 1823 onwards, had itself close contacts with France and Lamennais' ideas (his earlier, less extreme, views on the freedom of the Church) were very popular there. Moreover in 1826 Lennig had been to Munich (en route to Rome for further study), where he had established contact with the Görres Circle. Links between the Catholics of Mainz and Munich increased, especially following the publication of various works by Görres and his followers:

Wenn ich Dir hier sagen wollte, mit welcher unaussprechlichen Freude ich die Schriften der Münchener Freunde begrüsst und gelesen habe. Athanasius hat unendlich viel
The success of *Athanasius* and the controversy it aroused pleased Lennig, who felt that it would encourage Catholics to become politically involved in church affairs. Indeed after 1837 there was an upsurge in devotion to the Church, more particularly in the year 1844 when the Holy Shroud was exhibited in Trier, an event which also had a profound effect on Lennig. He too, in common with Buß and O'Connell, recognized the need to influence public opinion. His early attempts to set up a newspaper for this purpose failed; but following the unrest in 1848 and the subsequent change in the press laws, he founded the *Mainzer Journal*. Two years earlier in his Lenten sermons he had vigorously advocated the need for a Catholic press, specifically aimed at fighting the liberal *propaganda machine*. But Lennig was also aware of the need to form Catholics into a unified force and when in 1848 a law granting freedom of association was introduced, drawing strongly on O'Connell's movement in Ireland, he established the *Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit* in Mainz. From an original membership of twenty-four, the organisation grew, until in the area of Mainz alone there were over four hundred members. Soon *Piusvereine* were being established all over Germany and in October of that year the first general assembly was held.

Among those who attended this assembly was Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler (1811–1877), the representative for Tecklenburg at the Frankfurt Parliament, the future bishop of Mainz and one of the most influential men in the nineteenth century German Church, of whom one of his recent biographers, Adolf Birke, says:
Ketteler had been a member of the Prussian civil service, but resigned his position after the Cologne Incident. He then left the Rhineland, for Munich, where he stayed for three years, eventually deciding to become a priest. In Munich he was involved with the members of the Görres Circle, though their conservative views often clashed with his own liberal outlook at this time (he had even supported Lamennais' view on the total separation of the church from the state). Ketteler, who became Bishop of Mainz in 1850 and who was to work closely with Lennig from that time onwards, was active in setting up branches of the newly created Katholischer Verein in 1848; like Lennig he was convinced that the way to achieve unity among Catholics was to follow O'Connell's example. This desire for unity of purpose also led him to be involved in the establishment of other organisations, such as the St. Vincent de Paul and the Borromäus Verein, as was his contemporary August Reichensperger, also a former member of the Prussian civil service. Like Ketteler, Reichensperger had been deeply affected by the Cologne Incident and Görres' Athanasius; his ensuing anti-Prussian feelings caused him, along with his brother Peter, to provide the French writer, Gustav de Failly, with the material for his controversial book De la Prusse et de sa domination sous le rapports politiques et religieux spécialement dans les nouvelles provinces. Par un inconnu. De Failly's countryman, Montalembert, is credited by Reichensperger as being one of the two major influences on his career, and the two men carried on a correspondence, which lasted until Montalembert's death. The other great influence on Reichensperger was Joseph Görres, who exerted a calming effect on the younger man's radical outlook, which to some extent can be seen in his diary entry after his visit to Lacordaire in Italy in 1839:
Lamennais voulait être le pape, mais il oubliait que le temps entre dans tout comme Napoléon a dit à la bataille de Moscou. Er hatte die Macht des geschriebenen Wortes, aber er war kein Taktiker wie z. B. O'Connell.

His friendship with Montalembert no doubt increased his enthusiasm for the Irishman and in the 1850's, both he and his brother Peter, later drew on O'Connell's example in their speeches as members of the Katholische Fraktion in the Prussian Parliament. Another major concern of the Reichenspergers at this time was the need for freedom of the press. A free press, and more importantly a free Catholic press, had also been of vital importance to the men of the Katholischer Verein in the 1840's. The popularity of such journals as the Katholische Sonntagsblätter, Der Katholik and Historisch-politische Blätter witness the fact that there was an audience for a Catholic press. Coverage of O'Connell and his movement in Ireland was extensive, reaching its peak in the mid-1840's, when his popularity in Germany in general seems to have been at its highest.

Indeed the popular reception of O'Connell in the 1830's and 1840's in Germany is of great interest, especially in the Rhineland. As already stated, to many people in this region and elsewhere, there appeared to be great similarity between the situation in Ireland and that in the Rhenish province. The book De la Prusse ..., which was published anonymously in Paris in 1842, is a good example of this:

Je le reconnais, la province du Rhin deviendrait l'Irlande de la Prusse. Mais comme cet héroïque et généreux peuple, elle n'aurait pas besoin de s'armer de trois siècles de patience et de foi invincible pour trois siècles de martyre. Leur oppression ne serait que bien momentanée, bien courte ...

Although banned on 23. March 1842 in Prussia, de Failly's book proved very popular throughout Germany, France and Belgium, the Historisch-politische Blätter asserting that it began "eine neue Aera der deutschen politischen Literatur". There was considerable interest as to who
While bearing no responsibility for this work, Görres was undoubtedly central to the development of the Catholic media in Germany and was indeed one of the most influential German Catholics of the nineteenth century. It is therefore significant that his death and that of O'Connell were both regarded as a major loss to the German Catholic cause:

Welcher herbere Schlag konnte nach O'Connell's Tod die katholische Sache treffen? Auf wen sollen wir künftig in Tagen der Bedrängnis hinschauen?

O'Connell's importance to the German Catholic cause, be it symbolic or otherwise, was especially strong in the post-1837 Prussian Rhineland provinces, which were increasingly characterised by concerted Catholic attempts to improve their standing within Prussia. This situation had its parallel in Ireland, where the Catholic masses had to contend with an oppressive Protestant regime, though in the Irish case, civil and religious rights were not the only reforms sought - the abolition of the tithe (in the 1830's) and general land reforms (in the 1840's) also formed important elements of the Catholics' demands. Identifying their similarities with those of their co-religionists in Ireland, and more importantly, recognizing the great success they had had in achieving Catholic Emancipation under the dynamic leadership of Daniel O'Connell, Rhenish Catholics treated the leader of their Irish counterparts as a national folk hero: many homes in this area had portraits of O'Connell on the wall; advertisements for his portrait appeared in the press, such as that in the (non-Catholic) Allgemeine Zeitung of 6. October 1844, which reminded its readers that, "Das ähnlichste Bildniss, was bisher ausgegeben wurde" of O'Connell, was on sale at all booksellers.
addresses of support were sent to him, poems were dedicated to him and books written about him. At a meeting of the Repeal Association in April 1844, O'Connell read two laudatory communications from Germany, one from a group of admirers in Berlin and the other from Windischman's son-in-law and former teacher of Lennig, Ferdinand Walter, professor of Civil and Canon Law at the University of Bonn. Six months later the Allgemeine Zeitung reported how the citizens of Koblenz celebrated O'Connell's release from prison:


His appeal was not confined to Rhenish Catholics however; his admirers included such diverse persons as Goethe, Ludwig I of Bavaria, Ernst Zander, the Catholic convert and editor of the Neue Würzburger Zeitung and Charles Weil, a leading liberal journalist from Stuttgart. Interest in Ireland and O'Connell stemmed originally from the influence of the Romantics with their emphasis on the image of Ireland as a 'mystical island'. The biographies of O'Connell written in Germany at this period by Brühl (1845), Schipper (1844) and Sly (1844) reflect this interest, as do the travelogues written by Pückler-Muskau (1828/29) and Kohl (Reisen in Irland, 1843 and Land und Leute der britischen Inseln, 1844). Increasingly however, attempts were made at conducting a more realistic and sober analysis of the social and political conditions in
Ireland - most notably in Raumer's two books on his visits to England and Ireland (1836 and 1842) and in Venedey's Irland (1844). This development was also noticeable in the press, with political events in Ireland in the 1840's - particularly the fortunes of O'Connell and, following his death, those of the Young Irelanders - receiving considerable attention, especially in the popular Allgemeine Zeitung. The importance of Ireland as a political entity and of O'Connell as a political leader is also demonstrated by their inclusion in the popular reference works of the period, from the Protestant Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyklopädie für die Gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon), published by Brockhaus and the Catholic Allgemeine Realencyklopädie oder Conversationslexikon für das katholische Deutschland, published by Manz, to the liberal Staatslexikon, edited by Carl von Rotteck and Carl Welcker, confirming Friedrich Engel's statement on the attraction O'Connell and his campaigns held for Germans of all creeds and classes at this time:

Ich schließe meine Bemerkungen über Irland hiermit um so eher, als die Repeal-Agitation von 1843 und der O'Connellsche Prozeß die Veranlassung waren, daß das irische Elend in Deutschland mehr und mehr bekannt wurde.

It was middle class Catholics however who were most profoundly affected by the phenomenon of O'Connell, as word of his activities reached them through the developing media, and most importantly, through personal contacts. A sense of crisis had developed in their ranks, nourished, not only by their own lack of unity, but by the increasingly vocal confidence and predatory ambitions of the secular authorities, especially in Protestant Prussia. In order to exploit this feeling of urgency and turn it to their own advantage, it was necessary to find a successful model on which to base their attempts at establishing a geographically extensive Catholic mass organisation. Given the political structures
of the Restoration period, O'Connell's tactics appeared to provide the obvious blueprint for his German co-religionists. He became a symbol of the struggle for a Church free from secular interference and offered them a successful method of establishing a nationwide Catholic association. His impact on the modernization of Irish society and the irresistible influence he exerted on the Catholic population, transforming them into a unified political force, must therefore be examined in order to comprehend the popularity of his methods among politically aware German Catholics.

2. ibid., p. 144.

3. Moreover at a banquet held in Paris in 1830 to celebrate the alliance between young liberalism and Catholicism, Montalembert proposed a toast to O'Connell:

   ... des toasts ont été portés à Lamennais et Janvier, à Lacordaire, à Victor Hugo, d'Eckstein, Dubois, à l'alliance des deux causes, à la bonne foi, par moi à O'Connell.


7. Montalembert, *Des Intérêts*, p. 34.

8. ibid., p. 70.

9. Letter 2460 in Guillou (ed.), Vol. VI, p. 488; Lamennais also corresponded with O'Connell, whose international appeal can be seen in this extract from a letter sent to him by Lamennais, dated 18. 10. 1835:

   La cause que vous défendez avec un si rare talent et une persévérance non moins rare, n'est pas la cause d'une seule nation, mais celle d'humanité ...

   ibid., p. 499.

10. Joseph Görres (1776-1848) was a renowned Catholic journalist and professor of History at the University of Munich (details Chapter 3,i). Döllinger (1799-1890) was professor of Theology at the same university (details Chapter 3,i). Franz von Baader (1765-1841), theologian and ecumenist, was one of the founders of political-social Catholicism in Germany. He wrote for *L'Avenir* and was professor of Philosophy and Theology in Munich.

11. Letter 2098 in Guillou (ed.), Vol. V, p. 473. Eugène Boré (1809-78) was a noted French orientalist and became the superior general of the Knights Hospitallers in France in 1874.

12. Karl Joseph Hieronymus Windischmann (1775-1839) was professor of Theology at the University of Bonn and taught many of the leading Catholic thinkers of the period, including Adam Franz Lennig and Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler.


15. ibid., p. 95.

16. ibid., p. 88. Letter from Döllinger to Lamennais.

17. ibid., pp. 94f. Eos was essentially an anti-liberal Catholic journal, which after 1829, was controlled by Joseph Görres; the radical views expressed by Lamennais in his controversial Paroles d'un Croyant shocked many of Eos' more conservative writers.

18. ibid., p. 131.


22. Examples include: Lamennais' Worte eines Gläubigen (Paroles d'un Croyant), which appeared in Germany in 1834, the same year as it was published in France. The German publisher was Hoffmann & Campe, who also published works by Heinrich Heine. Lacordaire's Kanzelvorträge 1844-45 were published in Neuss in 1847, twice in 1848 and again in 1850. They were also issued in Tübingen in 1849, 1850, 1851 and 1852. Montalembert's Rede in der französischenPairskammer was produced in 1848 in Grimma, Berlin, Osnabrück and Cologne. His Katholische Interessen im 19. Jahrhundert, the original of which was published in France in 1852, was brought out in German in Schaffhausen the same year, in Tübingen and Regensburg in 1853 and in Worms in 1854. The publishing house of Manz in Regensburg issued a number of works by Lacordaire, Montalembert and Lamennais, as well as those by Döllinger and Buß.

23. Gioacchino Ventura (1792-1861) joined the Theatine Order, following the suppression of the Jesuits in Sicily in 1817. A popular orator, he was appointed professor of Canon Law at the Sapienza by Pope Leo XII in 1824 and was superior general of the Theatines from 1830-33. A supporter of the need for the separation of church and state, friend of Lamennais and advisor to Pius IX (prior to the Pope's rejection of liberalism) Ventura was a well-known advocate of liberal ideas, which led him to defend the 1848 Revolution in the Italian states and to recognize the short lived Roman Republic established by Cavour and Mazzini.


26. ibid., p. 8; note that he was in fact only 20 years old when he visited Ireland.

27. See Chapter 3,i for more details.


29. See Chapter 4,i.
30. The Verein vom heiligen Karl Borromäus zur Verbreitung guter Bücher was established in 1844. For more details see Chapter 3,1.

31. See Chapter 3,1 for more details.

32. In 1841 and 1842, Görres, in letters to his family, makes reference to their Irish visitors:

Görres to Guido, Munich, 26.8.1841:

Görres to his wife, Bolzano, 5.10.1842:

33. Guido spent some time in Paris, researching his book on Joan of Arc. Moreover while they were in Munich, both he and Montalembert exchanged information for their respective books. (Montalembert was writing on Elizabeth of Thuringen). In order to help Montalembert with his research, Joseph Görres gave him a note of introduction to the Grimm brothers, and as a further sign of his friendship, presented him with a copy of his latest book as a wedding present. Schellberg/Dyroff (eds.), Vol. XV, p. 44.


35. The main cause of the Cologne Incident was the mixed-marriage issue, but the deeper cause was the Church's opposition to the claims of the state to what had been hitherto the sole responsibility of the Church. In the Rhineland, many Prussian officers married local Catholic women and the Prussian government did not want the children of such unions to be brought up as Catholics. In 1830 the Vatican gave permission that a Catholic priest could render passive assistance at the marriage of such a couple, even if the children were not to be reared as Catholics. The Prussian government was not satisfied with this and made a secret agreement with the then Archbishop of Cologne, von Spiegel, (signed on 10. June 1834), and with a number of other bishops, whereby priests would solemnly consecrate such marriages. After von Spiegel's death on 2. August 1835, Droste-Vischering became Archbishop of Cologne. Upon discovering the secret dealings with the authorities, he decided to ignore them, and returned to the original ruling of the Vatican of 1830. This policy, along with his actions against those members of the Catholic Theology Faculty at Bonn University, who favoured a policy of conciliation with the government, led to his arrest on 20. November 1837 and his internment without trial. He was not released until 1840. For more details see Chapter 3,1.

36. See Chapter 2.
Giovanelli (1784-1845) regularly played host to Görres at his home in Bolzano and the two men carried on a long and lively correspondence with each other, from their first meeting in 1829 until Giovanelli's death. A letter addressed to him and dated 4. 8. 1843, provides a good example of Görres' interest in O'Connell:

Diese Irische Geschichte, ich glaube O'Connel(1) setzt sie vollkommen durch. Der Gedanke mit den Compromissgerichten statt der Friedensrichter war eine luminose Idee von seiner Seite.

Moreover Görres continues that if the Irish leader can form an assembly of 300, he believes O'Connell will be able to govern Ireland successfully, thanks to the loyalty of the people:

Die Iren werden gut dabei stehen, so lange sie sich darin zu fügen wissen, und die Engländer mit ihrer bezahlten kostbaren Solderegierung haben das verdrussliche Nachsehen.

In addition this letter also reveals his recognition of the benefits of Father Matthew's total abstinence movement (established in Cork in April 1838) for O'Connell's campaigns. Letter 460 in Binder (ed.), pp. 605 f.

Schellberg/Dyroff (eds.), Vol. XVI, Part 1 - 'Aufsätze in den Historisch-politischen Blättern', p. 188. This article originally appeared in Vol. XIII of the Historisch-politische Blätter (1841). For information on this journal see Chapter 3,i and Chapter 4,i.

ibid., p. 191.

In the article entitled 'König Friedrich Wilhelm III und sein Nachfolger', Görres talks about the British governments mistreatment of and brutality towards Catholics and how this led to a mass movement of millions, demanding their rights and determined to get them. The editor's note suggests that this refers to O'Connell and his Repeal movement. Görres goes on to state that similar discrimination against Catholics exists in Germany. ibid., pp. 90 f.

In the article (published in the Historische-politische Blätter and entitled 'Verlogenheit in Exeter Hall') Görres praises both Lucas and The Tablet (ibid., p. 140) and a note in Vol. XVI, Part 2, p. 188 includes the following from Görres:

Ein Aufsatz im Tablet, einem achtungswerthen katholisch-englisch Organ unter dem Titel: 'Herr von Montalembert und das österreichische Cabinet' ... belehrte uns über den Eindruck den die Epistle im Univers hervorgebracht.

Frederick Lucas was a barrister by profession, who, following his conversion to Catholicism founded The Tablet in 1840 and ten years later formed the Irish Tenant League.

Taken from the end of the article entitled 'Der Gustav Adolph-Verein und die Irische Sache'. op. cit., Vol. XVI, Part 1, p. 196.

T. Desmond Williams, O'Connell's Impact on Europe in Nowlan/O'Connell (eds.), p. 105. This article also shows the attitude of the Italian radicals, Count Camillo Cavour (1810-61) and Guiseppe Mazzini (1805-72), towards O'Connell. While Cavour shared Metternich's personal dislike of the Liberator (the result, in this instance, of his admiration for Britain and belief that O'Connell wanted to challenge its power), he did admire O'Connell as a great political reformer,
as did Mazzini. Nowlan/O'Connell (eds.), p. 101 and McCartney, The Dawning of Democracy, p. 161. In Germany Döllinger was not the only one to express his opposition to O'Connell. The politically conservative convert to Catholicism, Karl Ernst Jarcke (1801-1852), professor of Criminal Law in Berlin (1824), editor of the conservative Berliner politische Wochenblatt (1831-32), co-founder of the Historisch-politische Blätter in Munich and press secretary to Metternich, regarded O'Connell as a dangerous revolutionary and feared that "Irland's und O'Connell's höchst gefährliches Beispiel" would be copied in Germany and elsewhere, resulting in a general "Umkippen ... in eine irlandische Oppositionsrichtung.", Holl, p. 21.

44. Quoted in Friedrich, Vol. III, pp. 57 f.
45. ibid., p. 58.
46. For details of the Piusverein see Chapter 3,ii.

47. August Reichensperger (1803-95) and his brother Peter (1810-92), judges in the Prussian civil service, renounced their posts following the Cologne Incident in 1837 and joined the struggle of their co-religionists in the Rhineland against Prussian domination, establishing contacts with French liberal Catholics (particularly with Montalembert). In 1848 August was elected to the Frankfurt National Assembly. Both brothers held leading positions in the Prussian Catholic Party, founded in 1852 and in the Centre Party in the 1870's, playing key roles in the defence of the Church during Bismarck's 'Kulturkampf' campaign.

48. Döllinger was also an avid reader of Der Katholik (Michael, p. 617), a journal which devoted a considerable amount of space to coverage of O'Connell and his campaigns. See Chapter 4,i for details.

49. See end of Chapter 3,ii for Döllinger's impression of MacHale, who two years after this meeting became Archbishop of Tuam. Indeed it is also possible that Döllinger read the German edition of MacHale's book of Roman sermons. This work, translated by Brühl (who wrote a biography of O'Connell, see Chapter 4,iv), was published by Döllinger's publisher Manz, in Regensburg. Lösch, p. 378.

50. ibid., pp. 378 ff. Döllinger needed Lanigan's work for his history of the church. It was not by any means the only book on Ireland read by Döllinger. In fact his library contained over 200 books on Ireland, England and Scotland. ibid., p. 152.


52. ibid., pp. 106 f. For a detailed account of the Irish bishop's opposition to the Queen's Colleges, see Kerr, Chapter 7 'The Godless Colleges 1845 - 1846', pp. 290 ff.

53. Adolf Kolping (1813-65), Catholic priest and social reformer, set up clubs for journeymen (known as Gesellenvereine) in the Rhineland and Westphalia. See Chapter 3,i for more details.

54. Buß was elected for the seventh constituency of Schönau-Sackingen, to the Baden Second Chamber in 1846.

56. ibid., p. 425.

57. This work is discussed in Chapter 3,ii.

58. Buß received no reply from London, for the simple reason that (as he points out to Montalembert in Der Kampf der Kirche gegen den Staat, p. 160) no such organisation existed in England. Unfortunately he does not seem to have thought of contacting the association in Dublin.

59. For more details see Chapter 3,i.


61. Lennig spent the years 1824-26 in Paris. Through his contacts with the French liberal Catholics, he learned of O'Connell - a fact which was to be vital for the future development of the Katholischer Verein:

Durch diesen Kontakt wirkten aber auch die Impulse Daniel O'Connell's und der Catholic Association bis zur letzten Versammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands im Jahre 1848 weiter. - Fasthenrath, p. 82

Although Fasthenrath states that Lennig became friendly with Montalembert during this period of study in Paris, this does not seem possible, as Montalembert was only fourteen years old in 1824; moreover he did not become involved in Lamennais' movement until 1830. However it is undisputed that Lennig did make contact with members of the liberal Catholic movement in France in the 1820s.

62. Brück, Adam Franz Lennig, p. 48. In this letter to his nephew, Franz Christoph Moufang (1817-90), dated 21. 6. 1836, Lennig has the following to say of Munich:

München ist jetzt factisch die Hauptstadt des katholischen Deutschlands wie Berlin des protestantischen, und man darf nicht zweifeln, daß neben der katholischen Kirche selbst, Bayern die meiste Ehre und den grössten Nutzen von dem Kölner Ereignis haben wird.

63. See also Chapter 3,i.

64. See quote 54, Chapter 3,ii.

65. Details in Chapter 3,ii.


67. Ketteler set up a branch in his parish of Hopsten, in Westphalia, in 1848. On Ketteler's regard for O'Connell's example see Fasthenrath, p. 34 and p. 200. Vol. XXXVIII (1877) of the Historisch-politishe Blätter contains an article on Ketteler in which his interest, as a young man, in O'Connell is stated in the following words:

Insbesondere folgte er mit Begeisterung der Thätigkeit des großen O'Connell. - Vol. XXXVIII, p. 117.
68. Gustav de Failly (1817-62) was a French nobleman from Normandy, who was staying with Weckeker, a friend of the Reichenspergers, in the Rhineland in 1839. Among de Failly's other works are a book on absenteeism and numerous notes on local affairs in Normandy. The reaction to De la Prusse ... is discussed further on in this chapter.

69. Although he was in Munich during Görres' lifetime, Reichensperger never met him. He did however meet Montalembert in 1860.


71. For Peter Reichensperger's reference to O'Connell in a speech given in the second chamber of the Prussian Parliament on 12. 2. 1853, see note 1. of Conclusion.

72. More details on the treatment of O'Connell in the German Catholic Press in Chapter 4,i.

73. de Failly, p. 303

74. Pastor, Vol. I, p. 81


76. Pastor, Vol. I, p. 229. Letter to August Reichensperger from his friend, a district court judge in Koblenz, Albert Freiherr von Thimus (1806-78). Following Görres' death, the following notice appeared in Der Katholik on 4. 3. 1848:

In München ist am 29. Januar Morgens um sieben Uhr einer der größten Männer unserer Zeit, ein Charakter so vortrefflich und ein Herz so edel und gut, wie nur wenige, Joseph Görres ... in die ewige Ruhe gegangen. Wir werden mit Nächsten auf unseren theueren Landsmann, der größer geworden wäre als O'Connel(l), wenn in Deutschland Raum für einen O'Connel(l) wäre, ausführlich zurückkommen.

77. O'Connell's influence in the Rhineland was a matter of grave concern to the Prussian authorities. Holl, in his thesis, mentions that a memo, dated 23. 2. 1838, outlined the fact that on many occasions O'Connell had received information "über den Zustand des Katholizismus am Rheine". Moreover in a letter sent to the Prussian authorities from Paris, it was drawn to their notice that O'Connell was very popular in the Rhineland province and that his friend, Waterton had even paid a visit there.

78. Allgemeine Zeitung, 6. 10. 1844.


Poems on Ireland included Freiligrath's Die irische Witwe and Irland, and Weerth's Klagelied eines Irlanders and his Deutscher und Ire.

81. Allgemeine Zeitung, 1. 10. 1844. The report was originally published in the Frankfurter O.P.A. Zeitung.

82. In his review of Pückler-Muskau's Briefe eines Verstorbenen, Goethe includes the following on O'Connell:


Moreover the topic of O'Connell and Catholic Emancipation was uppermost in Goethe's mind, upon meeting the well travelled English diarist and journalist Henry C. Robinson (1775-1867) in Weimar in August 1829:

He spoke about the Catholic Emancipation. My daughter will be delighted to talk with you on the subject. I take little interest in such matters. He however enquired about O'Connell and praised the speech of Sheil in which he urged the Catholics not to triumph. It was skilfully done, said Goethe ... - H. C. Robinson on his meeting with Goethe. Biedermann (ed.), Vol. IV, p. 134.

For Ludwig I's interest in O'Connell, see O'Connell, M. (ed.), The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell, Vol. VII, letter 2914, pp. 194 f., to his friend O'Meara on Ludwig's request of O'Connell's autograph; Weil's letter to O'Connell encouraging him to supply articles for publication in the liberal journal, the Konstitutio-
nelle Jahrbücher, dated 30. 3. 1843, appears in the same volume (letter 3009, pp. 198 f.), as does Zander's (letter 3069, pp. 252 ff.), dated 8. 4. 1844, on subscriptions and addresses made in Germany for O'Connell. Moreover it is stated in this letter that O'Connell's Memoir on Ireland, made an immediate and powerful impression in Germany, following its translation there.

83. These biographies and travelogues will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 4,iii and iv.

84. Indeed for the years 1847 and 1848 the Allgemeine Zeitung provides almost daily coverage of the fortunes of the Young Irelanders.

85. Engels, in Kumpmann (ed.), p. 299. It must be noted however that Engels himself was highly critical of O'Connell.
Chapter 2

The phenomenon of Daniel O'Connell; his career and campaigns and their influence on the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands

Daniel O'Connell's stature and influence on the European liberal Catholic movement is well known. Equally well known, if not so widely researched, is the fact that the novel political ideas and tactics, which he introduced to Irish politics in the early 1820's and which dominated all his subsequent political campaigns, were copied by European liberal Catholics from the late 1820's onwards and by German Catholics in the mid-nineteenth century. His significance lay largely in the formative influence he exercised on German political Catholicism as it emerged in the 1840's and in the long-lasting effect his career had on the political organisation of the Catholic Church in Germany. An outline of O'Connell's campaigns for Catholic Emancipation and the Repeal of the Act of Union is an essential preliminary to an analysis of the Liberator's impact on German Catholicism.

Born in 1775 to a wealthy Catholic family, which, despite the Penal Laws, had succeeded in retaining both its landlord status and considerable property— the latter through a combination of shrewd business transactions and acts of smuggling—O'Connell received rudimentary instruction in his native county, Kerry, before being sent along with his younger brother, Maurice, to France in 1790. Here he enjoyed a more comprehensive education at Dr. Stapleton's school at St. Omer. After nineteen months the brothers transferred to the English College at Douai—a stay which lasted but a few months—and by January 1793 they were on their way to London, where O'Connell remained until 1796. Historians generally believe that his support for peaceful methods of political agitation, an essential aspect of all his future political
campaigns, dates from the period spent in post-revolutionary France. His son John, however, regards these events as merely reinforcing O'Connell's natural abhorrence of violence:

Very different, as we have seen, from this undistinguishing and indefensible approval (of the Sheares brothers for the French Revolution) was the disposition of mind of the two schoolboys. (Daniel and Maurice O'Connell). Their religious convictions and sympathies, and their personal feelings, alike indisposed them to view it, and all belonging to it, with other sentiments than those of horror and loathing. By all who were soundly Catholic in Ireland, the same sentiments were entertained on the subject, as the boys found when they returned home; and the after occurrences in France tending rather to increase than diminish this odium, it is not to be wondered at that Mr. O'Connell should, when in 1794 he became a law-student in Lincolns Inn, be in a state very nearly approaching, as he has often said, to that of a Tory at heart.  

His experiences in London, especially the unfair trial of the English radical politician Hardy, in October 1794, which O'Connell followed closely, coupled with his extensive reading, changed this. 3 Not only did he read the prescribed legal works, but became familiar with those of writers such as Voltaire, Rousseau and Paine - which provided him with a radical political education. Indeed he was even attracted to Deism for a brief period and following his return to Dublin in 1796, became, for a time, a freemason. 4 During this period he attended King's Inns, and was called to the Irish Bar on 12. April 1798.

O'Connell's attitude to the rebellion of the United Irishmen in that year is revealing. Although he sympathised with their demands for Catholic Emancipation and franchise reform, he rejected their violence and the demand for total separation from Britain, as John O'Connell points out in his highly partisan biography of his father:

Young as Mr O'Connell was, when these men were in the hottest of their zeal and their hopes, his judgement and reason had already moved him so strongly to recognize the great principle, which it has been the business and great object of his life to propagate and establish - the principle of avoiding all violence, of shunning with abhorrence every-
thing that could, even remotely, tend to causing the loss of one drop of human blood - that be held aloof from the society of the United Irishmen ...

The product of a traditionalist family, with a keen appreciation of the importance of monarchy, O'Connell, throughout his career, displayed sustained loyalty to the King and later to Queen Victoria. His book, A Memoir on Ireland Native and Saxon, published in 1843, was dedicated to "her most gracious Majesty the Queen", but this loyalty to the crown did not preclude his support for an independent Irish parliament:

The Irish people are determined to preserve their allegiance to the Throne unbroken and intact; but they are equally determined to obtain justice for themselves; to insist on the restoration of their native Parliament and to persevere in that demand without violating the law; but also without remitting or relaxing their exertions, until the object is achieved and success attained.

As a result the Act of Union, which came into force on 1. January 1801, did not receive his support. Unlike the majority of Irish middle class and aristocratic Catholics in the provinces, O'Connell opposed this Union, which abolished the parliament in College Green in Dublin. These Catholics believed they would fare better under a Westminster parliament, than under an Irish-based Protestant one. O'Connell did not share this view. Intense pride in Ireland and belief in her separate identity led him to speak out against the Union. Moreover the well-to-do Catholics of Dublin were also opposed to the Act, fearing that their capital city would henceforth be relegated to the status of a provincial town. It was at one of their meetings at the Royal Exchange on 13. January 1800 that O'Connell made his first public speech attacking the Act. His failure to continue this agitation in subsequent years has led to the criticism that his belief in the need for Repeal was not absolute or long-lasting. O'Connell, ever a realist, realised however, that the first step was the achievement of Catholic Emancipation; once Catholics could take seats in parliament, he believed the campaign
for Repeal could begin in earnest, as his son John explains in Part One of the Repeal Dictionary:

Emancipation - Mr. O'Connell always said that he looked for Emancipation as a stepping-stone to Repeal. So late as three years before Emancipation was granted, he most distinctly repeated this declaration at a charity dinner in the suburbs of Dublin, in answer to a counsel there given to the Catholics by Lord Cloncunny to look for repeal first.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, O'Connell became involved with the Catholic Committee - an organisation established in 1760 to obtain social and political reforms for Catholics, particularly for those of the emerging professional and merchant classes. In the last decades of the eighteenth century the Catholic Committee had successfully pressed for a number of Catholic Relief Acts, which effectively nullified the majority of the Penal Laws, though seats in parliament and positions in the government service and judiciary were still denied to Catholics. After the 1793 Relief Act, the active middle class element in the Committee led by the Dublin merchant, John Keogh, was ousted from its dominant position by the conservative Catholic gentry. Such men, along with a handful of the professional and merchant class Catholics, anxious to come to a modus vivendi with the government on the issue of Catholic Emancipation, professed themselves prepared to accept government safeguards accompanying any subsequent Catholic relief bills. In 1813 such a bill was introduced in the Commons by Grattan. It gave the government control over Catholic appointments - episcopal as well as lay - thus introducing a policy of state interference into Church affairs. Although the bill received the support of the English Catholic Board, the Irish Catholic gentry and Monsignor Quarantotti (on behalf of the Papacy), O'Connell rejected it outright and his lead was followed by the Catholic clergy and Catholic Committee. Known as the 'Veto Affair', these developments resulted in the Catholic gentry's
withdrawal from the Committee, giving O'Connell the opportunity to build up a power-base there.

By the early 1820's however, O'Connell realized that he would have to adopt a new approach to broaden the appeal of the demand for Catholic Emancipation. Petitions calling for Emancipation were achieving nothing in the Commons and the opposition in the Lords was clearly unsurmountable. At a dinner party on 8. February 1823 at Glencullen, the home of his friend Thomas O'Mara, O'Connell therefore outlined his new strategy. The organisation, he proposed, should aim to develop into a mass movement, with the demand for the redress of practical grievances a key strategy. In particular the demand for a reduction in rents and, more importantly, the abolition of the tithe paid to the established Anglican Church - a major cause of discontent among the Catholic population and one which remained an important aspect of O'Connell's campaigns until the Tithe Rentcharge (Ireland) Act of 1838 reduced the tithe and included it in the rent charge - were to form key elements of this. Regarding the organisation itself, a framework of control over the masses would be provided by the clergy, who were to form a nationwide organisation. The timing seemed auspicious for such mass agitation: Ireland was undergoing the effects of an economic depression, with agrarian secret societies carrying out acts of violence in many parts of the country and demands for rent and tithe reforms growing strident. In addition, in 1823 the British administration was, for O'Connell's purposes, an exceptionally favourable one. Lord Wellesley, elder brother of the Duke of Wellington and a firm supporter of Catholic Emancipation, had been appointed Lord Lieutenant in 1821 (a post he held until 1828 and again in 1833/34), and the Irish lawyer and politician, William Plunket, himself a champion of the cause of Catholic
Emancipation (though he was not an O'Connellite), had been made Attorney-General in 1822.

The Catholic Association was established by O'Connell in May 1823; at a meeting on 12. May in Dempsey's Tavern, Sackville Street, Dublin, fifty men became members by paying an annual subscription of one guinea. The rules and procedures were then drawn up and read to the meeting on 24. May, as John O'Connell reports:

Saturday 24. May
Sir Edward Bellew in the Chair

Mr. Scanlan reported from the committee of regulation, and read to the meeting so far as the committee had gone in preparing the rules for the proceedings. Those of importance were - 'That the association be formed for the purpose of procuring, by every legal means, Catholic Emancipation; that the society consist of such individuals as pay the annual subscription of one guinea, and that the association will not exercise nor accept of any delegated authority or quality whatsoever; that no Catholic be permitted as a spectator of the proceedings at the meetings of the association, unless he become a subscriber. That persons of every other religious persuasion shall have permission to be present during the proceedings, but not to vote or speak upon any question, unless he be a subscriber."

Another important and indeed revealing rule, which was to be of vital significance to both this and the future Repeal Association, was that which dealt with free access for the press:

That every accommodation be afforded to the press.

Thus the Catholic Association received adequate press coverage - a vital element, recognized by O'Connell, if the Association was to develop into a nationwide organisation.

Moreover the authorities were invited to check the organisation's books at any time - thus protecting itself from allegations of illegality and subversive activities. In addition O'Connell's insistence on the non-denominational nature of the Association is obvious from the following letter to his wife:
I then went to the Catholic Association, where we had great debating. The principal question was whether we would allow Protestants to be members of the Association by paying a subscription just as Catholics might. You will easily imagine that I was of this way of thinking and carried it by a triumphant majority. I wish we may find Protestants liberal enough to join us, that is all; we have done our part. The next motion was that we should allow no visitors but Protestants, that is, no Catholic should come into the board without paying one guinea a year. This we also carried, so that you see, we have in our little parliament, set the Protestants a good example...

Catholic priests could also attend meetings as non-paying spectators and were even permitted to be non-paying members.

In the initial period the movement did not experience a great deal of success. It was essentially an association for Catholic lawyers; they dominated the membership; meetings were held over Coyne's bookshop in Capel Street, in close proximity to the Four Courts, and took place in the afternoons - ideal for the legal men, who would have completed a morning's work at the courts. Commenting on his visits there, first in 1823, and again in 1829, John O'Connell demonstrates the modest beginnings of what was to become such an influential organisation:

The contrast was striking. The narrow two-room floor in Capel Street, yet but half filled; the scanty returns of money, the few communications from the country, and the informal haste with which the business of the day, (all, save Mr. O'Connell's usual address) was got through, were exchanged, in 1829 for the much larger arena of the Corn Exchange Rooms, crowded - room, passages, stairs and all - to suffocation.

This dramatic change was brought about by the successful implementation of a number of changes introduced by O'Connell in 1824. In order to transform the movement into the popular mass movement he envisaged, he introduced an associate membership of one shilling a year, a sum which was within the reach of a substantial sector of the Catholic population. Moreover 1824 was also the year in which O'Connell launched his Catholic Rent campaign. This scheme, designed to finance his
political movement and considered too radical by some members of the Association, was introduced in February 1824. O'Connell's plan was that donations should not exceed two shillings per month, nor be less than one penny. The wealthier element of the population were to be attracted by the fact that their guinea membership would cover part of their contribution to the Rent:

I went from court to the Association, where we had a full meeting. I read a long 'Report' on the subject of subscription. All I ask is one farthing a week from one-sixth of the Catholics. Who is it that cannot afford a farthing a week? Yet it would make more than £50,000 if collected...

The Rent campaign was a great success. Between June 1824 and March 1825 the Rent amounted to £20,000. O'Connell astutely adopted this strategy in all his future political campaigns; it provided him with necessary funds; gave the people a sense of unity and purpose; and reinforced the notion that practical gains could be achieved by contributing to it. Most importantly, it enabled O'Connell to demonstrate to the authorities the support he had among the people of Ireland.

The administration soon became aware of the popularity of O'Connell's Association. The King, George IV, a vigorous opponent of Catholic Emancipation, demanded that the organisation be banned. As a result the Chief Secretary, Henry Goulburn, introduced the Unlawful Societies in Ireland Bill, which became law in March 1825. By the terms of this Act no organisation such as the Association could remain in existence for more than fourteen days. Despite this development O'Connell did not despair. Sympathy for his cause was strong among radical and Whig M.P.s in parliament and he went to London to encourage them in their support. His subsequent attempts at getting some form of conciliatory agreement resulted in the introduction of a Catholic Bill in parliament by the then radical M.P., Sir Francis Burdett, which proposed the
modification of the anti-Catholic Oath of Supremacy in return for
government control of Catholic clerical appointments. Attached to the
bill were two safeguards for the government - payment of the Catholic
clergy by the state and the disenfranchisement of the 40 shilling free-
holders. O'Connell’s support for both the bill and the safeguards exem-
plifies his political pragmatism; at the time this appeared to be the
most he could hope to achieve. Furthermore, on this occasion O'Connell
disclaimed the suggestion that the safeguards would result in state
control of the Church (in this he was supported by a group of Irish
bishops then in London) and that the withdrawal of the franchise from
the 40 shilling freeholders would have negative political consequences
for him. However following the defeat of the measure, he returned to
Ireland to consider the situation. He admitted that he had been wrong
about the disenfranchisement issue and undertook to fight for its
exclusion in any future Emancipation bill; however he continued to
defend his support for the second safeguard, claiming that it would
have brought an additional £ 250,000 revenue from Britain into the
country. 23 His willingness to accept this clerical payment contrasts
Sharply with his stand during the Veto Affair (1813-15) and with his
post-1825 views. It has been suggested that during 1825 he experienced
increasing difficulty in controlling the mass movement in Ireland and
was persuaded that a compromise with the government was essential to
enable him to retain his leadership. 24 Throughout his career he dis-
played great willingness to act as the situation required for the
benefit of his campaigns. Returning home in 1825 however, he began
agitating once more, though the terms of the Goulburn Act caused him
to proceed in a more circumspect way. Having voluntarily dissolved
the Catholic Association earlier in the year, in the hope that that
would aid the passage of Burdett's bill through parliament, he
established the New Catholic Association in June, the aims of which included the demand for a liberal and Catholic education system, a liberal and enlightened press and the drawing up of the census of the Catholic population of Ireland. This new Association was also involved in the establishment of hospitals and alms-houses. Particular use was made of county and provincial meetings at this time, as the terms of the Goulburn Act prevented meetings on Catholic issues taking place in towns.

In January 1826 O'Connell established the Catholic Association for 1826, designed to exist for fourteen days (thus remaining within the limits of the law). O'Connell's decision to form such an organisation, which remained in existence as a result of constant changes in its title, proved to have positive consequences for the Emancipation campaign. Increasingly the demand for Emancipation ended the divisions in Catholic political circles, caused by the Veto controversy. Indeed at a dinner organised by the Association in February 1826 to honour both Protestant and Catholic supporters of the campaign "All the Catholic Noblemen, Baronets and Gentlemen now in Ireland were present." Moreover 1826 saw the adoption of the general policy of involvement in electoral politics by the Association, though they had not yet developed a central organisation for that purpose. In the General Election of that year support was given to any candidates who sympathised with Emancipation. O'Connell himself initiated the participation of the clergy in these electoral campaigns by calling on them to organise local political meetings and collect money; he did not however yet contemplate using the 40 shilling freeholders, as he
believed them to be merely puppets of their landlords. His opinion changed following the success of Thomas Wyse in Waterford in turning the 40 shilling freeholders into an effective political force, resulting in the election of Villiers Stuart, a pro-Emancipation landlord. Wyse, a member of the Catholic landed-class, who became the first historian of the Association, believed in the necessity of organising voters; he established a general committee for Waterford to coordinate the election campaign; local branch committees were set up; election agents were appointed and paid - a tactic which proved very expensive - and electors were canvassed. By using the framework established by O'Connell for the original Catholic Rent, particularly the active involvement of the clergy, Wyse conducted a well-organised, peaceful election campaign, which, unusually for the time, was marked by an absence of alcoholic consumption.

The victory at Waterford proved to be a watershed in Irish politics - henceforce the political involvement of the masses was of the utmost importance, as they became aware of the power they could wield in an election. The events in Waterford also demonstrated this fact to O'Connell, who then exploited it in each of his future political campaigns. Moreover following Stuart's victory, O'Connell took steps to enliven the organisation. He called for the collection of a New Catholic Rent, to provide aid for the freeholders who might be victimised by their landlords in consequence of their independent action; in July he founded the Order of Liberators, based on a similar organisation founded by the South American revolutionary, Simon Bolivar. This Order, which aimed to end secret societies and violent outbreaks, and to encourage electoral politics among the masses, had very little success. For the government however it was a worrying development.
Their misgivings were not helped by the revival of the Association on the original model after the expiration of Goulburn's Act at the end of 1827, nor by O'Connell's new scheme of providing free legal aid to Catholics and of establishing independent arbitration courts to replace those of the state.

1828 saw the Catholic Association experience great popularity, with large provincial meetings taking place and branches appearing throughout the country, culminating in the victory of O'Connell in Clare in the 1828 election. Excitement was great all over Ireland. The government, with Peel and Wellington, two anti-Catholic emancipationists, in command, recognised the threat of violent rebellion, if the situation were not defused. And indeed it can be said that it was this fear of the power of the Irish Catholic masses, which led to the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. The German version of O'Connell's Memoir on Ireland conveys something of the excitement of the moment in the vivid recall of the Liberator:


By the terms of the Act the oath of allegiance and abjuration was replaced by an oath of allegiance to the Crown and the Protestant succession; Catholics were free to hold all positions in the government except that of Regent, Lord Chancellor of England or Ireland, or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Act reinforced certain restrictions on Catholics. However the most contentious was that it brought about the disenfranchisement of the 40 shilling freeholders, reducing the Irish electorate from over 100,000 to 16,000 (the franchise having been raised
Despite this latter aspect, the Act was a victory for the Catholics of Ireland; even the disenfranchisement of the majority of the Catholic population did not lessen their regard for O'Connell - if anything his popularity increased. The achievement of Catholic Emancipation was a major psychological boost for a people more accustomed to defeat; it made them aware of their strength, gave them a sense of pride and self-respect. Furthermore middle class Catholics had the additional advantage of being able to improve their positions in society by availing of the terms of the Act (although this did not occur on a large scale until the mid-1830's).

However this very satisfaction of the middle class Catholics was to prove a drawback for O'Connell in 1830, and the early years of that decade were not successful for him. After the failure of his attempts to get the government to carry out their undertaking to appoint Catholics to positions of influence, he responded by resorting to the device of setting up another association, in this instance entitled, The Society for the Repeal of the Union in 1830. He then gave up his practice at the Bar to devote himself entirely to politics. This proved financially disastrous; a special O'Connell Tribute was subsequently established to combat this and was collected annually from 1830 until his death in 1847, a controversial measure, defended staunchly by his son John in his 1849 work Recollections and Experiences during a Parliamentary Career:

There never was any species of public contribution of which so much returned into the hands of the public, as of the "Tribute" or "O'Connell Rent", as was indifferently called the magnificent annual collection made by the people of Ireland to enable my father to fight their battles in Parliament. Even in ordinary years, large amounts went back in subscriptions of all kinds, religious and political; but in years of general elections considerably more than one-half was disbursed in the expenses of the elections and election petitions of which he undertook the burthen.
Despite becoming a full-time politician, the campaign did not take off, as the previous one had. The Catholic middle classes were pleased with conditions as they were, as were the majority of Catholic bishops, and the Protestants (both Anglican and Presbyterian), Whigs and Radicals who had supported his call for Emancipation, were on the whole not in favour of the concept of Repeal.

Moreover the Whig administration - in power since November 1830 (with Earl Grey as Prime Minister) - early on showed its determination to crush the Repeal movement. It proclaimed O'Connell's association under each of its titles, took action against newspapers which advocated Repeal and attempted to introduce reforms to Ireland, which it hoped would weaken the demand for Repeal. O'Connell, aware that the Whig ministry did intend to introduce much needed reforms in Ireland, such as municipal reform and the extension of the franchise, displayed his characteristic pragmatism and continued to support them, although he refused their offer of the position of Master of the Rolls in December 1830. However the government's failure in the event to implement any real improvements to the situation in Ireland - its Representation of the People (Ireland) Act of August 1832, which increased the electorate to 1.2% of the population and raised the number of seats for Irish M.P.s in parliament from 100 to 105, notwithstanding - led O'Connell to make Repeal a central issue in the general election held in December of that year. As a result a 'Repeal Party' of 39 M.P.s took their seats in the Commons. The reinstated Whig administration continued its anti-Repeal policy and introduced a Coercion Act in 1833, whereby the number of meetings that could be held for any purpose was severely restricted, as were the areas where meetings could be held. In addition an attempt by O'Connell to introduce a Repeal motion in the House of Commons in April 1834 failed dismally. The Irish leader now realised that a new approach
would have to be adopted.

Despite these apparent difficulties, the political climate in the mid-
late 1830's was favourable to O'Connell in his search for an alternative
approach. Not only was the British administration in Dublin Castle more
well disposed towards the Irish leader, particularly since two of his
greatest opponents, Edward Stanley (Chief Secretary) and the Marquis
of Anglesey (Lord Lieutenant) left Ireland in 1833, but the internal
turmoil in Westminster (1834 saw three separate administrations, a Whig
ministry under Lord Melbourne, followed by two conservative administra-
tions under the Duke of Wellington and Peel respectively) and the
problems created by the widespread violence of the anti-tithe campaign
in Ireland (which O'Connell supported in principle, though he was opposed
to the violent nature of the campaign) led Melbourne to make overtures
to O'Connell and his party, prior to the General Election of 1835.

The resulting alliance, known as the Lichfield House Compact, yielded
such reforms for Ireland as the Tithe Act (1838), the Irish Poor Law
Act (1839) and the Municipal Corporations Act (1840) and lasted, despite
O'Connell's disappointment with the terms of many of the acts, from
1835 to 1840. A further significant result was the appointment of
Catholics and liberal Protestants to important positions in the civil
service and judiciary.

In view of these changes taking place, O'Connell had decided to let
the Repeal agitation rest for a while. In the late 1830's, when the
ministry's fortunes were obviously flagging, he returned to it again
in earnest with the foundation of the Precursor Society in 1838, followed
by the Loyal National Repeal Association in 1840. Following the
Conservative's success in the General Election in 1841, which brought Peel to power once more, O'Connell launched a massive campaign on the 1820's model, for the Repeal of the Union. At first this proved unsuccessful - Repeal did not enjoy the widespread appeal of Catholic Emancipation. However the severe economic conditions following the bad harvest of 1842, coupled with the propaganda and popular tactics adopted by O'Connell, rapidly began to turn the Repeal campaign into what proved to be the most spectacular, popular political campaign in nineteenth century Ireland; it also enabled O'Connell to announce that 1843 would be 'Repeal Year'. It was these events in Ireland which attracted attention throughout Europe. In France, the demand for Repeal was observed closely by liberal Catholics, such as Montalembert, who, as has been seen, founded a Catholic association based on that of O'Connell. Similarly O'Connell's influence can be seen in the structure and tactics of the Piusverein, founded in Germany in 1848.

One of the most important of O'Connell's novel tactics had been the collection of the Catholic Rent. Introduced in February 1824, O'Connell set about making it a nationwide collection. He was appointed secretary in charge of the Rent, with his friend and fellow Kerryman, James Sugrue, assistant secretary. Accounts were opened with parishes, audited and published annually; collectors nominated; lists of subscribers drawn up; and a general finance committee established. O'Connell continually attempted to improve the system of collecting the Rent, eventually establishing a system of church wardens for that purpose. As previously mentioned, the collection of this Rent was of vital significance for O'Connell's movement - not only did it provide him with a fighting fund, but it also proved useful in demonstrating to the English how much support he had in Ireland. Furthermore it gave the people a sense of
unity and political purpose — by subscribing to the Rent the middle classes, both rural and urban, felt that they were helping an organisation which would achieve their aims of economic, social and political advancement, while the mass of the Catholic population believed that their contributions would result in a redress of grievances, in particular the abolition of the tithe. Indeed the Rent also provided them with a feeling of pride and achievement — O'Connell's fine house in Merrion Square, and his impressive equipage were regarded by the poor as items they themselves had bestowed on their leader. Similarly the Catholic Clergy supported the Rent campaign, not least for the benefits the Church would receive from it. The need to combat proselytism by Protestant missionaries, such as the Irish Society for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish through the Medium of their own Language, established in 1818, and the Scripture Readers' Society, founded in 1822, along with the need for the endowment of more Catholic schools, caused the clergy to be actively involved in the campaign. In May 1824, a number of parish priests requested to keep half the Rent collected in their parish and use it for repairs for the church building and the local school; O'Connell readily acquiesced. The clergy's support proved vital for the development of a unified, national movement. They were spread throughout the entire country, were educated, understood organisational methods, and significantly were part of a church skilled in communication. Moreover by the 1820's the local church building was becoming an important focal point of Irish society — a fact that was not overlooked by the Catholic Association, which held 'Rent Sundays' and meetings after Sunday masses. The priests became increasingly involved in the collection of the Rent (an important part of O'Connell's plan) and in the development of local political life. However the success of O'Connell's movement was not the result of clerical
"manipulation" of the people. It was the clergy who followed the people in this instance, rather than the people following the lead of their religious guardians. In many instances the clergy found themselves forced to join with their flock in support of O'Connell, simply to prevent a split developing between them. It is true that in rural areas the clergy often held key positions in the leadership of both the Catholic Emancipation and Repeal movements, but these posts were often shared with laymen, and in urban areas laymen exclusively filled the leading positions.

O'Connell fostered this unity of purpose between clergy and laity; but he also believed that something more was needed to strengthen his movement - the successful exploitation of both the literary and oral media to influence public opinion. O'Connell was a firm believer in the benefits of constant repetition. As a result he ensured that local and national newspapers carried extensive coverage of meetings in the Corn Exchange in Dublin - Michael Staunton's popular *Weekly Register* containing an account of the week's activities in the Dublin headquarters. O'Connell insisted that these reports be read or listened to by the people by stating crisply that the ninth and tenth duties of the Repeal Warden were:

To take care that there should be transmitted from the Association to each locality a weekly newspaper for every two hundred associates; or a three-day paper for every four hundred associates, enrolled in each locality as the case may be. The sum of ten pounds collected and forwarded to the Repeal Association, entitles the Repealers of the district sending that remittance to a weekly paper for the entire year; and the sum of twenty pounds entitles them to the Pilot or Evening Freeman (being three-day papers) for the same period, if they prefer them to weekly papers. (ninth duty as set out in the Instructions for the Appointment of Repeal Wardens, and of Collectors of the Repeal Fund).

To have the newspapers to which each parish or district may be entitled put into the hands of such persons as may give
the greatest circulation to their contents: so that each paper may be read by, and its contents communicated to as many people as possible, for the purpose of circulating the proceedings of the Repeal Association, and other repeal news by access to the newspapers ... 

Eventually reading rooms were established throughout the country where Catholic Association members could read, not only newspapers, but also copies of the speeches of O'Connell and other leaders, as well as O'Connell's many addresses to the people of Ireland - a practice which is strikingly similar to the Leihbibliotheken being established in Germany at this time. The Irish people were even then avid readers of the press. Their constant desire to have reports on local affairs included in the national papers is but one example of this. O'Connell exploited this interest well; the press was just one of the means he employed to develop the popular national consciousness. The other principle of political propaganda which he effectively used to his advantage was the oral medium. In fact O'Connell was the first modern Irish politician to systematically use the gift of oratory to appeal to the masses. His knowledge of the Irish people, their character and emotions, coupled with his fine appearance and style of speaking, contributed to his success as a public orator. Moreover he was a master of the art of knowing his audience and choosing his language and style according to those he was addressing. The German radical journalist, Jakob Venedey, experienced this at first hand when he attended a meeting of the Repeal Association in Dundalk in 1843:

Als O'Connell seine Rede anfing, dauerte es sehr lange, ehe die rechte Wechselwirkung zwischen ihm und seinen Zuhörern eintrat. Sie verstanden ihn nicht, der kältere Norden ist dem heißern Süden unzugänglich. Die Masse blieb unberührt von dem ersten Viertel der Rede O'Connell's, und ich sah auf seiner Stirn eine dunkle Wolke des Misbehagens. Das Volk stand überdies nicht eine Sekunde still, Alles wogte enggedrängt hin und her; hier schrie einer um Hilfe, dort wurde ein Bube oder eine Frau, in Gefahr zu ersticken, aus der Menge gehoben und wanderte über die Köpfe weg bis zum Ende der Versammlung. Unruhe, Unachtsamkeit, Roheit...
Further on in this piece Venedey compares O'Connell's oratorial techniques with those of the dynamic orator and politician Richard Cobden (1804-1865). This analogy is indeed relevant. A man of great energy and talent, Cobden too held a dominant position in contemporary British politics, his organisational and oratorial skills put to excellent use in his nationwide campaign for the Repeal of the Corn Laws - which reached a successful conclusion in 1846:

The glamour and excitement of these large public meetings made them major events in the lives of the peasants, but there were in all four types of meetings organised by the Association - parish, county, provincial and national - each of which contributed to the politicisation of the Irish masses and converted them to the notion of constitutional politics.
were regularly used for the nomination of candidates for election and the propagation of the Association's political programme. With the emphasis on a political campaign centered on victory at the polls, came the development of the **Liberal Clubs**. These clubs were based on the model of the **Louth Liberal Club**, which was established in January 1827, to protect the 40 shilling freeholders who had voted against their landlords during the 1826 General Election.\(^{44}\) Initially its membership consisted of professional men, pro-emancipation landlords, shopkeepers, farmers and priests. It was not until O'Connell's victory in Clare in 1828, that **Liberal Clubs** were founded all over the country, by which time their function was to secure representation in the counties and collect the Catholic Rent. Although O'Connell suggested they be transformed into reading rooms after 1829, many, while changing the title under which they operated, continued to meet as before, thus enabling O'Connell to call on their support whenever necessary, as for example, during the 1832 General Election. Indeed these clubs formed the basis of the organisational framework, which was revived by O'Connell in the late 1830's, when he renewed the campaign for Repeal of the Act of Union.

The **Loyal National Repeal Association**, founded in 1840, had three types of members; volunteers who paid a £10 annual subscription; members who paid £1 per annum; and associate members who paid an annual one shilling subscription. The movement had its headquarters in Dublin, with local branches throughout the country. It organised the collection of the Repeal Rent and established Repeal Reading Rooms. Once more the press had an important role to play - especially the Young Irelanders' journal, **The Nation**, which was founded in 1842 by Thomas Davis, John Blake Dillon and Charles Gavan Duffy, who was sole proprietor.\(^{45}\) This newspaper, which reached a quarter of a million readers through the Repeal Reading Rooms,
published an article in November 1842, suggesting that the Irish Liberal M.P.s should withdraw from the Westminster Parliament and establish their own parliament in Dublin. This suggestion was developed by O'Connell into his plan for a Council of Three Hundred, first publicised in 1843. After his release from Richmond gaol, where he had been imprisoned from May to September 1844, O'Connell took steps to introduce this Council by firstly setting up the Preservative Society. Moreover he continued to support the Repeal arbitration courts, which acted independently of the authorities and which had been introduced in 1843, in response to Peel's policy of removing pro-Repealers from the judiciary. The success of this system is suggested by O'Connell's son, John, in the Repeal Dictionary:

While the system was connected with the Association, viz. from October to February, nearly 2,000 cases were arbitrated upon. A report drawn up by Dr. Gray, who was chairman of the Arbitration Committee, as original proposer of the system, states that these cases embraced the following subjects: - wages, labourers' hire, book accounts, damages for assaults, disputed title, right of passage, conacre disputes, separate maintenance, rent, illegal distress, division of property between co-heirs, etc., etc. ...

Along with these tactics O'Connell also used the well-tested strategy of holding mass meetings. These so-called 'monster meetings' were on a much larger scale than those of the 1820's and were often held at places of historic interest, such as that held at the ancient seat of the High Kings, Tara, Co. Meath, on 15. August 1843. In the summer and autumn of that year these 'monster meetings' were attracting audiences of hundreds of thousands. O'Connell began to use more daring and even threatening language in his speeches, though the meetings themselves remained free of violent outbreaks, a fact emphasised by John O'Connell in 1845:

According to that eccentric luminary, Sir Edward Sugden, lord high chancellor (save the mark!) of Ireland, the Repeal Meetings of 1843 had "an inevitable tendency to outrage!" Yet not a single outrage was proved to have
occurred at them, save that the people laughed at a
drunken Orange policeman at the Longford meeting, and
that an old woman's gingerbread stall was upset by
accident at another.

However the Conservative government decided to take action against the
staging of these gatherings and declared what was to have been the most
spectacular mass meeting yet, that planned for Clontarf in October,
illegal on the day before it was scheduled to take place. True to his
peaceful and constitutional principles, O'Connell cancelled the meeting
to avoid a confrontation and subsequent bloodshed:

In short, everything conceivable in the hurry of the moment
was done by Mr O'Connell and the General Committee, to
prevent the spilling of human blood; which would have been
the inevitable consequence, had the original intention been
adhered to, and the people been allowed to proceed unwarned,
till they found themselves full in front of the strong body
of soldiery that had been privately ordered to the ground.

Following the cancellation of the Clontarf meeting, O'Connell, his son
John, and seven other leading figures in the movement, including two
priests, were arrested and charged with conspiring to overthrow the
government. The trial took place in January and February 1844 and
attracted widespread attention, not only in Ireland and Britain, but also
on the European mainland. The verdict of guilty was announced in May;
O'Connell was fined £2,000 and sentenced to one year in prison. The
blatant injustice of the trial (Catholics had been excluded from the
jury) provoked a great deal of outrage and sympathy on behalf of the
Irish leader. An appeal to the House of Lords recognized the unjust
nature of the trial and O'Connell was released to a triumphant welcome
in September 1844.

Prior to the verdict in May, O'Connell had undertaken a lecture tour of
England (in March and April), where he had a large number of supporters,
particularly among the Chartists. Meetings were held in cities such as Birmingham and Manchester and a large dinner was given in his honour at Covent Garden. At the Birmingham meeting O'Connell shared the platform with the federalist leader and M.P., Sharman Crawford. Following his release in September, he continued to make overtures to the federalists, whom he now permitted to join the Repeal Association, although he never lost sight of Repeal as the ideal solution. Moreover he proceeded to address more mass meetings in the first ten months of 1845 – on one occasion speaking at five meetings in Cork in one day –, but he also began to be more cautious. Although still in favour of the arbitration courts, he no longer wanted them to be linked to the Repeal Association. In addition he began talks with the Whigs, with a view to a possible 'Repeal-Whig alliance'. These new developments produced rumblings of disquiet among the Young Ireland section of his supporters, and this disquiet was intensified by their differing views on Peel's Colleges Bill.

The Colleges Bill was part of a three-part package introduced by Peel in the 1840's, designed to weaken the link between O'Connell and the clergy, whom the ministry saw as the main bulwark of the O'Connellite movement, and to wean away a substantial amount of middle class Irish Catholics from his movement. Clerical acceptance of the reforms brought about by the Charitable Donations and Bequests for Roman Catholic Ministers (Ireland) Bill, the Maynooth Grant Bill and the Colleges Bill, would, Peel hoped, end O'Connell's ability to exploit Church demands, by which he had gained clerical and general Church support for his political campaign. O'Connell's stature was amply demonstrated by what followed. His opposition to the Charitable Donations and Bequests Bill, which conflicted with the attitude of at least part of the Irish hierarchy, persuaded the majority of bishops, clergy and laity to reject the measure,
even after it had become law, while his espousal of the Maynooth Grant Bill led to its swift and widespread acceptance. Similarly his response to the third measure proved to be of vital significance. It has been demonstrated that O'Connell's rejection of the Colleges Bill and non-denominational education, often attributed to his desire to show his appreciation for Archbishop MacHale's support for Repeal, was not in fact a sudden change in attitude, as believed by many at the time. From supporting the new National System of Education in the 1830's, O'Connell had, by the early 1840's, come to believe that state control of education, even with clerical involvement, would result in a system which was inimical to both the clerical and national interests. His belief in Catholic education for Catholics can be seen in the following letter extracts, both written by him to Archbishop MacHale, the first in 1840 and the second in 1845:

In short if we had the Repeal,  
Religion would be free.  
Education would be free.  
The press would be free.  
No sectarian control over Catholics; no Catholic control over sectarians; that is, no species of political ascendancy. The law would of course sanction in the fullest measure the spiritual authority of the episcopal order over religious education...

I need not inform your grace that my opinion is decidedly favourable to the education of Catholics being exclusively committed to Catholic authority ...

In a letter written to William Smith O'Brien in the same year (1845), O'Connell makes clear his opposition to the Colleges Bill, at least in its current form:

I am very strongly for throwing out the Colleges Bill this session. If we could do so we should get a better, nay a decidedly good one next year. So I think.

His opposition to this bill however angered the Young Irelanders, who believed in mixed education as a prerequisite for a peaceful, contented
Ireland. Moreover there were other reasons for the increase in tension between the Young Irelanders and O'Connell; their dislike of the pro-Catholic slant of the Repeal movement; their doubts about O'Connell's dedication to Repeal; their disdain for his attempts at bargaining with the Whigs; and particularly because of his absolute rejection of violence irrespective of conditions. This latter issue eventually led to schism between the forces of Young and 'Old' Ireland.

It is because of his refusal to have recourse to violent methods that O'Connell has often been severely misjudged and underestimated as the liberal, even radical politician that he was. His belief in religious liberty meant not only his support for an Irish Catholic Church free from state interference and his demand that Catholics be treated equally with Protestants in Ireland and Britain, but he also supported the emancipation of Protestants in Spain and Portugal, and of the Jews in Britain, as the following extract from O'Connell's letter to the political leader of British Jews, the financier, philanthropist, and later baronet, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, testifies:

I entirely agree with you on the principle of freedom of conscience, and no man can admit that sacred principle without extending it equally to the Jew as to the Christian ... With these sentiments you will find me the constant and active friend to every measure which tends to give the Jews an equality of civil rights with all the other King's subjects, a perfect unconditional equality. I think every day of injustice until that civil equality is attained by the Jews ...

He was resolutely opposed to the notion of an Ireland where the Catholic Church would dominate to such an extent that Protestants would be denied their rights.

Similarly his belief in landlord proprietorship did not preclude a demonstrable concern for tenant rights; he supported their demands for
both fixity of tenure and freedom of sale. In addition he believed in the principle of free trade, opposed the Corn Laws and even advocated an elected House of Lords in Westminster. After his tactical support for the removal of the franchise from the 40 shilling freeholders in 1825, he became a firm supporter of universal suffrage, and of the campaign to introduce a secret ballot at elections, both of which contributed to his position as, in the words of Maurice O'Connell, "the principal Radical in British politics" for more than ten years. Furthermore he had strong opinions on many humanitarian issues: he opposed capital punishment and was so opposed to slavery, that even the threat of a decline in the amount of money sent from America did not prevent him expressing his opposition to it:

> With respect to the principles of President Tyler on the subject of Negro slavery I am as abhorrent of them as ever I was. Indeed, if it was possible to increase my contempt of slaveowners and the advocates of slavery, my sentiments are more intense now than ever they were, and I will avail myself of the first practical opportunity of giving utterance to them, especially in connection with the horrible project of annexing Texas to the United States ...  

O'Connell's sphere of influence was obviously not merely confined to Ireland and Britain. His lively interest in foreign affairs led him to speak out against imperial Russia and watch with interest events in Belgium and Holland. That he was also aware of the Catholic struggle in the Rhineland and the arrest of Archbishop Droste-Vischering of Cologne in 1837 may be seen from the following letter to O'Connell from the Rev. F. J. Nicholson, dated Paris, 4. 3. 1839:

> I sent you by him (O'Connell's son, John) then also a most excellent authoritative statement upon the affairs of the Archbishop of Cologne, which will enable you to answer all attacks upon that party.

Moreover the letter sent to O'Connell from Archbishop MacHale of Tuam, dated 27. 1. 1838, and that from Archbishop Slattery of Cashel,
of 8. 4. 1842, both mention the fate of Droste-Vischering, which
O'Connell, in the words of MacHale, "so eloquently denounced" in a letter
to the Morning Chronicle. This letter was subsequently published in
The Pilot on 4. 12. 1837. In it O'Connell staunchly defends the arch-
bishop's refusal to sanction mixed marriages, given the attitude of the
Prussian monarch, who O'Connell sees as guilty of "a most emaciating,
heartless and treacherous persecution of his Catholic subjects":

The venerable archbishop of Cologne, Monseigneur Droste de
Virschring (sic.), has not been guilty of any breach of the
peace, or of any force, violence, or turbulence; on the
contrary, the force and violence have been used towards him.
He has been dragged from his home and his flock by ruffian
military power, and is now probably perishing in the dungeons
of Magdeburg. His only crime was a conscientious refusal to
administer the sacrament of matrimony in cases and under
circumstances in which his sense of duty told him that he
ought not to administer it. In that I am convinced he was
perfectly right; and I have no doubt that you (the editor
of the Morning Chronicle) and every other enlightened
Protestant will agree with me when you are acquainted with
the real merits of the case.

As seen in the previous chapter, not only was O'Connell interested in
events in Germany, but German Catholics became increasingly aware of
O'Connell's movement in Ireland and indeed he was the source of
inspiration for the first German Catholic association, the Piusverein,
established in 1848. In their struggle for justice for the Church, German
Catholics had in effect two choices - to follow in the footsteps of their
Belgian co-religionists, who, in alliance with the Liberals, had been
involved in the violent July Revolution and in that way had freed Belgium
from the suppression of Protestant Holland, or follow O'Connell's example
of a peaceful mass movement, dedicated to constitutional methods. They
chose the latter, and the Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit was
accordingly established in Mainz in March 1848. The movement spread
quickly throughout the German states and in October of that year the
first general assembly was held in Mainz. It was here that the name was
formally changed to the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands, in direct imitation of O'Connell's Catholic Association of the 1820's.

This was not the only similarity between the German and Irish movements as shall be discussed in detail in the next chapter. The leaders of the Katholischer Verein intended their organisation to be a popular, peaceful mass movement, using the structure and tactics originally adopted by O'Connell in both the Catholic and Repeal Associations. The Katholischer Verein was essentially a lay organisation, but from its inception the involvement of the clergy was of vital significance. Meetings, both small weekly meetings and large public gatherings, reminiscent of O'Connell's 'monster meetings', played a central role in the politicisation of German Catholics at this period. In addition the moral and propaganda value of O'Connell's Rent scheme appears to have served as the model for a similar scheme introduced in the Katholischer Verein in 1848. Similarly the importance of newspapers, pamphlets and reading-rooms for the popularisation of their demands was recognised and acted upon.

Although the Katholischer Verein copied the Irish in exploiting the local grievances of the people to generate popularity and support, it was not a political organisation in the same sense as the Repeal Association had been. Nonetheless it did not shirk from taking an active part in politics when issues of importance to the Church were at stake, such as the demand for a Catholic education system. But despite such political demands, the Katholischer Verein, like O'Connell and his organisation, at all times displayed total loyalty to the Crown, which, in both cases, was often hostile to Catholic claims.
Such similarities are striking examples of O'Connell's influence on contemporary Catholics in Europe. His long, talented career included periods of successful political bargaining in Westminster, as well as periods devoted to the mobilization of massive popular support in Ireland. Yet it is the latter which attracted the attention of European Catholics; his novel and productive peaceful campaigns to politicise the Irish Catholic middle and lower classes and transform them from a society consisting primarily of powerless uneducated peasants into an effective political force, provided them with the ideal blueprint for their own Catholic organisation. Moreover O'Connell's piety and loyalty to the Church showed how adherence to Rome did not necessarily imply disdain for secular heads of state and their governments, and proved to many that Catholicism was not intrinsically opposed to popular demands for justice and civil rights. This was one of the most important aspects of O'Connell's legacy to European Catholics in the revolutionary atmosphere of 1848, when such demands reached a climax. In order to demonstrate this, a detailed examination of the Church in the period prior to the revolutions in Germany in 1848 and of the Piusverein itself is necessary.
Notes to Chapter 2

1. Writing to O'Connell's uncle, Hunting Cap, the president of the school had the following to say of him:
   I have but one sentence to write about him, and that is, that I never was so much mistaken in my life as I shall be, unless he is destined to make a remarkable figure in society. - O'Connell, J., The Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Vol. I, p. 8.

2. ibid., p. 10.

3. John O'Connell reports how the trial of Hardy transformed O'Connell from Tory sympathiser to Liberal:
   To Mr. O'Connell's astonishment, he found, ere the trial had proceeded far, that his sentiments were fast changing to those of pity towards the accused, and of something of self-reproach for having desired his conviction and punishment; and, each successive day revealing more and more the trumped-up and iniquitous nature of the prosecution, the process of change in Mr. O'Connell's mind ended by fully and finally converting him to popular opinion and principles, and confirming his natural detestation of tyranny, and desire of resisting it. - ibid., p. 11.

4. John O'Connell documents his father's membership of a Masonic lodge, though emphasising the fact that by the 1840's he (had) long since publicly disconnected himself with Freemasonry. - ibid., p. 535.

5. ibid., pp. 13f.


7. ibid., p. ix.

8. There were eight articles in the Act of Union. The first four dealt with the 'new' parliament of Great Britain and Ireland at Westminster, which would contain 100 Irish members in the House of Commons and 32 in the House of Lords (4 spiritual and 28 temporal). The fifth article concerned the Church of Ireland, which was now to be united with the Church of England; the sixth article provided for a system of free-trade between the two countries and the seventh laid down that each country was to have its own exchequer and look after its own national debt for the time being, with Ireland also contributing to imperial expenses. The final article stated that laws already in force in both Britain and Ireland before 1801, should retain force of law, unless otherwise changed by the Parliament at Westminster in the future.


Moreover by allowing journalists to attend meetings of the association, publicity for its ideas and activities was guaranteed, cf. O'Ferrall (1985), p. 34. This book and his thesis are particularly relevant for the context of this chapter, which is about the successful, peaceful politicisation of the masses and the relevance of this for European countries.

This Catholic Rent scheme was loosely based on a suggestion put forward in 1811 by Sir William Parnell, member of the Irish Protestant landed-class and grandfather of Charles Stewart Parnell.

The money collected in this way was to be used as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For parliamentary expenses</td>
<td>£ 5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the services of the press</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For law proceedings, in preserving the legal privileges of the Catholics, and prosecuting Orange aggressors</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the purpose of education for the Catholic poor</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For educating Catholic priests for the service of America</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>45,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition O'Connell hoped to spend the remaining £ 5,000 they collected (see note 21 - quote in chapter) in the repair and construction of Catholic schools, churches, priests' houses and any other parish requirements. O'Connell, J., The Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Vol. II, p. 488.

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23. ibid., p. 93.


We must immediately form the 'New Catholic Association'. I have it all arranged. They shall not get one hour's respite from agitation, I promise you. The English Catholics are wild for our being as wicked as possible. We will have a uniform - blue frock and white pantaloons in summer - blue pantaloons in winter - a blue velvet cape on a (word missing) coat. Depend on it, sweetest (his wife), I was never up to agitation till now.


28. Simon Bolivar (1783-1830). Born to an aristocratic Venezuelan family, Bolivar became converted to enlightened and liberal ideas, which led to his successfully overthrowing imperial Spanish rule, through violent means, in six Latin American countries. In December 1824, O'Connell made a speech in which he expressed the hope that if Ireland was not restored to her rights, a Bolivar would rise from the ranks of the Irish people to achieve this. He was arrested because of this (ironically at a time Britain was granting diplomatic recognition to Bolivar), but the charges against him were dropped, when none of those present at the speech would admit to having heard him utter anything about Bolivar.

29. The Repeal Dictionary provides us with the information that 'the highest amount of weekly rent received by the Catholic Association (during the Emancipation campaign) was £ 2,700 and there were only four other weeks when the rent was above £ 1000, and they occurred during the heat of the Clare election.' O'Connell, J., The Repeal Dictionary, Part I, p. 5


   My claim is this: - for more than twenty years before Emancipation, the burden of the cause was thrown upon me. I had to arrange the meetings - to prepare the resolutions - to furnish the replies to the correspondence - to examine the case of each person complaining of practical grievances - to rouse the torpid - to animate the luke-warm - to control the violent and the inflammatory - to avoid the shoals and breakers of the law - to guard against multiplied treachery - and at all times to oppose, at every peril, the powerful and multitudinous enemies of the cause ...

   Who shall repay me for the years of my buoyant youth and cheerful manhood? Who shall repay me for the lost opportunities of acquiring professional celebrity? or for the wealth which such distinction would ensure? - O'Connell, J., The Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Vol. I, p. 33.
Furthermore Fitzpatrick notes how Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, the political diarist, refused to join in the attack on O'Connell:

Friends and foes assailed O'Connell for his acceptance of this tribute, and amongst the 'friends' was John, Earl of Shrewsbury, the great Catholic champion, but the usually caustic pen of Greville failed to join in this adverse criticism. 'His dependence on his country's bounty' writes Greville (in his Journal, Vol. II, p. 386), 'in the rent that was levied for so many years, was alike honourable to the contributors and the recipient; it was an income nobly given and nobly earned.'—Fitzpatrick (ed.), Vol. I, p. 212.

32. The acceptance of this post would have provided O'Connell with a means of combating his financial difficulties, but O'Connell was determined to keep his independence and carry out his political campaigns without government restrictions. For a similar reason he refused the post of Irish Attorney General, three years later, in 1833.


33. Lord Mulgrave was now Lord Lieutenant, with Lord Morpeth replacing O'Connell's arch enemy, Stanley, as Chief Secretary. Under Secretary was Thomas Drummond, a particularly enthusiastic supporter of reforms for Ireland. A man of similar views was the new Home Secretary in the Westminster Parliament, Lord John Russell.

34. John O'Connell believes that a speech given by his father on Repeal, on 28. February 1843, marked the start of 'Repeal Year'. O'Connell, J., Recollections, Vol. II, pp. 235f.

35. For more information see Chapter 3,ii.


37. Moreover the Rent had a propaganda value, as can be seen by O'Connell's decision to reintroduce a Catholic Rent collection after the Waterford victory of 1826. This rent, he claimed, was needed to help the 40 shilling freeholders, who, because of their actions at the polls were now being persecuted by their landlords. In fact the funds from the previous Rent were large enough to cover this, but O'Connell realised the benefits to be gained by starting a new campaign—it would give the people a sense of unity and purpose. —O'Ferrall (1978), pp. 254f. The statement on O'Connell's house in Merrion Square appears in Rotteck and Welcker's Staatslexikon, Supplement IV, p. 70.

38. Connolly, p. 38.


42. It would be interesting to investigate possible parallels in terms of the politicisation of the literate (through associations), between Ireland and Germany at the time. For the situation in Germany see Ormrod's article, entitled Bürgerliche Organisation und Lektüre in den literarisch-ge sellsigen Vereinen der Restaurationsepoche in Ormrod/Häntzschel/Renner (eds.), pp. 123ff.


43a. ibid., pp. 111f.

44. O'Ferrall provides a full account of the Liberal Clubs in his thesis pp. 404ff.

45. It is characteristic of the era that not only did O'Connell influence Europeans at this time, but that there were corresponding waves coming from Europe - seen most clearly (though not only) in this group. They adopted the notion of 'absolute nationality', popularised by both the Young German and Young Italy movements. While O'Connell was not immune to the views of many European liberals, he did not espouse this radical romanticising of language and culture. His concern was primarily for the achievement of good government and these differences between what came to be known as 'Old Ireland' and the Young Irelanders, eventually led to a split in the Repeal movement, to the detriment of the cause. The support of the Young Ireland movement in the early 1840's had been of great significance.


47. Tara, then, - with its million of human beings congregated peaceably, and without any of the weapons of physical strife, - to declare for, and demand the restoration and full enjoyment of the inalienable rights of the citizens of a free land, may be considered to have been, as it were, the summing-up and climax of the mighty national movement of 1843, and at the same time the most sublime spectacle, because by far the largest demonstration of the will of a people using only the force of argument and of opinion in the pursuit of their ends, that ever the world had witnessed...

48. The Repeal Dictionary provides the information on numbers attending these 'monster meetings': Trim, 30,000; Mullingar, 100,000; Cork, 500,000; Longford, 200,000; Drogheda, 200,000; Kilkenny, 300,000, Mallow, 400,000; Dundalk, 300,000; Donnybrook, 200,000; Baltinglass, 300,000; Clontibret, 30,000; Tara, 800,000; Loughrea, 100,000; Clifden, 50,000; Lismore, 100,000; Mullaghmast, 100,000. In total, 3,710,000 attended 'monster meetings' between 19. 3. 1843 and 1. 10. 1843. O'Connell, J., Repeal Dictionary, Part 1, p. 223.

49. ibid., p. 222.

51. Fitzpatrick notes that 'for the fourteen weeks succeeding the pro-
secution the Repeal Rent amounted to £ 25,712.' - Fitzpatrick, (ed.),

52. However John O'Connell notes how in the 1840's, Feargus O'Connor, the
leader of the Chartists, turned the movement against O'Connell,
because he had denounced their acts of violence. O'Connell, J.,

53. Federalism was the system whereby Ireland was to have a Dublin parlia-
ment with control over internal affairs only. The Westminster Parlia-
ment would have control over imperial matters as they related to
Ireland and over matters of defence etc.

54. Kee, p. 226. Moreover in the Repeal Dictionary it is stated that
The Repeal Association, as a body is disconnected with this
system now (1845), in order to deprive the enemy of the
least shadow of a charge against the body, of usurping
state functions; but individuals can still refer their
disputes to whomsoever they choose; and Mr. O'Connell is
busy organizing a plan to facilitate their doing so. -
O'Connell, J., Repeal Dictionary, Part 1, p. 3.

55. For the Colleges affair and the Maynooth grant, see Kerr, pp. 224ff.

56. Donal Kerr plots O'Connell's apparently changing attitude towards
non-denominational education, from his espousal of it as an ideal
system in 1825 to his objections to the Colleges Bill, pp. 309ff.
Both Kerr (p. 311) and Moley (p. 175) discuss the supposition that
O'Connell objected to the bill in order to please MacHale.

57. John O'Connell also reports how, after initially lending his support
to the Kildare-St. Association, O'Connell became suspicious of its
proselytising tendencies and of irregularities in the accounts, and
withdrew his support. O'Connell, J., The Life and Speeches of Daniel


60. ibid., letter 3146 (dated 9. 6. 1845), p. 319. Note however Moley's
statement that after the Bill became law O'Connell made a speech in
parliament on the necessity of making the Act work - which suggests
that he merely wanted amendments to the Bill, rather than its total
defeat. Moley, pp. 175f.

61. These doubts are repudiated by John O'Connell in Recollections:
And yet, if ever there were a man devoted to a cause,
Daniel O'Connell was devoted to Repeal! From the earliest
period that he could form a judgement on public matters,
down to his latest gasp at Genoa, he was a convinced,
determined, devoted Repealer. His epitaph is not yet
written; but if more than his simple name is to be upon
his monument, it should be the inscription himself
proposed:
"HE DIED A REPEALER!" - O'Connell, J., Recollections,
62. On 11. July 1846, O'Connell introduced a resolution in the Repeal Association, whereby the members would renounce violence as a means of achieving their aims, a policy which O'Connell had supported and encouraged throughout his political career. The Young Irelanders felt unable to accept the resolution and left the Association in a body, under the leadership of William Smith O'Brien.


In a letter written in 1811, O'Connell further demonstrates his support for religious tolerance:

> The principle on which I have been, and am the advocate of Catholic Emancipation, is not confined to Ireland. It embraces the causes of the Dissenters in England, and of the Protestants in the Spanish and Portuguese territories. I need extend it no further - the crime of intolerance is now confined among Christian nations - almost exclusively to England and her allies ... - O'Connell, J., The Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Vol. I, p. 109.

64. To ensure that this would not happen, the House of Lords in the new Irish parliament, while admitting Catholic members, would have a majority of Protestants in the house. Kee, p. 214.


> At a meeting in London on 18. August under O'Connell's chairmanship at which the 'Friends of Peaceable and Constitutional Reform' renamed themselves the 'Precursor of Reform Society', a resolution was passed declaring one of the objects of the new body to be 'General suffrage on the household basis, including all married men, being only lodgers, and all operatives who have served a regular apprenticeship, and all professors of any art or science'. - O'Connell, M. (ed.), The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell, Vol. VI, note to letter 2659, p. 280.

66. op. cit., Vol. VII, letter 3133 (dated 4. 2. 1845), p. 305. Earlier in this letter to James Haughton, a wholesale grain merchant and supporter of Repeal, he spoke about his opposition to the death penalty:

> I beg your pardon for not having sooner acknowledged your kindness in sending me Charles Spear's admirable work on the abolition of the punishment of death (Essays on the Punishment of Death (1844)). May I beg you, when you write to that gentleman, to present him my respects and to assure him of my gratitude for his kind present of that work which I admire very much. There may be some shades of difference between him and me on certain principles enunciated in his book, none at all upon the practical abolition of the punishment of death, totally and without reserve ... - Moley, p. 122. Moreover a slight insight into his interest in foreign affairs can be gauged from a letter he sent to his friend P. V. Fitzpatrick, dated 21. 8. 1839, concerning events in Turkey, Russia and in the Protestant states of Hannover and Prussia, and in the editor's note to the letter to Fitzpatrick dated 14. 9. 1840, relating to the
war in Egypt in which British, Austrian and Turkish troops invaded Egypt. O'Connell, M. (ed.), The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell, Vol. VI, letter 2657 (pp. 276f) and letter 2748 (p. 363).

68. ibid., letter 2593, pp. 219f.


I like religion to be as free as air which is the only true liberality, and the fate of the Archbishop of Köln, the injustice of which you so eloquently denounced, and which is the fruit of a plausible system of mixed education, can attest the benefits or evils of such a project.

Slattery's letter: op. cit., Vol. VII, letter 2955 (dated 8. 4. 1842), pp. 148ff. The reference to Droste-Vischering reads as follows:

(With regards to restraints on Catholic clergy) we know that such attempts have been made in other places and even in our times. Let us only look at Prussia and with the example of that country and of the Archbishop of Cologne before our eyes, have we not good reason to deprecate any intermeddling on the part of a Protestant government with our ecclesiastical discipline and to view with jealousy and with alarm any suggestions however well intended that might possibly lead to such calamitous results.

For more information on the Cologne Incident, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, i.

70. Buchheim, p. 50.

71. For more information see Chapter 3, ii.

72. In O'Connell's letter to his friend, the Rev. W. A. O'Meara, dated 9. 9. 1841 in which he expressed his pleasure at Ludwig I's request for his autograph, he states:

Of course my sentiments on this occasion are in some measure influenced by the reverence in which I hold a sceptered Monarch, ...

Chapter 3

Daniel O'Connell and the German Catholic Movement

i: The German Catholic Church in the first half of the nineteenth century

Having examined O'Connell's career in Ireland, focussing on those key strategies which were to become such an integral part of the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands, it is now necessary to examine his impact on that movement itself. An essential preliminary to this is a detailed look at the circumstances of the German Catholic Church in the first half of the nineteenth century, to show how and why an organisation based on the structure and tactics of O'Connell's Catholic Association proved such an attraction to German Catholics.

It must be remembered that the Church in Germany was, by this time, a Church under attack. Pressure from secular, usually Protestant, authorities resulted in its development into a body lacking both in self-confidence and a sense of unity. On the other hand, in Ireland, O'Connell had the British, perhaps the greatest military power of the century, on the retreat. With his organised campaign for Catholic Emancipation, he had, within twenty-nine years of its establishment, successfully challenged the most important tenet of the Act of Union - that which placed all political power in the hands of the members of the Anglican Church. By using the techniques of constitutional liberalism and explicitly abjuring violence, O'Connell had achieved one of the greatest victories for the Irish people and the Catholic Church. The fact that the people received few practical advantages as a result is not of great significance. The moral victory and the transformation of the Irish peasantry into a powerful, political
weapon is what fascinated contemporary Europeans, among them Mazzini and Cavour, as well as the future leaders of the Katholischer Verein. German Catholics had achieved no successes prior to 1848. O'Connell had had success in the 1820's, and the 1840's were witnessing a return to this public and political excitement in Ireland. It is therefore not surprising that in their search for a model on which to base a German Catholic organisation, designed to protect the Church and its members from the more extreme aspects of the authorities' anti-Catholic views, German Catholics drew on the only successful example available to them - that of O'Connell's Catholic Association. The first four decades of the century had provided the impetus for this. The turmoil caused by the revolutions in 1848 gave them the ideal opportunity to put it into practice - resulting in the establishment of the Piusverein / Katholischer Verein Deutschlands in 1848.

In March 1848 Adam Franz Lennig laid the foundation of a vast organisation for German Catholics by establishing the Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit in Mainz. It is impossible to understand the success of this popular national movement without first examining the condition of the Catholic Church in Germany in the decades before the 1848 Revolution. The chief factors were the impact upon it of the French Revolution of 1789, with its ideas of radical democracy and its avowed anti-clericalism; the secularisation policies carried out in the early nineteenth century in the German states, coupled with the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire by the Emperor Franz of Austria in 1806; the defeat of Napoleon and the ensuing agreements at the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15, especially those which placed the Catholic populations of the Rhineland and the Belgian states under the authority of the Protestant rulers Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia and Wilhelm of Orange of the Netherlands; the
sussessful revolt of Belgian Liberals and Catholics in September 1830 and the stimulus this provided to Rhenish Catholics; finally, the July Revolution of the same year, which popularised so-called liberal demands even among conservative Catholic circles - all these things contributed to enabling the German Catholic Church take full advantage of the events of 1848 and create a nationwide, Catholic movement.

The impact of the French Revolution on the German Catholic Church was similar to that on other European churches; it served to bring many of the ideas of the Enlightenment into discredit; at the same time it resulted in a period of religious revival. Prior to the revolution, individual members of the German Catholic Church, such as Georg Hermes (1775 - 1831), professor of Philosophy and Theology at the university of Bonn, and Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg (1774 - 1860), coadutor of the bishopric of Constance, had accepted the new, enlightened attitudes, advocating that the Church be based on a purely rationalist order and opposing any merely emotive displays of religious fervour. Such attitudes had comparatively little popular support, but the image of the eighteenth century educated, rationalist German Catholic clergyman, who regarded his role as political (in the service of the state), rather than spiritual, did reflect reality in many cases. This trend was counteracted by the ideas of the influential professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology at the University of Landshut, Johann Michael Sailer (1751 - 1832). Sailer placed emphasis on the mystical and spiritual aspects of Catholicism; he stressed the central importance of prayer and personal piety and believed that Catholicism should manifest itself in compassion and charity. A child of the Enlightenment, Sailer's teaching contained a synthesis of enlightened ideas, those of the Romantics and the rediscovered fundamental principles of the Church. His advocacy of not only the works of the fathers of the Church, but,
unusual for a Catholic theologian of the period, of the Bible to support
his viewpoint changed the way in which Catholic theology was taught in
universities and seminaries; moreover he had a profound influence on the
new generation of priests, of whom Melchior von Diepenbrock and Wilhelm
Emmanuel von Ketteler are the most significant examples. His encoura-
gement of a deep personal piety and his stress on the centrality of pastoral
theology to the priestly ministry would later be extended to an active
sense of responsibility for the social needs of the people. Sailer's
effectiveness would not have been as great however had it not been for
the revival of genuine religious feeling (and of popular forms of devotion)
among a considerable number of lay Catholics in the aftermath of the
Enlightenment. This could be found particularly amid the ranks of the
landed aristocracy and well-to-do farmers, but also among urban dwellers
such as shopkeepers, academics and civil servants.

This religious revival in the Church coincided with the decrease in its
political, fiscal and also its economic strength, brought about to a
large degree by the secularisation policies of 1803. Secularisation of
Church land and property was nothing new; since the Middle Ages the king
or local lord granted and withdrew Church property on legislative (if
often bogus) grounds. But the act of 1803 was influenced by the concept
of the nationalisation of land, first introduced by the French
Revolution. What followed became known as the 'Princes' Revolution',
as states carved up the ecclesiastical estates among themselves, in com-
pensation for the territories they had lost on the left bank of the Rhine
during the Napoleonic wars. Promises of compensation, in the form of the
restoration of churches and cathedrals, remained unfulfilled in the
confusion of the ensuing years. Catholic schools and hospitals were
closed down, but most importantly the Church no longer possessed its
ecclesiastical principalities and land. This was a severe blow for the Church, but subsequent developments show that ironically it gave it a new lease of life. Before 1803 many bishops had little interest in the spiritual aspects of their profession. They decided to regard themselves primarily as territorial lords and to leave their priestly duties to auxiliary bishops and the lower clergy. Following secularisation, the position of bishop no longer provided attractive career prospects for the sons of the Catholic nobility; the bishop now had to personally carry out his spiritual duties, be well-versed in theology and dogma and win the trust and respect of his flock. Increasingly throughout the nineteenth century the German hierarchy became more middle class in outlook and partly in character also. The revered Archbishop of Cologne, Geissel, son of a wine grower in the Palatinate, who rose to the position of cardinal, is a case in point. It would be a mistake to exaggerate this 'democratisation' of the Catholic Church in Germany however, as many bishops were still drawn from the aristocracy, but the importance of the changing face of the Church should not be underestimated.

Secularisation forced the Church to look increasingly to its inner resources for survival. Similarly the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire three years later brought about the end of the special relationship between the Church and the Empire. Although freed from the political dependence on the state, placed upon it by the terms of the feudal system, the Church had now to care for itself in its dealings with modern, ambitious, aggressive states.

This subsequent weakness in its political position is apparent in its dealings with the victorious states following the defeat of Napoleon, at the congress of Vienna in 1814/15. Difficulties arose between Consalvi,
the papal representative at the Congress, and Wessenberg, who represented Dalberg, the Archbishop of Mainz, the oldest metropolitan see in Germany, which was reduced to the stature of a bishopric in 1815. Wessenberg's mission was to achieve the inclusion of a single Concordat between the Vatican and the German states of the newly constituted Deutsche Bund. Consalvi however distrusted Wessenberg's motives, doubted his Catholic orthodoxy, and rejected his proposals. Individual concordats were then signed between the various states and Rome, considerably weakening the position of the German Church as an institution. There was now no longer one central authority to protect its interests such as had existed in the Holy Roman Empire. Yet ironically Consalvi's distrust of Wessenberg also had more positive results for the German Church. In order to oust Wessenberg from the bishopric of Constance, the bishopric was dissolved and replaced by those of Freiburg, Fulda, Limburg, Mainz and Rottenburg, two of which (Freiburg and Mainz) were to become dynamic centres of modern German Catholicism.

A similar situation occurred in the Belgian provinces. Widespread resentment of the Dutch government resulted in an alliance between Belgian Catholics and Liberals; their revolt in 1830 led to the establishment of an independent state and restored the Church to a position of authority within the state, on friendly terms with the liberal government. As previously mentioned the success of this revolt had far-reaching effects in the Rhineland, where Catholics felt increasingly discriminated against by the Prussian authorities. Not only did they use Belgian newspapers to voice their criticism of Prussia, as the censorship laws prevented them establishing their own press, but they saw Belgium as a symbol of the benefits that could be achieved by determined action. In 1833, in an article entitled 'Ein Rückblick auf die belgische Revolution', the
conservative Catholic journal \textit{Der Katholik}, described in rhetorical prose the events of 1830:

Indessen brannte die stets unterhaltene und immer gesteigerte Gluth in allen belgischen Herzen fort, und im September 1830 kam es dann zum Ausbruche. - Ein neuer Beweis, daß die heiligsten Interesseng eines Volkes nie ungestraft verletzt werden.

\textit{Der Katholik} had originally been established in 1821 in Mainz, another centre of vibrant Catholicism, where after the 1830 July Revolution ideas of freedom of conscience, education and of the press and association took a particularly strong hold, especially on the Catholic middle classes. A Jacobin stronghold in the 1790's, in the Napoleonic period the French emperor had sent his countryman, Colmar, as bishop to Mainz to revive the Church in the area - a task which achieved substantial results.\textsuperscript{9}

Colmar's success in establishing a popular seminary, which produced many of the later prominent Catholic clergy - Geissel and Ketteler are once again obvious examples -, was complemented by his ability to popularise ultramontanist ideas among the clergy and laity, at a time when the legacy of the 1830 Revolution did not yet conflict with the belief in the supremacy of the papacy and the centralisation of the Church. This ultramontanist attitude, with its rejection of the ideas of the Enlightenment and support for a Church free from any kind of secular interference, became one of the most important elements of conservative Catholic thought in the nineteenth century. Yet in sharp contrast with their conservative theological and political outlook, these men demonstrated a more liberal attitude on the issue of social reform - a major concern in \textit{Der Katholik}. This journal had been launched by two lecturers in the Mainz seminary, Andreas Raeß, later Bishop of Strasbourg and Nikolaus Weis, later Bishop of Speyer, with the aim of highlighting injustices against the Church in any of the German states. Eagerly read by all ranks of
clergy and by the middle class laity, it was banned in Bavaria, Hessen and Prussia and this despite its support (in the early days) of the concept of a patriarchal state against a constitutional one. The action of the Hessen authorities led to its removal to Strasbourg in 1823; in 1827 it moved to Speyer in the Bavarian Palatinate (which witnessed the large liberal festival, the Hambacher Fest, five years later); here it remained until its return to Mainz in 1844.

While in Strasbourg one of its leading contributors and sometime editor was the brilliant publicist Joseph Görres, who from the late 1820's until his death in 1848 was the lynchpin of the conservative Catholic movement in Munich. But this was not the only link between the Catholics of Mainz and those of Bavaria. From its inception the editors of Der Katholik had maintained close ties with the Konfederierten — members of an organisation established in Munich in 1814, otherwise known as the Literarischer Verein zur Aufrechterhaltung, Verteidigung und Auslegung der römisch-katholischen Religion. Their concern was the achievement of a concordat between the Church and the state, which would recognise the interdependence of the Church and the state, but which would give the Church a greater influence over the activities of the state. In essence this was an organisation of Catholic clergy, united in opposition to Montgelas, Maximilian Joseph's prime minister. A skilled administrator, Montgelas held this position from 1799 until his dismissal in 1817. Under his instruction the development of Bavaria into a neo-absolutist secular state, a process which had begun in the late eighteenth century, was completed. Building on the precepts of the medieval Bavaria state, Montgelas combined certain aspects of both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, along with the absolutist doctrines of Prussia and Austria, thereby transforming Bavaria into a strong, bureaucratic state, marked by programmatic anti-clericalism:
La doctrine des deux puissances est une chimère monstrueuse de l'ambition sacerdotale; l'Eglise est dans l'Etat et non l'Etat dans l'Eglise.

The reign of Maximilian Joseph's son, Ludwig I, who came to the throne in 1825, at first seemed to introduce a more promising period for the Church. A former pupil of Sailer's at Landshut university, he had opposed the secularisation policies of his father and in his self-appointed role as defender of the Church, he granted Der Katholik permission to set up its main offices in Speyer, re-opened monasteries and convents and transferred the university to Munich, where it assumed a more Catholic character. Sailer's influence on the appointments to the new university is evident; his followers, such as Franz von Baader and Ignaz von Döllinger, were appointed to positions in the Philosophy and Law faculties respectively. More significant still was his involvement in the appointment of Görres as professor of History in 1827:

Die Berufung erregte großes Aufsehen wegen der politischen Vergangenheit und der ausgeprägt kirchlichen Gesinnung des Gelehrten. Görres war noch der alte, wurde aber hier in München nicht bloß ein großer Lehrer von dämonischer Sprachgewalt (Lasaulx), sondern mehr noch der stimmgewaltige Wortführer der katholisch-kirchlich-politischen Partei.

Prior to this Görres had addressed an open letter to Ludwig, calling on him to end the trend towards absolute rule in his kingdom. However despite his support of the Church and patronage of the university, Ludwig made no attempt to limit the power of the police as Görres had requested, nor did he allow the Church complete freedom; he saw the Church as an ally, but as a loyal, subordinate one, and this led to his eventual expulsion of both the Jesuit and Redemptorist orders in the 1840's, which he had begun to regard as a threat to the power of the state.
Already in the late 1820's he had expressed contempt for Görres' journal Eos for its allegedly liberal ideas. Eos was originally a literary journal, but when Görres became editor in June 1828, he transferred the emphasis to the rights and independence of the Church, offering publication of articles written by...

... Allen denen, welche die ewig unveränderlichen wahrhaft christlichen Principien in Kirche, Staat und Wissenschaft darzustellen und zu verfechten sich berufen fühlen ... 15

Ludwig's suspicion of liberal leanings among the staff of Eos was unfounded. For them liberalism meant the demise of the Church:

So hat der Liberalismus auf verschiedene Weise das souveraine Ansehen der Fürsten durchfressen, morsch und hinfällig gemacht! ... Christus lehrt "wer meinen Geboten nachkommen wird, der wird inne werden, daß meine Lehre von Gott sey", die liberale Gesetzgebung sucht diese Göttlichkeit auf negative Weise inne zu werben und ertheilt darin polizeimäßigen Unterricht." 16

The difficulties liberalism might cause for the Church in Germany were apparent in the state of Baden, where, since 1817, the state possessed both a liberal constitution and a parliament consisting of two houses, with a larger proportion of civil servants and liberal members of the free professions than in any other German parliament of the period. The authorities in Baden believed in the concept of the 'Staatskirchentum', that is a Church totally dependent on and under the control of the civil authorities, and forbade the existence of Catholic schools and religious orders. Lennig, in a speech to the first general assembly of the Katholischer Verein in Mainz, in 1848, specifically mentioned Baden in his criticism of this concept:

Es gibt deutsche Länder – ich denke hier hauptsächlich an Baden und Württemberg – in denen die Beschränkung der Staatsgewalt so vollständig und allseitig ist, daß den ersteren, beim rechten Lichte betrachtet, blos die Ertheilung der Priesterweihe und der Firmung noch übrig bleibt. 17
Nonetheless Catholics and Liberals did not form two totally hostile groups in Baden. Although Protestants were the chief upholders of the liberal ethic, middle class Catholics did not remain immune to such ideas. There also existed a group of so-called radical Catholics, who demanded an end to clerical celibacy and the introduction of religious services in the vernacular. These found little support for their demands and were soon eclipsed by the popularity of the charismatic Catholic politician, Franz Josef von Buß, who rose to prominence in the 1840's.

But there remained in Baden a considerable gulf between those Catholics who merely espoused liberalism, when they felt it could benefit the Church in the modern age and restrict state encroachment on its authority and Liberals in general. In spite of the latters' support of freedom of conscience, only one prominent Liberal in Baden published a work in defence of the Archbishop of Cologne, following his arrest in 1837 on the orders of the Prussian government. This war Karl von Rotteck's *Die Kölnische Sache betrachtet vom Standpunkt des allgemeinen Rechts*, which appeared in Speyer in 1837. It was more the product of his hatred of what he saw as Prussian absolutism, than of his sympathy with the Catholic position.

It was the arrest of the leading Catholic prelate in Prussia, which eventually proved to be the watershed in the rise and development of political Catholicism in Germany. In consequence of the terms of the treaties signed at the Congress of Vienna, two-fifths of the population of Prussia were Roman Catholic; half of these resided in the Polish territories, the remainder in the Rhineland, Westphalia and Silesia. Thus from the start Catholics had a special political identity. It was not the intention of the Prussian authorities to alienate their Catholic subjects. Nonetheless they soon became the object of popular contempt and suspicion, as the popularity of an anonymous tract entitled *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte*
des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Deutschland oder über die neuesten kirchlichen Verhältnisse daselbst and originally published in Augsburg in 1835, demonstrates. Banned in Prussia, it roundly condemned the Prussian censorship laws, which it regarded as specifically anti-Catholic:

Auch die Censur sowohl der Druckschriften als der mündlichen Rede ist protestantisch, parteilich, und für die Katholiken drückend und nachtheilig.  

Known also as Das Rote Buch (a reference to the colour of the cover), it was smuggled across state frontiers throughout the German Confederation. Criticised by Metternich's press secretary, the convert and ultramontanist, Karl Ernst Jarcke, as too extreme, it has nonetheless been called "das erste große Manifest der ultramontanen Partei in Deutschland".  

The suspected authors of the work were Raeß and Weis, along with Raeß' brother; it would now seem that Raeß wrote the piece, using information received from Weis - resulting in the ironic fact of the involvement of conservative Catholic clergymen in the publishing of 'seditious' literature. In the Beiträge they exposed the fact that the Prussian ministry had had a determining voice in the elections to the bishoprics of Breslau, Culm, Münster and Paderborn; accused Prussia of taking over Catholic schools in the Rhineland and enforcing the Protestant faith on pupils; criticised its failure to appoint Catholics to professorships in any of its universities (with the exception of Bonn and Breslau) and the policy of giving Catholics the lowest positions of power and pay in the army and civil service. Special attention was given to the mixed marriage issue:

Ein besonderes Augenmerk hat die Regierung auf die gemischten Ehen gerichtet, und sucht dieselben als eben so viele Institute des Protestantismus zu exploiriren. Alle Anordnungen und Gesetze über dieselben, namentlich über den Unterricht der Kinder aus gemischten Ehen sind bei anscheinender Reciprocität und bei Angabe eines schön lautenden Zweckes gegen den Katholizismus und die Katholiken gerichtet, und auf theils offenbare, theils geheime Begünstigung des Protestantismus und der Protestanten klug berechnet.
It was the issue of mixed marriages in particular which led to the eruption of the major conflict between the Archbishop of Cologne and the Prussian authorities in 1837, known as the Cologne Incident. A further irony lay in the fact that it had been with a view specifically to combatting the proliferation of the ideas expressed in the *Beiträge* that the Prussian government had the known conservative Droste-Vischering enthroned as archbishop on 29. May 1836. An unpopular choice among the members of the cathedral chapter and among his flock, he was not however prepared to become the tool of the Prussian authorities. A document entitled *Dum acerbissimas* signed by Gregory XVI in September 1835, which instructed the incumbent of Cologne to forbid Catholic students to attend lectures given by the Hermesian professors of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Bonn, whose theological outlook did not conform to Church teaching, received his immediate attention. He banned candidates for the priesthood attending the university, directing them instead to the episcopal seminary at Mainz and threatened to refuse ordination to those who disobeyed him. His action was interpreted by the government as a direct challenge to the state, regarding as they did university education as part of the competence of the state and the professors as civil servants.

These events resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of Droste-Vischering in November 1837, the details of which have been dealt with in chapter one. There was however little initial impact on the German Church; no objections were made by the clergy in any part of Prussia or in any other German state. It was only after Pope Gregory XVI's condemnation of the arrest on 10. December that this began to change. Translated and published in Brussels, the papal condemnation was smuggled into the Rhineland, where it was widely read. It provoked a deputation of Rhenish and Westphalian nobility to present their objections to the King (with however no positive
results); it also led to condemnations of the affair by French liberal Catholics Montalembert and Lacordaire, along with the Austrian Prime Minister, Metternich, though reaction in Germany generally remained muted. All this was changed dramatically by the publication of Joseph Görres' pamphlet *Athanasius* in January 1838.\(^22\) The sales of *Athanasius* were nothing short of prodigious. By April 1838 a fourth edition had already been issued.\(^23\) Its influence on future leading Roman Catholics, such as August and Peter Reichensperger was incalculable. In its wake came the publication of over four hundred pamphlets, both for and against Droste-Vischering's arrest. The impact on public opinion in Germany was made manifest by, and was also one of the significant legacies of, *Athanasius*. An accomplished work of modern journalism and rhetoric, the pamphlet, some 156 pages in length, provided a vigorous, critical analysis of both the contemporary and historical development of the Church, as a political rather than exclusively religious institution. Görres emphasised the separate political identity of the Church, while encouraging co-operation between it and the Christian state:

> So kommen wir denn wieder auf unser Erstes zurück, und wiederholen: die Kirchenfreiheit kann nicht anders ausgelegt und verstanden werden, als daß die Kirche ihre eigene Sphäre eingeräumt erhält, innerhalb welcher sie sich, vom Staate ungehemmt, bewegen mag ...

And he went on:

> ... denn die ganze christliche soziale Ordnung ist vom Anfang an auf dies gänzliche Durchdringen und Durchwachsen der beiden Societäten gebaut gewesen, in Folge dessen die Eine der Andern so viel pflichtet, als diese ihr hinwiederum schuldet; und sohin, obgleich beide in ganz verschiedenen Gebieten fussen, und ohne sich zu vermischen, auch in ihrer Sonderung sich bewahren, in ihrem Zusammentreffen kein Conflict vorkommen kann, den nicht der wohlverständigte gute Wille friedlich zu lösen vermöchte.\(^24\)

This theme of 'Kirchenfreiheit', that is, a Church free from state interference, was to dominate church/state relations in Germany for decades to
come. From the year of its first publication, Der Katholik dealt exclusively with this issue, as did Eos during the period of Görres' influence:

... Sucht man die Grenze zwischen Staat und Kirche, so muß man unterscheiden: die ewige, unbedingte Grenze zwischen beyden ist, dass der Staat blos auf die That gehen, blos das sichtbar und wirksam gewordene, äußerlich bestrafen und äußerlich belohnen könne. Die Kirche dagegen dringt in Willen und Gewissen; lehrt, hebt, bildet diese zu immer höherer Vollendung hinan. Auf Willen und Gewissen hat die Kirche daher allein ihr Recht und ihre Erscheinung zu gründen.

In addition, this period of ultramontanist growth in Germany witnessed the increasing recognition of the Pope as the undisputed ultimate authority on Church affairs - though what constituted 'Church affairs' was never fully defined. 1833 saw the first German translation of a work which combined this theme with that of the independence of the Church from the state authorities. Entitled Der Triumph des heiligen Stuhls und der Kirche, oder Bekämpfung und Widerlegung der Angriffe der Neuerer mit ihren eigenen Waffen, it was the work of a Camaldolese monk, Bartolomeo Alberto Cappelbri, who became Pope Gregory XVI in 1831. It had been first published in 1799; in 1832 and again in 1837 it was reprinted in Venice and two German translations were produced in Augsburg in 1833, where Gregory was particularly concerned to promote his views:

Der Papst ist, wie gezeigt, ein wahrer Monarch. Er muß daher mit den nöthigen Mitteln zur Ausübung seiner monarchischen Gewalt versehen seyn; aber das nothwendigste Mittel hierzu ist, den Zugang zu jedem Einwande zu verschliessen, deren sich die Unterthanen bedienen könnten, um seinen Gesetzen Gehorsam zu verweigern; und dieses Mittel kann nur in seiner Unfehlbarkeit bestehen; daher ist der Papst unfehlbar. Wie er es nun sey, wann, und in welcher Ausdehnung, wird man aus dem Werke ersehen, zu dem ich mich jetzt im Namen des Herrn anschicke.

The idea of Catholics united under the leadership of the Pope was not a new one; however in Athanasius Görres took this a step further. In introducing to public debate the important novel concept of a united political
Catholic force, he made Athanasius the first great document of German political Catholicism:

Was aber oben zu Eueren Brüdern am Rheine, in Bezug auf allenfallsiges Übermaß geredet worden, das sey auch zu Euch geredet! Haltet zusammen mit ihnen eng und fest, denn ihr habt Alle ein und dasselbe Ziel, und dies Ziel ist: die ganze und volle Realisierung der feierlich gewährten Religionsfreiheit und der zugesagten politischen und bürgerlichen Gleichheit der Confession in ihrem ganzen Umfang ohne Gefährde und Hinterhalt. Es wird Euch und ihnen gewonnen seyn, wenn…ihr Beide mit Eifer und Beharrlichkeit darauf besteht.

The effect of this work on middle class Catholic public opinion has already been mentioned; to capitalise on this Görres, his son Guido, Karl Ernst Jarcke (1801-52), Metternich's press secretary since 1832 and Jarcke's friend, George Phillips, professor of History and Law at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich, founded the Historisch-politische Blätter in April 1838. Also known, from its cover, as the gelben Hefte, this journal rapidly became the chief organ of political Catholicism in Germany, with contributors from all parts of the German Confederation. This was the period when the need for a Catholic press became increasingly apparent to both the clergy and the educated laity. The power of the press to influence public opinion had been proven; a national Catholic press was now needed to combat the anti-Catholic outpourings of the liberal press, and increase the self-confidence of Catholics, as well as to educate them politically. Difficulties with censorship laws prevented the successful development of a Catholic press prior to the lifting of censorship in March 1848. The development of a distinct press was one of the major points of discussion at the first general assembly of the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands later that year.

Similar aims animated the founders of the Borromäus-Verein. This was an organisation formed in 1844 to provide the educated Catholic middle class with books of Catholic interest, an attempt at which had already been made
in Munich in 1830 with the establishment of the Verein zur Verbreitung katholischer Bücher. Named after the Milanese reforming bishop, Karl Borromäus (1538-84), the Borromäus-Verein was founded in Bonn, at the instigation of August Reichensperger; it addressed itself primarily to the so-called 'new reading classes' ('neue Leseschichten') and advocated the reading of 'Unterhaltungs- und Belehrungsliteratur'. A popular measure, it received support from many prominent members of the Catholic aristocracy, as the following report from the popular Bavarian newspaper, the Allgemeine Zeitung suggests:


Although the introduction of Catholic lending libraries did not take place until 1856, ten years after it had been initially put forward as a possible tactic in the statutes of the Verein, there already existed other 'Volksbibliotheken', set up by the Church, where members of the lower classes, journeymen, apprentices, as well as factory workers, could read works of Catholic interest.

These developments were part of the general trend to organise Catholics into some form of association aimed at the greater solidarity of the Church and which culminated in the foundation of the Piusverein in March 1848. Missionary societies serving the propagation of the faith and preventing defections from the Church were particularly encouraged; Ludwig had established a Missionsverein in Bavaria in 1838 to send missionaries to Asia and North America and in 1849 the Bonifatius-Verein
für die Katholiken der Diaspora und die Propaganda einer Rückkehr zum Katholizismus was given official recognition at the third general assembly of the Katholischer Verein in Regensburg:

Die dritte General-Versammlung des katholischen Vereins Deutschlands ist dazu benutzt worden, die Grundlage zu einem Vereine für die kirchliche Mission in Deutschland, d. h. für arme katholische Gemeinden in protestantischen und gemischten Städten und Dörfern, zu legen.

The fear of proselytisation was a major concern for the Church at this time; this can best be seen by its deeply rooted suspicion of the Protestant Gustav-Adolph Verein, demonstrated in the following quote from Der Katholik, which purports to reveal the true intentions of the Protestant association:

Wir möchten wohl die Katholiken zu uns herüber ziehen, wir möchten sie von dem starrsinnigen Festhalten an dem, was uns nicht bleibt, losreissen, aber es geht nicht so geradezu; man muss laviren. So steht zwischen den Zeilen geschrieben.

Originally founded in 1832, this aggressively anti-Catholic organisation had the aim of safeguarding the continuance of the practice of the Protestant faith in Germany, particularly in areas with a predominantly Catholic population. Banned in Bavaria in 1844, it received state support in Prussia, a fact which contributed to the failure of Friedrich Wilhelm IV's attempts to placate the Catholic Church following the Cologne Incident.

On his succession to the throne in 1840, Friedrich Wilhelm IV released Droste-Vischering, dismissed the Hermesian professors from the university in Bonn, and set up a special Catholic department in the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs. In addition he took part in the famous 'Kölner Dombaufest' on 4. September 1842 to mark the start of the completion of the cathedral - a decision which was viewed with displeasure by most of his bureaucrats, despite the fact that many non-Catholics now viewed its
completion as a source of national pride - and he also attended further celebrations there in August 1848. His well-intentioned efforts to prevent the development of a hostile, popular, Catholic force were unsuccessful; Athanasius and the events of 1837 had brought about the emergence of an articulate, militant Catholic people:

Mais après l'arrestation de l'archevêque, quand ces prêtres eurent reconnu vers quel but tendait évidemment le gouvernement prussien, qu'ils eurent vu la persécution commencée et entendu l'appel sublime que l'allocation pontificale faisait à tous les catholiques, ils comprirent l'étendue du mal qu'ils avaient causé à l'Église et embrassèrent avec force le parti de leur courageux archevêque et du catholicisme. Quant aux autres qui, plus timides ou plus attachés à leur erreurs, n'osayaient pas se mettre aussi ouvertement en opposition avec le gouvernement, poussés par l'esprit décidément catholique qui animait la masse du peuple, principalement à Munster, Dusseldorf, Aix-la-Chapelle, Coblenz et Trêves, et qui, presque partout aussi, recommençait à agiter les hautes classes, ils prenaient le courage de suivre, un peu plus timidement il est vrai, la voie tracée par l'Église.

Lennig expressed the views of many when he wrote, in the aftermath of the arrest to his nephew, Moufang, then studying for the priesthood:

Gott sei tausendfacher Dank ... daß die Sache so gekommen ist; denn ein Fall der Art war nöthig, um die Katholiken aus ihrer ungläubigen Schlafsucht zu erwecken.

This re-emergence of a self-confident Catholic Church expressed itself in an upsurge of popular piety, similar to that of medieval times. Encouraged by the growth in religious feeling initiated by Sailer and by the teachings of ultramontanist thought, which favoured public demonstrations of piety, processions, religious festivals and pilgrimages took place, the most notable of which were the pilgrimages to view the exhibition of the Holy Shroud in Trier, an event which was inextricably linked to the Cologne incident in the popular mind of the period:

Beide Ereignisse wurden in so engem Zusammenhang gesehen, dass die Publizistik 1844 nicht müde wurde, die Verwandtschaft der in Trier bei der Wallfahrt von einem Beinleiden geheilten Gräfin Johanna Droste-Vischering mit dem 1841 rehabilitierten Kölner Erzbischof zu betonen - obwohl diese Heilung weder die erste noch die einzige anlässlich der Wallfahrt 1844 war.
Organised by Bishop Arnoldi of Trier, this exhibition was held between 18 August and 6 October 1844; it caused a considerable degree of controversy and criticism among Protestants and members of the anti-ultramontane 'German Catholic' movement, as they regarded it as more of a political demonstration of conservative Catholic strength than as a religious festival. Yet it attracted the extraordinary number of over one million visitors, whose devotion is evident even from the following extract from a critical report on the event in the Allgemeine Zeitung:


Moreover neither the hierarchy nor lower clergy hesitated in showing their solidarity with, and support for, popular piety:


A further dimension in this unity of purpose between the clergy and their flock was their involvement with social reform, the result not merely of the popularity of Sailer's renewal of pastoral theology, one of the original concerns of the Church, but also of the general philanthropic awakening of nineteenth century European society. In 1834 the influential
Catholic layman, Franz von Baader, professor of Philosophy and Speculative Theology at the University of Munich, who in an essay in 1835 styled the term 'Proletair', called for the establishment of an association for the poor; three years later Franz Josef Ritter von Buß became the first politician to focus on the social obligations of the state in a German parliament, when, speaking in the Baden Second Chamber, he demanded a limit on working hours, an end to night shifts for children, proper health regulations and insurance against accidents or illness for workers. Neither of these men saw the industrialisation of German society as an evil development; they saw it as a progress and a means to end poverty, but believed it needed careful monitoring. This became one of the chief preoccupations of the German Catholic social reform movement. In 1845 a Catholic priest, Adolf Kolping, founded the Gesellenvereine - charitable associations for journeymen - in Elberfeld; the same year August Reichensperger introduced the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul to Germany. Popular throughout the German states, the organisation received the active support of Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, Bishop of Mainz from 1850, who became the leading prelate in Germany in the second half of the century. The social question was a dominant theme at all future general meetings of the Katholischer Verein.

Faced with the rampant spread of deprivation in the mid to late 1840's, the need to establish charitable institutions, hospitals and employ the services of religious orders such as the Sisters of Charity, became more acute. A combination of a severe economic crisis and a nationwide famine was to blame; by the end of 1847 many financial houses had gone into liquidation and factories were shut down. In February 1848 news of the Paris revolt evoked an enthusiastic response among the peasantry of the south German states, who joined forces in an attempt to overthrow
their feudal overlords. The unrest was localised but successful and the bourgeoisie, initially reluctant to be identified with the radical aims of the farmers, was swept along by the movement.

The revolt spread throughout south and southwest Germany; mass demonstrations, the distribution of leaflets and the drawing up of petitions eventually forced the governments to make concessions. By March, Prussia too was the scene of considerable popular disturbance; in the Rhineland, committees were formed by the petty bourgeois democrats; in Berlin, factory workers, journeymen and students were joined by members of the upper and lower middle classes and took to the streets. The King called on the military to quell the riots:


Similar victories occurred in Bavaria and Austria, where Metternich had been ousted from power on 13. March. The same month a provisional parliament in Frankfurt selected 1. May as the date for the general election to elect representatives from all the German states to the National Assembly, scheduled to meet later that month. The campaign period witnessed a novel
development in German politics - a general alliance between the liberals and the Catholic Church.

With the exception of Baden and Württemberg, the forces of liberalism and Catholicism in Germany had never identified with each other as they had in France and Belgium. German liberalism was clearly based on a Protestant and rationalist foundation; moreover Catholics feared that liberals, despite their demands for freedom of conscience, would only be too eager to join with Protestant governments to destroy the Church. Nonetheless since the 1830's Catholics in Baden and Württemberg increasingly gave support to the liberal cause, and that decade also saw Rhenish Catholics use liberal slogans in their campaigns for the separation of Church and state. By 1848 most Catholics, whether committed to liberal ideas or not, were prepared to adopt their methods in the 1848 elections. In addition the Bishop of Limburg, Blum, and the Archbishop of Cologne, Geissel, actively encouraged Catholics to take part in the campaigns and to stand for election.

The subsequent National Assembly met for the first time on 18. May in the Church of Saint Paul in Frankfurt am Main. Prior to this session an abortive attempt to declare Germany a republic had taken place; this was repeated in September. By early autumn the liberal governments were becoming increasingly restrictive and had begun to have recourse to the military to put down unrest. By early summer 1849 the revolution was effectively at an end.

As a result, the 'Grundrechte', the code of civil rights drawn up by the National Assembly and which formed the basis of the constitution completed in March 1849, proved ineffectual. Yet their defence of the right of the
individual to freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and the right to a free press and to set up associations had far-reaching effects on Germany's political future and not least for the German Catholic Church:

Abschnitt VI: Artikel IV.
§ 143. Jeder Deutsche hat das Recht, durch Wort, Schrift, Druck und bildliche Darstellung seine Meinung frei zu äußern ... 

Abschnitt VI: Artikel V.

Abschnitt VI: Artikel VIII.
§ 162. Die Deutschen haben das Recht, Vereine zu bilden. Dieses Recht soll durch keine vorbeugende Massregel beschränkt werden.

These were among the major demands of the Catholic Church of the period and formed the basis of the statutes of the organisation established in 1848, which successfully took advantage of the newly politicised Catholic laity and turbulent political climate to form a nationwide, integrated Catholic movement - the Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit.
Notes to Chapter 3,i


2. Interestingly the delay in his appointment to a bishopric - he became Bishop of Regensburg late in his career, in 1829, - was caused by the Papacy's suspicion and dislike of his rationalist leanings. Nonetheless Sailer was always a firm believer in the supremacy of the Papacy in Church affairs - a viewpoint he upheld, while still encouraging better relations between the Catholic and Protestant Churches.


4. ibid., p. 57.

5. Of the eighty-one ecclesiastical princes, only three remained in existence after the so-called 'Princes' Revolution' - the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John and the former elector of Mainz. Ramm, p. 55.

6. In the Papal Bull De salute animarum of July 1821, which was given official recognition by the Prussian monarch, it stated that the social status of candidates for the position of bishop was no longer of prime importance. Huber, Vol. I, pp. 444ff.

7. ibid., p. 408.


9. In fact Napoleon was regarded by Catholics in Mainz and the other French occupied areas of the Rhineland as a tolerant ruler and loyal supporter of the Church, as he had not insisted on the implementation of the act issued in July 1802, which called for the secularisation of all Church lands in these areas. Buchheim, p. 39.


11. Spindler, Vol. IV, Part 1, p. 145. Spindler also mentions how many of the members of this association were also members of the more extreme group known as the Sambuga, which advocated the view that the state should be totally subordinate to the Church.

12. From Montgelas Mémoires, quoted in Huber, Vol. I, p. 320. The Concordat signed between the Vatican and Bavaria in 1818 did nothing to improve this situation.

13. The Ludwig-Maximilian University opened in Munich in 1826.


15. Eos, 3. 12. 1828. Originally founded in 1818, Eos was edited by Görres from June 1828 until the end of 1829.

16. Eos, 29. 12. 1828. The article is entitled 'Die liberale Gesetzgebung'.

17. From Lennig's speech to the first assembly of the Katholischer Verein in Mainz in 1848, as printed in Der Katholik of 20. 9. 1848. cf. note 5, 3,i.
18. Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, p. 29. Banned in Bavaria as well as in Prussia, it was printed in French translation in Brussels in 1838 under the title Le livre rouge. Tableau des persecutions exercées contre les catholiques en Prusse au XIXe siècle.


20. ibid., p. 211.


22. Even a letter from the Pope to the cathedral chapter in Cologne criticising their failure to protest against Droste-Vischering's arrest had not provoked the clergy into action.


25. ibid., p. 23.

26. Eos, 29. 8. 1829. The article is entitled 'Staat und Kirche'.

27. Gregory XVI, Part 1, p. 158.


29. It must not be forgotten however that there were Catholic journals already in existence at this period, such as Ernst Zander's Neue Würzburger Zeitung and the Katholische Sonntagsblätter, which was founded in 1842 in Mainz. For further information on the Catholic press of the period see Chapter 4, i.

30. This organisation, which had Görres on its committee, was viewed with suspicion by Ludwig I.

31. Allgemeine Zeitung, 24. 11. 1844. Felix Freiherr von Löß (1825-1896), was a landlord and politician (governor of Cleve 1868-70; member of the North German Reichstag 1870-76 and from 1890, member of the Prussian Parliament). The Wittgenstein referred to is probably Wilhelm Ludwig Georg Graf zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein (1770-1851), diplomat in the Prussian and later the Bavarian service. The Allgemeine Zeitung was the most popular newspaper in Bavaria, counting among its readers the educated classes, the diplomatic corps and the monarchy. Spindler, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 143.

32. Der Katholik, 30. 11. 1849.

33. Der Katholik, Vol. 90, 1843, Supplement XI.

35. While his bureaucrats objected to his support for the completion of Cologne Cathedral, the people of the Rhineland were pleased with his interest, as the following taken from a report of his visit there in August 1848 shows:

... allein anderseits herrschte in dem Kern der Bürgerschaft wahre Freude darüber (,) daß der König in ihrer Mitte erschienen war, der, wie man auch seine politischen Ansichten beurtheilen mag, wohlwollende König, der andernorts sehr verkannte, mißhandelte König. Noch hält das Rheinland und nicht bloß 'das servile Wupperthal' an Preußen fest, und mit Verachtung blickt die Mehrzahl seiner Bewohner auf die eitlen eigennützigen Wühlereien (,) welche die Provinz von Preußen zu trennen versuchen. ... Allgemeine Zeitung, 29. 8. 1848.

36. de Failly, p. 487.


39. This movement was founded in January 1845, by a Catholic priest, Johannes Ronge, as a protest against the exposition of the Holy Shroud in Trier. Originally entitled the Allgemeine Christliche Kirche, this rationalist national movement was renamed the Deutschkatholische Kirche at its first national council in March 1845, and had among its aims the ending of practices such as the veneration of holy pictures and statues, as well as the abolition of clerical celibacy, fasting and pilgrimages.

40. Allgemeine Zeitung, 9. 10. 1844. Later in this article the writer mentions another pilgrimage, this time to Kävelaer, the subject of a poem by Heine ('Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar') in the Buch der Lieder:

... Den ganzen Sommer hindurch ziehen alljährlich große Processionen, meist Frauenzimmer, durch hiesige Stadt nach Kävelaer, einem Orte an der holländischen Gränze, zur Verehrung eines wunderthätigen Bildes der Mutter Gottes. Später besuchen unsre Pilger noch die kleinen Capellen zu Kalk und Rodenkirchen, beide eine Stunde von hier. Die 'Rodenkirchner Andacht', mit der ein kleiner Krammarkt, Tanzmusik und dgl. verbunden ist, zieht mehrere Tausende aus hiesiger Stadt dorthin ... - Allgemeine Zeitung, 9. 10. 1844.


43. Iserloh, Die soziale Aktivität der Katholiken, p. 4.
44. Introduced to Germany in 1845, the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul received formal recognition at the first general assembly of the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands. Buß:


46. Allgemeine Zeitung, 21. 3. 1848.

47. Moreover the pontificate of Pius IX, who became Pope on 17. June 1846, also seemed promising for a union between Catholics and liberals. Pius, a liberal thinker with an anti-Austrian outlook, supported the idea of greater lay involvement in the Church. But the revolt in Milan in 1848, followed by the war with Austria, resulting in the undermining of the good relations between the Pope and the patriots, led by Mazzini, brought an end to Pius' positive view of liberalism and to the possibility of a general alliance between the two groups in Europe as a whole.

48. Of the 831 representatives elected to the Frankfurt Parliament, only 330 were present for the opening session.

ii: The Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit

It has been seen in an earlier chapter how German Catholic intellectuals and politicians were aware of the tactics and organisational skills of Daniel O'Connell and that his impact on the German Catholic movement was considerable. The significance of his influence is perhaps demonstrated most clearly in the structure and policies of the popular Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit / Katholischer Verein Deutschlands, originally established in March 1848. However while carrying out research on the Verein it became increasingly evident that little scholarly attention has been paid to this aspect of German intellectual and political history. In view of this fact, it seemed imperative, not merely to point out their adoption of most of O'Connell's organisational, tactical and propaganda policies, but to go into details on the establishment and development of the organisation, an important part of the vibrant Catholic Renaissance, which followed the period of crisis resulting from the anti-clericalism of the French Revolution. By thus focussing on all aspects of the Verein in its formative years, the influential role played by O'Connell in providing both an inspiration and a working model on which to base a German Catholic association is made evident.

The early development of the Piusverein centred on Mainz and was closely linked to the demands of the 1848 revolutionaries. Prior to its formation in late March of that year, the following report from Mainz, which demonstrates the influence of the revolutionary ideals on the Catholic movement, appeared in the Kirchliche Mittheilungen section of Der Katholik, dated 3. March 1848:

Uebrigens bitten und beschwören wir die Katholiken in allen deutschen Gauen, auf das Schleunigste überall Vereine zu bilden und dadurch ihre Rechte, das Recht
Shortly after this a small meeting of interested parties was held in Mainz. It was chaired by Lennig and those present were drawn from the ranks of the educated middle classes, who believed the time was right to form some sort of Catholic association. This event was followed by the inaugural meeting of the Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit on 23. March. While a mere twenty-four had attended the initial gathering, word of mouth ensured that several hundred people appeared and by the end of the meeting the membership numbered between three and four hundred, with Lennig elected president. The association, based on similar organisations in France and Ireland, was named in honour of Pope Pius IX, whose liberal reputation would, it was hoped, help popularise the movement in this period of reform. Such acclaim did not come immediately however. Despite the support of Bishop Kaiser and the local hierarchy, who quickly overcame their early suspicion of the organisation, the Piusverein failed to attract as many middle class lay Catholics as Lennig had expected. The event which changed this was the requiem for the revolutionaries who had died in the uprisings in Berlin and Vienna, which was held in the cathedral in Mainz on 3. April. This service, held with the support and active participation of Bishop Kaiser, was the first event organised by the Piusverein:

Es ist ein Verein für Freiheit, deshalb war es ziemend, den Opfern der deutschen Freiheit die letzte christliche Ehre, ein feierliches Exequienamt, zu bereiten; sein Zweck ist ein religiöser, und darum kam es gerade dem Pius-Verein zu, diese religiöse Feier zu veranstalten; aber seine Aufgabe ist keine polemische, sondern eine versöhnende, da er auf dem Wege der Verständigung und Belehrung Alle über den Begriff und die Handhabung der Freiheit aufklären und jede
Verletzung der Religionsfreiheit, wo immer sie stattfinden sollte - also nicht nur auf katholischem, sondern auch auf akatholischem Gebiete - abwehren will; ... 

Similar sentiments had been expressed in the original statutes of the organisation. Now, as a result of its new-found popularity following the requiem, the future of the association was guaranteed - a development further enhanced by extensive coverage of its activities in the popular journal Der Katholik. Well-attended meetings took place each week, at which Lennig played a prominent role, putting his skills as an orator to good use. In addition, discussions among members were actively encouraged, although the topics were confined to religious, rather than political subjects. In consequence of this activity among the 'bürgerlich' members of the Catholic community, Mainz experienced a revival in Catholic religious practice, affecting all ranks of society, and middle class Catholics became increasingly involved in the political life of the area:

Wer die im Oktober d. J. in Mainz abgehaltene erste Generalversammlung des katholischen Vereines Deutschlands mit erlebt hat, wer den Eindruck empfunden, den sie hervorgebracht auf Geist und Herz, der mußte in ihr ein großes, ein bedeutungsvolles Ereigniß anerkennen.

Eine solche Kundgebung des katholischen Glaubens, wie sie hier vorzugsweise aus dem Munde der Laienwelt öffentlich ins Leben hervortrat, erregte Bewunderung, und ließ bei dem Adel der Gesinnung, die sie aussprach, und bei der inneren gegenseitig beseeligenden Uebereinstimmung in dem erstrebten gemeinschaftlichen Ziele für das deutsche Volksleben eine Morgenröthe erblicken, die zu den schönsten Hoffnungen auf einen kommenden großen Tag berechtigte.

The enthusiasm expressed in this excerpt from the introduction to the official account of the second general assembly (held in May 1849) is symptomatic of the increasing popularity of the association. Moreover the success of the Piusverein in Mainz was of great significance for the Catholic movement in Germany as a whole. It was of great propaganda value; the close relationships between German Catholic intellectuals ensured news
of Lennig's movement reached similar minded men throughout the Confederation and encouraged them to follow his example; moreover the extensive coverage of the Piusverein meetings and decisions in the popular Catholic press (most notably in Der Katholik, and in Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung und Erbauung, both published in Mainz) attracted middle class Catholics to participate - a tactic suggested in Article ten of the statutes of the Mainz Piusverein:

Die Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse des Centralvereins und nach Wunsch die der Filialvereine werden jedesmal entweder ausführlich oder ihrem wesentlichen Inhalte nach in einem öffentlichen Blatte zur allgemeinen Kenntniß gebracht. 8

In addition the hope expressed in Article five that "an jedem Orte, wo Katholiken wohnen, ein Verein errichtet werde", 9 was also put into practical use. Lennig's satisfaction at this is evident from a letter to his friend, Bishop Blum of Limburg, dated 5. June 1848:

Manches macht mir unser Piusverein zu tun. Doch sind es meist angenehme Beschäftigungen. Besonders erhebend ist der Eifer des trefflichen Württemberger Clerus in dieser Sache. Dort entstehen Vereine um Vereine, von denen sich schon mehrere an den hiesigen angeschlossen haben, und sich Weisung ausbitten, wie sie in der Sache zu Werke gehen sollen, während aus ihren Briefen und aus den Berichten über ihre Bestrebungen hervorgeht, daß sie es besser verstehen, wie wir selbst. 10

One of the areas where the influence of the Mainz Verein was strongest, was not Württemberg but Baden, where Buß, with the help of the Karlsruhe archivist, Mone, set up a branch of the organisation in Freiburg. 11 At the end of July Buß sent a petition from his association to the Frankfurt Parliament demanding the protection and the independence of the Church from secular influence and the right to run Catholic schools. This move was supported by seventy local associations in Baden, and the policy of petitioning parliament, which Buß had originally adopted in 1846, became a popular tactic of the Piusverein throughout the country. 12 In addition
it was Buß who drew up the statutes for the Baden Verein and rewrote Mome's instructions for the establishment of local Vereine, which he then issued in pamphlet form. Furthermore he wrote an open letter to the clergy of the diocese calling on them to set up Piusvereine in their parishes. His plans suffered a minor setback as he became ill through over-work. As his health improved, he began to travel extensively, addressing large open-air meetings. By early October he had been instrumental in the establishment of some 434 Vereine with over one hundred thousand members.

With the growth of the movement on such a scale the need for some form of central organisation became apparent. Such unity did not however mean an end to the autonomy of each individual Verein:


It was generally felt that such unity would give greater impact to the policy of petitioning parliament. Its effect on the morale of the movement was not lost on Wilhelm Emmanuel Freiherr von Ketteler, future Bishop of Mainz, when he drew up statutes for the Katholischer Verein in Hopsten in Westphalia, where he was then a parish priest, in February 1849:

para 2: Der Verein besteht als Bruderverein aller katholischen Vereine des gesamten deutschen Vaterlandes und will mit ihnen vereint wirken, eingendenk des Spruches: Einigkeit macht stark.

Consequently, following the celebrations in Cologne on 14. August 1848 to mark the six hundredth anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone
of the cathedral, Lennig issued an Aufruf an sämtliche katholischen Vereine für kirchliche Freiheit in Deutschland, which was published in the press, \( ^{18} \) to the first assembly of Catholic associations in Germany to be held in Mainz from 3-6 October.

The aims of this 'Generalversammlung' - the first of what became known as the Katholikentage - were stated by Lennig in his opening speech on 3. October:

Wir wollen die Freiheit, riefen wir, - wir wollen die Freiheit in ihrer höchsten und edelsten Form, die Freiheit auf religiösem und christlichem Gebiete! Und damit wir sie erlangen, damit wir sie gegenüber jeder äußeren Gewalt nach oben, aber auch seitwärts und nach unten, gegen jeden Andrang der Factionen und Umstürzler bewahren, damit wir unsern Gegnern von was immer für einer Art gerüstet und stark gegenüber stehen und hauptsächlich, damit wir nicht wieder zurücksinken in die alte Thatlosigkeit, darum sind wir denn nun zusammengekommen, um uns zu sehen, uns kennen zu lernen und über die beste Art unseres Wirkens nach Außen und über die Errichtung unseres inneren Haushaltes zu beraten ... Wir bekämpfen nicht die Throne, sondern nur die Herrschaft eines falschen Staatskirchenrechts, wir bekämpfen den Absolutismus in seiner Anwendung auf die Religion! Wir sind keine Feinde der Volksfreiheit, wir stehen vielmehr mit im Volke, und zwar stehen wir auf dem Boden der Freiheit.

An emotive, yet, for October 1848, realistic speech, this demonstrates the main preoccupation of the Verein in 1848 - the need to protect the independence and rights of the Church from secular interference and secular constitutions. Encouraged by the evolution of the revolution from the first violent outbreaks in February, this Catholic assertiveness reached its climax at the first general assembly in October, a time when the position of the Church was under discussion at the Frankfurt Parliament. Moreover the need for social reform, which was to become the dominant cause of the Verein a decade later, in 1858, also preoccupied the representatives at the first general assembly. Article seven of the statutes, which were officially drawn up on 6. October 1848, exemplifies these concerns:
para. 7: Der Verein stellt sich die Aufgabe
a) die Verwirklichung der Freiheit der Kirche und aller
ihrer Rechte durch die ihm zu Gebot stehenden gesetz-
llichen Mittel anzustreben;
b) die Freiheit des Unterrichts und der Erziehung zu
erringen und zu sichern;
c) für die geistige und sittliche Bildung des Volkes
tzu wirken;
d) zur Hebung der herrschenden sozialen Mißverhältnisse
und Ubelstände nach Kräften beizutragen;
e) auf geeignetem Wege dafür einzutreten, daß katholische
Stiftungen für Kirche, Schule und Wohlthätigkeit ihren
Bestimmungen erhalten werden;
f) das Recht der freien Assoziation gegen Eingriffe und
Verletzungen zu wahren.

While demanding rights for the Catholic Church, the Piusverein directed
that there should be no attempts made to damage the Protestant Churches
in any way. This undertaking was included among the statutes and was
reiterated by Ignaz von Döllinger in his speech 'Die Freiheit der Kirche'
at the third general assembly in Regensburg on 3. October 1849. This speech
was actually written at the request of the Katholischer Verein in reply
to a critical article in the Regensburger Tageblatt, which queried
various aspects of the Verein, including its relationship with non-
Catholic Churches. In this instance Döllinger may thus be regarded as the
"official voice" of the association on this matter:

Halten wir uns nun zuerst an das Verhältnis, in welches die
begehrte Freiheit der katholischen Kirche zu den Rechten und
Ansprüchen anderer Kirchen tritt, so läßt sich die Antwort
eben so kurz als entschieden geben. Die katholischen Vereine
gehen von dem christlichen Sittengesetze aus: was du nicht
willst, daß dir geschehe, sollst du auch den Andern nicht
thun; sie werden also ihren deutschen Brüdern protestantischen
Bekenntnisses die volle kirchliche Freiheit nicht nur auf-
richtig gönner und sich jedes Versuches einer Schmälerung der-
selben gewissenhaft enthalten; sie werden auch noch weiter
gehen. Da wo Mitglieder des Vereins sich in der Lage finden,
durch thätiges Auftreten, z. B. durch Abstimmungen in gesetz-
gebenden Körpem, für oder gegen die Freiheit der protestan-
tischen Kirchen sich zu entscheiden, da werden sie es für
Pflicht halten, jedesmal zu Gunsten dieser Freiheit sich auszu-
sprechen.

This outlook reflects that of O'Connell in Ireland, who did not regard
his Catholic Association as the natural opponent of Irish Protestants. Another similarity, surely not accidental, with O'Connell's movement was the new title adopted by the Piusverein in October 1848, namely that of the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands:

Alle bis jetzt in Deutschland bestehenden, bei der ersten allgemeinen Versammlung durch Abgeordnete vertretenen katholischen Vereine verbinden sich zu einer Gesamtheit unter dem Namen 'Katholischer Verein Deutschlands'.

As this implies, the Verein was developing into a homogeneous, national movement. But this was not the only outcome of the general assembly of that year. By inviting representatives from the seventeen central Piusvereine and by electing Buß, of whom Schnabel says "von 1846/50 ist er der populärste Mann im katholischen Deutschland gewesen", to the position of president, they ensured that widespread attention would be given to their decisions. Even more important for the Verein was the appearance of the Catholic representatives from the Frankfurt Parliament at Mainz on 4. October. The attendance of well-known figures such as Joseph von Radowitz and August Reichensperger helped popularise and legitimise the organisation among the Catholic population, guaranteeing that a second general assembly could be held. In addition this first assembly enabled German Catholics, both lay and clerical, to get to know each other, exchange views and develop a sense of identity and increased self-confidence:

Darum aber auch ist es ein so großes Glück, den Generalversammlungen beizwohnen zu können, wo wir Hunderte von Männern, sehen, hören und persönlich kennen lernen, deren Geist und Wissen, Begeisterung und Tugend uns bisher schon mit der höchsten Verehrung erfüllen mußten ... Ich befürchte ebenso-wenig Einspruch, wenn ich sage: auf den Generalversammlungen der katholischen Vereine Deutschlands ist eine solche Fülle von Geist und Wissen, erleuchtetem Eifer und gediegener Frömmigkeit vereinigt, daß sie darin wenig keiner anderen Laien-Versammlung übertroffen werden.

Moreover this self-confidence spread to the ranks of the Catholic masses,
whose importance to the movement can be gauged by the fact that the leaders issued an address to the people, explaining the meaning and aims of the newly christened Katholischer Verein Deutschlands29 - a policy adopted by O'Connell throughout his career in Ireland. Similarly, the need to influence public opinion, one of O'Connell's favourite strategies, was pointed out by Döllinger in a speech to the delegates in Mainz:

Diese öffentliche Meinung, insbesondere des katholischen Volkes, haben die katholischen Vereine zum Bewuβtsein zu bringen, zu stärken, zu leiten, aber auch, wo nötig, zu mäßigen.30

This need to politicise the people and to mobilise them to agitate for the rights of the Church was also expressed by Lennig:

Zwanzig Millionen deutsche Katholiken - sie hätten längst, wenn sie wahrhaft und ernstlich gewollt hätten, ganz mit gesetzlichen Mitteln die Freiheit ihrer Kirche erringen können. Wir haben nichts, wir haben wenigstens nicht genug getan! Wir haben nicht zusammengehalten und sind vereinzelt, getrennt dagestanden!31

- and by the newly elected vice-president of the Verein, the lawyer Hardung, one of the representatives from Cologne, who specifically referred his listeners to Daniel O'Connell:

Wir leben nicht mehr in der Zeit der Wunder, doch hat sich wunderbares vor unseren Augen entfaltet. Da ist in Irland Daniel O'Connell, ein Führer zur Freiheit auf der Bahn der Gesetze ...32

His support of O'Connell was shared by Buß, who believed the Irishman's tactics should form the basis of the Katholischer Verein's campaign:

In der frischen Luft der Freiheit, in dem schneidenden Windzug einiger katholischer Demokratie ist sie eben so ungewohnt, als ungeübt. Hier bedarf es O'Connelscher (sic) Sehne, nicht staatskanzleiartiger Schlappheit.33

Moreover the striking similarities between Buß and O'Connell as popular political figures was brought to the notice of the delegates in Mainz by Lennig when he proposed a toast to the newly elected president on the evening of 4. October:
Ja, meine Herren! wir haben ihn (Buß) gesehen, diesen Mann, wir haben ihn gehört; und wer, indem er ihn hörte, fühlte sich nicht gehoben? ... Wer erinnert sich dabei nicht lebendig an den herrlichen Daniel O'Connel (sic), der in jener grünen Insel, welche Gott und die Natur so schön, die Menschen aber und der religiöse und politische Fanatismus so arm und so unglücklich gemacht haben, sein braves unterdrücktes Volk um sich versammelte, um es zu lehren frei zu werden, - frei zu werden durch festes Zusammenhalten, durch Mäßigung und Selbstbeherrschung, frei zu werden durch treues Bewahren seines alten katholischen Glaubens und seiner alten katholischen Sitten. Und wer unter uns hegte dabei nicht den Wunsch, öfter doch, gleichweise dort im edelmüthigen Irlande um O'Connel(sic), so auch diesmal hier um diesen Mann, nicht bloß Tausende, sondern Hunderttausende versammelt sein, um aus seinem Munde solche Lehren zu empfangen, und sie dann wieder fortzupflanzen im Schoße ihrer Angehörigen und im Kreise ihrer Mitbürger! ...

This praise of Buß is of great significance. As the author of the instructive work Die Aufgabe des katholischen Theils deutscher Nation in der Gegenwart, oder der Katholische Verein Deutschlands (Regensburg, 1851), which was dedicated to O'Connell, Buß' attitudes and policies became those of the Katholischer Verein branches throughout the German states, in the same way as O'Connell's ideas were adopted by both the Catholic and Repeal Associations in Ireland:

... lassen Sie nun uns ausrufen: unser hochverehrter Präsident, der muthige Kämpfer für das Recht und die Freiheit der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland, unser deutscher O'Connel (sic), Professor Dr. Buß lebe hoch, dreimal hoch! 

Indeed Buß readily acknowledged that he had adopted many of O'Connell's tactics. Besides actively encouraging Catholics to send petitions to parliament, he also staged open-air meetings, reminiscent of O'Connell's dramatic 'monster meetings':

Man wähle dazu durch die Geschichte geweihte Orte, wie das O'Connell gründlich verstanden hat; glücklich werden sie nach Volksmissionen und an Festen und Orten der Wallfahrten gehalten ...

An accomplished orator, Buß, like O'Connell, had a personality and appearance that appealed to his audience, especially to the peasantry in the Black Forest, where he had his greatest successes; in addition, he too
was accomplished in the use of emotive language, repetition and exaggeration:

Seine rollenden, geistreichen Augen, seine Stimme von eiserner Kraft, der Bilderreichtum seines Ausdrucks gaben seinen Reden den Zauber eines tief erregten, macht-voll eindringenden Geistes, und die Gabe der Improvisation, die man in keiner Schule lernt, lockte durch den Reiz der Neuheit und Originalität. Er übertreibt auch, wenn Sie wollen, das gehört zur Volksberedsamkeit.

This is the opinion of his contemporary Beda Weber. A Benedictine monk and secondary school teacher, he became a parish curate and eventually canon of the cathedral in Limburg. Elected to the National Assembly in Frankfurt in 1848 (and subsequently present at the first general assembly of the Katholischer Verein in Mainz), this ultramontane Catholic orator and writer (he contributed regularly to the Historisch-politische Blätter) was well qualified to judge Buß' abilities as a popular politician:

Der Schlagwörterreichtum ist bei Buß so groß, wie bei der linken Seite der Paulskirche, aber bei weitem naturwüchsiger und frischer. Man fühlt, er hat eine Schule durchgemacht, die ihn erst nach langen Kämpfen auf den heutigen Standpunkt gestellt hat. Er trägt noch die Narben eigener Leidenschaft und die Spuren zerbrochener Spieße seiner Gegner. Und gerade dieses Gefühl der leidenschaftlichen Stürme, die um ihn braust und um seine Seele verhängnisvoll gewürfelt, macht ihn interessant, tief eindringlich. Glücklich, wer noch so reich, so unerschöpflich auf dem Kampfplatz steht, daß man ihm mehr das Maß im Gebrauch der Hilfsmittel als die äußere Anwendung derselben empfehlen muß.

Buß' attempts at involving small farmers and artisans were popular and adopted by the Katholischer Verein throughout Germany. A further policy adopted by the Verein was the collection of a membership fee of one groschen each month, payable at any of the weekly meetings, in direct imitation of O'Connell's Catholic Rent, designed to give his followers the feeling of greater involvement with the Catholic Association. Buß, along with Lennig, opposed the unsuccessful attempt to end this scheme, during the discussions at the first general assembly, the somewhat dry style of the protocol revealing the variety of opinion in the body of
political Catholicism on this issue:


The success of O'Connell's scheme was already widely known in Germany prior to the establishment of the Piusverein, as the following excerpt from the Katholische Sonntagsblätter of 19. March 1848 would suggest:

Wißt ihr, wer nun in Irland und England die Katholiken frei und ihre Religion groß und blühend gemacht hat? Daniel O'Connell hat's getan ... Und was war wiederum das Mittel, wodurch ihm dieß gelang? Antwort: er hatte einen Verein gestiftet, "die katholische Association", in den er jeden, vor allem die geringen, armen, aber guten Katholiken aufnahm, indem jeder monatlich ein paar Pfennige bezahlte, der Anfangs unscheinbar und verachtet war, allmählich aber über das ganze Reich sich ausdehnte und zuletzt den Stolz und die Gewalt Englands allein durch die friedliche Macht der Eintracht, der Überzeugung und des Wortes überwunden hat.

This article provides a good example of the rhetorical devices used by the Catholic press of the period to put forward a populist image. Just how far these apparent democratic tendencies were simply rhetorical strategies to politicise and organise the middle and especially lower class Catholics, can be judged by the fact that the Katholischer Verein did not, generally speaking, evolve into a major, popular movement. At the first general assembly a delegate from Trier, the artist and convert to Catholicism, Lasinsky, addressed his fellow representatives as 'Bürger' and proposed a toast to the "Volk, welches in seinem heiligen Glauben für die Freiheit zu sterben vermag." Although supported by individual members, among them Buß himself, the majority of those present were not prepared to encourage such radical tendencies - a consequence perhaps of
the dominance of clergy within the organisation.

Although in fact most positions of authority in the movement were held by the clergy, Lennig had always intended the Verein to be a lay organisation: 

Daß die Vorsitzenden, wie die Mehrzahl der Schriftsführer weltlichen Standes waren, sprach den Character des Vereines als eines Laienvereines deutlich aus ... 

Scarcity of able and willing laymen however - a reluctance caused largely by a traditional feeling of clerical superiority in matters relating to the Church - forced the clergy to take over the leadership. Nonetheless, Lennig continued to hope that laymen would eventually hold these positions, and encouraged lay participation by establishing a suggestion-box system in the Verein. In addition he encouraged the master butcher, Johann Falk III, who became the first lay speaker in the Piusverein in Mainz. Falk's first speech there was a short address given on 12. July 1848, which was followed by a lecture on Droste-Vischering on 2. August. 

He continued to give lectures in the Verein, but appears to have been the only layman to have done so. This was not the case in the Cologne Verein. This branch of the association, an exception to the general rule, did not admit clergy as members and so was totally lay in character.

Cologne notwithstanding, the comparatively small numbers of laymen holding prominent positions in the organisation, did not mean that they had no interest in it. One of the representatives from Berlin at the first general assembly, Ruland, himself a priest, described how the enthusiasm of the people for the Piusverein forced the clergy to follow suit: 

Dieses arme Volk (the poor of Berlin), als es den Aufruf des Mainzer Piusvereins vernahm, hat seine Geistlichen aufgefordert, ja gezwungen, zu ihnen zu gehen ... 

- a striking parallel to the situation in Ireland during O'Connell's career, where the priests "were kindled by the people and not the people
by the priests" and where "the priest had influence only when he led the people according to the popular views".47

The stimulating of the people's interest in the movement and the creation of suitable structures to that end had always been one of Buß' aims and in his guidelines for the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands he referred to the role they could play as orators: "Ein Laie kann als christlicher Volksredner Großes wirken".48 Moreover Buß was himself credited with being one of the most influential and effective layman in the Church at this time:

Die Wahl (for first president of the Kath. Verein Deutschlands) war schon entschieden, ehe sie begann, und einmütig, erscholl von Aller Lippen der Name: Buß! - ein Name, allen ächten Katholiken verherrnswürdig und thueuer. - Längst kannten wir seine Schriften, sein Wirken, seine Kämpfe, seine Leiden für die katholische Sache - heute aber hatten wir auf der Rednerbühne den Mann selbst kennen gelernt - und wahrhaftig, "jeder Zoll ein Mann" und zwar ein katholischer Mann ... allein an der Spitze unserer Versammlung mußte gerade ein Mann, wie Buß stehen. 49

Furthermore, in a report in the Katholische Sonntagsblätter of 11. November 1849 on the events at the meeting of the Mainz Verein six days earlier, Buß, along with Friedrich Schlegel, Joseph Görres, O'Connell and Montalembert, was cited as an example of "... das vielfältige und tief eingehende Einwirken der Laien in den Bestand der Kirche und in das religiöse Leben ..."50

Such reports in the Katholische Sonntagsblätter show the growing strength of the organisation, but the Catholic press was itself instrumental in involving the Catholic masses with the movement. Buß, like O'Connell before him, recognised the need for a newspaper which identified closely with the Katholischer Verein, on which "lehnen sich für jede Kirchenprovinz ähnliche Blätter an welche dann der Stützpunkt für analoge Diözesanblätter werden sollen".51 He had already taken an active part in
the development of a Catholic press by transforming the Südendeutsche Katholische Kirchenblatt into the more politically minded Südendeutsche Zeitung für Kirche und Staat in April 1845, by founding the Praktische Monatsschrift für die Freiheit und Entwicklung der katholischen Kirche in der Oberrheinischen Kirchenprovinz and Capistran, Zeitschrift für die Rechte und Interessen des katholischen Deutschlands in 1847 and Der katholische Vereinsbote für das teutsche Reich in 1849. Buß' view of the educative value of the Catholic press for the people was shared by Lennig, who expressed the advantages of such newspapers in a Lenten sermon in 1846:

Ein Zeitungsblatt ist, wenn ich mich so ausdrücken darf, eine Kanzel, worauf nicht bloß wie in der Kirche an jedem Sonntage, sondern an jedem Tage gepredigt wird, und was sehr wichtig zu bemerken ist, vor einer höchst zahlreichen Zuhörerschaft ...

Following the removal of press censorship in March 1848, Lennig set to work on the Mainzer Journal which appeared on 1. June, with Sausen, late of Der Katholik, as editor. Lennig wrote to the bishops of Limburg, Speyer, Fulda, Rottenburg and Freiburg to encourage them to spread its popularity among their flocks. Moreover while Catholics were advised to read the Journal and boycott anti-Catholic publications, 'Lesevereine' and 'Vereinsbibliotheken' were established, where they could read a wide variety of Catholic publications:

Eine weitere Aufgabe der Vereine ist die Veranlassung und Unterstützung der Bearbeitung und Verbreitung kerniger, katholischer Volksschriften, zumal der Kalender, die Gründung von Lesevereinen und Volks- oder Wander- und Vereinsbibliotheken, wie diese mehrere katholische Vereine, wie die von Aachen, Gmünd, Aschaffenburg u. a. schon errichtet haben. Den wohlfeilsten Weg hierzu bieten der Karl-Borromäus-Verein und der Münchner-Verein für die Verbreitung guter katholischer Bücher, die man den katholischen Vereinen eingliedern soll ...
Aided by such 'Lesevereine', which were strongly reminiscent of the 'Repeal Reading Rooms' set up in Ireland by O'Connell, the Catholic press entered into a period of prosperity. The Mainzer Journal became the regular newspaper of most members of the Katholischer Verein. Based in Mainz, it reflected the attitudes of the Mainz Verein, having as its main purpose "die Verteidigung der religiösen Freiheit der vollkommenen Unabhängigkeit u. Selbständigkeit der Kirche". The Katholischer Verein for its part, while endorsing such ideas in the Mainzer Journal, refused to be identified with its political character:

denn ich rede im Namen der katholischen Vereine, und diese haben kein gemeinsames politisches Glaubensbekenntnis, sie beschäftigen sich überhaupt nicht mit der Politik des Tages, überlassen es jedem Mitgliede, hierin seinen eigenen Weg zu gehen, und ziehen nur jene Fragen in den Kreis ihrer Tätigkeit, welche mit der Existenz und dem Wohle der Kirche in einem unmittelbaren und unaufloslichen Zusammenhange stehen, der welche, weil sie allgemein socialer Natur sind, um die Grundfesten der menschlichen und bürgerlichen Gesellschaft betreffen, für jeden Christen schon durch die unveränderlichen Lehren des Evangelismus entschieden sind.

Buß had originally aimed to turn the Katholischer Verein into a political party, in the belief that only a politically motivated Catholic movement could improve the fortunes of the Church. In this as in many of his other strategies, O'Connell's example was a motivating factor:

Ein O'Connel (sic) hat im englischen Parlament sie (Catholic politics) groß geübt, ein Montalembert handhabt sie sicher in der gesetzgebenden Versammlung Frankreichs, ein Gerlach in dem gesetzgebenden Senate Belgiens. Freilich die Katholiken der Paulskirche haben sie nicht geübt; sonst hätten sie den Karren der teutschen Politik nicht so tief in den Koth schieben geholfen.

Following the decisions taken at the second and third general assemblies in May and September 1849, Buß accepted the decision that "die corporative Betheiligung der katholischen Vereine an rein politischen Fragen bleibt ganz ausgeschlossen", although he still believed that they should be involved in social issues and, in imitation of the clergy in Belgium and
Ireland, take an active part in political life. In reality, while some Vereine did possess a strong political accent, especially in the Rhineland, the majority remained aloof from politics except when the independence and rights of the Church were threatened, because, as Döllinger pointed out in his speech entitled 'Die Freiheit der Kirche':

Kirche und Staat sind zwei allzu verschiedene Gesellschaften, als daß sie wie zwei Menschen oder wie zwei gleichartige Körperschaften so mit einander verglichen, und eine der anderen vorgezogen oder auch nur gleichgestellt werden könnte.

Where the Church's sphere of influence was impinged upon (by the secular authorities), complaints and petitions were to be sent to the parliament and the head of state, though it was emphasised that on no occasion should the power of the sovereign be challenged. The German Catholic movement, like O'Connell in Ireland, urged its members to demonstrate total loyalty to the Crown. Indeed as the following chapter will show, throughout the 1840's German Catholic newspapers made constant reference to the fact that O'Connell successfully demonstrated how a devout Catholic could also be the loyal subject of a Protestant monarch, thereby removing the stigma of sedition previously attached to Catholics.

However the Katholischer Verein sought not only to avoid interfering in state affairs, but also in internal Church government. At the first general assembly letters assuring the Pope and the bishops of this fact were drawn up:

Vor allem wünschen wir, man möge bei der Beurtheilung unseres Vereins den Gesichtspunkt festhalten, daß wir durchaus uns in keiner Weise in die Regierung der Kirche unbefugt einmischen wollen. Den Gesetzen der Kirche zu gehorchen, die gesetzlich in der Kirche bestehende Ordnung im Befehlen und Gehorchen gewissenhaft zu beobachten, uns der Autorität und den rechtlichen Befugnissen unserer Pfarrer, unserer Bischöfe so wie des päpstlichen Stuhles pflichtgemäß zu unterwerfen, - dieß ist unser fester Wille, welchen wir feierlich aussprechen.

Moreover while prepared not to encroach on the bishops' power of
authority, Buß, Lennig and other leaders of the Katholischer Verein called on the bishops to take an active part in the Verein. In a letter to his friend, Bishop Blum of Limburg dated 5. April 1848, Lennig expressed the opinion he had held since the days of the Cologne Incident, that the bishops hold a conference and work together to instruct the people. On 5. May, the leading article in Der Katholik entitled 'Die Notwendigkeit der katholischen Association' contained the following plea to the episcopate:

Wir haben deshalb, nicht aus Anmaßung, sondern im tiefen Gefühl der heiligsten Verpflichtung und des Ernstes der Zeit, in einem früheren Artikel den Ruf nach einer Vereinigung der deutschen Bischöfe, nach einem einigen, raschen und kräftigen Auftreten derselben erschallen lassen ... Gott will es, daß die hohe, herrliche deutsche Kirche auferstehen soll; daß durchbrochen werden sollen die unwürdigen, unkanonischen, die Braut Christi entehrenden Fesseln des Territorialismus! - Ist aber das der Wille Gottes, so ist es auch sein Wille, daß die Bischöfe, seine Stellvertreter, die Werke vollbringen sollen ... The leaders of the Katholischer Verein realised, as O'Connell had in the 1820's, that the support of key members of the episcopate was essential to the success of their movement. Even Döllinger, whose dislike of O'Connell is discussed in Chapter one, noted and admired the involvement of Bishop MacHale, O'Connell's major clerical ally, in the Irish movement:

Ces derniers jours, nous avons eu le plaisir de connaître M. MacHale, évêque de Killala en Irlande; cet excellent homme nous fait sentir encore plus amèrement ce qui nous manque: des évêques qui aient l'érudition, le noble courage, et l'esprit d'indépendance d'un prélat irlandais. Following the first general assembly of the Katholischer Verein in October 1848, an episcopal conference was held in Würzburg later that month - the ultimate consequence of combined lay and clerical pressure on the episcopate, and one which was to have a long-lasting unifying effect on the German Church throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
Indeed the establishment of the Piusverein in March 1848 had similar consequences for the Church: the general assemblies, which continue today as the Katholikentage, brought about a unity of purpose and determination which had been lacking, a fact brought forward in the leading article on German Catholicism in the Rheinische Merkur of 1. May 1987, on the occasion of the visit of Pope John Paul II to the Federal Republic:

Nach dem Ende der Reichskirche lebten die Katholiken in der Zerstreung der Staaten des Deutschen Bundes. Eine gesamt-deutsche Repräsentation stellte erst der Katholikentag in Mainz 1848 (und ihm folgend das erste gesamtstaatliche Bischofstreffen, die Würzburger Bischofskonferenz, im selben Jahr) wieder her.

In considering the success of the Piusverein / Katholischer Verein Deutschlands at bringing about this political awakening of German Catholics and co-ordinating their efforts, their adoption of O'Connell's techniques, both organisational and propagandist, emerge as fundamental influences, - confirming the popularity of the view of O'Connell as the successful defender of the rights of the Irish Catholics among their German co-religionists:

Notes to Chapter 3,ii

1. Der Katholik, 3. 3. 1848.

2. op. cit., 24. 3. 1848.

3. Lennig was elected president; medical practitioner Dr. J. C. A. Dillenius, vice-president; hospice organiser Moser, first secretary; Moufang, Lennig’s nephew and fellow priest, second secretary; wine merchant G. A. Fachbach, treasurer. Bergsträßer, Studien zur Vorgeschichte ..., p. 148.

4. Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung des katholischen Vereines Deutschlands, Introduction, p. IV.

5. Der Katholik, 2. 4. 1848. As is usual with this journal, the dates of reports are often later than that of the particular issue itself — suggesting that the date of production and that which appeared on the paper were not the same.

6. ibid.


8. Der Katholik, 2. 4. 1848.

9. ibid. Moreover, Kreß, the representative for Münster at the first general assembly demonstrated in his speech that this statute was indeed acted upon:

So mußte denn auch bei uns die Befreiung für religiöse Freiheit alsbald Anklang finden, und kaum wurden uns die Satzungen des Mainzer Piusvereins durch die Blätter bekannt, so traten auch wir in Münster zu einem Vereine zusammen, und von ihm bin ich gesandt, dem hiesigen Vereine, als dem ersten Gründer, den Dank des unsrigen auszusprechen. op. cit., II. 10. 1848.


11. Der Katholik, 29. 9. 1848.

12. Schnabel, Der Zusammenschluß des politischen Katholizismus in Deutschland im Jahre 1848, pp. 43f. In all 1142 petitions containing 273,000 signatures were sent by the Piusvereine to the Frankfurt Parliament, the majority sent from Baden (434 petitions), and 350 from the Rhineland area. Schnabel, Der Zusammenschluß..., pp. 45f.


15. Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, p. 11. Speech by Buß: Ich komme aus dem badischen Oberland und bringe Ihnen Dank und Gruß von mehr als 100,000 katholischen Mitbrüdern, Mitgliedern des Vereines Freiburg. - Also printed in Der Katholik, 29. 11. 1848.


19. *Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung*, p. 8. Following the success of this first general assembly, the second was held in Breslau in May 1849. Originally the organisers had wanted Vienna as the venue, but the revolutionary turmoil there prevented this. A similar situation existed in Breslau, with clubs and associations barred from holding meetings. However the Katholischer Verein was permitted to hold their general assembly there as a result of the ruling which declared them to be a non-political organisation. Following Breslau, it was hoped to hold the third general assembly in Vienna. This again proved impossible and in October 1849 this assembly took place in Regensburg, where it was decided that henceforth the assemblies would be held once a year, in September if possible. In September 1850 the next general assembly was held; Fulda, Prag and Berlin were all chosen as venues of the fifth general assembly, but because of difficulties with the authorities, the assembly was eventually held in Mainz (Oct. 1851). Münster provided the setting in 1852, with Vienna the venue in 1853. Attempts to have the 1854 and 1855 assemblies held in Cologne failed, largely due to the Prussian authorities' opposition, and the cholera epidemic throughout the German states prevented any general assembly taking place in these years. Linz was the setting in 1856; 1857 saw attempts at securing Cologne once more. Although the consent of the king was eventually given, it came when invitations had already been issued naming Salzburg as the venue. In September 1858 the general assembly was finally held in the Rhineland, in Cologne. From this time onwards these assemblies (now known as Katholikentage) have continued to take place with some regularity right up to the present day. Notable exceptions include the years when the 'Kulturkampf' was at its height, the First World War period (to 1920) and the Nazi era.


21. Article 11 of the statutes reads as follows:

Der Verein erklärt, daß er, so viel an ihm ist, den Frieden des Rechtes andern Confessionen gegenüber wahren werde. Er wird in keiner Weise den Rechten derselben zu Nahe treten und nur zu Abwehr und Schutz sich erheben, wo die katholische Kirche und ihre Mitglieder als solche angegriffen werden. - Buß, *Der Kampf der Kirche gegen den Staat*, p. 582, and *Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung*, p. 140.

22. Döllinger, *Die Freiheit der Kirche*, p. 20 and *Verhandlungen der dritten Generalversammlung*, pp. 102f. Generally only Catholics were allowed become members of the Verein, though Protestant spectators were encouraged:

Es versteht sich, daß nur Katholiken stimmberechtigte Mitglieder sein können; doch werden zur Theilnahme an den öffentlichen Versammlungen unbedenklich auch Andersgläubige zugelassen. - Hülskamp, p. 6.

However, the Danzig Piusverein did admit Protestant members:

Gerade da kamen uns die Statuten des Mainer Pius-Vereins zu und wir legten sie unserem Vereine zu Grund, jedoch mit einer

23. O'Connell's attitude to Protestants and his Catholic Association is well expressed in a letter sent to his wife, in May 1823. See note 17, Chapter 2. This letter is reproduced in the text of that chapter.

24. Article one of the statutes of the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands. Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, p. 138 and Buß, Der Kampf der Kirche gegen den Staat, p. 580. The title Piusverein continued to be used until the early 1850's, when, with the exception of Switzerland, it disappeared entirely from use.


26. The selection of Buß, who was elected by general acclamation (the vice-president, Hardung, was elected by the casting of votes - Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, p. 18) was a popular one, particularly as it was hoped the organisation would develop into an "umfassende katholischer Volksassociation":


27. The arrival of these representatives caused great excitement among the delegates at Mainz as the following extract from a report on the general assembly in Der Katholik suggests:


Although this date is prior to that of the general assembly (held in October), this issue provides accurate reports of the events there. For difference in dates, see note 5.

28. Hülskamp, pp. 8f. The need for such a gathering is reiterated in the introduction to the Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, p. IV:

   Demnach waren die Vereine alsbald mit einander brieflich in Verkehr getreten und hatten im Geiste einander brüderlich die Hand gereicht. Als aber bei der Einweihung des Kölner Doms Mitglieder verschiedener Vereine mit anderen katholischen Männern am letzten Abend des Festes, noch mächtig
angeregst von den Eindrücken jener bedeutungsvollen Tage, beisammen waren und ihre Hoffnungen und Befürchtungen über das, was ihnen am meisten am Herzen lag, austauschten, da wurde es ihnen klar, wie eine Versammlung der Abgeordneten aller bis jetzt bestehenden katholischen Vereine für kirchliche Freiheit stattfinden müsse und zwar bald, ganz bald.

29. The address was entitled Ansprache an das katholischer Volk - Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, pp. 165ff.

30. ibid., p. 48.
31. ibid., p. 7.
32. ibid., p. 15.
34. Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, p. 84.
35. ibid., p. 85.
36. Buß, Die Aufgabe usw. ..., p. 446. Indeed at one stage Buß addressed nine to ten meetings within three days, speaking to an estimated 150,000 people in all. Schnabel, Der Zusammenschluß ..., p. 44. The importance of centres of pilgrimages, such as Trier, is discussed in section one of this chapter.
38. ibid.
39. Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, p. 127. The following proposal was discussed and agreed upon by the delegates on 6. October: Jedes Mitglied zahlt monatlich einen bestimmten kleinen Geldbeitrag - etwa einen Groschen. Mehr soll niemand zahlen. Die Zahlung wird nicht eingefordert, sonder unaufgefordert entrichtet.
40. ibid., p. 129.
41. Katholische Sonntagsblätter, 19. 3. 1848.
42. Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, p. 88.
43. ibid., Introduction, p. VII.
44. A good example of this is the report from Würzburg that contrary to the growth of the Catholic press since the formation of the Piusverein, in Franken only one Catholic journal was founded - a state of affairs they blame on the inactivity of the clergy, rather than that of lay Catholics: Nicht ein einziges Organ (mit Ausnahme von Aschaffenburg) in ganz Franken, das für katholischen Glaubennoch ein Wort zu sprechen sich getraute. Wenn das so fortgeht und der Polizeistaat, was nicht ausbleiben kann, auch bei uns einmal zusammenstürzt, dann wird die süße Ruhe sich in eine Gährung auflösen,
die den österreichischen Zuständen wenig nachgibt. Wir machen
den Klerus verantwortlich.
Der Katholik, 24. 9. 1848.

Falk also made a speech on the importance of lay members in the
Verein. - Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung, p. 100.

46. Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, p. 14. Furthermore this view of
the clergy as chosen representatives of the people is reinforced in the
introduction to this first volume of the Verhandlungen, p. VII:
Daß die Vorsitzenden, wie die Mehrzahl der Schriftführer
weltlichen Standes waren, sprach den Charakter des Vereines
als eines Laienvereines deutlich aus. Waren unter den Abgeord-
neten auch eine beträchtliche Anzahl Priester, so waren sie
es als Bevollmächtigte, als Vertrauensmänner des sie sendenden
Volkes.

Moreover, the role of the laity in helping the Church was explained by
delegate Dr. Dinter in Breslau on 8. May 1849, who drew on the example
of O'Connell in Ireland:
Aber nicht bloß das Altherthum, sondern auch die jüngste
Vergangenheit bietet uns leuchtende Beispiele von Laien dar,
die welch durch ihre heldenmächtige Verfechtung der religiösen
und kirchlichen Interessen als Bollwerke des Christenthums
gelten konnten. M. H., noch sind die Trauerklänge nicht
verstummt, welche das ungückliche Irland seinem O'Connell
weiht;... - Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung, p. 11.


49. Introduction to the Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, pp. VIIf.

50. Katholische Sonntagsblätter, 11. 11. 1849.

51. Büß, Die Aufgabe usw...., p. 441. Moreover in Der Kampf der Kirche gegen
den Staat he wrote:
Die Katholiken sollen die periodische Presse benützen und
unterstützen für ihre Rechte und Interessen, während sie
jetzt mit ihrem Geld die ihnen feindliche Presse besolden.
(Buß' reply to Montalembert, p. 222).

52. Dorneich, pp. 113ff. - though more political, the Süddeutsche Zeitung
was still a Church paper. At the first general assembly Büß suggested
a central organ for the Verein (Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung,
p. 75), but this was not put into practice for a number of years.

53. Capistran appeared regularly in the years 1847-52; only one edition
of the Praktische Monatsschrift appeared; and a mere nine sample
editions of Der katholische Vereinsbote were issued. The Süddeutsche
Zeitung was produced three times a week in 1845; in 1846 this was
changed to four weekly editions, but by 1848 the journal had declined
in popularity.

54. Diehl, p. 33.

55. Brück, Adam Franz Lennig, p. 113
56. Büß, Die Aufgabe usw. ..., p. 442. These two organisations did become associated to the Katholischer Verein, as the next line from p. 442 shows:


58. Verhandlungen der dritten Generalversammlung, p. 109 (Döllinger's speech entitled 'Die Freiheit der Kirche') and Döllinger, Die Freiheit der Kirche, p. 28f.

59. Büß, Die Aufgabe usw. ..., p. 461. Moreover, Büß made a number of attempts at forming a political Catholic party - at the Cologne Cathedral celebrations in August 1848; at the first general assembly of the Katholischer Verein in October; and of course at the National Assembly in Frankfurt - all of which were unsuccessful. Dorneich, p. 263.

60. Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung, p. 142. This is paragraph 28 of the Geschäftsordnung für die Generalversammlung des katholischen Vereines Deutschlands. For the discussions on whether or not they should become involved in politics, see Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung, pp. 121ff. Also see Verhandlungen der dritten Generalversammlung, p. 209, for the reiteration of the non-political aspect of the Verein in the Programm des katholischen Vereines Deutschlands. It is of interest to note that the Verein was allowed hold its second general assembly in Breslau because:

Der Vorstand habe bereits von der Militärbehörde, in Folge einer Anfrage, die schriftliche Zusicherung erhalten, daß der katholische Verein, da er kein politischer sei, seine Versammlungen unter dem Schutze des Belagerungszustandes abhalten dürfe, jedoch setze man voraus, daß derselbe, wie bisher, unlieberse politische Berührungen vermeiden werde. Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung, p. 4.


62. In the Rhineland the Vereine were very democratic in outlook, especially in Trier, where the word 'democratic' appeared in the title. In Mainz and the surrounding area the Vereine tended to have a right-wing liberal outlook, whereas those in Bavaria were very conservative. Bergsträßer, Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Zentrumspartei, p. 163. Because of the influence of the Görres Circle in Munich, the Vereine in Bavaria also had a strong political accent.

63. Döllinger, Die Freiheit der Kirche, p. 30 and Verhandlungen der dritten Generalversammlung, p. 115.

64. Such loyalty to the crown and the Fatherland is encouraged by Döllinger in Die Freiheit der Kirche and by the Catholic writer Karl Gustav Rintel, in his work Die katholischen Interessen und die deutsche Frage in Preußen (an advertisement for which appeared in the Deutsche Volkshalle of 29. 11. 1849:

einzunehmen, daß sie vor Allem die Treue gegen König und Vaterland zu wahren haben, weil sie in dieser Treue allein auch ihrer Kirche treu bleiben; ... - Rintel, p. VI.

Moreover at the second general assembly in Breslau, the representative from Augsburg, the factory-owner von Brentano, proposed a toast to Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, praising him as a good sovereign and friend of the Catholic Church:


65. Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, pp. 154f.: Schreiben an den heiligen Vater, Papst Pius IX.

66. Diehl, pp. 54f.

67. Der Katholik, 5. 5. 1848.

68. Lösch, p. 375. Letter from Döllinger to Lamennais, dated 12. 10. 1832.


70. Katholische Sonntagsblätter, 5. 9. 1848.
Introduction

In the first half of the nineteenth century the publishing industry in Germany experienced a period of unprecedented growth and popularity. This was largely the result of the revolutionary changes in reading habits—in particular the change over from traditional patterns of intensive to extensive reading—and of the industrialisation of production methods, which witnessed the mass publication of cheap editions. As early as the 1820's Friedrich König's mechanical press was in use throughout the German states and twenty years later machines for the production of wood-pulp, a cheap raw material for the manufacture of paper, became widespread.¹ Consequently the amount of books produced increased dramatically, the number of titles issued between 1801 and 1828 rising by 28%, and between 1828 and 1852 by 153%.²

The growth in readership in the first half of the century, with the development of new 'Leseschichten', was an important element in this, creating as it did, a ready and socially diverse market for these works. The quest for greater knowledge and self-awareness, popularised by the thinkers of the Enlightenment period, had a particularly powerful impact on the members of the broad spectrum of the middle class in Germany. Not only this, but their increasing material prosperity in this age of industrial and commercial advances was accompanied by the desire to achieve greater social credibility, and education, especially self-education, was the most accessible and inexpensive way of doing this. Moreover the
developing and increasingly successful school system was gradually raising the literacy levels in all sectors of society, resulting in a greater demand for books, newspapers and magazines.

The commercialisation of methods of distribution enabled the publishing houses to meet these needs. Inexpensive editions reached the reading public in two main ways - through the policy of door-to-door selling and the medium of the lending libraries. The former method, popular with religious societies since the eighteenth century, allowed the publisher to sell to a wider buying public, especially in the rural areas. But it was the lending libraries which became the chief purchasers of published material. Normally attached to a book or printing outlet, they were highly popular institutions, particularly among the lower orders of society.

Their appeal was so great that the Churches, both Catholic and Protestant, established similar organisations themselves. Prompted by the fear of mass indoctrination of secular values among their flocks, they not only established lending libraries, reading circles and associations (such as the Borromäus-Verein, founded in Bonn in 1844, which by 1850 had over 264 branches with over 12,000 members), but also provided a systematic 'alternative' media - of instructive works, newspapers, periodicals and even encyclopaedia.

As this suggests, although the majority of works produced were fiction, there existed besides devotional literature, a large market for informative and instructive works - notably Lexika, almanacs and books on travel and technology. The success of Brockhaus' Conversationslexikon demonstrates this. Of the first edition, published in 1809, 2000 copies were printed and sold; the fifth edition (1818-23) sold 32,000 copies and the
eleventh (1864-68), over 300,000.\textsuperscript{5}

Moreover the press also found a large reading public. Prior to 1848 the strict censorship laws meant that most newspapers were non-political, cultural journals. There were exceptions to this however, the two most striking being the liberal newspapers produced in Augsburg and Cologne - the Allgemeine Zeitung and the Kölnische Zeitung. To combat their popularity among Catholics, various members of the Church made attempts at establishing a distinctive Catholic press - the most successful publications being Der Katholik (Mainz) and the Historisch-politische Blätter (Munich).

The Church's fear of the influence of the non-Catholic press and of secular literature in general on the attitudes and outlook of its members, reflects the significant impact of the developing media on society at the time. Thus in order to understand more fully O'Connell's influence on the Catholic movement in Germany, it becomes necessary to examine the references to him made in important contemporary publications, to see not merely the image being received by middle class Catholics, but also by non-Catholics, especially liberals, in this period of liberal awakening.
The decade 1840 - 50, which saw a quickening of political interest and activity throughout Germany, also marks the period in which press coverage of O'Connell's career and campaigns reached a highpoint in that country. Of special significance in this regard are the years 1843-44, with the movement for Repeal and O'Connell's trial for sedition dominating reports from Britain. This period had been preceded by a comparative lull and was followed by the marked decline in interest in the Irish leader after 1845, to be revived again only in 1847, with his grave illness and subsequent death. Such is symptomatic of press coverage of O'Connell in Germany since the time, when, in 1829, he had brought his campaign for Catholic Emancipation to a successful conclusion. The periods 1843/44 and 1847/48 suggest themselves therefore as those of greatest interest and commend these years as the basis of the analysis of the portrayal of O'Connell in the German Catholic press.

In addition discussion has been confined to a consideration of the most influential Catholic publications of the period. Firstly, Der Katholik. Religiöse Zeitschrift zur Belehrung und Warnung, a thrice weekly journal, with a newspaper format, dealing exclusively with religious topics and reports on the state of the Church at home and abroad. Founded in 1821 in Mainz by two priests, Andreas Raed and Nicolaus Weis, both lecturers at the Catholic seminary there, it was, as its name suggests, essentially an organ of the Church, the purpose of which was to popularise Church teachings and attitudes and defend the Church from the attacks of the non-Catholic press.

Indeed it is this latter aspect of the developing German press from the
second decade of the nineteenth century onwards, which provided the impetus for the creation of a so-called 'Catholic press'. The rapid increase in literacy had not resulted in any significant sense in the development of a distinct Catholic reading public and this too led to programmatic acts on the part of individual Catholics to promote such a development. In spite of difficulties with the censor, resulting in its removal to Strasbourg and Speyer, before its return to Mainz in 1844, Der Katholik became one of the most widely read journals in the German Confederation, popular especially among members of the clergy and the educated Catholic middle classes, and continued to be produced until 1918. Similarly the Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung und Erbauung, a weekly publication, was very popular in Catholic circles. Founded in 1842 in Mainz, by Kaspar Rissel, former professor of Catholic Theology at the University of Gießen, it was edited by H. J. Himioben, parish priest in the Mainz diocese and product of the episcopal seminary there. Founded for a similar purpose as Der Katholik, this theologically and politically conservative journal became the official Church organ of the dioceses of Fulda, Limburg, Mainz and Speyer. Its format was a combination of that of a newspaper and that of a periodical (similar to Der Katholik, but with less international reports), coverage of politics was limited and all political developments were regarded from the Church's stand-point. While both these publications were originally produced as organs of the increasingly self-confident group of Catholics, both lay and clerical, in Hessen, the Historisch-politische Blätter were conceived as the mouthpiece for the Görres-Circle in Munich. Founded by the conservative diplomat and journalist Karl Ernst Jarcke, the university professor George Phillips and Joseph Görres' son, Guido, in Munich in 1838 as a direct
consequence of the Cologne Incident, this influential organ of militant Catholicism was essentially a political periodical with a strong anti-Prussian slant, with a format similar to that of the Dublin Review, rather than that of a reporting newspaper.

Edited by Phillips and Görres, until the latter's death in 1852, the ultramontanist periodical appeared twice a month. Editorial policy was programmatically anti-liberal; much time and energy was devoted to condemning and countering what the editors saw as the anti-Christian ideas of the French Revolution. Consequently the liberal Kölnische Zeitung was frequently attacked in the pages of the Historisch-politische Blätter, an ironic development in view of the fact that the Kölnische Zeitung was regarded with suspicion by the authorities, in the belief that it was a supporter of the views of ultramontanist Catholics.

In fact the Kölnische Zeitung was the most popular journal among Catholics in the Rhineland, where the forces of liberalism and Catholicism identified closely with each other at this time. In the absence of a Catholic publication in this, one of the main centres of German 'political' Catholicism (the others being Baden, Mainz and Munich), an omission which was a result of the intransigence of the Prussian authorities prior to the new censorship laws in March 1848, an examination of the treatment and coverage of O'Connell in this newspaper suggests itself. In addition the liberal Allgemeine Zeitung, which was produced in Augsburg, has been chosen and its reports on the Irish leader analysed, the choice being dictated by the wish to see how a second liberal newspaper deals with O'Connell and also because of its popularity among educated Catholics in Bavaria.
Founded in 1798 in Stuttgart by the publisher J. F. Cotta, this daily political newspaper was forced to move its place of production in 1803, following a banning order issued by the authorities in Württemberg. It moved first to Ulm, then in 1810 to Augsburg, where it continued to be produced for seventy-two years. Although Augsburg was a powerful centre of Catholic life and publishing, the editorial policy of the Allgemeine Zeitung directed itself to a Protestant liberal readership. However its calm dispassionate style and excellent coverage of international events led to its popularity among middle and upper middle class Catholics—including even Metternich himself. The most widely read publication in Bavaria, where it was read by the monarch and his civil servants, its appeal extended far beyond the boundaries of the state and by 1840 it could claim to have a readership of at least 50,000 a day. It was with this figure that Gustav Kolb (editor from 1837-63) successfully attempted to win back the writer and poet Heinrich Heine to his staff in the 1840's. Indeed the Allgemeine Zeitung prided itself on attracting prominent German writers to contribute to its pages, including the aforementioned Heine (1797-1856), Karl Gutzkow (1811-78), Ludwig Börne (1786-1837) and Levin Schücking (1814-83).

In 1845, two years after he had joined the staff of the Allgemeine Zeitung, Schücking was offered the position of editor of the feuilleton in the Kölnische Zeitung, which he accepted. The Kölnische Zeitung was, like the Allgemeine Zeitung, a daily newspaper with a strong liberal bias. Founded in 1762 as the Kaiserliche Reichs-Ober-Post-Amts-Zeitung zu Köln, its name was changed in 1794 to the Postamtszeitung, then Kölner Zeitung and eventually Kölnische Zeitung in 1802, when it was taken over by the publishing family of Schauberg. In 1808 the well-known lawyer Markus Du Mont (1784-1831), who was married to one of Schauberg's daughters,
became owner of the firm and the newspaper. The following year the newspaper was suppressed by Napoleon and did not reappear until January 1814. Its reputation and popularity was not however established until Du Mont's son, Joseph (1811-61), took control in 1831, a position he held until his death thirty years later. Under his leadership the Kölnische Zeitung became the most popular newspaper in the Rhineland. Du Mont was a devout Catholic and under his editorship the newspaper had, up to 1843, a distinctly Catholic outlook. Increasingly however its popularity derived from the fact that the feuilleton section was given over to well-known modern writers, a fact which was regarded with some suspicion by the local Catholic hierarchy. In 1845/46, to extend its appeal further, Du Mont appointed two new editors - the noted liberal journalist and economist Karl Brüggemann (1810-87), in charge of politics and the writer Levin Schücking for the feuilleton. Both men were committed to liberal principles, a fact which did little to win them clerical approbation. Nonetheless given the special relationship between liberals and Catholics in the Rhineland, the Kölnische Zeitung retained its Catholic readers. Readership was not confined to this area alone however. Its ability to provide reports on internal and international developments with great speed, along with the good coverage it provided, made it one of the most widely read newspapers in the German states; by 1847 its circulation was estimated at 10,000. Moreover the Kölnische Zeitung placed a great deal of emphasis on sending its own correspondents abroad to report on events.

The establishment of a network of correspondents was becoming increasingly important to many German journals at this time, among them the Allgemeine Zeitung and, to a lesser extent, Der Katholik. From 1844 this journal had a correspondent based in London, who consistently reported on
O'Connell's activities both there and in Ireland.

That a correspondent was sent to London in that year is of no small importance. The year which saw the editorship of Der Katholik pass into the hands of the theologian, journalist and future founder of the Mainzer Journal, F. J. Sausen (1810-66) marks the highpoint of the coverage of O'Connell both in the German Catholic and the liberal press. Intense coverage had begun in 1843, 'Repeal Year', and culminated in detailed articles and reports on O'Connell's trial and his campaign for the repeal of the Act of Union. This is not to say that there was no mention of the Irish leader prior to this date; his successful campaign for Catholic Emancipation, involvement with the movement for tithe reform and the beginnings of his Repeal campaign were featured in both Catholic and liberal journals throughout the 1830's and 1840's, albeit not very regularly, along with articles on the conditions of the people in Ireland, the history of her involvement with England and the characteristics of her people. Following the events of 1844 there was a marked decline in the interest in O'Connell - a result in the demise of the Repeal movement in Ireland itself and the outbreak of the Great Famine, a factor which contributed in no small degree to the end of the agitation for Repeal. Interest was however revived in 1847, the year of O'Connell's death, and continued into the early part of 1848.

Thus the years 1843/44 and 1847/48 are the most important in both the Catholic and the liberal press in Germany in relation to O'Connell. However although read by Catholics, the Allgemeine and Kölnische Zeitung, as organs of German liberalism, did see O'Connell in a different light from that of the Catholic journals. It is therefore expedient to examine the treatment of the Irish leader in the Catholic and liberal press separately.
The portrayal of O'Connell in the Catholic press 1843/44 and 1847/48

Underlying the coverage of O'Connell in the Catholic press at this period was the image of him as a loyal Catholic, leading his people in the demand for greater justice for and better treatment of, the Catholic Church, by utilising the tactic of moral force rather than violence. At this period of emerging Catholic self-awareness in the German states, O'Connell offered the Catholic media an ideal symbol to encourage German Catholics in their struggle against state encroachments on the rights of the Church. He was not projected by them in any sense as a great political thinker, rather as a man of action and as a political tactician. Moreover their coverage of his career and outlook was very selective, usually omitting the more liberal aspects of his thought (their general failure to mention his support for franchise and factory reform and the abolition of capital punishment and slavery being cases in point); for their purposes these matters were irrelevant. Occasionally however reference was made to his liberal leanings when this proved useful to the Catholic cause, a reflection of the liberal/Catholic alliance in the Rhineland. Yet the overall picture which emerges of the Irish leader from the reports and articles on him in these publications is one of a committed Catholic, justified in his attempts to free the Irish Catholic people from the tyranny of English Protestant rule, while still remaining loyal to the British monarchy and the tenets of law and order - the mirror image of the modern German Catholic these publications were trying to promote.

The portrayal of O'Connell as a devout Catholic was consistent throughout the 1840's, culminating in the funeral oration by Father Ventura, the liberal Italian priest and orator, which was published in part by the Katholische Sonntagsblätter and in full by Der Katholik:
deren Inhalt kein anderer ist, wie Ventura im Eingang derselben sagt, als O'Connell darzustellen 'als das vollkommene Muster eines wahren Bürgers und eines wahren Christen; und zu zeigen, wie derselbe 1) als ächter Bürger nur mittelst der Religion seinem Volke die Freiheit gegeben, sein Volk vom Verderben gerettet hat - und 2) als wahrer Christ die Freiheit seines Volkes zur Förderung der Sache der Religion benutzt, wie er den Tempel wieder aufgebaut hat'.

While Der Katholik expressed reservations about Ventura's espousal of O'Connell as a liberal, the Katholische Sonntagsblätter felt that it could offer its readers no better example of O'Connell's piety and religious devotion than the words of the Italian priest, who had been asked by Pope Pius IX to give the funeral oration. Moreover four years earlier this publication, in an editorial comment on a highly favourable article on O'Connell by the Viscount de Cormenin (the first in a series of articles under the heading: 'Ehrenhalle katholischer Zeitgenossen'), chided the author for not placing more emphasis on this aspect of O'Connell's character:

Allein unsere Leser wissen ja schon, daß der berühmte Mann auch Einer der eifrigsten und frömsten Katholiken Irlands ist, sie wissen, daß er täglich dem h. Meßopfer beiwohnt und sehr oft die heiligen Sacramente empfängt, wie denn erst neulich alle Zeitungen berichten, er habe gerade in seiner Hauskapelle die heilige Messe empfangen, als ihm seine Verhaftung angekündigt worden sey.

The contrast in this note to de Cormenin's article between O'Connell's piety and the insensitivity of the crown forces arresting him immediately after he had left the private chapel in his home, is symptomatic of the way in which the German Catholic press used emotive language to win for O'Connell the sympathy of their readers, who in turn felt threatened by the power of the Protestant authorities in their own areas. Much was also made of the fact that the jury in his trial consisted entirely of non-Catholic, anti-Repealers, causing Der Katholik of 7. February 1844 to
declare: "Welch ein Gegenfaß gegen das Verfahren der Krone, die alle Katholiken von der Juryliste strich!"\textsuperscript{24} This blatant injustice was also the object of critical commentary in the Historisch-politische Blätter, which used the unfairness of the trial to criticise the legal and parliamentary system of which the English were so proud. Because of their hostility to liberal politics, the Historisch-politische Blätter were enthusiastic to show how the much admired English institutions were often very different in practice and as a result should not be copied slavishly by the German states. Moreover opposition to the English system enabled them to curry favour with those semi-absolutist governments, such as those of Austria, Bavaria and Prussia, and help remove the stigma of disloyalty from their Catholic subjects:

Given the suspicious circumstances surrounding his trial, it is not surprising that the German Catholic press readily reported and indeed shared, the joy of Catholics in Ireland on O'Connell's release. In its report on the reaction in Ireland, the Katholische Sonntagsblätter quotes the Kölnische Zeitung on how this was not merely a political victory for Ireland, but also one for the Church against its enemies.\textsuperscript{26} This identification of England as the enemy of the Catholic Church is another theme which runs through the accounts and articles under discussion - surely

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not accidental, given the role they ascribed to O'Connell in their own plans for greater Church freedom in Germany.

While each of these journals is distinctly anti-English (Jarcke's only pro-English and anti-O'Connell article in the Historisch-politische Blätter coming in for sharp editorial comment), the Historisch-politische Blätter did provide a more detailed historical background on which to base its outlook. In 1843 it ran a series of seven articles entitled 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Irlands', which outlined the outcome of British rule in Ireland from the twelfth until the nineteenth century, culminating in the passage of the Act of Union in 1801, achieved "mit Gewalt und Bestechung". Not slow to play on the emotions of their readers, these articles lay the blame for the destitution of the Irish people firmly on British government policies in Ireland, a viewpoint echoed in the condemnation of the Union in a leading article in Der Katholik of 3. January 1847, entitled 'Irland und sein Elend':

Das ist die himmelschreiende Wirkung des Helotenthums, wozu England seine Schwesterinsel durch eine unerhörte, während Jahrhunderten consequent fortgesetzte Tyrannie gebracht hat; eine Folge jener Beraubung ohne Gleichn, welche dem irischen Volke den größeren und besseren Theil der Erträgnisse seines schönen und fruchtbaren Landes entzieht und Jahr aus Jahr ein nach England aufgeführt, um dort in aller Ueppigkeit vergeudet zu werden.

It is British misrule in Ireland that forms the basis of these journals' support for Repeal. By thus portraying Repeal as a just means of compensating Irish Catholics for the injustices practiced against them for the previous six hundred years and as the only possible way of preventing a violent revolution, the Catholic press protected itself from accusations of radicalism. Furthermore the same reasons are given for supporting O'Connell's nationwide peaceful mobilisation of the people - even if they did at times move dangerously close to violent outbreaks:
Da hat O'Connell schnell den Plan dieses Kampfes entworfen und in größter Besonnenheit und meisterhaftem Geschick ihn ausgeführt. Er wollte zeigen, was durch den Gebrauch gesetzlich eingeräumter Freiheit sich erreichen lasse; und so hat er das Volk stufenweise auf diesem Boden bis scharf zu dem Punkte hingeführt, wo das Gesetzliche abläuft, und Verwirrung und Anarchie beginnen.

And in the phrase beloved of anti-liberal publicists of all persuasions Görres, writing in the Historisch-politische Blätter in 1844, continues:

Das ist nun allerdings ein bedrohliches Zeichen in dieser Zeit zu leisten, was bisher fabelhaft erschienen ist; die undisziplinirte Masse knapp bis zu der Spitze hinaufzuleiten, wo rechts und links der Abgrund droht, und dabei im Steigen sich selbst, und sie vor dem Schwindel zu bewahren. Aber es ist noch bedrohlicher, ein Volk bis an den Rand der Verzweiflung hinzutreiben, und nun prangend und pochend auf seine Schwäche und die Überlegenheit der eigenen Kräfte, es Jahrhunderte lang in diesem Zustand zu erhalten; aber an solch überwogenem Unterfangen hat, so viele Menschenalter hindurch, niemand den mindesten Anstoß genommen.

The need for a similar united mass movement of the Catholik 'Volk', as opposed to the notion of a rabble-type 'Masse', in Germany in the 1840's resulted in the editorial policies of each of the publications coming out strongly in favour of O'Connell's tactics of organisation and propaganda:

Die Waffen, welche O'Connell führt, sind seine Reden im Parlament, in dem Verein, bei den Meetings, bei den Wahlversammlungen und seine veröffentlichten Aufsätze ... Kaum vergeht ein einziger Tag durch das ganze Jahr, ohne daß die Presse nicht einen Beschuß, eine Rede, einen Brief von ihm dem Publikum mittheilte ...

These tactics, which were emulated by German Catholics in the course of the development of the Piusverein / Katholischer Verein Deutschlands, were thus introduced to the Catholic public in the early 1840's. These strategies owed a lot to O'Connell's politically liberal outlook. While disassociating themselves from liberalism, the German Catholic press did at times give recognition to this aspect of O'Connell's character. However they regarded the political and social situation in Ireland as a justification for this. Yet it must also be remembered that their espousal
of O'Connell's liberal techniques coincided with the period, albeit brief, when Catholics in Germany began to recognise the expediency of using such tactics to safeguard the Church's position in society.

Great emphasis was placed on the fact that the Irish clergy were behind O'Connell and approved of his demands - another attempt at making his liberal views acceptable to German Catholics. This was a clever tactic by the Catholic press as it won over the hierarchy as well as the laity to the Irish leader's cause. It should also be noted that each of the journals examined had strong links with the hierarchy and also with the lower clergy. Der Katholik and Katholische Sonntagsblätter had clergymen as editors (as did the Historisch-politische Blätter following Guido Görres' death in 1852), while all had members of the clergy among their journalistic staff and the support of their local hierarchy. Thus examples of hierarchical support for O'Connell in Ireland were useful for justifying the clergy's support of political Catholic movements in Germany. It is easy to see why the Katholische Sonntagsblätter of 20. August 1843 printed the following speech delivered by Dr. John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam and one of O'Connell's most fervent supporters, given at a Repeal meeting in Castlebar:

Der Charakter der Iren ist vielmehr Stätigkeit als Wankelmuth. Was ihnen werth und theuer geworden, daran hängen sie fest mit unbesiegbarem Zähigkeit. Bürgerliche Freiheit und der katholische Glaube das sind die beiden großen Gegenstände ihrer Liebe und Verehrung; daher ihre begeisterte Hingebung an diejenigen, welche sie als eifrige Ringer für Wiederherstellung ihrer Freiheit und als die Kampfhelden ihres Glaubens erkannt haben.

MacHale's view of the Irish as solid supporters of constitutional principles and Catholic teaching contrasts strongly with the British view of the Irish as untrustworthy, fickle and dangerous. The latter opinion was also popular among Protestant circles in Germany. Increasingly however the
former description became fact in the minds of German Catholics. While MacHale's claim that the Irish masses were committed to constitutional principles is contentious, there can be no doubt about the clergy's support for O'Connell. His disputes with the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, and other members of the hierarchy on issues such as the Charitable Bequests Act were largely ignored by the Catholic press, as they did not form part of the picture they intended their readers to form of O'Connell. On the other hand his ability to unite clergy and laity to establish one homogenous movement was singled out for encomia, as many politically aware Catholics, including Lennig in Mainz and Buß in Baden, felt the lack of unity amongst the clergy as a group and among the clergy and laity in Germany was impeding the development of a vibrant and politically aware Catholic movement:

Dort (Irland) geschieht von dem, was hier stattfindet, das Gegentheil. Einig und stark im Glauben, mit seinem Clerus ein Leib und eine Seele, erstarkt das Volk immermehr zu einer nationalen Einheit, zu einem großen Ganzen, und alle feindseligen Elemente zurückstoßend und von sich abwehrend, zur schönsten Blüte nationaler Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit. Während Deutschland durch ein bedauernswürdiges Sektenwesen in noch mehr als die bereits vorhandenen Parteien sich zersplittert, blüht dort ein einheitliches jugendliches Volksleben auf. ...

This was typical of the attempts at goading German Catholics into action, while offering them the blueprint (Ireland) of the steps they should take. The obvious need for unity in the German Church in the mid-1840's ensured that coverage of such clerical activity in O'Connell's political campaigns was considerable in these years, with the presence of bishops and archbishops at Repeal meetings carefully recorded, along with their speeches and declarations of support for the Liberator. Even in the article by Jarcke in the Historisch-politische Blätter in 1843, entitled 'Irland und der Repeal', in which he was critical of O'Connell and the campaign for Repeal (as already mentioned this viewpoint was not received
sympathetically by the editor), the involvement of the clergy was seen as positive, as it kept the people within controllable boundaries, yet enabled them to give peaceful vent to their feelings.

One of the main accusations made by Jarcke in this article - by far the most negative as regards O'Connell and Repeal in all the journals under discussion - was that O'Connell's appeal to Protestants as well as Catholics meant that his aims were nationalistic and not religious. An article in Der Katholik of 25. February 1844 also concludes that O'Connell's aims were primarily nationalist, but stated that, given the situation in Ireland, this worked in favour of the Catholic Church rather than against it. Moreover his appeal to non-Catholics was generally praised by the Catholic press. In particular O'Connell's promise that no persecution of Protestants would follow the repeal of the Act of Union received their approbation. As German middle class Catholics became increasingly vociferous in their demands for the Church, they too saw the importance of having Protestants as allies rather than as enemies. In addition, as the idea of the separation of church and state became popular in German Catholic circles, the Irish leader's support for this received greater attention in their press:

...; ja, wir (O'Connell and his supporters) gehen weiter und erklären, wie es unsere entschiedene und lang gehegte Ansicht ist, daß einer der großen nur durch Aufhebung der Union zu erzielenden Vortheile die Trennung jeder Kirche in Irland - der katholischen, bischöflichen - protestantischen und presbyterianischen - vom Staate seyn wird.

While espousing O'Connell's support for the separation of church and state, the Catholic publications were consistently concerned, as earlier mentioned, to demonstrate his loyalty to the forces of law and order and especially to the monarch, Queen Victoria. Not only would this negate accusations of radicalism from both within Catholic circles and elsewhere,
but it was a useful tactic to demonstrate to their readers and to the Protestant authorities in various parts of the German Confederation, that to press for a Catholic Church free from state interference, did not imply the withdrawal of support from a Protestant monarch or government. In the address of support sent by Ferdinand Walter, a prominent lecturer in Canon Law at the University of Bonn and son-in-law of the philosopher Karl Windischmann, one of Lennig’s former teachers, the awareness of German Catholics of O’Connell’s apparent loyalty to the Queen is clear:

Vor allem aber vertrauen wir auf Ihre (O'Connell's) erhabene Königin, an deren Namen Sie mit der ganzen Wärme des irischen Gefühls in Liebe und Verehrung hängen, deren Autorität Ihnen immer heilig war. ...

While O’Connell continuously proclaimed his love for the crown, it cannot be overlooked that it was possible that this was the mere rhetoric of a skillful politician. O’Connell’s ability to do this – take advantage of a given situation and exploit it politically – was also highlighted by the press on many occasions. Thus the Katholische Sonntagsblätter explains his alliance with the Whigs:

Dem oberflächlichen Beobachter konnte O'Connell in dieser Periode leicht als ein bloßes Werkzeug der Minister erscheinen, zumal da er alle Maßregeln derselben im Parlemente unterstützte. In der That waren aber eher die Minister die Werkzeuge O'Connells, als dieser das Werkzeug der Minister… Von ihm hing es daher ab, die Minister zu halten oder fallen zu lassen; und der Preis, um den er seine Unterstützung gewährte, war Gerechtigkeit für Irland.

Such treatment of O’Connell’s campaigns and tactics as the ideal blueprint for German Catholics runs throughout the coverage of him in all of these Catholic publications. In August 1845 the Katholische Sonntagsblätter encouraged this in a report 'Vom Main':

Während uns Frankreich, Deutschland und die Schweiz den betrübenden Anblick gewähren, wie unsere heilige Kirche den fortwährenden Angriffen rastloser, verschmitzter und perfider Gegner ausgesetzt ist, sei es uns vergönnt, unseren Blick mit Wohlthu auf einem entfernten Bruderlande, Irland, ruhen zu lassen.
Three years later, in a leading article entitled 'Katholische Standrede über die Freiheit', which discussed O'Connell's policy of establishing associations, this journal called on its readers to follow suit:

Und nun ihr Katholiken Deutschlands, vor Allem ihr rheinischem Katholiken, geht hin und thut desgleichen.41

Similarly, the German Catholic press represented O'Connell as one of the leading figures in European Catholicism - a leader in the struggle for better treatment for the Catholic Church in the modern world, a necessary image for the growing political confidence of German Catholics and one which made them feel part of a powerful, international movement. The views expressed by Montalembert when O'Connell visited Paris in April 1847 on his way to Rome and their subsequent publication in Der Katholik is a case in point:

Wir Alle sind Ihre Kinder oder besser gesagt Ihre Schüler, Sie aber sind unser Meister, unser Muster, unser ruhmwürdiger Lehrer und deshalb bringen wir Ihnen jetzt unsere liebe- und ehrfurchtsvolle Huldigung der als dem Manne, der in unseren Tagen für die Würde und Freiheit des Menschen-geschlechtes und namentlich für die politische Erziehung der katholischen Völker mehr gethan hat als irgend ein Anderer.42

It comes as no surprise therefore that O'Connell's death was deeply regretted in Germany, as was reflected in the pages of the Catholic press, with long articles on his career and life, as well as reports on his funeral and the international reaction to his death the dominant features for many months thereafter. Symptomatic of this interest is the emotive report in the Katholische Sonntagsblätter of 20. June 1847, which was taken from The Times:


Mittlerweile ist O'Connell's Herz in der alten Kirche Sta. Agatha niedergelegt, welche zum irischen Collegium gehört. Dr. Cullen, der ehrwürdige Prälat, der demselben vorsteht, ist samt allen seinen Untergebenen in den tiefsten Gram versenkt.

There was however a noticeable lack of articles on the Irish leader at this time in the Historisch-politische Blätter. While expressing sorrow at the loss his death meant to the Catholic Church, there were no follow-up articles. Der Katholik more than ably filled this void - in the absence of a daily Catholic newspaper it acted as the complementary thrice-weekly newspaper to this periodical - and continued to publish articles on O'Connell well into 1848. From then on reports on Ireland concentrated on the famine - portrayed as another instance of Catholic suffering at the hands of Protestant authorities; as the famine years drew to a close the only remaining issue of relevance to these publications were the attempts by the Irish hierarchy at establishing a Catholic university, a subject which aroused considerable interest in Catholic circles in Germany.

Thus it would appear that only those aspects of Ireland in general and of O'Connell's campaigns in particular, which could encourage, give hope to, and in general benefit the increasingly active political Catholic movement in Germany received coverage in the Catholic press there. O'Connell, the leader of a popular mass movement, dedicated to achieving reforms for Catholics in a Protestant state, yet law-abiding
and loyal, not only to the Church, but also to the head of state, was naturally ideal for this purpose. With the decline of the political campaign for Repeal came the decline of O'Connell's popularity in Catholic circles. He had served his purpose as a source of inspiration for his German co-religionists. Following his death in May 1847 and the successful implementation of his tactics to form the Piusverein / Katholischer Verein Deutschlands and develop it into a nationwide, well-organised Catholic movement, there was apparently no longer any need to mention O'Connell in any of these Catholic publications. He had provided a useful example at a time it was needed:

O'Connell hat eine neue Aera in der Geschichte Großbritanniens eröffnet; er hat in seiner Politik ein großes christliches Prinzip zur Basis genommen, und keine Regierung kann diese Macht umstoßen, will sie nicht den Umsturz des Christentums selbst ... Und dahin hat O'Connell das irische Volk gebracht, und darin besteht sein größter Ruhm, da er eine ganze Nation gelehrt hat nicht in der physischen Gewalt, sondern in der moralischen Demonstration den Weg zur Erreichung ihrer Rechte zu suchen.

The portrayal of O'Connell in the Allgemeine Zeitung and the Kölnische Zeitung 1843/44 and 1847/48

The significance in the German Vormärz of these two liberal daily newspapers as opinion formers is an essential consideration in any examination of their presentation of O'Connell and his campaign for the Repeal of the Act of Union. As has already been mentioned their coverage of international events, as well as home affairs and the arts, ensured that readership was not confined to the two areas of production (Augsburg and Cologne):

Die Tageszeitungen der Restaurationszeit ... waren zumeist politisch neutrale, ja abstinente, "farblose" Nachrichtenblätter, zunächst auf ihren Lokalbereich begrenzt - mit zwei important exceptions - Nur die vom Verleger Cotta in Augsburg
Equally important is editorial policy. Both journals were ideologically sympathetic to the British system of government, which they believed to be the best example for a modern liberal state to emulate. A central problem of editorial strategy was contained in their need to support the British parliament and its actions, while at the same time expressing sympathy with the Irish leader and his people, who, in their struggle for civil and political rights, challenged the policies of the institution so admired by German liberals. While the Catholic press did not face this dilemma - treating Britain as it did Prussia, as a cruel Protestant tyrant - the liberal press did manage to come to terms with the problem. For them O'Connell did not represent an enemy of the British system of government. To demonstrate this his determination to keep within the boundaries of the law was often reflected in their pages. Moreover while on the one hand they recognised the justice of his cause and the failure of the British to rectify the injustices of six hundred years, they also credited the British government with making some attempts at introducing reforms.

In addition both journals, although they had their own correspondents in England, relied heavily on English newspaper reports of events in Ireland and in parliament. This was particularly the case with the Allgemeine Zeitung. In general this paper, while offering balanced, objective reporting, (though the fact that it was directed primarily at a Protestant readership must not be overlooked), used the English press to show that its support for O'Connell was not unconditional. Thus while it might comment unfavourably on the more extreme criticisms
of O'Connell in the Tory press, it generally went along with the less
critical (and often favourable) comments of the Whig newspapers. None-
theless the Allgemeine Zeitung never gave total support to the campaign
for Repeal. Its reply to the accusation by the Catholic Augsburger
Postzeitung of an anti-Catholic bias in its editorial policy is a case
in point. This accusation was prompted by the negative attitude adopted
by the Allgemeine Zeitung towards Ferdinand Walter's address to O'Connell
(mentioned earlier) and its subsequent refusal to print it. In defending
its position as a supporter of religious tolerance and as a non-sectarian
employer, the editor of the Allgemeine Zeitung also pointed out, that
while its correspondents generally admired the person of O'Connell,
not one of them was prepared to give wholehearted uncritical support
to his campaign for Repeal:

Unsere englischen Correspondenzen werden nicht in Augsburg
geschmiedet, sondern kommen aus England, wo die Allg. Zeitung
zur Zeit vier ständige Correspondenten hat, von denen, der
Postzeitung zum Troste sey es gesagt, wenigstens einer -
wir wissen es zufällig, denn erkundigt haben wir uns nicht
darnach - einen katholischen Taufschein aufzeigen kann.
Alle diese Correspondenten anerkennen O'Connells Geistes-
größe und politische Energie, und drei von ihnen auch seinen
Patriotismus sowie Irlands gerechte Ansprüche; aber freilich
Repealer ist keiner dieser Briefsteller, ...

By contrast the correspondents for the Kölnische Zeitung - among them
the writer Jakob Venedey - were by the mid 1840's openly sympathetic
to Repeal, even if, as in the case of Venedey, this support was based
on the belief that Repeal offered the only possible hope of avoiding
a violent revolution. The fact that Venedey actually visited Dublin
at this time - the only correspondent to do so - along with the popu-
ularity of O'Connell's cause among Catholics and liberals in the Rhine-
land, where the Kölnische Zeitung was produced, may account for this
difference between the two journals.
A factor common to the coverage of O'Connell in these newspapers however, was, that unlike the Catholic press, they did not feel it necessary to portray O'Connell in a totally positive light. They praised his liberal tendencies, but were not blind to aspects of his character or campaigns which would not appeal to German liberals. Thus while a report in the Kölnische Zeitung of 26. July 1843 points out O'Connell's dedication to the principle of moral force, his ability to use the threat of possible violence as a weapon with which to force the British government to introduce reforms for Ireland is not overlooked:

Dann geht er (O'Connell) weiter und hebt es hervor, daß er ein Mann des Friedens, ein Gegner jeder Gewaltsmaßregel sei, daß er daher der Versicherung von factischer Hülfe für den Fall des Kampfes nicht bedürfe. Dabei geht er so weit, daß er sagt, er sei total der Gegner von Gewaltsmaßregeln, daß er Jeden, der zu ihm komme, um ihm solche vorzuschlagen, der Polizei anzeigen werde. Dann aber kehrt er wieder um und setzt hinzu, daß aber, wenn England angreifen sollte, Irland sich verteidigen und dann jede Hülfe willkommen sein werde ... Aber O'Connell will nicht nur den Nationalhaß Englands beschwichtigen, sondern auch seine Furcht wach erhalten, und so sagt er: im Falle der Noth - selbst Frankreichs Hülfe!

While this highlights O'Connell's political expediency, a trait praised by the Catholic press, the tone in the Allgemeine Zeitung is distinctly critical of his readiness to resort to such tactics. Indeed this aspect of his policies received considerable attention in the reports on his trial. This was held in Dublin in 1844 and received almost daily coverage in both the Allgemeine Zeitung and the Kölnische Zeitung. According to the practice of the time substantial sections from the speeches of both the defence and prosecution were reproduced verbatim. A report in the Allgemeine Zeitung of 16. February 1844, prior to the passing of sentence, reiterated the above-mentioned feature of O'Connell's tactics:

Auch hat alles was sie - und auch er (O'Connell) selbst - von O'Connell's vielen guten Charakterzügen, besonders seiner Friedensliebe oder vielmehr seinem Haß gegen alle Gewaltmittel zur Erlangung irgend eines politischen Vortheils, vorbringen
mochten, wenig mit der Rechtsfrage zu thun. Wenige glauben daß er das Volke habe zum Aufstand reizen wollen. Die Frage ist aber, ob er und seine Mitarbeiter nicht alles mögliche gethan um dasselbe an die Gränze der Rebellion zu führen ... Ich glaube daß jeder Unparteiische diese Frage wird bejahen müssen.92

While obviously critical of what was reported as the extremes of O'Connell's tactics, the British correspondents of the Allgemeine Zeitung were careful not to portray O'Connell as a felon, who could be imprisoned for his political ideas. For all their suspicion of Repeal, they believed O'Connell had a just cause and as there was no real threat of revolution, should not face a gaol sentence:

Kein Unbefangener zweifelt daran daß sie sie verdienen; ... Aber jeder Unbefangener fühlt sich auch überzeugt, daß es eben unter diesen Verhältnissen (that no revolt had been planned, or if one now took place, that it could easily be put down) weise sey würde den Verurtheilten die Gefängnisstrafe zu erlassen.93

In general however these correspondents were cautious when dealing with O'Connell, who at this time dominated the British political scene. Though their reports, usually featured on the first or second pages of the Allgemeine Zeitung, as reports from Britain, were among the most important in this publication, they rarely expressed independent positive assessments of the Irish leader. Nonetheless they showed themselves ready to condemn ill-treatment of O'Connell. Thus the glee evident in both the Tory and Orange press at the verdict given at O'Connell's trial was described as "nicht edelsinnig", while ample coverage was given to the outrage expressed by the Whig newspapers, not only on the verdict, but also on the exclusion of Catholics from the jury - an aspect of the trial covered by the Allgemeine Zeitung itself.95

This removal of Catholics from the jury and the close identification between Catholicism and O'Connellism featured prominently in the liberal
press coverage of O'Connell in Germany. While German liberals were no admirers of the Catholic Church, their deepseated dislike of the concept of a state church and the parallel between Britain and Prussia, which had developed an almost Erastian character under Friedrich Wilhelm III, helps explain their willingness to highlight O'Connell's devotion to the Church and his demands for justice on its behalf in Ireland. Moreover the suffering Irish Catholics had endured at the hands of the English government and the Anglican Church - particularly in the instance of compulsory tithe collection - had done much to arouse sympathy for their plight in German liberal circles. In addition, as has already been mentioned, it was not editorial policy of either newspaper to select for publication merely those aspects of O'Connell's character, which would encourage their readers to regard him as a consummate liberal politician. However it is a reflection of the reporters' belief that his piety was genuine and that he also had a firm commitment to the principle of religious tolerance, which resulted in their coverage of O'Connell as a loyal son of the Church, while not compromising his stature as a liberal leader:


Similarly coverage of his popularity among Catholics throughout Europe could be given without necessarily confining O'Connell to the role of Catholic zealot. An instance of this was the report of his thanks on his release from prison, not to the House of Lords (which had ordered the release), but to the Catholics of Belgium, England, Ireland and the Rhineland for their prayers:
Bedenken wir daß Millionen treuer Irländer flehend ihre Hände zu Gott erhoben hatten, daß auch die englischen Katholiken sich unseren Gebeten anschlossen, daß die ganze katholische Bevölkerung Belgiens und die Anwohner des Rheins dieselben Gebete zum Himmel steigen ließen.

This instance of O'Connell's tactical cleverness - his ability to make political capital out of a human situation, while at the same time remaining true to himself - features in a long report on the first Repeal meeting held following his release from prison. However despite the underlying sympathy for O'Connell in this report, the Allgemeine Zeitung reacted vociferously against the addresses sent to O'Connell by the increasingly politically active German Catholics. As covered earlier, Professor Walter's address, so popular with the Catholic press, was mentioned with contempt and derision. The Allgemeine Zeitung felt it to be "viel zu zahm, zu altklug und, mit einem Vorwort selbst zu reden, zu "rücksichtsvoll gehalten" als daß er dem großen Iren und seinen lebhaften Landsleuten rechte Freude machen könnte", which says more about the intrinsic anti-Catholic bias of the paper than about the address itself.

However this did not prevent both this journal and the Kölnische Zeitung reporting on O'Connell's popularity in the Rhineland:


This expression of delight in the Rhineland at O'Connell's release marks the highpoint of his popularity there; this is also reflected in both the
pages of the Allgemeine and the Kölnische Zeitung. As with the Catholic press, the declining fortunes of O'Connell's Repeal Campaign and the outbreak of the Great Famine, changed the emphasis of the reports on Ireland from the political situation to the starvation and suffering of her population. However the liberal journals did not lose sight entirely of O'Connell. They chronicle his difficulties with the Young Irelanders, his short-lived support of federalism and his attempts at providing help for famine victims by bringing up the issue in the Commons, as well as by acts of charity in Ireland. Moreover in the final months of his life he again dominated reports, not only those from Britain, but also those from France and Italy, as he made his fatal trip to Rome. These almost daily reports were written in a sympathetic and emotive style, evidence of the esteem in which he was held as a European politician by German liberals. These detailed accounts from correspondents were coupled with reports from English, French and Italian newspapers, and covered everything from the minutae of his illness, the popular demonstrations of sorrow (not only in Ireland, but also on the European mainland) at his death, to the contents of Padre Ventura's funeral oration in Rome and the plan to erect a monument in his honour in Dublin. While the Allgemeine Zeitung printed critical reviews of O'Connell's career from the foreign press, editorial comment investigated the reasons for these journals' underestimation of the Irish leader; in the case of the French liberal and radical press, O'Connell's refusal to accept their help in the early 1840's accounted for their negative attitudes towards him following his death. Nor could they forget his criticism of what he saw as their extreme and ungodly ideas; the Times of London, with its traditional prejudice against Ireland, was likewise criticised for its severe treatment of O'Connell after May 1847, although the Allgemeine Zeitung paid tribute to its obituary of O'Connell, calling it "ziemlich anständig, ja sogar unparteiisch."
Moreover while the Allgemeine Zeitung summarised and quoted from many pro-O'Connell articles in other newspapers, no actual obituary appeared in the columns of this paper itself. On the other hand the Kölnische Zeitung not only reported on English and French media reaction to O'Connell's death, but also published a long obituary, which took the form of a leading article and was the work of Levin Schücking. In place of an obituary the Allgemeine Zeitung ran two three part series on O'Connell in its supplement; one was a brief biography entitled 'Daniel O'Connell', and was taken from the Times; the other was entitled 'Reise nach Derrynane', written by one Dr. A. Schütte and described the writer's positive impressions of O'Connell during a visit to Ireland. The critical tone of the Times' article is condemned in editorial notes. The tone of Schücking's obituary and Schütte's articles are overtly sympathetic and complementary towards the Irish leader, an attitude reiterated in a poem about him, which was published in the Allgemeine Zeitung of 27. July 1847 and which declared that:

Sein Name wird im Sternenocean
Ein Sirius durch alle Zeiten schimmern.

Earlier reports in the Allgemeine Zeitung had however been less favourable to O'Connell. Its coverage of his sudden espousal of federalism (and the opposition of the Whigs, Young Irelanders and some Repealers to this) and his subsequent 'reconversion' to Repeal put his integrity in doubt. This was largely a result of the Allgemeine Zeitung's correspondents' inability to come to terms with the many facets of O'Connell as a politician, along with their natural inclination towards the opinions of Whig politicians in England and the English liberal press in general.

This contrasts with the unique attempt in the Kölnische Zeitung to investigate and understand the reasons behind O'Connell's differing
demands and strategies. This is mainly the result of Venedey's close association with the issue and his genuine endeavours to determine what was best for Ireland:

Ich bin nur drei Monate hier, habe das Land, seine Geschichte und seine Zustände, so viel mir möglich war, studiert und zu durchschauen gesucht. Und mit jedem Tage wurde die Überzeugung lebendiger in mir, daß die Verhältnisse zwischen England und Irland auf einem Punkt angekommen sind, wo England Irland alle seine Forderungen bis zum letzten genehmigen muß, - wenn es nicht im Stande ist und gezwungen sein will Irland abermals und mit Strömen von Blut zu erobern.

Venedey's personal involvement with Ireland and her cause resulted in his use of emotive and at times hard-hitting language in his reports; it was always clear that he felt deeply about the situation there. The Allgemeine Zeitung said his writing on Ireland was "aus dem Herzen kommend und zum Herzen dringend!" and his eventual espousal of Repeal - as the only solution to avoide more suffering and bloodshed - after initial opposition to the campaign and years examining the situation, testifies to the validity of this:

Die Union zwischen Irland und England liegt in der Natur der beiden Länder, in ihrer wechselseitigen Lage; aber die Repeal de(r) Union liegt in sechshundert Jahren Unrecht, in einer Geschichte, die nicht ihres Gleichan Mißhandlung und Gewaltherrschaft hat. Diese Geschichte macht die Union un(möglich und so ist England in die Nothwendigkeit versetzt, Irland von Neuem zu erobern ... Die Repeal ist vielleicht das einzige Mittel, den Weg der freundschaftlichen Conföderation zu ve(r)suchen; die gezwungene Union in der Art, wie sie England stets verstanden hat, wird zum Kampfe auf Leben und Tod zwischen England und Irland, und sicher dereinst zur vollkommenen Trennung führen. Das ist aber das Resultat meiner Erfahrungen und Forschungen an Ort und Stelle.

Venedey's reputation as a radical and his employment as correspondent by the Kölnische Zeitung, demonstrate the radical and often controversial stand-point the newspaper was prepared to adopt. Moreover its location in the heart of the Rhineland, where the forces of liberalism and political
Catholicism were developing side by side encouraged it to develop an editorial policy which strongly favoured O'Connell. On the other hand the Allgemeine Zeitung, though a liberal organ, had a regionally and ideologically much more diverse readership and preferred to take a middle-course on most issues, including that of O'Connell and his campaigns. Yet this coverage did give its readers an overall positive view of the Irishman. Although often referred to as the 'Agitator', the context negated any disapproving connotations the word might have. Thus both journals, in slightly different ways, set out to popularise both the man and his cause among German liberals. An advertisement in the Allgemeine Zeitung of 17. March 1844 for a book entitled O'Connell und sein Proceß provides good evidence of this:

Notes to Introduction
(Chapter 4)

1. Wittmann, p. 112.


3. Both door-to-door selling (Kolportage) and lending libraries (Leihbibliotheken) are dealt with in detail in Wittmann, pp. 138ff.


5. Wittmann, p. 113.
Notes to Chapter 4,i


7. Rissel had also been a member of the editorial staff of Der Katholik. For more details on Der Katholik see Chapter 3,i.

8. For more details on the Historisch-politische Blätter see Chapter 3,i.

9. The Dublin Review was a monthly periodical, founded in Dublin in 1836.

10. In 1852 Edmund Jörg (1819-1901), social reformer, priest and journalist became editor of the Historisch-politische Blätter.

11. Holl, p. 84.

12. More details in Chapter 3,i.


14. In 1882 the production of the Allgemeine Zeitung was transferred to Munich.


18. ibid.

19. Nipperdey, pp. 591f. In considering these figures it is also useful to bear in mind the extensive reading culture of the day, which might mean a significant number of readers of each individual copy.

20. For more details see Chapter 3,i.


23. op. cit., 12. 11. 1843.

24. Der Katholik, 7. 2. 1844.

25. Historisch-politische Blätter, Vol. XIII, 1844, article entitled 'Irland'.
26. Katholische Sonntagsblätter, 22. 9. 1844:
Bei dieser unter der katholischen Bevölkerung Irlands herrschenden Stimmung kann es nicht überraschen, daß sie den jetzigen Sieg O'Connell's nicht bloß als einen politischen Triumph betrachten, sondern ihn noch mehr als eine Niederlage der Feinde des katholischen Glaubens ansieht.

27. Jarcke's article is entitled 'Irland und der Repeal' and is in Vol. XII, 1843, of the Historisch-politische Blätter.

28. ibid., Quoted from the seventh and final article of the Beiträge series.

29. Der Katholik, 3. 1. 1847.


31. ibid.

32. op. cit., Vol. VII, 1841, article entitled 'Irland'.

33. Himioben was editor of the Katholische Sonntagsblätter. Among the editors of Der Katholik were Andreas Ræß, Nicolaus Weis, Franz Joseph Sausen (founder of the Mainzer Journal in 1848 and the Katholisches Volksblatt in 1857, and former staff member of Katholische Sonntagsblätter), Johann Baptist Heinrich and Christoph Moufang. Edmund Jörg was editor of the Historisch-politische Blätter from 1852. All except Sausen were Catholic priests. Sausen had studied theology and had even entered the seminary in Mainz, but was forced to give up his studies because of illness.


35. op. cit., 24. 8. 1845.

36. op. cit., 25. 6. 1843.

37. For more details see Chapter 1, note 12.

38. Der Katholik, 1. 3. 1844, Supplement.


40. op. cit., 24. 8. 1845.

41. op. cit., 9. 4. 1848.

42. Der Katholik, 9. 4. 1847. Walter's address to O'Connell reprinted in the Supplement to Der Katholik of 1. 3. 1844 contained similar sentiments.


44. Der Katholik, 24. 3. 1850 and 20. 10. 1850.
45. An instance of this is the report in the Katholische Sonntagsblätter of 21. 9. 1845 on O'Connell's support of the pilgrimages to Trier to see the holy shroud, which could be used to combat criticism of these pilgrimages in Germany:

In dem letzten Wochenmeeting am Montag nahm O'Connell Anlaß, die Dublin Evening Post zu tadeln, weil sie über den ungenähten Rock in Trier und die Wallfahrten zu demselben gespottet. Indessen, fügte er bei, sei die Reliquienverehrung kein Glaubensartikel bei den Katholiken, sondern jedem überlassen, wie er es damit halten wolle.

46. Der Katholik, 2. 6. 1847. Inspite of the writer's high regard for O'Connell in this piece, the editor felt it lacked a great deal for the Catholic reader:


47. Nipperdey, p. 591. See also note 19.


49. Allgemeine Zeitung, 5. 3. 1844. Indeed an article on O'Connell by Karl Gutzkow in the series entitled 'Geschichtliche Persönlichkeiten' in the Allgemeine Zeitung in 1835 was highly suspicious of the Irish leader.

50. Holl, p. 90.


52. Allgemeine Zeitung, 16. 2. 1844.

53. op. cit., 6. 6. 1844.

54. op. cit., 11. 6. 1844.

55. op. cit., 15. 1. 1844.

56. op. cit., 7. 4. 1844.

57. op. cit., 12. 6. 1844, taken from one of Venedey's reports in the Kölnische Zeitung.

58. op. cit., 22. 9. 1844.

59. It is of interest to note that Walter was not alone in sending an address of support to O'Connell at this time. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Catholic convert and editor of the Neue Würzburger Zeitung, Ernst Zander, also prepared a similar address, along with collecting a subscription for the Irish cause. See Chapter 1, note 82.

60. Allgemeine Zeitung, 7. 3. 1844.


62. op. cit., 30. 5. 1847.

63. op. cit., 8. 6. 1847.
64. op. cit., 30. 5. 1847.

65. Reports from Italy on the funeral preparations and ceremonies in honour of O'Connell were also included in the supplement sections of the Allgemeine Zeitung.

66. Allgemeine Zeitung, 27.7.1847.


68. Kölnische Zeitung, 2. 9. 1843.

69. Allgemeine Zeitung, 7. 3. 1844.

70. Kölnische Zeitung, 2. 9. 1843.


72. Allgemeine Zeitung, 17. 3. 1844. This book is dealt with in Chapter 4, iv, note 2.

The rapid growth in the development of the encyclopedia and other reference works in Europe was a feature of general culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In France Diderot’s Encyclopédie (1751-1772) and in Germany, between the years 1754 and 1780, in England the first edition of the Britannica, the Encyclopaedia Britannica was produced (1768-1771) and in Germany, also in 1754, Zedler had published the first volume of his Handbuch der gesammten Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste (1754-1830). Germany also saw the rapid growth in the demand for Conversationslexikon—a type of general reference work aimed mainly at the increasingly educated workers of the middle classes. The popularity of Conversationslexikon increased following the purchase by Friedrich Arnold Krupp of the copyright by N. C. Ibelin’s and C. W. Fräule’s Conversations-Lexikon mit nördlicher Belehrung und die neuesten Erfahrungen (1799-1802) in 1805.

The detail and wealth of topics covered in Brockhaus’ encyclopedia (this term being added to its title in the fifth edition 1829/30), coupled with...
The perception of Daniel O'Connell in the pages of popular mid-nineteenth century German Encyclopaedia, with particular reference to the Allgemeine Deutsche Realenzyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände, the Allgemeine Realencyclopädie oder Conversationslexikon für das katholische Deutschland, Herder's Conversationslexikon and Rotteck and Weckerk's Staatslexikon

Eine E(Enzyklopädie) ist ein umfassendes Werk, das den Gesamtbestand des Wissens seiner Zeit (Universal-, Allgemein-Enzyklopädie) oder ein Teilgebiet sammelt, einheitlich ordnet u. übersichtlich darstellt ... - Brockhaus Enzyklopädie (seventeenth edition, Wiesbaden 1968)

The rapid growth in the development of the encyclopaedia and other reference works in Europe was a feature of general culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In France Diderot's Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers appeared between the years 1751 and 1780, in England the first edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica was produced (1768-71) and in Germany, where as early as 1735 Zedler had published the first volume of his Universallexikon, J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber issued the first volume of their unfinished one hundred and sixty-seven volume work Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Künste (1818-90) in 1818. Germany also saw the rapid growth in the demand for Conversationslexika - a type of general reference work aimed mainly at the increasingly educated members of the middle classes. The popularity of Conversationslexika increased following the purchase by Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus of the copyright to R. G. Löbel's and C. W. Franke's Conversationslexikon mit vorzüglicher Rücksicht auf die gegenwärtigen Zeiten (1796-1808) in 1808.

The detail and wealth of topics covered in Brockhaus' encyclopaedia (this term being added to its title in the fifth edition 1819/20), coupled with
its well-formulated system of cross-reference and Brockhaus' shrewd knowledge of the reading market, ensured its success and resulted in an extraordinary number of editions being produced in quick succession. For instance the years 1840-60 alone saw the publication of three editions of the Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon) - the ninth edition (1842-50), tenth edition (1850-55) and eleventh edition (1864-68), all with fifteen volumes each. Produced in Leipzig this work had a strong liberal bias, and appealed largely, but not exclusively to the "mittelständisch" Protestant reader.

It was this evident liberal bias in Brockhaus which prompted the publishing house of Manz in Regensburg to issue the first volumes of its Allgemeine Realencyklopädie oder Conversationslexikon für das katholische Deutschland in 1846. Manz, the publisher of works by important German Catholics such as Buß, Döllinger and Görres, also published in translation the works of Lacordaire, Montalembert, Cardinal Newman of England and indeed O'Connell's Irlands Zustände alter und neuer Zeit. Manz consciously designed his publishing house to serve as a "bulwark" against liberal, as he saw it, anti-Christian ideas and be a forum for conservative Catholic ideology:

Wenn wir an den Verlag von G. J. Manz denken, steht jedoch kein Vielerlei vor unseren Augen, sondern eine homogene religiöse Produktion, die tief im katholischen Glauben des Verlegers wurzelt und durchdrungen ist vom Gefühl geistiger und moralischer Verantwortung. Denn das war die Ansicht von Manz ...

In direct competition with Brockhaus, Manz also promoted a number of editions within a relatively short period. The first ten volume edition appeared in the years 1846-49, the second, compiled in the 1850's, was never in fact published, while the third was produced in the years 1865-68 (six volumes). However while Manz produced no reference works in
the 1850's, in 1853 the first volume of a new Catholic *Lexikon* was published by Herder. Based on the example of the Brockhaus work, this five volume *Conversations-Lexikon* (1853-56) though less detailed than that produced by Manz (its subtitle *Kurze deutliche Erklärung von allem Wissenswerthen aus dem Gebiete der Religion, Philosophie, Geschichte u.s.w.* prepares the reader for this), eventually surpassed its competitor in popularity. Produced in Freiburg im Breisgau, in the liberal state of Baden, it appealed, not merely to conservative Catholics, but also to those with liberal leanings.

As it happened, Freiburg was also the city where the classic liberal encyclopaedia, the *Staatslexikon oder Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften* was compiled. Edited by the prominent liberal professors of Law, Karl von Rotteck and Karl Welcker, the first volume of this twelve volume work (plus four supplement volumes) appeared in Altona in 1833 and soon became the essential reference work for all German liberals.

Several less well-known encyclopaedia, such as Hermann Wagener's conservative response to the Brockhaus or those of Spamer or Piever, are the creations of the second half of the nineteenth century and thus not relevant here.

By the middle of the nineteenth century however it could be said that both liberal Protestant and conservative Catholic strands in German political life had an encyclopaedia to suit their particular viewpoint, the first volume of Wagener's 32 volume conservative *Staats- und Gesellschaftslexikon* not appearing until 1859 (last volume 1867), in Berlin. The way in which topics were reported in these works not only reflected, but indeed influenced the way in which their readership regarded men and
events, both at home and abroad. Obviously therefore the way in which events in Ireland were covered in these encyclopaedia and their opinion of Ireland's leader, O'Connell, is important in understanding how he was regarded by contemporary German society.

In the 1820's only Brockhaus', of the four publications under discussion, was in existence. In its seventh edition, volumes four and five (produced in 1827) include articles on Great Britain and Ireland and on Ireland itself, but no mention occurs of O'Connell and his popular movement for Catholic Emancipation, which so dominated Irish society at that time. The article on Britain (volume four, twenty nine pages in length) in its treatment of Ireland focusses on the tithe issue, incidentally mentioning that more tithes were collected in Ireland than elsewhere in the United Kingdom, despite the fact that the great majority of the population was Catholic. Moreover the abundance of sinecures and the opposition of Protestant clergy to the introduction of the emancipation of Catholics, along with the Vatican's refusal to allow the British government make clerical appointments, are also recorded. The blame for the failure of the government to introduce reforms is laid at the feet of the Churches in Ireland.

The article on Ireland itself is very short - a mere two and a half pages in length - with brief demographic, geographic and historic details. The introduction of the penal laws receives a mention, though they are not dealt with in detail, while the introduction of the Act of Union in 1801 is interpreted as being a safeguard to prevent a repetition of the 1798 rebellion, which is seen as the result of French influence and collusion.
However the article on Ireland in the ninth edition, produced in 1845 (volume seven) is considerably longer (fourteen and a half pages) and more detailed. Here special reference is made to O'Connell and his movements for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal. Yet the facts are not always correct and can at times be little short of sensationalist. This characteristic, plus Brockhaus' evident appeal to liberal Protestants (not known for their pro-Catholic views) is also demonstrated in the report on the revolt of 1798, which despite the fact that it had the active support of Irish Presbyterians, is presented as a Catholic massacre of Protestants, with reports of 50,000 Protestant dead. Its coverage of O'Connell's campaigns, on the other hand, is detailed, factual and free of any obvious anti-Catholic tendencies — a result perhaps of O'Connell's reputation as a liberal politician, which appealed to the liberal leanings of the publishers of this work. His successful campaign for Emancipation, the introduction of the Catholic Rent (to help both his Association and evicted tenants), his demands in parliament for tithe reform and his use of mass meetings, emotive speeches, and the help of the clergy in his movement for Repeal are all documented in non-judgemental terms and in keeping with the purpose of the nineteenth century Lexika provide the reader with a concise, if simplistic, account of contemporary Irish political developments. Brockhaus overemphasises the violent outbreaks that were taking place between Catholics and Protestants over the tithe issue, but is accurate enough about O'Connell stirring up the emotions of the people, while at the same time calling on them to remain peaceful:

O'Connell und seine Gehilfen durchzogen das Land, riefen das Volk zusammen und hielten feurige Reden, in denen sie das Elend der Nation beschrieben, die Gesetzhlichkeit des Unternehmens versicherten, vor Gewalttaten warnnten und die Auflösung der Union als das Ende aller Leiden bezeichneten.

Moreover while not overtly taking the Protestant British side, the omission of key information reveals the underlying sympathy with the
British system of government and the appeal of the Brockhaus to a pro-British liberal audience. The banning of the Clontarf meeting and subsequent trial of O'Connell and his friends receive but brief mention and make no reference to the dramatic and successful attempts of the Repealers in avoiding a clash between troops and the people by preventing the meeting taking place at all, in spite of having only one day's notice. It also refrains from comment on the packed jury at O'Connell's trial. These events of 1843/1844 are recorded in one sentence in the twenty-nine page article in volume six on Great Britain and Ireland, which contains the implication that the actions of the British government were justified, reflecting contemporary European liberal fears of violent uprisings by the uneducated masses:

In Irland war es die Agitation O'Connell's für Widerruf (Repeal) der Union, welche seit dem April einen so drohenden Charakter annahm, daß die Regierung die Versammlung zu Clontarf untersagte und den Agitator und seine Genossen in Anklagestand versetzte.

The need to ban this meeting in order to avoid violence, which it was felt could occur at any moment, is also expressed in the article entitled 'O'Connel' (this misspelling of the Irish leader's name being a common occurrence in many German publications and newspaper reports at the time). This article, found in volume ten (1846), is three and a half pages in length and deals with O'Connell's family background, his education and political career. Factual reporting is reasonably accurate - the same information turning up in both the Manz and Herder Lexika, suggesting that all three, despite differences in outlook, received their information from the same source. Even Brockhaus' claim that O'Connell was merely using Repeal to gain reforms for Ireland - "sodaß man annehmen muß, die Repeal sei ihm stets nur das Mittel, nicht der Zweck der Bewegung gewesen" - although open to discussion, was a widely held view at the
period.

Throughout the article this organ of popular liberal thought is consistently sympathetic to the person of O'Connell. Regarded as a great man, it is not surprising, given European liberals' fear of violence, that much is made of his dislike of violent activities, ability to lead and organise, and skill at oration:

Erst nach einer zweiten Wahlhandlung in der Grafschaft Clare, wobei sein Nebenbuhler gar nicht erschien, trat er im Febr. 1830 ins Unterhaus. Seine Gegner hatten ihm nur das Talent eines rohen Demagogen zugetraut und geriethen in Erstaunen, als er sich sogleich den besten Parlamentsrednern an die Seite stellte.

Such oratorial prowess is cited as an integral part of the Irish national character (a commonly held perception of the day), as is the ultra-Catholic nature of the people. Considering the publication in question and the readership at which it was aimed, one would expect criticism of this latter characteristic. However liberal sympathies with the plight of the Irish peasantry and admiration of the qualities of their leader appeared to have overcome any anti-Catholic feeling. The attempts by "fanatische Orangisten" to murder "den ebenso schlauen wie muthigen Streiter" are condemned, while the declaration that following his period in prison "ist der Zauber seiner Persönlichkeit nicht verschwunden" demonstrates the acceptability of the character of O'Connell to the publishing house of Brockhaus.

This 1846 volume of Brockhaus finishes on a questioning note as to whether or not O'Connell will continue to lead the Repeal movement and achieve the abolition of the union with Britain. The answer is given in the article on the Liberator in volume eleven of the tenth edition (1853). Entitled 'O'Connell' and somewhat briefer than in the ninth edition.
(three pages as opposed to three and a half), the Irish leader is described as "der irlandische Agitator" as against "der irische Patriot" in the previous edition, though the bulk of the article is a repetition of that which had gone before. Coverage of events following his release from prison is succinct and factual, and demonstrates the demise of the movement and rejection of the principle of moral force by the group known as the Young Irelanders:

Doch hatte sein moralischer Einfluß einen Stoß erlitten, und es kam bald eine Spaltung unter seinen Anhängern zum Ausbruch, indem die Partei des Jungen Irland, der friedlichen Agitation müde, auf die Trennung von England durch gewaltsame Mittel hinzuwenden begann.

Such outbreaks of violence were part of a trend which was viewed with horror by liberal opinion and so the opposition to the Young Ireland movement in Brockhaus is to be expected. A further aspect of this is the emotive praise of O'Connell, the liberal leader and advocate of peaceful agitation:

Man hat den Character O'Connell's sehr verschieden beurtheilt; doch gehörte er ohne Zweifel zu den außerordentlichen Männern unseres Jahrhunderts.

It is thus interesting to note that while the article on Britain laments the failure of O'Connell's son to take over the movement, the dissolution of the increasingly "wachsende Repealbewegung" is regarded as a lucky stroke for Britain, once again revealing the liberals' fear of mass popular movements:

Ein Glück war es freilich, daß die alte irische Repealpartei, die Daniel O'Connell geschaffen, mit dieser jungen revolutionären Schule sich in bitterm Zerwürfniß befand.

It is also noteworthy how much additional information, which the modern reader might not expect to be of general interest in mid-nineteenth
century Germany, is given in the article on Ireland, as in other popular media of the day - Protestant objections to the government grant to the Catholic college of Maynooth, O'Connell's objections to the Queen's Colleges (non-denominational universities) scheme, as well as the increasingly Catholic identity of the movement in the 1840's.

This Catholic identity of the movement and O'Connell's personal devotion to the Catholic Church are documented and indeed emphasised in volume seven (1848) of the first edition of the Manz encyclopaedia:


This appears in the entry entitled 'O'Connel' (sic) - an article of considerable length (twelve and a quarter pages), considering the fact that the article on Ireland (volume five, 1847) had a mere ten pages, while that on Great Britain (volume four, 1847), covering its history and present circumstances, amounted to no more than twenty-six pages in all. The article on O'Connell is generally accurate and very detailed. Interestingly, although coverage of the early part of his career evinces an uncanny similarity to the articles in Brockhaus' works, the Manz Lexikon contains at times more insight. Thus while O'Connell is seen as a great man and reformer -

Dieser große Mann und Vorkämpfer seines unglücklichen Volkes, einer der größten Männer aller Zeiten - denn, wenn die Größe eines Mannes durch den wohltätigen Einfluß bedingt wird, welchen er auf seine Mitmenschen und durch diese auf die Nachwelt äußert, so wäre kaum irgend ein Mann, aus welchem Zeitalter und Volke auch immer, 0. an die Seite zu setzen.

- his achievement of Catholic Emancipation, his "erstes großes Werk, das einzige das ihm ganz gelang", is recognised not only for its benefits,
but also for its shortcomings.


This negative, if realistic, consideration of the plight of post-Emancipation Catholics in Ireland is perhaps a consequence of the growing political awareness of German middle class Catholics and their attempts to identify with their deprived co-religionists in other countries - especially those in Ireland and Poland.

Nonetheless the positive aspects of Emancipation are stressed, again the result of the developing awareness of an international 'Catholic movement', though in this instance with the aim of showing German Catholics how to gain the reforms they wanted. O'Connell's innovative campaign to achieve Emancipation is dealt with in detail, culminating in his victory in the Clare election of 1827 and including one of his famous speeches. The inclusion of excerpts from O'Connell's speeches is a characteristic of this article and not only adds substance to the reports, but also demonstrates the skills of a "geübter Rhetoriker, der seine Worte sorgfältig zu wählen und seine Gedanken reiflich zu überlegen gewohnt ist".

Other significant aspects of O'Connell's career are also documented; his adoption of the policy of holding mass meetings, especially during the Repeal campaign, when, although already in his seventies, he travelled
throughout the country addressing his followers; the importance of the active involvement of the clergy to the success of his campaigns; his emphasis on non-violence and the use of legal methods and the collection of the Penny Rent. The O'Connell Tribute, a popular focus of criticism by O'Connell's enemies, receives special mention. While the contributors to the Brockhaus Lexika merely mention the controversy this caused, the writer of the Manz article (similar to many defendants of O'Connell at the time) devotes a special section at the end of the article to defending the collection. Here it is stated that the Irish leader was justified in accepting the Tribute, working as he did for the benefit of his fellow countrymen and receiving no other form of income. This not only serves to remove the suspicion of greed and dishonesty which might further alienate conservative Catholics, already worried about O'Connell's liberal reputation, but also discourages any doubts held by his admirers in Catholic circles in Germany.

Indeed O'Connell's selfless dedication to his country and her cause forms an important part of the article, portraying him as an Irish Catholic hero, justifiably attempting to put right the injustices of hundreds of years of oppression. His sincerity is emphasised (again to combat popular criticism of his dedication to Repeal), as is his love of non-violence (his cancellation of the Clontarf meeting being used as a case in point):

Sein Thema war immer dasselbe, denn er hatte keinen andern Gedanken, als Irland, zu dessen Ausdruck ihm aber Hunderte von Gestaltungen zu Gebote standen. Man könnte sagen, daß er in seiner Seele alle Leiden, die Irland seit sechs Jahrhunderten erduldet, aufgenommen und nun für sie, die so lange stumm waren, ein beredter Sprecher geworden, der sie in allen ihren Formen, Phasen und Entwicklungen wiedergibt.

In addition the report on his trial includes mention of the removal of all Catholics from the jury and O'Connell's constant reminders to his
followers to keep the peace. His reputation as a Catholic leader whose tactics should be emulated - of special significance to German Catholics in 1848, when they eventually established their own association based on O'Connell's example - is also encouraged by Manz' encyclopaedia, which cites O'Connell's popularity among important European Catholics, most notably Montalembert, and reports on his large number of German sympathisers. Moreover O'Connell is portrayed as having nothing to do with the decline of his movement. Blame is placed on the Young Irelanders, who, according to this article, are also responsible for O'Connell's ill-health:

Wie O. (O'Connell) den Zerfall in seiner Partei fühlte und alle Ausgleichsversuche scheiterten, da er sein Prinzip des friedlichen gesetzlichen Widerstandes nicht aufgeben durfte und konnte, zerfiel er auch mit sich selbst: diese ungeheure Undankbarkeit machte ihn irre. 20

The rejection of the principles of moral force by the Young Irelanders - this "Feind, der ihm unter seiner eigenen Partei erwuchs" 21 - also comes in for criticism in the article on Ireland in volume five (1847). Not surprisingly Manz' Lexikon sides with the 'safe' Catholic leader, O'Connell, and, contrary to fact, purports that his generous attempts at reconciliation failed because of the stubbornness of the more radical Smith O'Brien and his followers. Generally sound on geographic and historical facts, the only other inaccuracy being the constant listing of "Leicester" as one of the four Irish provinces, this ten page article not only has an obvious pro-Catholic slant, but also a strong anti-English bias. An organ opposed to liberalism, the injustices inflicted by that country so favoured by German liberals are well-documented in this Lexikon, which supports the need for the abolition of the Union in the belief that an Irish government could serve the people better, particularly following the delays in providing aid to the starving during the famine in the
In addition on the tithe system, whereby eight million Irish Catholics were forced to give financial support to the minority Anglican Church, the view is expressed that because of its unfairness, the Irish are justified in opposing the Union. The tithe question also figures in the brief references to Ireland in the twenty-six page article on Great Britain. Along with attempts at church reforms, the passing of a Poor Law for Ireland and mention of the danger of violence as a consequence of the collection of the tithe, it is the introduction of Catholic Emancipation by Peel, to prevent an uprising in Ireland, which forms the extent of the brief coverage on that country.

Similarly the article on Britain in the first edition of Herder's Conversations-Lexikon (volume three, 1855), while avoiding any mention of Ireland, comments on how Peel and Wellington protected Britain from "einer Revolution ... indem sie den 9 Mill. Katholiken endlich die Bürgerrechte gab ...". This article - ten pages in length - provides the reader with a cross-reference to the articles on Scotland and Ireland.

That on Ireland - a mere four pages long - is, like the majority of articles in this work, brief, factual, if somewhat simplistic. It covers the geographical features of the land, as well as a somewhat 'romantic', if clichéd description of the 'strong', 'poetic', 'unreliable' Irish race, and a concise, non-detailed history of Ireland from the coming of Saint Patrick to the 1848 Revolution. The O'Connell period is mentioned only briefly. The editorial line is in favour of Catholic Emancipation, as is

The achievement of reforms for Ireland in the 1830's - tithe reform, municipal reform and grants to the Catholic seminary at Maynooth - are all documented, though strangely for a publication from the Catholic publishing house of Herder, no mention is made of O'Connell's role in the proceedings. However the cost of such reforms, according to the Lexikon, was the demise of his Repeal movement - "dagegen mußte O'Connell's Repealbewegung, d. h. die Aufhebung der Union, nothwendig an dem Widerstande der Engländer, Schotten und irischen Protestantten scheitern". Equally unusual is the fact that there is no mention of the dramatic split between the forces of 'Old' and 'Young' Ireland, either here or in the article on O'Connell in volume four (also 1855). This latter article does, on the other hand, manage to convey most of the important details of O'Connell's career and campaigns, within the space of one and a half columns.

His early career, eventual take-over of the Catholic Committee (wrongly named here as the Catholic Association - an error previously recorded in Manz' and Brockhaus' encyclopaedia, again suggesting that the information must initially have come from the same source), which made him "tödlich verhaßt" by the Orangemen, his successful campaign for Emancipation, subsequent alliance with the Whigs and the resulting reforms he won for Ireland are all documented. However there is no detailed treatment of his policies or tactics. Indeed many key events, such as his trial and
imprisonment in 1844, and split with the Young Irelanders receive no mention, nor does the deterioration of his health, resulting in his pilgrimage to Rome. Given the coverage of these events in the other popular encyclopaedia this is surprising. It must however be remembered over that this volume appeared in 1856, ten years after the German media coverage of O'Connell had reached its height (1843/44) and eight years after the establishment of the O'Connell-inspired Piusverein in Mainz, after which time the media no longer required him to play the part of role model for German Catholics.

Nonetheless he was still remembered in Catholic circles as the saviour of an oppressed people (a veiled criticism of liberal Britain by Herder) and as an advocate of peaceful agitation for reforms:

O. (O'Connell) war der edelste und größte aller Agitatoren, wie die Engländer selbst gestehen, der ein unterdrücktes Volk auf dem gesetlichen Wege zur Erlangung seiner Rechte führte, zu keiner Gewalt- oder Blutthat auch nur Veranlassung gab, die edle Gesinnung in dem Volke entzündete u.nährte und dadurch einem erbitterten und mächtigen Feind Achtung u. Gerechtigkeit abnöthigte.¹⁷

This emphasis on the legality and non-violent nature of O'Connell's campaigns, and his ability to politicise the masses without radicalising them, were themes beloved of both liberal and Catholic supporters of O'Connell in Germany and had also been included in the article on Ireland. Among the recommended reading at the end of that article was the two volume work on Ireland by the German radical Jakob Venedey. In fact it was Venedey who was the author of the article on O'Connell in the final encyclopaedia under discussion - the liberal Staatslexikon of Rotteck and Welcker.

The article on O'Connell in this work owes much both in style and content
to Venedey's *Irland*, published in Leipzig in 1844. A substantial thirty-two pages in length, it is totally different in form and style from the articles in the other encyclopaedia. Rather than providing the reader with a general biographical sketch, Venedey's article, based on personal experience of Ireland, uses the events of 1843, 'Repeal Year', to form the starting point to provide the politically aware, liberal reader with a comprehensive impression of O'Connell as family man and political activist. Published in the fourth supplement (1848) to this twelve volume work (1833–1848) the article is divided into eleven sections, which deal with a particular event or person of importance in the life of the Irish leader, as well as the various facets of his personality — leading to an overall favourable picture of O'Connell. It is clear Venedey is impressed by him and wants the reader to share his view. A case in point is his description of the feelings he experienced when in O'Connell's presence, where he makes use of emotive language and an edificatory tone:


While associating O'Connell with crowned heads, he also recognises the requirements of his largely anti-monarchist readership. Thus emphasis is placed on his identity as a 'man of the people':


To further this appeal to German liberals Venedey makes O'Connell's opposition to violence a central issue in the article, as he had already done in both his book and articles for the *Kölnische Zeitung*:

Das war O'Connell, das war der Grundsatz O'Connell's, das war die friedliche Agitation.
Moreover to add to this favourable description of the Irish leader, Venedey, similar to the article in the Manz encyclopaedia on O'Connell (1848), goes to great lengths to defend his acceptance of the O'Connell Tribute, and, also as in Manz' work, to stress his total dedication to the cause of Repeal. While he does admit that O'Connell occasionally appeared to desert Repeal, he deflects criticism by attributing this to political shrewdness, designed not only to ease tensions in Ireland, but also to achieve much needed reforms, all the while remaining "bluternst um die Repeal".

Interestingly Venedey, himself a lapsed Catholic writing for a liberal audience, devotes considerable time to portraying O'Connell as a genuine believer in the Catholic Church. This is typical of Venedey's accounts. He sees this as a positive attribute and one liberals should respect, as he believes it to be real piety and not mere façade.

However Venedey is aware of weaknesses in the Irish politician's character. While defensive of O'Connell's political manoeuvering he anticipates the report in Herder's Lexikon (volume three, 1855) which cites this political wheeler-dealing as the cause of the break-up of his movement, thus enabling the British government to take advantage of his vulnerability (the result of a decline in support) and arrest him:

O'Connell wurde angeklagt, verurtheilt, ins Gefängnis geworfen und dort - begraben.

In keeping with the style of the article no details are given of the trial, the charge, or the packed jury. However his loss of power and the ineffectual role he played in Irish political life following his release from prison are documented. Yet significantly Venedey does not credit England with the victory, nor does he regard Repeal as a lost cause:
O'Connell war gefangen, besiegt - nicht aber Irland, nicht die Repeal! Der "Befreier" stand gefesselt da; aber nicht England hatte ihm die Fesseln angelegt; er hatte sich selbst in sie verstrickt und zwar in einem Augenblicke, wo Irland nicht bereit war, ihn aus denselben zu befreien.

But this representation of O'Connell as competent leader, fallen victim to adverse circumstances is balanced by a more critical analysis of some aspects of his personality - thus allowing the reader to see Venedey as a professional political commentator and removing the impression of unrealistic perfection, which his account would otherwise have conveyed.

He thus criticises O'Connell's feelings of resentment against the ascendency, which he believes limited the Irishman's achievements:

Es ist ein Jammer - daß dieser König selbst nie ganz den emanzipierten Sklaven vergessen lernte. Er wäre ohne ihn einer der größten unter den Größten aller Zeiten gewesen; denn in diesem Gefühl keimen alle Schwächen und alle Makel, die an O'Connell und seinem Rufe, wie Rostflecken den schönen Stahl zerfressend, ankleben.

In addition he is under no illusion that O'Connell was a great political thinker, but that he was, like "die meisten großen Menschen", an emotional man, ruled primarily by his heart. Yet as if to balance this Venedey points out O'Connell's skill in organising the Repeal Association, and provides a close, though brief, account of the achievement of Catholic Emancipation - a cause favoured by contemporary liberal opinion. Again few details are given - O'Connell's victory in Clare is dealt with in a few sentences - but Venedey adequately and concisely conveys his view that O'Connell did an immense service for Ireland, transforming the Irish masses from downtrodden slaves to proud, politically aware Irishmen, by dexterous use of language and vivid imagery:

Da trat O'Connell auf. Es war als ob ein Löwe, der eben erst eingefangen, die Stricke, die ihn fesseln, zerreißen und mit einem Satze in die Mitte seiner erstaunten Wächter
It is this image of a popular political saviour of a downtrodden people which comes across most strongly in this article. Venedey cleverly emphasises those aspects of O'Connell's career and personality which would appeal to liberal readers and defends those which do not. In the final two pages, in what amounts to a eulogy to the Irish leader, O'Connell's successful development and implementation of a tactical, peaceful political campaign is put forward as a blueprint to be adopted for the future:

Die Nachwelt wird ihm Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen. Die Gläubigen werden ihn heilig sprechen und die Ungläubigen seine reinhafte Größe anerkennen ... Sein Leben und sein Tod, seine Errungenschaften und sein Scheitern auf dem Meere der gesetzlichen Agitation werden unverwischliche Lehren für die ganze Welt und alle Zukunft sein, so lange die Geschichte unserer Zeiten nicht verschollen ist.

This sympathetic view of the Irish leader is evident in each of the encyclopaedia under discussion, though they do not all express it quite so overtly. While there are differences in the amount of detail given, all provide a fairly accurate account of the important events in O'Connell's career and campaigns. The underlying impression that O'Connell was one of the greatest politicians of the period, which is to be found in each of the Lexika, regardless of the political or religious outlook of the editorial policy, is evidence of the generally positive picture of O'Connell received by most middle class Germans in the mid-nineteenth century, justifying Venedey's dramatic conclusion at the close of his article in the Staatslexikon:

Sein Name wird in die ferne Zukunft hinüberleuchten. Und die Völker und die Herrscher, die Schwachen und die Starken, die die Bedeutung seines Wirkens, die Ursache seiner Erfolge wie die Ursache seiner Niederlage erkannt haben, werden auf dem Felde des Gesetzes durch das Wort des Friedens den Segen des Rechts und der Freiheit an ihre Schritte fesseln.
Notes to Chapter 4, ii

1. Meiner, p. 66.
5. ibid., p. 415.
6. ibid., p. 417.
7. ibid., p. 415.
8. ibid., p. 415.
9. ibid., p. 417.
11. ibid., p. 344.
12. This article on Great Britain is largely a repetition of the one in the ninth edition, the main difference being that the tenth edition contains an extra section entitled 'Großbritannien und Irland nach seinen statistischen Verhältnissen'.
15. ibid., pp. 756f.
16. ibid., p. 759.
17. ibid., p. 762.
18. ibid., p. 764.
19. ibid., p. 764.
20. ibid., p. 768.
22. ibid., p. 723.
24. ibid., p. 438.
25. ibid., p. 438.
26. op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 374
27. ibid., p. 375.
29. ibid., p. 66.
30. ibid., p. 81.
31. ibid., p. 85.
32. ibid., p. 87.
33. ibid., p. 88.
34. ibid., p. 76.
35. ibid., p. 74.
36. ibid., pp. 80f.
37. ibid., p. 91.
38. ibid., p. 92.
The eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth century saw the travelogue genre reach the height of its popularity among the educated reading public in Germany. Intrinsically linked with the technical developments, which made travelling more accessible — "Die Reiseliteratur ist nicht nur Folge der Raumerweiterung und Raumintensivierung, sie stärkt auch ihrerseits wieder die Begierde des Menschen, die Erde im Kleinen und im Großen wirklich in Besitz zu nehmen" — the popularity of this type of work resulted not only from the curiosity of those who could not undertake such journeys (not least women) but also from the desire of the travellers to recount their experiences to a receptive audience:

In der folgenden Zeit wird die Einheit von Reisen und Schreiben immer mehr zu einer Modeerscheinung; jeder möchte nicht nur etwas erleben, etwas, so sagt man großartig, 'erforschen'; sondern er möchte auch darüber schreiben ... Die Reisebeschreibung ist so selbstverständlich wie heute das Photographieren und Filmen. Man kann sich nach der Reise in Gesellschaft nicht gehen lassen, ohne irgendwelche Reise-notizen vorzulesen.

The attraction of the travelogues did not escape the vigilant eye of the publishing houses, nor of contemporary writers — most notably Heinrich Heine, of whom it has been said that his Reisebilder were the product of his realisation that success and fame could more easily be achieved by writing travelogues rather than dramas. Given their popularity, any such travel books which deal with Ireland are of great significance. The way
in which the social and political conditions in Ireland are described to the German reader, and most importantly the way in which O'Connell is portrayed, had a direct influence on the perception of O'Connell and the Irish cause in the minds of the upper and middle class Germans. Moreover in looking at the accounts of trips to Ireland by four much-cited contemporary writers - Hermann von Pückler-Muskau (1785-1871), Friedrich von Raumer (1781-1873), Johann Georg Kohl (1808-1878) and Jakob Venedey (1805-1871), the social background and personal outlook of each author must be examined in order to comprehend fully his attitude towards O'Connell and Ireland, and to understand the type of audience his work would appeal to.³a

Perhaps the best known of these writers is the colourful and eccentric Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, whose work on Ireland was included in the anonymously published Briefe eines Verstorbenen. Ein fragmentarisches Tagebuch aus England, Wales, Irland und Frankreich, geschrieben in den Jahren 1828 und 1829, part of a four volume work, which was published by Hallberger in Stuttgart between 1830 and 1832. An immediate success, two volumes were translated into English and published in 1833 under the title Tour in England, Ireland and France, in the years 1828 and 1829; with remarks on the manners and customs of the inhabitants and anecdotes of distinguished characters. In a series of letters. By a German prince.⁴

A member of the landed aristocracy in Saxony, he went against his father's wish for him to study law in Leipzig and opted for the more glamorous life in the Corps of the Saxon Red Guards in Dresden instead. Here he earned a reputation as an extravagant dandy, who spent wildly beyond his means. A tour of the cities of Europe was followed by active service in the war which saw Napoleon's forces defeated in 1815, and from which Pückler-Muskau emerged as a loyal subject of the King of Prussia (despite
the fact that Saxony and Prussia had fought on opposing sides). Follow-

ing his brief army career he went to England, where he studied garden
landscaping, an interest which figures considerably in his account of his
trip to Ireland. In 1817 he married a divorcee, Countess Lucie von
Pappenheim, nine years his senior and the daughter of the Prussian
chancellor, von Hardenberg. They took the somewhat unorthodox step a few
years later of divorcing to enable Pückler-Muskau find a rich English
heiress, whose money he could use to complete the landscaping of the
gardens at his family estate of Muskau, with the aim of establishing an
eventual ménage à trois there. News of his intentions reached England and
no suitable wife could be found. However his sojourn in England resulted
in the publication of the most popular travelogue of the period. Encouraged
by its success he travelled throughout North Africa, Greece and Turkey,
accompanied by a beautiful woman he had bought at an Egyptian slave
market. She was but one of his many lovers, though he lived with Lucie
until her death in 1854. He is even alleged to have been the lover of
Bettine von Arnim. However the allegation of his involvement with Ida
von Hahn-Hahn probably has more substance. A friend of writers such as
Goethe, Heine and E.T.A. Hoffmann, he was conferred with the title of
prince in 1822 by Friedrich Wilhelm III and became a member of the Prussian
House of Lords in 1863.

His writing style reflected his privileged class. He epitomised the
sophisticated aristocrat with liberal leanings, sympathetic to the prin-
ciples of constitutional rule, though with little real interest in daily
politics, paternalistically concerned with the lower orders of society,
but primarily concerned with art, culture and the social scene.
His aristocratic background is especially obvious in his constant use of
foreign words - a tendency which could have alienated those of his readers
who did not belong to a similar class. In addition his work is marked by a variety of writing styles. It has been claimed that this was the result of Pückler-Muskau's desire to express himself in the most suitable way on any given occasion:

Das literarische Selbstbewußtsein und Ansehen des Fürsten begründen sich vor allem darin, daß er nicht die oder jene Gattung kultiviert, sondern die verschiedenen Formen, um etwas 'auszudrücken', ebenso souverän durcheinanderwürfelt wie die verschiedenen Sprachen: Gedicht, Anekdote, 'Novelle', Brief, 'Porträt', Witz, Zitat, Beschreibung, Reflexion, Monolog, Statistik usw. ...

Yet in spite of his background and constant presence in upper class circles, Pückler-Muskau was not blind to the excesses of his peers and often criticised them in his work. This is also true of Friedrich von Raumer, though his style and outlook differ considerably from those of the prince. The author of the widely read, critically acclaimed six volume history of the Hohenstaufen - Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit (1823-25) - his works which deal with the situation in Ireland, appeared both in German and in English translation. In 1836 the established liberal publishing house of Brockhaus published England im Jahre 1835 (2 vols.). In 1842 the revised edition England. Zweite, verbesserte und mit einem Bande vermehrte Auflage (3 vols.) appeared. These works were published in London under the titles England in 1835: being a series of letters written to friends in Germany, during residence in London and excursions into the provinces (3 vols. 1836) and England in 1841 (2 vols.) in 1842. 8

A member of a recently ennobled Prussian bureaucratic family, Raumer was a nephew of the conservative Prussian politicians Ernst and Leopold von Gerlach and close acquaintance of von Hardenberg. He himself held a number of posts in the ministry before deciding on an academic career. In 1819 he became professor of Legal Science and History at the University of Berlin, where he was elected rector in 1822. However following the
publication of his somewhat critical and controversial work Polens Untergang in 1832, he was dismissed from this position by Friedrich Wilhelm III. Moreover his earlier work Über die preußische Städteordnung, nebst einem Vorwort über die bürgerliche Freiheit, nach französischen und deutschen Begriffen (1828) also brought him into conflict with the Prussian ministry, and his speech on religious tolerance, of which he was a firm advocate, given in the Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1847 in the presence of Friedrich Wilhelm IV, led to his resignation from that body, as he had earlier resigned from the Prussian Censorship Board in 1831. Elected as the representative for Frankfurt an der Oder, Quedlinburg und Aschersleben to the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848, in the 1850's he was a member of the first chamber of the Prussian Parliament. Widely travelled in America, Asia and Europe he was a respected writer, his historical and political works enjoying particular popularity.

A writer of considerable insight, his work was generally well-informed and his approach open-minded. Moreover his writings reflect the fact that although he was a loyal Prussian subject, with a distinctly conservative political bias, this politically aware writer was not afraid to question the actions of the authorities and that he believed profoundly in the concept of just government and in the need for improved social conditions for the lower classes.

Another writer with a politically conservative outlook was Johann Georg Kohl. As the product of the north German Protestant middle class, which espoused the work ethic, he saw the sufferings of the lower classes of society as self-inflicted. This is evident in his popular work on Ireland entitled Reisen in Irland (2 vols.), which was published by the Arnold'sche Buchhandlung (Dresden and Leipzig) in 1843. The English
A tutor to the children of aristocratic families, Kohl had studied law in Göttingen, after which he moved to Heidelberg and Munich, taking lectures in ethnography, mathematics and technology, before becoming a full-time writer. His first successful books were those written about his travels in Poland and Russia (published in 1841), the popularity of which enabled him to devote his life to travelling and travel books, covering most of Europe and North America. His books enjoyed considerable success and as a result he was appointed city librarian of Bremen in 1863. He was to receive two honorary doctorates (one from Königsberg University, the other from an American college), was an honorary member of a number of scientific societies and towards the end of his life was in great demand as contributor to many German newspapers and periodicals.

His rationalist background led him to write well-researched, thorough, generally accurate travelogues, though Constantia Maxwell's claim that his work was free from any traces of prejudice is by no means universally correct, as his respect for the institutions of law and order disinclined him to be sympathetic to populist leaders and their causes.  

A writer more inclined to support such popular movements is the final one under discussion, Jakob Venedey, author of the two volume book on Ireland, published by Brockhaus in 1844, entitled simply Ireland. A native of
Cologne and son of a well-known democrat and propagandist, Michael Venedey, he represented the radical left of mid-nineteenth century middle class German society. Actively involved in the Hambacher Festival of 1832, a demonstration in favour of the freedom of expression, Venedey had studied law for two years at Bonn and Heidelberg (1825-27), before deciding to leave Prussia. He eventually settled in Paris, where his circle of friends included many exiled democrats and republicans, though his relationship with the French domiciled Heine was far from amicable. A popular writer, he was, while in France, correspondent for various German newspapers and became the English correspondent for the increasingly liberal Kölnische Zeitung for the periods September 1839 - August 1840, December 1842 - June 1843 and July - September 1843. He returned to Germany after the February revolution in 1848 and was elected to the Frankfurt Parliament where he was one of the leaders of the left and a strong supporter of the 'Groß-Deutschland' cause. In later life he experienced great difficulties getting articles accepted, even by liberal newspapers, a reflection more on the German political scene, than on Venedey's writing ability.

Yet Venedey remained one of the most respected contemporary liberal German writers. His works were well-researched, well-documented, probing and detailed, his book on Ireland being a case in point. However, Venedey, in spite of his attempts to present his work as objective "reporting", was, like Pückler-Muskau, Raumer and Kohl, influenced by his background and experience in the way in which he approached the situation in Ireland in general and the person of O'Connell in particular. It is of interest therefore to make a brief systematic survey of the contents and style of each of their works, first in relation to their treatment of Ireland and finally of O'Connell.
In *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* sixteen letters (six in Part One, ten in Part Two) out of a total of forty-eight in the two volumes relating to Pückler-Muskau's trip to Ireland and Britain, deal with Ireland. Originally intended as private letters to his ex-wife, the tone is lively and intimate. Written in a piquant style, his humour and irony ensured it the success of originality, though the language used, especially the foreign phrases and classical allusions, limited this somewhat to artistic and upper class circles. Essentially it conveys a privileged view of Ireland to a privileged audience. Primarily entertained in aristocratic families - he even dines with the Lord Lieutenant - Pückler-Muskau provides the reader with a comprehensive account of the Irish social scene, important buildings, landmarks, gardens and popular tourist attractions, such as the Lakes of Killarney and the Rock of Cashel. However true to his liberal leanings he is at times critical of the Irish upper classes and of British rule in Ireland:

> Das ist Irland: vom Gouvernement vernachlässigt oder bedrückt, von der stupiden Intoleranz des englischen Priestertums erniedrigt, von seinen reichen Landbesitzern verlassen und von Armut und Whiskygift zum Aufenthalt nackter Elenden gestempelt! –

Whiskey he sees as the curse of the Irish poor. Yet while his horror at their abject poverty is real - "Der Schmutz, die Armut und die zerlumpte Tracht des gemeinen Mannes übersteigt oft allen Glauben"¹⁴ - and his condemnation of both absenteeism and the collection of the tithe from Catholics heartfelt, at times he accepts too readily the myth of the wild, slovenly, hospitable Irish.

Raumer on the other hand is more concerned with the bad conditions in Ireland than he is with visiting places of interest:
Like Pückler-Muskau's work, Raumer's 1836 and 1842 works consist of a series of letters outlining his impressions of a trip to Britain and Ireland. Of the sixty-six letters in *England im Jahre 1835* only seven deal with Ireland or matters relating to it. Yet Raumer manages to convey a detailed account of the social and economic conditions there. Indeed letter sixty-two in volume two, which concerns his trip to Ireland, is one of the longest in the book, with thirty-eight pages. A socially and politically aware writer, his apt use of statistics to demonstrate the harsh conditions in Ireland and his examination and espousal of possible legislative solutions, in the form of land reform, tithe reform, a poor law and fines against absentee landlords make this work more a sober political document than an anecdotal travelogue.

On the other hand Kohl's *Reisen in Irland* does at times fall into this latter categorie, while the section devoted to Ireland in his *Land und Leute der britischen Inseln* is essentially a mid-nineteenth century account of the characteristics of a particular race. A dedicated tourist who sets out to see everything of interest, he is also concerned about the social and political atmosphere of the country, his description of the poverty of the majority of the inhabitants being brought to the attention of the British House of Commons by O'Connell himself:

> Unter mehreren literarischen Autoritäten über das große materielle Elend, worunter Irland schmachtet, führte O'Connell das Buch von Kohl an. 'Dieser deutsche Reisende', sagte er, 'welcher ganz Europa durchreist hat, versichert in seinem Buch, daß er nirgends in Europa ein solches Elend gefunden wie in Irland'.

The poverty of the Irish population is a major topic in both works, which
are on the whole well-balanced and accurate. Moreover his continual and apparently naive reliance on Irish superstitions and folklore is vindicated when one considers the interest in the concept of 'romantic Ireland' - inspired by Grimm - among the German middle class of the period. Yet Kohl remains the puritanical Protestant commentator. While horrified at the bad conditions in Ireland and critical of the treatment the Irish received at the hands of various British governments, he ultimately holds the laziness and slovenliness of the indigenous population responsible for the situation.

A different conclusion is drawn by Jakob Venedey in his two volume work on Ireland. A passionate and detailed work, part one, which is dedicated to "dem irischen Volke", deals exclusively with the history of Ireland up to the 1840's, placing particular emphasis on the persecution of the Irish by their British overlords, while part two is devoted to Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal campaign. As a liberal and democrat, Venedey, like many German liberals, experienced personal conflict, caused by his natural admiration for the British system of government and abhorrence at what that very government was doing in Ireland. Having struggled to come to terms with this in the pages of the Kölnische Zeitung over the years, in his book Venedey strives to give all sides of the situation in Ireland - interviewing Irishmen of all classes and political opinions, along with providing the reader with useful historical facts and contemporary statistics. In the end it is Ireland and her demand for reforms, especially the repeal of the Act of Union, which win Venedey's sympathies:

Ich würde mich glücklich schätzen, wenn ich den Irländern und ihrer Sache die Sympathie meiner Leser erwerben könnte. 17

Thus Venedey's favourable presentation of O'Connell comes as no surprise. Indeed he not only cites the Irish leader as the reason for his trip to
Ireland - "Nur auf ein paar Tage wollte ich nach Irland gehen, um O'Connell, von dem die Welt so voll war, am Werke zu sehen" but devotes the second part of his book to the many aspects of O'Connell's political policy. More significant however is the fact that the other three writers, despite their differing political and social backgrounds, also deal with O'Connell at length and provide their readers with a very positive picture of him, although they do find fault with some of his views and characteristics.

Importantly all four writers actually met O'Connell, so their impressions are from first hand. In addition all, with the exception of Raumer, attended at least one O'Connellite meeting, Raumer's acquaintance with him being confined to the London political scene. Moreover Pückler-Muskau and Venedey also provide a glimpse of O'Connell in the role of family-man, whereas Kohl, by choice ("Aber von diesem Privatmann O'Connell will ich so wenig sprechen, als von dem Privatcharakter irgend eines anderen Menschen, den ich kennen lernte") and Raumer, by necessity, confine themselves to the public O'Connell.

Each of them is greatly impressed by his physical appearance, Pückler-Muskau comparing him to a Napoleonic general:


This is symptomatic of the impact O'Connell made on each of the writers. They see him as a powerful, competent political leader (both Pückler-
Muskau and Raumer calling him a political 'giant'), who controls his people with determination and success. Moreover they are also impressed with his accessibility, praising his friendliness and hospitality, Kohl even providing his readers with an anecdote concerning the great reception afforded to some Tory travellers at Derrynane, after they had lost their way in the Kerry countryside. Significantly, given the wealth of criticism of O'Connell on these very points, they are unanimous in their praise of his intelligence and sincerity of purpose, Kohl pointing out that his aims and those of Ireland are intrinsically linked together:

Das Thema der Rede O'Connells war dasjenige, welches das Thema aller seiner Reden seit 40 Jahren, ja welches das Thema seines ganzen Lebens, alles seines Dichtens und Trachtens ist, die Unterdrückung durch die Engländer.

It is this oppression of Ireland by the English which causes Raumer to defend O'Connell's actions as a populist leader, despite the fact that he vehemently opposed O'Connell's central aim of Repeal, and felt his opposition to the proposed new Poor Law for Ireland to be particularly unhelpful:

Ein Demagog in einer Art und Gestalt, wie ihn die Geschichte noch nicht sah. Der mächtigsten Regierung der Welt gegenüber wird ein einzeller Mensch der Rathgeber, Vertraute, Herrscher eines Volks; die Armen, Gedrückten geben freiwillig ihrem Advokaten einen Sold, größer als ihn der König von England seinen Ministern bieten kann ...

Yet both men did have many similar views, most notably the need to abolish the tithe system, to introduce new legislation to protect tenants and to achieve some type of municipal reform. A former Prussian civil servant, Raumer believed this could best be achieved if the British government implemented the reforms, both social and agricultural, which had recently been introduced in Prussia. Interestingly Raumer focusses on O'Connell's admiration of the Prussian monarch, an attitude one would not expect the Irishman to have, but which would appeal not only to the loyal
Prussian, Raumer, but also to his readers:


This becomes even more remarkable when we consider the fact that Venedey makes full play of O'Connell's support for and sympathy with the Archbishop of Cologne, Droste-Vischering, who had suffered at the hands of the Prussian authorities. While the fact that O'Connell's interview with Raumer took place some two years prior to the 'Cologne Incident' (though the quote first appeared in the 1842 edition) could account for this, it is also possible that O'Connell was merely courting the favour of a foreign guest, as he was wont to do, when he met Raumer in 1835.

However both Raumer and Venedey, along with Kohl, regard a good deal of O'Connell's success as the product of British misrule in Ireland. Yet significantly they stress that this does not detract from O'Connell's greatness:

Das englische Ministerium hat den Mann erst zu einem Riesen gemacht; aber ein Riese ist er auch durch Kraft des Geistes und Willens, im Vergleich mit den Lilliputern aus Binsen geschnitten, welche wol bei uns Demagogen genannt ... werden.

While this leads Raumer to advocate Prussian policies, it causes Venedey to give total support to the campaign for Repeal. Raumer's dislike of Repeal is understandable, for, despite his interest in reforms he remains at heart a Prussian bureaucrat, though not entirely an orthodox one - Heine labelled him the "preußischer Revolutionär". Venedey on the other hand, with his radical background, is more likely to follow O'Connell's demands to their logical conclusion. While the right of the Irish people
to self-determination is of great importance to him—"Die Auflösung der Union ist gerecht, weil jedes Volk das Recht hat, seine eigenen Angelegenheiten selbst zu leiten" even more important is the means they deploy to achieve this—moral force and peaceful demonstration. Venedey continually refers to this aspect of O'Connell's policy, which so fascinated contemporary European liberals. Not only the result of his own real admiration of this tactic, this constant reference to O'Connell's dedication to the principles of moral force is also the result of Venedey's desire to show the Irish leader in as favourable light as possible throughout his book. Likewise his treatment of the 'O'Connell Tribute', where he goes to great lengths to dispel any suspicions regarding avarice or dishonesty in O'Connell's character.

Kohl, who unlike Venedey is not well-disposed towards populist leaders, adopts a different approach when dealing with these issues. The only other writer to focus on these concerns, - Pückler-Muskau's visit taking place prior to the introduction of the 'Tribute' or the popular mass rallies and Raumer's interest centering on O'Connell's demands, rather than his methods - Kohl deals with the policy of non-violent, legal action in a very matter-of-fact way. For him it merely adds to the overall picture of the political situation in Ireland. This objectivity is also evident in the treatment of the 'Tribute'. Following a long, lively account of a Repeal meeting in Dublin, Kohl examines the pros and cons of O'Connell's acceptance of the money. True to his north German Protestant background, he himself is critical of the collection. Yet he considers the issue in the context of the time, eventually concluding that O'Connell cannot be faulted on his behaviour:

Summa also: O'Connell ist ein außerordentlicher Mann des 19. Jahrhunderts, des Geld-Jahrhunderts, der durch bisher in der Welt beinahe unerhörte Mittel und Wege zu Ansehen, Macht und Wohlhabenheit gelangt ist und der, ohne alle
But Kohl's inherent conservatism comes to the fore when attempting an objective examination of the demand for Repeal. Like Raumer, he cannot see any benefits for Ireland from Repeal, though unlike Raumer, he offers no substitute suggestions to help improve the situation. It seems unlikely that Pückler-Muskau would be at one with Kohl on this issue. Visiting Ireland before O'Connell set the campaign for Repeal in motion, it appears possible that his liberalism would cause him to support such radical changes:

"Übrigens liegt auch das Übel in Irland und überhaupt in der ganzen Verfassung Großbritanniens zu tief, um durch die bloße Emanzipation der Katholiken gründlich gehoben werden zu können. Doch dies würde mich zu weit führen." 28

Yet despite this unwillingness to delve into the consequences of a genuine policy of reform for Ireland, Pückler-Muskau is not reluctant to show his admiration for O'Connell, a point of view guaranteed to cause a sensation in German upper and middle class circles, given O'Connell's reputation as a popular agitator at this time. More significantly still is his portrayal of O'Connell as a cultivated European liberal, who spoke French fluently and advocated religious tolerance. This view of the Irish leader, also put forward by Venedey, differed considerably from the uncouth image of him which appeared in the popular British press of the period.

In the case of Venedey, who of all the writers devotes the most space to O'Connell, aspects of his career and policies not even mentioned by the others are covered, to form a more complete picture of an educated, peace-loving politician, rather than that of a subversive revolutionary, as many believed O'Connell to be. Thus Venedey emphasises O'Connell's
alleged loyalty to the Queen, and explains how he rejected the help offered by the French radicals, in order to prove his loyalty to the Crown, and avoid the bloodshed and ultimate total separation from Britain, which would follow. Moreover Venedey also places a great deal on O'Connell's devotion to the Catholic Church, an unusual pre-occupation for a lapsed Catholic and acknowledged anti-cleric. But Venedey was convinced of O'Connell's genuine piety, totally void of hypocrisy, a trait which could also be admired by other anti-clerical radicals in Europe.

Pückler-Muskau adopts a similar attitude to O'Connell's religious convictions and for the same reasons. Similarly as regards O'Connell's oratorical skills, he is also of the same opinion as Venedey, who labels O'Connell the best orator in Europe. While Kohl too recognises his ability at public speaking, he nonetheless feels that the poems of Thomas Moore (whom he regards as O'Connell's bard) will, because of their beauty and depth of emotion, have a greater lasting impact on the Irish people than O'Connell's longest speech.

This inherent criticism of the contents of O'Connell's speeches is not surprising given Kohl's traditional dislike of popular leaders, and more importantly, given his total opposition to the principle of Repeal, the central issue in all of O'Connell's speeches at this time. In fact this dislike of Repeal forms the basis of most of Kohl's criticism of the Irish leader. However he does make some purely personal negative comments, but these are usually of little significance, such as his accusation that O'Connell is vain and has a decidedly theatrical manner. Both these traits are also noted by Pückler-Muskau, who does not regard them as major flaws and who feels that, on the issue of vanity at least, compared to that of
Sheil's his right-hand man, O'Connell's vanity is "offner, vertrauender und bereits zufriedener gestellt." 30

A more unexpected criticism of the Irish leader, given the cause of the complaint, comes from Raumer. He proposes that because of the seriousness of the situation in Ireland, O'Connell's demands for reform are not extreme enough. While this does not mean that Raumer was advocating total separation from Britain (his opposition to Repeal was constant and heartfelt), it reinforces his belief in the benefits of the reforms recently introduced to Prussia.

Yet Raumer does recognize O'Connell as one of the most important politicians of the period, a view echoed in each of the works under discussion, whatever the political allegiance of the author or purpose of his book. Thus the German reading public of the mid-nineteenth century - ranging from conservative to radical, middle to upper class, politically aware to general readers - were presented with an overall picture of O'Connell as a major talented contemporary European politician, justified in demanding improvements for his people. Even if all the writers do not support his demand for Repeal, their works reflect the fact that in their opinion O'Connell warrants the excitement felt by Kohl on going to visit him:

Bei meiner Rückkehr nach Dublin galt mein erster Besuch demjenigen Manne, den jeder Fremde in Dublin eben so zu sehen erpicht sein wird, wie in Rom den Papat ... Gewiß ist es ein Vergnügen, sich mit einem so klugen, so erfahrenen, so ausgezeichneten, talent- und geistvollen Manne, der zugleich in den vier Wänden seines Hauses ein so angenehmer und gastfreundlicher Hauswirth ist, ein Viertelstündchen unterhalten zu können. 31
Notes to Chapter 4, iii


2. ibid., p. 239.

3. ibid., p. 241. Indeed it was Heine’s original use of the genre from the Briefe aus Berlin onwards, that enabled the travelogue to perform a political function – an important development given the heavily censored press of the period.

3a. A less well-known travelogue on Ireland was written by the historian Knut Jonbohn Clement, entitled Reisen in Irland, oder Irland in historischer, statistischer, politischer und sozialer Beziehung (Kiel, 1845). See Walter T. Rix’s article, Ireland as a source of German Interest in the Early Nineteenth Century: From Politics to Literature in Zach/Kosok (eds.), pp. 21ff. (Reference to Clement, pp. 27f.)

4. Tour in England ... By a German Prince was translated by Sarah Austin. See also note 8. The popular reception afforded to the German edition of this work can be gauged from Goethe’s favourable critique of it: Ein für Deutschlands Literatur bedeutendes Werk ... Beschreibungen von Gegenden machen den Haupteinhalt der Briefe, aber diese gelingen ihm auch auf eine bewundernswürdige Weise. England, Wales, besonders Irland, und dann wieder die Nordküste von England sind meisterhaft geschildert. - Ohff/Haack, Vol. II, p. 361.


6. ibid., p. 16.


8. The third volume of the revised edition of England im Jahre 1835 was entitled England im Jahre 1841 (also published by Brockhaus). England im Jahre 1835 was translated into English by Sarah Austin and H. E. Lloyd; England im Jahre 1841 was translated by H. E. Lloyd.

9. Two English language editions of Reisen in Irland were published – the first by Chapman and Hall (London 1843), the second by Harper & Bros., (New York 1844).


11. Venedey’s Irland was translated by W. B. MacCabe and published under the title Ireland and the Irish during the Repeal Year, 1843, by J. Duffy (Dublin) and C. Colman (London), in 1844.

12. Venedey’s treatment of O’Connell in his articles in the Kölnische Zeitung is discussed in 4,i.


14. ibid., p. 127.

16. Allgemeine Zeitung, 4. 3. 1844, article entitled 'Die Unterhausverhandlungen über Irland'.


18. op. cit., Vol. I, p. VIII.


29. However Venedey also expresses criticism at the fact that O'Connell did not openly admit his reason for rejecting the aid from France immediately.


Another interesting element of mid-nineteenth century German media coverage of O'Connell is that of biographical literature. A genre more cultivated in Britain than in Germany, its eventual popularity there from the 1850's onwards probably owes much to the influence of British literature and historical writing in Germany in the 1830's and 1840's. The very fact that biographies of O'Connell were published in the German states in these years and, more importantly, that there was a market for them, is a significant indication of the amount of interest in the Irish leader - at least among certain sections of the German reading public, particularly among the increasingly aware Catholic middle classes.

Interestingly, though not surprisingly, given the much publicised and highly controversial arrest and trial of O'Connell in 1843/44, the three mid-century biographies of the Liberator appeared between the years 1843 and 1845. The first of these was by the Irish-born professor of English Literature at the Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin (1843-46) and director general of the Cologne and Frankfurt railway, Edward Aubrey Moriarty. The son of Christopher Moriarty, a Dublin attorney, who had once been engaged to O'Connell's sister Alicia, Moriarty's work was entitled Leben und Wirken O'Connells mit dessen Denkschrift an die Königin von England and was published in Berlin 1843. This was followed by the work by Ludwig Schipper, a teacher of modern languages at the Akademie und Divisions-Schule in Münster, who otherwise confined himself to writing school books on French grammar and literature, entitled Irlands Verhältnis zu England geschichtlich entwickelt und O'Connell's Leben und Wirken (Soest, 1844). The next year (1845)saw the publication of Irland und O'Connell in Regensburg, a work written by the Jewish convert to Catholicism,
the writer and journalist Moritz Brühl. Moreover two other works published in the 1840's can be included in this section – R. Sly's *O'Connell und sein Prozeß. Eine quellenmäßige Darstellung* (Krefeld, 1844), which covers not only the trial, but also O'Connell's early life and political career, and Father Josef Lutz' *Ventura und Lacordaire über O'Connell und Pius IX* (Tübingen, 1848), a lively commentary on the funeral orations for O'Connell given by Ventura and Lacordaire, which suggests the contemporary European Catholic view of the Irish leader and which reflects the image portrayed of him in each of the biographies mentioned.  

Indeed the similarity of all these works – not only in the details of O'Connell's life and career, but also in the topics they dwell on and their attitude to them - is striking. Not only are they similar to the themes dealt with in the travellers' accounts, but they also correspond with the view of O'Connell popular in the Piusverein in 1848 – that of a peace-loving Catholic, loyal to the British crown, yet unafraid to demand religious and civil equality for his co-religionists, despite government opposition to this. Because of these similarities, there is a lot of repetition in the works. In order to avoid this, a brief analysis of all the works taken together, concentrating on the main characteristics attributed to O'Connell, is called for. 

Moriarty's work, at 168 pages in length the longest of all the single volume works, deals with O'Connell's early life and career and his subsequent involvement in the campaigns for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Act of Union. In addition, at the start of the book he reproduces O'Connell's *Denkschrift an die Königin von England*, which chronicles the history of Ireland from the twelfth century to the 1840's and which concentrates on British mistreatment of the indigenous population through the
Schipper's work (124 pages), a lot of the information for which is drawn from Moriarty as well as from O'Connell's own published work - Die in den folgenden Blättern angegebenen Grausamkeiten finden sich in O'Connell's Buch über Irland, und sind aus protestantischen Schriftstellern ... entnommen, und verdienen deshalb um so mehr Glauben. Ferner habe ich Lingard und Moriarty berücksichtigt, und aus dem letzteren namentlich zwei Prozesse entnommen, welche der irische Liberator mit so glänzendem Erfolge führte - also covers these seven centuries of British rule in Ireland with an equally critical eye. The remainder, and by far the greater part, of the book deals with conditions in Ireland in the age of O'Connell, along with the Liberator's personal and professional history, with particular attention given to his campaigns for Emancipation and Repeal. Produced, like Moriarty's book, prior to O'Connell's trial, no mention of that event is therefore made.

Brühl on the other hand provides a detailed account of the trial in the second volume of his two volume work Irland und O'Connell which appeared the following year. By far the longest of the works under discussion volume one (circa 190 pages) focusses on the political history of Ireland from 1776 until the 1840's, while volume two (circa 350 pages) concentrates primarily on O'Connell’s trial, with both volumes providing information on O'Connell's personal background and political career.

Similarly Sly's 137 page work, while being, as its title suggests, mainly concerned with O'Connell's trial, also includes additional information which places the trial in context. Not only does Sly provide a compilation of Irish grievances against England, but also includes a brief biographical
sketch of O'Connell, along with an appendix (taken from the Kölnische Zeitung) explaining the intricacies of the British judicial system.

Lutz' work - the shortest at 88 pages - consists, as mentioned earlier, of a commentary on the funeral orations given by Lacordaire and Ventura for O'Connell. Although the title implies an appreciation of Pius IX, this is not in fact given. He is mentioned only in relation to his similarity with and admiration for O'Connell. The work itself is divided into three roughly equal parts - the commentary (29 pages), Lacordaire's funeral oration for O'Connell, reproduced in its entirety (38 pages) and the oration he gave following the death of a Napoleonic general, Drouot, who devoted the latter part of his life to acts of charity (21 pages).

Although a different type of work from the others, Lutz' Ventura und Lacordaire über O'Connell und Pius IX has a lot in common with them. In each case the writer adopts a highly subjective approach - often a characteristic of contemporary works on controversial subjects - and presents a eulogy of the Liberator, mentioning only those aspects of his outlook and career which they wish to emphasise.

Moreover in each of the four books where attempts are made at a biography, however brief, of the Irish leader, the reader is merely offered general character sketches of O'Connell, which focus on the religious, and more particularly, on the political aspects of his character. In addition, although major developments in his life are documented, such as his initiation and leadership of the mass movements for Emancipation and Repeal, there is little psychological probing for motives as to why he took a certain line or made a particular political move, though given the period in which they were written, this is not unusual.
This is not to say that the works are devoid of literary insight and skill. Brühl, Moriarty, Schipper and Sly adroitly introduce a justification for their pro-O'Connell sympathies, not only by documenting past abuses against the Irish on the part of the British authorities, but by focussing attention on what they see as current injustices, particularly the existence of a Protestant state church and its collection, in any form, of the tithe:

Endlich der Zehntenzins; das katholische Irland unterhält vier Erzbischöfe, fünf und zwanzig Bischöfe, vier Dekane, Generalvikare, über dreitausend Priester und Pfarrer und muß obendrein noch eine ganz fremde Hierarchie unterhalten helfen, deren Glaube es gar nichts angeht. Direkt zahlen zwar allerdings die Pächter keinen Zehnten mehr; dieser ist vielmehr zu Geld geschlagen und wird vom Gutsherrn eingetrieben; wie der Gutsherr aber die gehörige Quote auf den einzelnen Pachtpreis lege, läßt sich denken.

In addition they all demonstrate similar dexterity in the selective way in which they use their sources (often the same in origin), thereby lending support to their belief that O'Connell is the embodiment of the saviour of the Irish people. To this end they use the works of well-known writers, such as Kohl and Venedey (used extensively by Brühl) and Pückler-Muskau (quoted by Moriarty and Schipper, and also evident in Sly's O'Connell und sein Prozeß) along with reports from German as well as Irish and English newspapers, Brühl's accounts of O'Connell's stay in prison taken from the Kölnische Zeitung and from the English Catholic publication The Tablet being instances of this, as is his account of O'Connell's release, - taken from the report in the Dublin based Freemans Journal. Moreover effective use is also made of pronouncements from prominent personalities from both the literary and political worlds to emphasise the bad conditions in Ireland (as in Brühl's reference to Jonathan Swift) or to demonstrate O'Connell's power and influence, as in the case of Moriarty, who not only quotes writers such as Gutzkow and Pückler-Muskau, but also O'Connell's arch enemy, the Duke of Wellington:
Thus all O'Connell's biographers intentionally ensure that the character who emerges from their texts is seen in a special light. But which of O'Connell's attributes are in fact highlighted by them and what image of O'Connell do they convey?

Firstly, and significantly for the developing political Catholic movement in Germany, there is the representation of O'Connell as an active and devoted member of the Catholic Church, dedicated to the achievement of a Church free from state interference:

Er war es, der die Religion zur Grundlage seines ganzen politischen Strebens machte ... Er war es, der die Freiheit der Kirche erlangte, um politische Freiheit zu erreichen, und der die Freiheit in politischer Beziehung als ein Recht aufstellte, das die Kirche der Menschheit schuldig sei.

However interestingly they also mention the fact that in spite of his close involvement with the Church, O'Connell was a firm believer in religious tolerance and had no intention of creating a 'Catholic Ireland', an important factor for German Catholics, who in looking for religious equality with their Protestant countrymen by following O'Connell's line, wished to avoid arousing accusations of anti-Catholicism and anti-Protestant sentiments:


As a result O'Connell is not seen merely as a symbol for European Catholics, but as an integral part of the political development of nineteenth century
Europe as a whole, where people of all creeds and classes were becoming increasingly aware of their civil rights and where a popular leader such as O'Connell would be regarded as a talented defender of human rights, not as an anarchic revolutionary:

So steht O'Connell als einer der unbescholtensten, redlichsten Charaktere, als einer der größten gerichtlichen Redner, als einer der trefflichsten und uneigennützigsten Volksführer und einer der ausgezeichnetsten parlamentarischen Redner sowohl der alten als der neuen Zeit dar. Er bildet daher mit Recht den Stolz und die Zierde Irland's, ja ganz Europa's. Sein Ruhm wird mit der Zeit wachsen, und es wird die Stunde kommen, wo er aus der Ferne angesehen von fabelhafter Größe erscheint; das irische Volk und die Fremden selbst werden sich zu seiner Geburtsstätte, seinem Grabe drängen, und diese Stellen mit einer Ehrfurcht betreten, welche der gleicht, mit welcher die Orter der Kolosse des Alterthums besucht werden.

Along with defining O'Connell's position in the legitimate political life of the day, the more striking aspects of his campaigns are dealt with, in particular his achievement of converting the Irish masses to the notion of moral, as opposed to physical, force. His insistence on keeping within the law and avoiding violence at all costs was not seen only as a novel and successful tactic for Irish political movements, but also for those elsewhere. His implementation of this tactic during both the campaign for Catholic Emancipation and that for repeal of the Union therefore receives considerable attention.

Interestingly their attitudes to these two campaigns differ somewhat from those of the German travellers. While they all see the justification for Emancipation, O'Connell's biographers (and we can include Sly in this category) also defend his demand for Repeal, unlike the travellers, who with the exception of Venedey, were opposed to it. Significant however his biographers stress his desire for a return to the conditions of 1782, when Ireland had her own parliament, but at the same time recognised the King of England as potentate of Ireland. As we have seen in earlier
chapters, this concept of loyalty to the sovereign also proved exemplary for German Catholics in their demands for civil and religious liberties, as a way to avoid alienating Protestant, or indeed Catholic, monarchs:

Die Zeit ist gekommen, wo wir uns vereinen und unsere Kräfte schätzen lernen müssen. Haben wir nicht eine gemeinsame Idee, ein gemeinsames Interesse im Frieden, im Glück und der Freiheit des Volkes; ... Nur durch Teilnahme und Liebe und durch die goldene Fessel der Krone wollen wir mit ihm verbunden bleiben, dann werden wir im Frieden seine besten Freunde und seine feste Stütze in den Gefahren des Krieges sein.

Yet while detailing his respect for the institution of the British monarchy, all his biographers point out his identity with the downtrodden mass of the Irish peasantry, and his total dedication to achieving reforms for them - a trait in the opinion of Moriarty and Schipper which legitimises his acceptance of the 'O'Connell Tribute', it being seen as a reasonable wage for services rendered. Along with his commitment to the people, his leadership qualities also come in for considerable praise, in particular his organisational skills, clever manipulation of the media and oratorial prowess.

These attributes of the Irish leader were later adopted by the leaders of the Piusverein and became key tactics of the organisation. The fact that they were highlighted in the works of Brühl, Moriarty, Schipper and Sly a number of years before the Piusverein came into being, demonstrates not only those aspects of O'Connell's personal beliefs and political strategies which were of general interest in Germany in the 1840's, but suggests their special attraction for German Catholics. It is not at all surprising therefore to find that the image of O'Connell in these four works is also that which appears in the work by Lutz, which in turn is merely a reiteration of the opinion of him held by two of the most respected Catholic orators of the nineteenth century, Lacordaire and Ventura:
... beide (Lacordaire und Ventura) aber miteinander stellen in O'Connell das Bild eines vollendeten Redners, Staatsmanns und Christen und eines jener seltenen Geister dar, die von Gott die Mission haben, die Pläne der göttlichen Vorsehung der Gegenwart zu enthüllen, und der Zukunft ihren sichern Weg vorzuschreiben. Diese neue Bahn, die O'Connell betrat, ist die kirchliche und politische Freiheit und die innige Verbindung beider mit einander. Er weiß die Rechte der Kirche nicht von den Rechten der Menschheit zu trennen.  

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Notes to Chapter 4, iv


2. Another interesting work is that entitled O'Connell's Proceß, written by the prolific writer and Catholic convert (having first converted from the Jewish to the Protestant faith), Carl Gustav Nicolaus Rintel, who became a great defender of conservative Catholicism. His work, which was published in Münster in 1845, provides a detailed and rather dry account (116 pages in length) of O'Connell's trial and the subsequent appeal to the House of Lords - and as such cannot be included as a biography of the Irish leader.

The image of O'Connell that emerges from Rintel's work is that of a peace-loving Irish Catholic, dedicated not only to the establishment of a native parliament in Dublin, but also to the improvement of the conditions of the poor. In the introduction, the author defends O'Connell from the accusation of revolutionary and seditious behaviour:

O'Connell aber ist kein Revolutionär; der Zweck, welchen er mit unerschütterlichem Eifer verfolgt, ist nicht der Umsturz der Verfassung des Britischen Reiches; zu den Mitteln, welche er zur Erreichung seiner Absicht anwendet, gehört weder bewußter Meineid, noch Landesverrath, noch eine Blutnacht ..., er hat bewirkt, was die Regierung nicht vermochte, die Herstellung der Ruhe und des Friedens in Irland. - Rintel, O'Connell's Proceß, p. III.

Moreover Rintel continues to make O'Connell more appealing to conservative German Catholics by firstly stressing his use of peaceful methods of political agitation, and secondly by making the false claim that O'Connell represented the opposite end of the political spectrum to liberalism and radicalism - a device also used by the German Catholic press to make O'Connell's methods acceptable to the German Catholic public:

So ist O'Connell in Allem und Jedem nicht nur nicht das Spiegel-, sondern sogar das Gegenbild des Europäischen Liberalismus und Radicalismus, und deshalb habe ich nicht nur gegen meine conservative und katholische Gesinnung gehandelt, als ich den O'Connell'schen Proceß beschrieb, sondern gerade diese meine Gesinnung hat mich zu diesem Unternehmen geleitet. - ibid., p. IV.

Another work on the trial, entitled England wider O'Connell, oder der Weltprozess was published in Dortmund in 1844, the writer of which signed himself simply as 'G'.

As regards the religion of the writers discussed in this section, Brühl was a Catholic convert, Lutz was a Catholic priest, Moriarty was buried at the Catholic cemetery at Kensal Green, London in 1874, Schipper's work on O'Connell was published by the Catholic publishing house of Nasse, which also published the militant Zeitgemäße Broschüren für das katholische Deutschland between the years 1867-74. The publisher of Sly's work, Funke in Krefeld, was most likely also Catholic.

4. Sly, pp. 6f.


6. Lutz, p. XI.


8. Schipper, pp. 123f.

9. See 4,iii. Pückler-Muskau expressed no opinion on Repeal as his tour in Ireland took place in the 1820's.


11. Moriarty, p. 88 and Schipper, pp. 116f.

12. Lutz, p. XIV.
Conclusion

Between the years 1830 and 1850 Daniel O'Connell provided Catholics in the states of the German Confederation with a source of inspiration and hope for the achievement of more equitable civil and political rights for Catholics, and with a practical role model on which to base an organised nationwide Catholic movement.

A successful Catholic leader of international stature, he was immensely popular among German Catholics in general - as the amount of press coverage given him in Catholic journals testifies - and was a particular favourite of middle class Catholics in the Prussian controlled territory of the Rhineland. In addition, his influence on eminent Catholic intellectuals and politicians, notably on Ignaz von Döllinger, Joseph Görres, Adam Franz Lennig, Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, August Reichensperger and especially Franz Josef Ritter von Buß, was of great significance. These men were actively involved in the development of a confident, homogeneous German Catholic movement, which reached a peak with the establishment of the Piusverein für religiöse Freiheit in March 1848, which was based on the example of O'Connell's organisations in Ireland. The organisational strategies and propagandist tactics introduced so successfully by O'Connell in his campaign for Catholic Emancipation in the 1820's - which resulted in the spectacular achievement of Emancipation in 1829 - and in his campaign for the repeal of the Act of Union in the early 1840's, were adopted by his German co-religionists and implemented into the framework of the Katholischer Verein Deutschlands, as the Piusverein was renamed in October 1848. Particular attention was paid to his adherence to legal methods and to his displays of loyalty to the King (and later to the Queen). Furthermore O'Connell's involvement of both
the clergy and the laity in his campaigns, and his emphasis on the use of the oral and written media to mobilise and politicise the people, were adopted by the German organisation, in this way making the *Katholischer Verein* the first formal indication that there existed a powerful, determined, united Catholic front in Germany.

Yet while this practical influence is of major importance, O'Connell's value as a symbol of Catholic victory over Protestant oppression cannot be overestimated. Five years after the establishment of the *Piusverein*, Peter Reichensperger, addressing the second chamber of the Prussian Parliament, made reference to this very point:


Following O'Connell's death in May 1847 and the successful establishment of the German Catholic association the following year, the importance of the Irishman for German Catholics in general seems to have diminished. He had served his purpose by offering them the confidence to agitate against anti-Catholic state authorities and by providing them with the blueprint for practical action. His value for German Catholics in those times of difficulty, prior to 1848, is reflected in their return to O'Connell's policies during the 'Kulturkampf' period in the 1870's. 1872 saw the foundation of the short-lived *Mainzer Verein Deutscher Katholiken* based on the *Irish Catholic Association* of the 1820's, and in 1875 Buß, in his last public speech, given at the general assembly of the *Katholischer Verein* in Freiburg, appealed to German Catholics not to forget O'Connell's example. Moreover the replies from Germany to the
O'Connell Centenary Committee in that year reflect this viewpoint, that of August Reichensperger being a case in point:

If in any way I deserve this honour (an invitation to the celebrations in Dublin) it is for the admiration I felt since my youth for the Liberator of a nation destined to be a model and a solace to all Catholics suffering persecution.

Thus the impact of O'Connell on the German Catholic movement in the earlier part of the century was so great that German Catholics turned to him once more at an even more threatening time in their history. The sentiments expressed in the following excerpt taken from a review of Reinhold Baumstark's sympathetic biography of O'Connell (Freiburg 1873) from the Historisch-politische Blätter of 1874 demonstrates the image of O'Connell as a symbol of hope for all oppressed Catholics, which had survived in Germany:

In jetziger Zeit ist ein so unerschütterlicher Charakter, ein so edes Vorbild eines echten Streiters für religiöse und politische Freiheit, wie es uns Baumstark in seinem 'Daniel O'Connell' vorführt, wirklich erhebend und ermutigend. Wir möchten darum alle Diejenigen, deren Herz warm für die katholische Kirche schlägt, zum Lesen dieser in jeder Hinsicht trefflichen Biographie bewegen ...

* * * * * * *
Notes to the Conclusion

1. Quoted in Schmidt, F., Peter Reichensperger, p. 38.
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