

Aquinas Memorial Lecture 1994

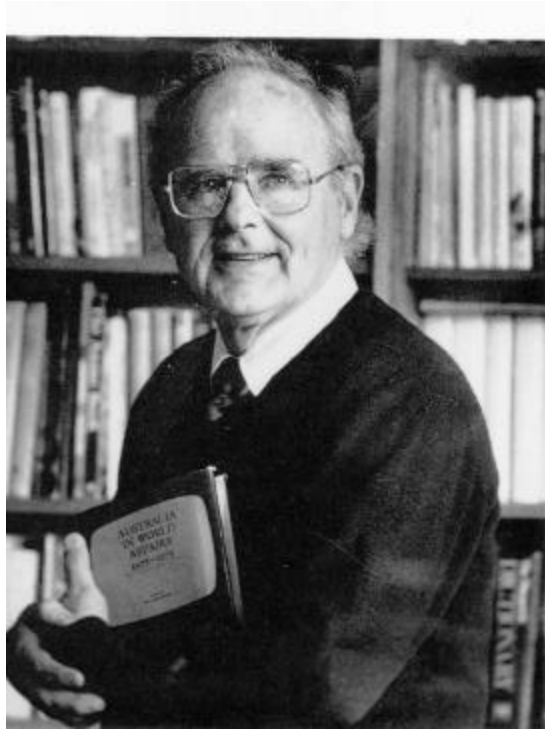
Delivered at Lyrebird Restaurant
Performing Arts Centre, Southbank, Brisbane
16th September 1994

THE TEACHER OF IRISH NATIONALITY

THOMAS DAVIS 1814 - 1845

JOHN MOLONEY

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The Teacher of Irish Nationality

Thomas Davis 1814 – 1845

You have honoured me by inviting me to give this Aquinas lecture and I thank you for the honour. It is fortuitous that the 149th anniversary of Thomas Davis's death, falls today. He died in Dublin on 16 September 1845. I propose to give an after - dinner talk rather than an academic lecture because this happy occasion does not call for a dreary discourse. Much of what I want to tell you comes from my forthcoming book on Davis, which will be published in Dublin next year.¹

This lecture is closely interwoven with the intellectual life of the Australian Catholic University and, the longer I have been a member of the University, the more deeply I respect the staff for their extraordinary devotion to their teaching and for the generous and self - sacrificing way in which so many of them have embarked on the other great aim of a university - the quest to know the nature of things by research. Thomas Davis was a university man but, as a free spirit, he was the foremost critic of his own Alma Mater, Trinity College Dublin. He excoriated Trinity for the poverty and narrowness of its teaching, both as to content and method, and for its all pervasive bigotry. Let me quote him, Trinity was 'the laughing stock of the literary world, and an obstacle to the nation's march; its inaccessible library [the students could not use it] was 'the mausoleum of literature', while 'its effete system of education, render[ed] it ridiculous abroad; add [to all that] its unaccounted funds, and its bigot laws, and know why it is hated.' ² I remind you that Catholics were not permitted to attend Trinity until the 1790s and that, even after Catholic Emancipation in 1829, they could not hold bursaries or fellowships there. Nonetheless, Davis always looked back on his days at Trinity as among the happiest and most precious of his life because there, as a Protestant, he mixed with several of the few Catholics in attendance and learnt to love them and, there also, he made the friendships that he was sure would endure beyond the grave.

Before explaining the title of my talk, which claims that Davis was 'The teacher of Irish nationality', let me tell you how I came to Thomas Davis. In 1990 I went to Ireland to take the

chair of Australian history at University College Dublin. It was a wonderful opportunity for me to do some deep and wide reading in Irish history, which I knew only in small fragments. I started reading about Charles Gavan Duffy in his Irish period before he came to Australia in 1855, and where he later became premier of Victoria and an unheralded pioneer of Australian federation. Through Duffy, I came across Thomas Davis because they shared the same ideals and vision for a future Ireland and worked together to that end.

I quickly realised, and Duffy acknowledged, that Davis was the teacher of the young men who gathered about him and that the essence of his teaching was nationality. Duffy said, 'Davis was our true leader ... his comrades had the same careless confidence in him men have in the operations of nature, where irregularity and aberration do not exist.'³ Before long I decided that a study of Davis would be a fertile field because for years I had thought about the idea embodied in the word nationality and I realised that I could learn much from Davis. I need to explore that idea with you for a moment before coming to Davis because, without an understanding of it, we cannot understand Davis.

Briefly, nationality answers a question and tells us a great deal about who we are. Most of us here would reply to the question 'What is your nationality?' by saying simply, 'I am an Australian.' Thus, nationality tells us where we belong and to whom we belong. Nationalism, on the other hand, answers no question and can only express a purely personal opinion based on feelings. It generally finishes up extolling the alleged virtues of one's own people, which are often held to be better than those of others. Thus nationalism can easily become the breeding ground for racism, conquest and war. Nationality, on the other hand, flees from making such contrasts. Through and with the development of nationality, of belonging and knowing that we belong, a distinctive culture grows and expresses itself in religion, language, songs, ballads, history, literature, art, theatre, architecture, a legal system, a mode of government and, sometimes in dress, food and sport, all to some degree distinctive to the place wherein resides the nation. However, such things are a flow - on from nationality, they are not of its essence. Its essence is belonging. I refrain from mentioning flags and anthems given the current climate and it is not my purpose to be divisive.

So it was to Thomas Osborne Davis that I went to find out about Irish nationality because so many said that his ideas were central to it. To understand him we need to know something about him and the times in which he lived. The last of four children, he was born at Mallow in County Cork on 14 October 1814 the son of an English - born, army doctor, James Thomas Davis and of an Irish woman, Mary Atkins. Both parents were staunch Protestants, although his mother had a mixture of native, Catholic, Irish blood. Her family, through the O'Sullivan's of the Beara peninsula, was related to the family of Daniel O'Connell, although neither Davis nor O'Connell in later life ever showed any recognition of that relationship, if indeed they were aware of it. ⁴

In 1814, in the month of Thomas's birth, his father, as deputy- inspector of military hospitals on the Peninsula, died in England on his way to Spain in the last days of the Napoleonic wars. Thomas, aged two weeks at the time, never knew him. The closest to a father he had in life was Daniel O'Connell. The difference between them was that while O'Connell, who was part of the Catholic Gaelic Irish, always knew where he belonged, Davis spent his brief life in search of his belonging. ⁵

When Davis was four his mother took the family to Dublin where Thomas was enrolled in a private establishment. He entered Trinity College, aged 14, and graduated with a modest degree in Arts. He then did Law, if such can be called doing given that the only qualification to do so was to have the ability to write one's own name. The only obstacle he had to overcome to become a barrister was to keep terms at an Inns of Court in London which he duly did. For the rest of his life he never practised law. He was not an academic scholar of any renown and showed no inclination to the academy. He followed his own path and read whatever attracted him. His friends later said that, at Trinity, he was known as a book in breeches who endlessly devoured history, especially Irish history, languages, philosophy and tracts on religion. At Trinity he made several close Catholic friends, including Denny Lane, John O'Hagan, John Blake Dillon and others who were Catholics, although Trinity was 90% Protestant. ⁶ With Yeats, Davis could have said,

Think where man's glory most begins and ends,
And say my glory was I had such friends.

More to the point he later said that the idea of Irish nationality, owing nothing to religious sects or political parties, was formed in the historical societies of Dublin and that its seeds grew in the fertile soil of Trinity College among his Protestant friends together with a few Roman Catholics. Davis's statement surely proves that any university, no matter how humble its origins and stumbling its first steps, can become a treasure hold. Trinity, at the time, was the only university in Ireland.

Davis lived the whole of his life in Ireland with the exception of his brief visit to London to keep terms and a walking tour of Wales at the same time. His Ireland was that of the Union which had been, by knavery and bribery, imposed on Ireland in 1800 after the abortive rising of 1798. The major step taken to give some measure of freedom to Irish Catholics after the Union was Emancipation in 1829 that finally put at rest the Penal Laws under which Catholics had been disadvantaged for two centuries, despite the fact that they were seven eighths of the population, but held less than a fifth of the land. No Catholic could stand for Parliament and very few of them had the franchise. They could not hold office under the Crown and they were disadvantaged in a host of other ways.⁷

Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator, was the principal agent for Catholic Emancipation and by the early 1840s he had decided that the time was ripe for the next major step in the rejuvenation of Ireland. It was to repeal the Union between Ireland and England and thus to restore a Parliament to Dublin. Apart from the desire for independence, the parlous state of the Irish economy since the Union, and for which the Union was blamed except in Ulster where it was seen as economically beneficial by many, and by a minority in the south whose loyalties and sentiments were British, made so - called Repeal of the Union the major political and economic objective of the early 1840s. The problem was that very few Irish Protestants wanted Repeal, even though O'Connell was careful to stress that he did not want Ireland to leave the Empire and that he was firmly loyal to the throne, then held by his 'darling little

Queen' as he called Victoria. Above all, O'Connell was committed to non - violence so that constitutional means had to be the way to persuade Westminster to give back their own Parliament to the Irish. He proclaimed again and again that independence for Ireland was not worth the shedding of a single drop of human blood, but it must be remembered that, as a young man, he had killed an opponent in a duel which he never ceased to grieve over and the agrarian violence, rife in Ireland at the time, appalled him.⁸

Davis looked to O'Connell as the Liberator and Leader and he remained loyal to him, indeed he loved him throughout his whole life, but he shared little with him except the determination to achieve Repeal. Davis despised the Empire as an instrument of subjection of native peoples around the globe and he loathed the English for the way in which, over long centuries, they had suppressed and milked the Irish. Early in his career he wrote, 'Six hundred years are enough - too much. Six hundred dreary years of degradation and suffering. They are at an end - our pilgrimage is done. We shall no longer be the whipped slave of England. She may be our friend: she **shall** not be our mistress.'⁹ He agreed totally with Dr Johnson who, before the Union, said to an Irishman, 'Sir, do not rush a union with us. We would unite with you only to rob you. We should have robbed the Scotch, sir, if they had anything of which we could have robbed them.' Therefore, unlike O'Connell, loyalty to a foreign crown meant nothing to Davis except that it was a further sign of Irish subjection, although he was careful in his writings to respect the person of the young Queen as distinct from the royal office which entailed her sovereignty of Ireland.

Davis accepted non - violence because he realised that O'Connell's mass movement, called the Repeal Association, was the only vehicle Ireland possessed through which to strive for independence. Were England to continue to treat Ireland unjustly and to deny her independence then one day, a day that Davis wanted the Irish to prepare for so as to ensure victory, they would have to resist by force of arms. Davis wrote, 'Freedom is the gift of God to man, and independence is the right of nations; we shall be free and our country independent, spite of fraud, spite of force' and he said of war, 'be its horrors what they may, they are better than the impoverishment the degradation, the madness of slavery.' Looking back to the failed

rising of 1798 and the slaughtered peasantry who were 'the ill-guided martyrs of a noble cause', he warned England that, were force resorted to again, she would be overthrown because she would be opposed by 'the **now** untrained millions.'¹⁰

His love for the history and of the antiquities of Ireland, including those of the Catholic Church and its ancient remains in ruined churches and abbeys which he pleaded should be preserved, was intense. Unlike O'Connell, who did not regret that the old language, of which he was a native speaker, was rapidly vanishing, Davis passionately strove to keep its remnants alive, attempted to master it himself and tried to persuade all his friends to learn it. He wrote, 'A people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories- 'tis a surer barrier and more important frontier than fortress or river ... To lose your native tongue, and learn that of an alien, is the worst badge of conquest - it is the chain on the soul. To have lost entirely the national language is death; the fetter has worn through.'¹¹

Before all else, he wanted Ireland to be a unity in which old Catholic, Gaelic Ireland would combine with Protestant Ireland into the one civic whole so as to bring peace between the differing traditions. Tone especially had wanted that unity, but Davis went beyond him. He fully recognised the right based on generations of residence, of the Protestant people of the north to live there in peace and happiness, and his words to them on reconciliation still echo over the decades since his death.

Surely our Protestant brethren cannot shut their eyes to the honour it would confer on them and us if we gave up old brawls and bitterness, and came together in love like Christians, in feeling like countrymen, in policy like men having common interests. Can they - ah! tell us, dear countrymen! - can you harden your hearts at the thought of looking on Irishmen joined in commerce, agriculture, art justice, government wealth, and glory?¹²

He knew that the economic effects of the Plantations could never be undone, but it was different with the successive conquests which had so reduced the human dignity of the old

Irish that even their gait betrayed them. All that had to be eradicated, dignity restored and the new thing, the nation that grew, had to be deeply rooted in the Gaelic ethos and spirit which were at the heart of Ireland. Finally, he was determined that the Protestant Ascendancy which for centuries had governed Ireland, politically and economically, based on wealth, power and religion must not be replaced by a Catholic Ascendancy based on numbers in a so-called democratic Ireland of the future. He was unaware that the same future Ireland would be partitioned, thereby ensuring the inevitability of that last outcome in the South, together with the reduction of Protestantism there to a shadow.

The name of Davis will always be linked with the 'most notable journalistic venture in Irish history', a paper called the **Nation**. It was also decisive in its effects on Irish history for almost a century. In the spring of 1842 Davis and John Blake Dillon, his friend from Trinity days and also a barrister, walked from the Four Courts with Charles Gavan Duffy to the Phoenix Park in Dublin. They were aware that no paper in Ireland had ever developed anything like their idea of nationality. Indeed, such an idea did not exist. They also knew that all the papers were tools of various factions, Whig, Tory or Orange, of organisations such as O'Connell's Repeal Association, of religious bodies, or of Dublin Castle as the centre of foreign, English power in the island. In an attempt to appeal to all the Irish they decided to launch an independent weekly paper to which Davis gave the name, the **Nation**. Its motto was that it be, 'racy of the soil' and Davis wrote the prospectus in which he laid down the guidelines of nationality.

Nationality is [our] first great object - a Nationality which will not only raise our people from their poverty, by securing to them the blessings of a Domestic Legislature, but inflame them and purify them with a lofty and heroic love of country - a Nationality of the spirit as well as of the letter - a Nationality which may come to be stamped upon our manners, and literature, and our deeds - a Nationality which may embrace Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter - Milesian and Cromwellian, - the Irishman of a hundred generations and the stranger who is within our gates; not a Nationality which would prelude civil war, but which would establish

internal union and external independence; a Nationality which would be recognized by the world, and sanctified by wisdom, virtue and prudence.¹³

The first number of the **Nation** came out on 15 October 1842. Within weeks it had reached a circulation of over 10,000, larger therefore than any other paper in Ireland. It was passed from hand to hand and read aloud to groups so that hundreds of thousands came into contact with it weekly. Davis wrote most of the editorials in its first three years, as well as constant articles, books reviews and a veritable stream of poems and ballads so that in some weeks he contributed up to 15,000 words. The influence of the **Nation** on a whole generation, and on later generations, was enormous. The influence in Ireland and on the Irish beyond the seas of the collections of articles, poems and ballads produced in book form and called **The Spirit of the Nation** and **The Voice of the Nation** was electric. I read every issue of the **Nation** from October 1842 until October 1845 and never tired of doing so even though it contained no sport, having ceased to publish a racing column after the first few months!

Politically, Davis played an important role behind the scenes in O'Connell's Repeal Association. He never took a leading public position, nor did he ever contemplate standing for Parliament because he remained convinced that the uplifting of the Irish, especially by education, was his foremost task. 'Educate that you may be free' was his constant refrain. Week by week, in his editorials, articles, poems and ballads he exhorted, warned, cajoled his readers, spoke to them of the need for economic and political reform, for just international relations as well as a just legal system. He insisted time and again that the essential basis of a successful striving for independence lay in their unity, free of all the bitter divisions of the past based on sect and race. Above all, he taught them his lesson of nationality in which he spelt out how they all belonged to the one Ireland and he never once departed from the fundamental premise that to be a nation, Ireland had to be free. It was all he could offer and it was much because he stressed that freedom had to be responsible and that only by education, self - awareness, a constant search for truth, respect for others and an incessant striving for virtue would freedom realise its fullness.

You would be right were you to have concluded that Thomas Davis was a very serious young man, but wrong if you thought he was a mere romantic, much less a fanatic. It is, however, pleasing, if also tragic, to relate that there is a love story to Davis. He met Annie Hutton at Christmas 1842 when he was 28 and she was 18. Annie was the daughter of a very wealthy Presbyterian of liberal but imperial views, to whom the place of Ireland in the Empire meant much. Her mother loathed Daniel O'Connell and all he stood for and the association of Davis with O'Connell caused her alarm. The young people fell in love and often met until the end of 1843 when Mrs Hutton decided the matter had gone too far and Annie was forbidden to have any further contact with Davis. His only avenue was the **Nation** in which he wrote several poems and ballads clearly directed at her in the hope that somehow she would manage to see them. Nearly two years passed and finally, on 13 August 1845 Davis was allowed to come to the Hutton home, Elm Park, at Drumeondra. They were engaged and their happiness is apparent in the surviving letters Annie wrote to him. In one she wrote, 'Oh! how dearly, passionately I love you. Somehow I am afraid to say it when you are by, but I will the next time you come. Ever your Annie.' Davis could not come by because he fell ill with a second bout of scarlet fever. He died in his thirtieth year at his mother's home in Lower Baggot Street Dublin, on 16 September 1845. Annie died unmarried of consumption, some would say of a broken heart in 1853 aged 28.¹⁴

Davis's funeral was among the biggest ever seen in Dublin. Lady Wilde, mother of Oscar, had been converted to the idea of Irish nationality shortly after Davis's death by his writings, especially his ballads and poetry, and she then became a writer for the **Nation** under the penname 'Speranza'. Years later, she sat in a darkened room in Dublin to soften the inroads of time and told W.B. Yeats a story of the day of Davis's funeral. She was in a shop and saw the huge procession pass by. She came out and asked a man who it was they were taking out for burial. He said, 'Thomas Davis'. She asked, 'Who was he?' The answer was very simple. 'He was the poet.'¹⁵ The man was correct because, for a short time, Davis was the poet, or rather the balladist of the Irish people. Some of you may be familiar with his 'A Nation Once Again'; 'My Land'; 'The West's Asleep' [That is the correct title. Davis only used 'The West's awake' in the last verse] perhaps even with 'The Geraldines', 'Fontenoy' and his

last great ballad, 'The sack of Baltimore'. But there are hundreds of others because his output was prodigious. Some of them are tender love songs, others are warlike such as the splendid 'Lament for the Death of Owen Roe O'Neill', while all try to uplift the Irish people, make them proud of their past and resolute in trying to build the nation of the future¹⁶

Samuel Ferguson, one of Ireland's finest scholars, who was deeply versed in the language, history and remains of the ancient Irish past, was a Protestant who never ceased to hold loyalty to the union between England and Ireland. Nonetheless, he respected Davis and had loved him since they began to know each other in the late 1830s. He said that Davis was 'a poet, a judge and lover of art and elegant literature' who became 'the friend and favourite of the **elite** of the intellectual world of Dublin.' The 'young mind of the country' had listened to him because he 'had sounded the intellectual reveille of a whole people, and, if they had slept long, they awoke refreshed.' He also admired Davis because 'he had all along abjured his party's pretended abhorrence of a recourse to arms', and had taken up Repeal for its own sake as a thing desirable in itself, rather than as a means to force concessions from the British government. Ferguson was convinced that Davis had done a great deal to get rid of the stage, Irish - buffoon character and had proved that 'accuracy of language, and consistency of ideas were no longer irreconcilable with an Irish style.' Moreover, Davis had stimulated a love of art because he had a gift for 'the perception of beauty and could excite it in the minds of others'. His greatest and essential service, however, was 'the diffusion of amicable feelings among those who differed in politics and religion.'¹⁷

Ferguson was bedridden when he heard of Davis's death. It may have been as well for he spent his time writing the finest of all the elegies that poured from pen after pen in the following days and weeks. The first and last verses ran,

I walked through Ballinderry in the springtime,
When the bud was on the tree;
And I said, in every fresh - ploughed field beholding
The sowers striding free,

Scattering broadcast forth the corn in golden plenty,
On the quick seed - clasping soil,
Even such, this day, among the fresh - stirred hearts of Erin,
Thomas Davis, is thy toil.

Oh, brave Young Men, my love, my pride, my promise,
'Tis on you my hopes are set,
In manliness, in kindness, injustice
To make Ireland a nation yet.
Self - respecting, self - relying, self - advancing
In union, or in severance, free and strong;
And if God grant this, then, under God, to Thomas Davis
Let the greater praise belong!¹⁸

I must try to sum up for you the kernel of Davis's thoughts and I will not hide from you that for the most part I have shared them with him, even before I had ever heard of him. I am convinced that there are aspects of the thought of Davis that remain important today. Arthur Griffith said in 1914, 'When the Irish read and reflect with Davis, their day of redemption will be at hand.' and perhaps some reflection on his thoughts may also prove beneficial in Australia.

Although he never wavered in his unshakeable conviction that Ireland had to win her independence, with time Davis saw with burdensome clarity how long and hard the road to that goal was as it stretched into an indefinite future. Yet there was also rich advantage in the postponement of freedom, provided the time was used for the formation of the minds and wills of the Irish people. In that way they would be able to use their freedom, once achieved, with benefit and dignity. Thus, he never ceased trying to find and develop means of formative value that would uplift and educate the people. The organisation of the masses was to Davis a thing of small value in that it was passing. He feared activity based merely on exhortation and emotional stirring, because little remained behind in the form of conviction

among the masses once the objective had been achieved or tactics had dictated that it be changed. The action of a mass political party swaying the people by holding out promises to them that may or may not be realised filled Davis with foreboding because he wanted an educated, not a duped citizenry. In this he was no enemy of democracy, because he never saw society shaped by elites who would try to construct it according to their own blueprint. On the contrary, he was essentially a democrat in that he respected the value of the human person whom he demanded to be recognised as the fundamental ground of every society. Thus, his whole striving was for the formation of the human person through education, respect and trust.

Were Ireland ever to be independent and able to take her rightful place among the nations, the essence of her democracy had to flow from the integrity of the individuals who made up the whole. For Davis, that was a work to be undertaken over painstaking years and one which would never see its full realisation because it began again and again. In short, democracy was an ideal to be striven for constantly and could never be achieved in a perfect form in any given era. Democracy was born, day by day, not in parties or in masses, but in individuals. In that concept lay the genesis of Davis's Ireland of the future. Its great truth, and even greater simplicity, was that it could begin the moment an individual acted upon it. It does not apply to Ireland alone.

It is not the role of the historian to speculate about the future, even of a future that is now in the past but based on his convictions and his actions, it is legitimate to ask the question where Davis would have stood in the struggles that lay ahead. Based on his conviction that violent conflict could never be ruled out as an ultimate choice in the struggle for independence, there can be little doubt but that Davis would have chosen that road if its inevitability had become clear in his lifetime. Nonetheless, his military bent, his knowledge of tactics and his conviction that armed struggle was useless unless thoroughly and lengthily prepared for, would have made him refuse to countenance the futile gesture of insurrection by Smith O'Brien, Meagher and the others in 1848 which caused them to be transported to Australia as convicts. Where he would have stood at Easter 1916 is another matter. A further

century had been added to the six and Ireland still lacked her freedom. Perhaps, he too, would have said, 'Enough', even though he would not have needed to be 'Changed Utterly.' Perhaps the blood of Davis would also have seeped out from under a closed door at Kilmainham Jail in those weeks after Easter 1916.

In the aftermath of 1916, where would he have stood on Partition? In his day, a divided Ireland was so unthinkable that it was never breathed as a possibility, scarcely thought as a hidden thought. To Davis, Ireland was a unity that he could not have suffered to see severed. Such an Ireland, shattered in its unity and mangled in its integrity with the loss to it of the people of the north and the great richness they could bring to the totality, would have broken Davis also. The priceless richness of an Ireland in which a Protestant minority, acting throughout its totality, rather than confined to a few northern counties, as a peaceful protest against religious and cultural homogeneity would have demanded of Davis life itself to preserve or restore its unity. Today, he would want a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the problem in Ireland. He would not want one that leaves his country permanently divided.

Through the years many have written, sung and spoken of Davis's legacy. The ancient bardic saying, 'A soul came into Ireland' was fulfilled in Thomas Davis because he became part of the conscience of the Celt. The spirit he breathed was one of love and respect, of the need for the uplifting and creative development of individuals. It lives wherever democracy truly breathes, in Ireland and elsewhere, because his legacy was not that of creed, party or organisation and other instruments which are no more than channels of good. His legacy was that of the infinite capacity of the individual person for good, for justice, truth and beauty. From that source all that is precious, and can ever be precious in the long march of humanity, alone flows.¹⁹

1. John N. Molony, **A soul came into Ireland: Thomas Davis 1814-1845** (Geography Publications, Dublin, 1995).

2. Thomas Davis, **An address read before the Historical Society, Dublin, on the 26th of June, 1840** (Dublin, 1840), pp 8-23.

3. Charles Gavan Duffy, **Young Ireland: a fragment of Irish history 1840-45** (Dublin 1844) p. 275, 'I can confidently say that I have not known a man so nobly gifted as Thomas Davis.'
4. For Davis's background, family and birth see Molony, **A soul**, pp 2-4, 18-20.
5. For O'Connell see the excellent biography by Oliver MacDonagh **The life of Daniel O'Connell 1775-1847** (London 1991), pp 1-14.
6. For the wide circle of Davis's friends at Trinity, both Catholic and Protestant, see Molony **A soul**, p. 13.
7. John Hubert Plunkett, whose memory is honoured in the Australian Catholic University by the John Plunkett Centre, worked with O'Connell for Emancipation and was then able to be appointed as solicitor-general in Australia because of Emancipation. See John N. Molony, **An architect of freedom: John Hubert Plunkett in New South Wales 1832-1869** (Canberra, 1973), pp 5-6.
8. **Pilot**, (Dublin), 21 April, 1841. O'Connell said, 'This freedom shall be won by moral combination; one drop of human blood shall never be shed in our struggle to obtain it...'
9. **Morning Register**, (Dublin), 2 March 1841.
10. **Ibid.**, 19 May 1841.
11. Davis in Arthur Griffith (ed.), **Thomas Davis: the thinker and teacher** (Dublin 1914) pp. 54-5.
12. Davis in Molony, **A soul** p. 344.
13. For the foundation of the Nation see **ibid.** ch. 5.
14. For the Hutton-Davis romance see **ibid.**, chs. 12 and 14.
15. See W.B. Yeats, **Tribute to Thomas Davis**, with a foreword by Denis Gwynn (Cork, 1947), p. 17.
16. See Thomas Wallis, **The poems of Thomas Davis: now first collected with notes and historical illustrations** (Dublin 1853).
17. Ferguson in Molony, **A soul**, p. 337.
18. **Ibid.**, pp 338-9.
19. **Ibid.**, pp 343-5.