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Prince Hohenlohe's Miracles: Supernaturalism and the Irish Public Sphere

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DURING THE COURSE OF 1823 AND 1824, A SERIES OF MIRACULOUS healings of the sick were reported in several different parts of Ireland and credited to the agency of an aristocratic German Catholic priest, Alexander Leopold Franz Emerich von Hohenlohe Waldenburg Schillingfurst (1794–1850), known as Prince Hohenlohe.[1] Despite cures being claimed for him in France, England, Ireland, and America, the Prince never left Germany. Instead he practiced a strategy of "distance healing."[2] He issued instructions by letter and arranged to celebrate mass simultaneously with local clerics, even making allowance for longitudinal difference in order to ensure precise simultaneity of prayer. Following his intercession, two young women were cured of their ailments on June 19 and August 1, 1823, in Laois and Dublin respectively. Such was the scale of the Prince's celebrity across Europe that he took to proclaiming what one writer calls "field days" for miracles, with particular dates dedicated to named countries.[3] On September 1, 1823, when he prayed for all of the sick of Ireland, "[t]he poor stayed away from work and crowds flocked to the country's chapels from 4 a.m. onwards on that autumn morning, filling them with 'infirmity in all its varied shape.'"[4]

The events generated a "mass of narratives" (as one contemporary observer punningly called it[5]) and sparked off a mini pamphlet war, with opposing sides staking out differing positions as to the possibility of miraculous powers manifesting themselves in the early nineteenth-century United Kingdom. An uneven experience of modernity within this relatively new political entity forms an undercurrent to the debates, with even liberal commentators wondering what role faith-ridden Ireland could expect to play in the modern world: "Can those men be fit for the exercise of rational freedom and political power who are so far sunk in stupidity and ignorance, that even the minds of the highest order amongst them—their primates and bishops— . . . have felt no shame—have felt unconscious of any burning blush upon their cheek,

when they step forward amid the blaze of philosophical and religious light, which now illuminates so great a portion of civilized Europe?"[6] Religious belief, respectable enough in the hands of elite churchmen, translates into "stupidity and ignorance" when associated with such visible manifestations of supernature as miracles. The problem is not with faith per se, but rather its remit and operation within the "now" of "civilized Europe," where freedom is "rational freedom." These terms serve to disguise the structural asymmetries of public life in Ireland, where seventy-five percent of the population were debarred from holding any of the higher forms of public office because of their Catholicism; a statistic that, as Toby Barnard points out, "was at once the foundation and the nemesis of the Irish Protestant Ascendancy."[7] The new national configurations possible within post-Enlightenment Europe are assumed to depend on shared rational values to which Ireland, by virtue of its problematic Catholic population, cannot subscribe.

Neither do the miracles belong to the world of culture, the privileged aesthetic space that takes its place beside political rationality in the formation of the Romantic nation. Instead, they testify to a distinctive way of life and system of belief that has not yet been branded as "authentic" or confined to the sphere of culture. To this extent, Prince Hohenlohe's miracles speak to many of the characteristic problems of Irish Romanticism and can help to open up an analysis of the relationship between politics and culture in the period. According to Clifford Siskin, a recasting of politics as culture forms a central plank in the discourse of Romanticism.[8] Walter Scott's stage management of George IV's 1822 visit to Edinburgh and the elaboration of new, synthetic forms of Scottishness, is central to Siskin's argument.[9] Romantic-era Ireland, however, is characterized by a more halting movement between forms of representation and what many contemporaries refer to as the "matter of fact."[10] Much Irish writing of the period remains self-consciously preoccupied with the question of how to reorient the relationship between real-life beliefs such as miracles (as well as royal visits, agrarian violence, or elections) and emergent cultural forms (whether pageantry, poetry, or fiction).

Strictly speaking, of course, miracles exist outside the pale of rational modernity and its positivist standards of critical analysis. Scientific historians are trained, as Hayden White points out, to reject miracles as belonging to a category of facts that do not conform to current standards of knowledge.[11] In this model, a conflict between past and present values will always cede ground to the present. An analysis of miracles thus confronts scholarship with its own location and conditions. Laurence Geary's fine study of the miracles in the context of Irish medical history opens with an account of a large-scale charismatic conference

in Dublin in the early 1990s and connects its claimed cures to a longer history of "the priest-healer nexus."[12] Critical debate concerning "expressions of popular religious devotion" continue into twenty-first century Ireland, with Lionel Pilkington making a strong case for analyzing collective manifestations of religious faith in our own century "[a]s the material expression of a utopian and alternative ethical sphere," rather than as deviations from the path of progress.[13]

Prince Hohenlohe's miracles act as flashpoint for debates about modernity; more specifically the role of traditional or customary practices within a rapidly changing society and the meaning of historical change itself. Luke Gibbons's description of "the difficulty with Ireland" in the long eighteenth century stresses the challenge that Romantic-era Ireland presented to stadial models: "the difference represented by Catholicism and Gaelic culture could not be safely interred in the primitive mists of antiquity, but persisted in an endangered historical continuum which impinged directly on the present."[14] In terms of current critical models in Irish scholarship, progressivist theories of history are coming under pressure from what Joe Cleary summarizes as "more recent models that start with the assumption that there can be no clear-cut dividing line between past and present; in these models, every present is non-synchronous, a coeval mix of radically disjunct temporalities."[15] Postcolonial theory offers key formulations of the problem of belief in relation to subaltern history.[16] Even among the "more recent models" elaborated by Irish cultural theory, however, scant attention has been paid to the domain of supernature. Within studies of Romanticism, historical and materialist analyses of Irish Gothic predominate. Close focus on issues like gender or colonialism has tended to obscure the issue of supernature, in part because these differences are more readily understood within the terms of our current reading strategies, but also because religious difference secretes itself inside these other structures. Religious belief is at once a hidden and all too visible aspect of Irish culture in the Romantic period. An analysis of Prince Hohenlohe's miracles, however, forces us to confront the domain of supernature; which, under the Freudian sign of the uncanny, concerns itself with the intrusion of past into present.

According to Joep Leerssen, Romantic-era Ireland witnessed a process whereby the Gaelic past metamorphosized into the Anglicized and modernized present: "[t]he period 1760–1845 witnesses a crucial transformation in Irish culture in that the native Gaelic tradition, with premodern attitudes . . . is interiorized by a modernizing, English-speaking and essentially Victorian Ireland."[17] Central to his discussion is the formation of a new public sphere. This involved the claiming of physical space as well as a virtual presence in print media and a turn to the English language as the major vehicle for cultural and political exchange. Prince Hohenlohe's miracles bear witness to this wider process of "cultural transfer": the miracles obeyed scientific clock time, took place in chapels outside which crowds gathered, and exist for us in the shape of many English-language publications that spilled forth in the months after the first cures were claimed. However, they also open up a picture of early nineteenth-century Ireland as a culture that had itself yet to produce any consensus as to the meanings of historical change: progress or trauma, gain or loss? One consequence of this conundrum is a rich seam of debate on political economy in the post-Famine period. Within the period of Romanticism, however, such commentary has yet to emerge.

Leerssen describes the process of "cultural transfer" as analogous to the commodification of Highland culture in the service of Scottishness, with, however, a key difference: while Scotland's Scottishness existed chiefly for export "within the imperial context," Ireland's self-image consisted of "total political self-reinvention, a collective psychological re-anglicization."[18] Comparisons with Scotland, Scottishness, and—perhaps surprisingly—Scott shadow the miracles in significant if not systematic ways. An *Edinburgh Review* article on the progress of the miracles across "these Islands" refers to the view from "this sceptical and anti-catholic land."[19] The equation of Scotland with skepticism is closely connected to Scotland's association with sophisticated models of historical change. Serving both as originator and exemplar of the theory of stadialism, references to Scotland point up its role as the consummate case of the possibilities of human progress within the modern United Kingdom. Ireland, on the other hand, is a place where catastrophe lurks at the edges of the imagined future. Prince Hohenlohe's miracles are all the more to be feared, according to a pamphlet published in the name of "A Rational Christian," because they are "unappropriated." They "wait for their explanation and appropriation" and serve only to raise "frightful subjects for discussion—subjects, the discussion of which was not wanted to encrease the discord and distractions under which we have suffered so much!"[20]

Eighteen twenty-three, the year from which the miracles date, represents a turning point in the history of Catholic campaigns, as the movement began to regain some of the momentum lost during a decade-long decline. The 1820s as whole saw a "climax" in the post-1790s sectarianization of Irish society;[21] the decade culminated in the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and the dismantling (officially, at least) of Ireland's "whole structure of confessionally based inequality."[22] Thus, the miracles are caught up in the move from a confessional (indeed sectarian) climate to an officially tolerant state. Meanwhile, however, the sec-

ond reformation, or "Protestant Crusade" of the early nineteenth century was in full flow. Whereas the earlier eighteenth-century Church of Ireland had adopted a "sequential approach to reformation—reform Protestants first, convert Catholics later," the early nineteenth-century church was strongly evangelical in outlook.[23] This in turn meant that there was no public life outside confessional politics: "Explicitly religious, even theological, conflict, became a commonplace of Irish public life as never before, and the contest may justly be called a struggle for the hearts and mind of the Irish people."[24]

The Irish miracles were performed at the outset of Lord Wellesley's first period as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1821–28). The elder brother of the Duke of Wellington, Wellesley supported Catholic Emancipation and sought to dampen down such expressions of ultra-Protestantism as the twelfth of July and fourth of November celebrations of the "glorious memory" of William III. In 1825 he married a Roman Catholic, causing consternation in Ireland.[25] Roman Catholic bishops were newly welcome at Dublin Castle, and may have felt that Wellesley's "vaguely pro-Catholic"[26] stance created a safe environment within which to publicly declare their support for Prince Hohenlohe. Thomas Bartlett describes the Catholic clergy in this period as reacting to "the Protestant evangelical advance in the early 1820s" with a more "assertive" presence in their parishes and a willingness to throw in their lot with the Catholic Association (founded in 1823 by Daniel O'Connell and Richard Lalor Sheil). Chief among its tactics was the new Catholic rent. Set at one penny a month and levied throughout Ireland, the rent was used to fund the activities of the Association.

The winning—or "taking"—of Catholic Emancipation was the product, as Bartlett has shown, of "a generation or more of politicisation in Ireland."[27] O'Connell led Irish Catholics to a victory made possible by the socialization, sectarianization and politicization of the masses over the previous decades.[28]

The pamphlets and publications about the miracles bear witness to a sense of contest over ownership of the public sphere, in particular the realm of print media. Sermons, review articles, responses to review articles, and controversial pamphlets all found their way into print, alongside newspaper columns in the Irish and British press. A great number of the publications were anonyomous or pseudonymous and writers adopted names such as "A Rational Christian," "A Catholic Englishman." A strong sense of the theatricality of this mediatized public sphere emerges, with one writer, Sir William Cusack Smith, complaining of another that he "seems to me to sustain the character of an unprejudiced observer no better than the wolf performed the part of Little Red Riding Hood's Grandmamma."[29] Cusack Smith, an Irish judge and politician and Baron of the Exchequer since 1801, condemns an anonymous pamphlet that attacks the first year of Wellesley's administration by cautioning against its author's naïve assumption of a like-minded audience of Protestant gentlemen: "the author," warns Cusack Smith, "can scarcely expect that what he address to the public will be a sort of theatrical *aside;* which none but Protestants shall hear."[30] A response to his pamphlet, however, complains of the "abusive scribblings, in what are called the Catholic newspapers": "it is among the misfortunes of our situation, that from a principle of pecuniary prejudice, the majority of public prints follow the Catholic cause in all its aberrations from discretion."[31]

A problem repeatedly identified within the debates is that Catholicism in Ireland exceeds the "modest" role allotted to religion within Enlightenment thought.[32] Rather than acting as a repository for individual belief—"the only legitimate space allowed to Christianity by post-Enlightenment society," as Talal Asad argues—religion in Ireland assumed a problematically public dimension. A pamphleteer who declares himself "a zealous friend" to Catholics comments: "these recent events give me a new view of the state of the Catholic body, and make me doubt *much* whether those who with me have been active friends of the Irish Catholics, on what we believed to be a safe and liberal principle, have not been acting in a dangerous error while contending that there was nothing in their creed, their conduct, or their intellect, which disqualified them for the enjoyment of an equality of rights and privileges with their Protestant countrymen."[33]

Religion here can be seen to invade the public realm in the shape of a collective "Catholic body" that threatens individualist interpretations of the language of "equality," "rights," and "privileges." Luke Gibbons's work on Edmund Burke and Irish Romanticism has allowed us to see how contests between cultural and individual rights run not so much counter to modernity, however, but rather in the direction of an alternative conception of Enlightenment itself.[34] Considered from the perspective of the challenge presented by the "Catholic body," the Irish miracles do not so much depart from progressive metropolitan practice as challenge geopolitical assumptions about the spread of knowledge from center to periphery. Some of the respondents to the Irish miracles find themselves turning their attention on the metropolitan center itself: "Nor is it to be hoped for that education will ever confer upon the Irish peasant what it fails in imparting to the populace of London," argues one pamphleteer, citing the late eighteenth-century craze surrounding Joanna Southcott's millenarian visions and prophecies. A letter to Francis Jeffrey, editor of the *Edinburgh Review,* queries whether his "reviewer's unbelief in miracles" would be different "if any of the miracles

in question had been wrought in the midst of the population of either of the capitals of the united kingdoms."[35]

Simon During situates the study of supernature (in both its secular and religious versions) squarely in the context of colonialism. European expansionism, he argues, was sustained by "the belief that local peoples around the world were circumscribed by their irrational acceptance of false supernatualism."[36] Ireland's predominantly Catholic population was associated with a form of Christianity thought to be premodern and irrational. Prince Hohenlohe's miracles were hailed as further proof of this fatal backwardness: a pamphlet published in 1823 details the murder of a young girl by a priest attempting to cast out devils: as reported, the cleric suffocated a three-and-a-half-year-old child while casting out an evil spirit; the same man was said to have beaten a woman possessed by devils. Entitled *Fanaticism! Cruelty!! Bigotry!!!,* the pamphlet does not hesitate to blame Prince Hohenlohe and his episcopal supporters for brutality that is "a *practical* result of the consequences of the doctrine of miracles."[37]

The pamphlet makes clear, however, that the fear is not so much of an ignorant people, but rather their manipulation by corrupt and clever clerics. The writer insists that the miracles show for once and for all that Irish Catholics are a priest-ridden people, nothing more than "a mass of wild passions and frenzied feelings, ungovernable except by this engine alone, and by it alone capable of being directed—to good or evil." A palpable sense of threat is habitually figured by a number of discontented Catholics: "the great mass (or rather mass-*goers*) of my countrymen," as Thomas Moore described them.[38] The post-Napoleonic economic crisis in Ireland (famine and crop failures in 1817 and 1822 led to widespread distress) created an atmosphere conducive to millenarian thought and proved especially receptive to prophecies such as those popularized by the Benedictine bishop Charles Walmesley, under the penname Pastorini. According to Pastorini, 1825 would see the extirpation of the Protestant heresy, and, in some versions, a general massacre of all Protestants.

Pastorini, as Niall Ó Ciosain has shown, "was entering a culture in which supernatural assistance or deliverance was an established motif."[39] Perhaps because of this, the Catholic episcopacy were keen to manage and control popular forms of millenarianism. Writing in 1822, Bishop John Doyle warned fellow Catholics against placing their faith in these widely distributed prophecies. In a "thoroughly moderate and ecumenical" pastoral of 1822, Doyle sought to dislodge popular belief in the prophecies. The Book of Revelations, Doyle insisted, was notoriously difficult to interpret; besides, he wrote, "nothing short of a miracle" would establish religious concord in Ireland.[40] A year later, Doyle had his miracle, although religious concord seemed more elusive than ever. He promulgated the first of Prince Hohenlohe's miracles, the recovery of speech by eighteen-year-old Maria Lalor, of Roskelton, Raheen parish near Mountrath in Queen's County, on June 10, 1823. Doyle "had played an active role"[41] in contacting Prince Hohenlohe about this young woman in his diocese. Following an exchange of letters, mass was said at Maryborough on the morning of June 10, and at the same time in Bamberg. Doyle published his pastoral letter on June 22 and Dr. Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, published another of Hohenlohe's miracles in August of the same year.

In general, the nature of Doyle's pastoral letters and public writings suggests a cleric keen to achieve a tone of moderation.[42] Daniel O'Connell declared that the miracle would "create a sensation all over Europe," chiefly "because Dr. Doyle is admitted by the very worst of the Orange faction to be a man of the utmost ability and probity."[43] His 1823 pastoral, however, "simultaneously captured the spirit of almost millenarian fervour within Irish Catholicism in the mid-1820s and fuelled interdenominational polemic to an intense degree."[44] Doyle's support for this miracle is all the more significant given his earlier distrust of millenarian prophecies. The shift is perhaps best understood in terms of new pressures on public space and a wider shift in the meaning of public sphere in Ireland.

In Leerssen's diagnosis of the years leading up to Catholic Emancipation and the subsequent devotional revolution, *"native Ireland had no public space."*[45] Although prior to the post-Famine devotional revolution and its architectural advance throughout rural Ireland, Romantic-era Ireland does see instances of confessional contest around the issue of public space. Within the Catholic church, this was a period of transition for forms of religious practice. An older landscape-based Catholicism, with its intimate topography of holy wells, existed alongside domestic worship; both were eventually to give ground to formal chapel going, as favored by the Council of Trent. Miracles occur within this final, modern space. In this context, it is worth noting too that in promulgating what they considered to be authenticated miracles, Bishops Doyle and Murray were acting in strict accordance with Tridentine rulings.[46]

Preaching on the miracles, the controversial evangelical cleric Cesar Otway wonders why "Popish miracles happen amongst Romanists; they are not performed before the public, but as now-a-days, in corners, in chapels, in nunneries, in bed-chambers; no Protestants are present."[47] At the same time, however, Otway complains of Catholicism in terms of its visibility: "if any of my readers will take the trouble of going up Francis street, just at the entrance of the Roman chapel there, and under the priest's eye, they will see a standing, or pedlar's shop, where

are sold beads, rosaries, crucifixes and other trumpery: amidst the rest, in a little glass-case, you will see disposed for sale certain books suitable to the taste and edification of pious deluded Romanists." [48] In Otway's sermon, a contradiction opens up between the supposedly clandestine nature of the miracles and the all-too perceptible clutter of popular Catholicism. The miracles belong in this contradictory moment: as public events characterized by privacy and circumspection they capture one configuration of the shape-changing public sphere.

Further evidence of change can be seen in the contemporaneous Burial Bill dispute of 1823–24. Catholic graveyards in this period were in the possession of the Anglican Church, while laws forbade Catholic clergy from consecrating new burial grounds. A compromise had emerged over the post-Reformation centuries, whereby Catholic burials took place in their traditional sites; a priest would usually say a short prayer over the grave. In September 1823, however, just as reports of the miracles were at their most frenzied, a Catholic priest was prevented from saying prayers at a grave in a Dublin parish. The controversy led to a new Burial Bill being brought before Parliament, seeking to regulate the activities of Catholic priests and place new limits on their practices.[49] As well as bearing "testimony to worsening interdenominational relations,"[50] the Burial Bill dispute also gives us another instance of Catholic claims on disputed public space, a territory at once material and virtual.

As with the Burial Bill dispute, it is possible to understand Hohenlohe's miracles as bringing damaged Catholic bodies into the sphere of public debate and, in the process, applying new pressure to definitions of the public. Both events belong to a wider process by which Irish Catholics protest against their civil disabilities. The language of private hurt and individual wrong becomes mobilized in the service of what Thomas Bartlett calls "the grievance apparatus of the Catholic Association."[51] The incursion of damaged female bodies into quasi-public spaces highlights a gendered dimension to the reception of the miracles. Nancy Schultz argues of the American miracles that "the cures of Catholic women had a physicality that seemed to raise the disgust of Protestant detractors"; she hears "a palpable revulsion toward the female body" within the American debates.[52] Moreover, the language of grievance is inherently feminized; associated with the bardic tradition in Gaelic verse and more recently with the English-language tradition in the shape of Lady Morgan's national tales and Thomas Moore's lilting melodies.

In Richard Sheil's description of the Catholic nation in 1823, "the public pulse had stopped, the circulation of all generous sentiment had been arrested and the country was palsied to the heart."[53] As if in reply

to Sheil's depiction of an ailing body suffering from flagging morale, the language of Doyle's pastoral promulgating the miracle stresses what one commentator calls "the psychological boost" they gave to a politically downtrodden Irish Catholic community: "Our religion is traduced—our rights are withheld—our good name is maligned—our best actions are misrepresented—crimes are imputed to us, against which our nature revolts, our friends are silenced, and our enemies insult us, and glory in our humiliation. It is meet therefore, and just, that he for whose name and faith we suffer, should cast upon us a look of compassion, lest we faint in the way, or be overcome by temptation—that he should comfort his people—and renew to them by visible signs, and assurance that he watches over them."[54] Doyle's faith in God's ability to "comfort his people," (rather than, say, alter their material conditions) has implications beyond a call for an acceptance of their fallen earthly state. Despite his ending of the language of private feelings (suffering, compassion, weakness), Doyle's pastoral letter retains a purchase on a set of public claims (rights, representation, crime). This use of private language to advance public claims is characteristic of what Luke Gibbons has called "'the psychic economy' of colonialism."[55]

This developing reliance on the domain of privacy and interiority could, however, be understood in a variety of ways. Criticizing an account of the cure of an Irish nun in an Essex convent, one reviewer comments: "All this may do very well for little misses who have been reading pretty novels about convents, and cloisters, and cells, and hoods and beads, and veils and prisons, and disciplines, and matins, and vigils—but for philosophers!!!"[56] John Cheyne, Ireland's physician-general in this period makes a similar complaint in a different register: "[a]ccording to Cheyne," says Laurence Geary, "the 'supposed' miracles were a striking illustration of the power which the imagination could exert over the nervous system through the excitement of 'spurious faith,' which he defined as a mixture of 'superstition and fanaticism.'" Geary's medical history of the miracles shows how Protestant physicians generally tended to argue for a psychological rather than physiological interpretation of the miracles.[57]

Among liberal efforts to find psychological explanations, the pamphlets and essays of William Cusack Smith stand out for the remarkable ingenuity with which they seek to make room for the miracles within a narrative of modernity.[58] In seeking to locate the miracles "between the ordinaries and the wonderfuls of life,"[59] Cusack Smith turns to other examples of what he classes as "the agreeably frightful"[60] in culture. First turning to the realm of romance, Cusack Smith reminds readers of the story of the man in the iron mask, an adventure that attracted the "interest and delight"[61] even of Voltaire. In the same class are found

ancient legends alongside marvels of the Old Testament. Second, Cusack Smith cites folklore, in particular the fairy legends and superstitions common to his part of Ireland. Stories of ghosts and men on white horses are treated with fond familiarity: "I like this sort of thing, much as I do my rookery, or the rudely dated stone, which once surmounted my hall-door; and which, though it be now removed, I have however taken reverend care to inlay elsewhere."[62]

Comparison with "the rudely dated stone" serves to align a proper response to the miracles with forms of respect for a dead past. The impulse is similar that found among the first collectors of Irish legends, who share with intellectuals across Europe a tendency to "backdate" forms of popular culture.[63] Folklore was freshly available as a point of reference in the 1820s and here provides implicit support for Cusack Smith's efforts to consign the miracles to the past. One of the founding texts of Irish folklore studies, Thomas Crofton Croker's *Researches in the South of Ireland,* was published in 1824. The chapter on Fairies and Supernatural Agency concludes by at once categorizing Irish faith in supernature under the category of superstition, and locating such beliefs in a past from which Ireland has yet to escape: "On the whole, from what may be collected, the present state of Irish superstition closely resembles that of England during the age of Elizabeth; a strong proof of the correct measurement of those who have stated a space of two centuries to exist between the relative degree of popular knowledge and civilization attained by the sister kingdom."[64]

His third frame of reference offers a model that interrelates past and present in interior and individual rather than exterior and cultural terms. Calling on his own inner life, Cusack Smith produces the example of déjà vu, a sensation that surely proves that life can be stranger than fiction: *"Le vrai n'est toujours pas vraisemblable."*[65] As an offshoot of the philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment, the science of psychology involves a set of assumptions about the conditions required for the emergence of modernity. The turn to interiority and psychology thus further underpins the temporal structure created by Cusack Smith's argument, whereby the miracles belong to a repertoire of forms and feelings associated with an earlier period; albeit a past that may return to haunt the present. As testimony for "this state of nerves," Cusack Smith turns to Walter Scott: "This lively interest, which I here speak of, draws the mind-strings up to a tension fitted for harmonious vibrations; and perhaps the mysticism of astrology and second sight may screw them higher still. Sir Walter Scott knows how to produce this state of nerves; and by a skilful management of their chords can 'discourse most eloquent musick.'" [66]

The reference to Scott recurs in the context of a lengthy description

of déjà vu, notable for its interrelation of temporal and psychic states. In a footnote, Cusack Smith credits Scott with having "noticed this extraordinary pseudo-sensation in one (but I forget which) of his latter productions" and cites "his authority, and probably that of my reader's experience, for its existence."[67] The forgotten novel is most likely *Guy Mannering: The Astrologer,* published in 1815. Scott's novel features a scene in which the hero returns to the long lost place of his birth. Despite having been forcibly removed from there when still a small child, he experiences a strange feeling of familiarity, similar to what Cusack Smith seeks to describe to his readers:[68]

> There is another marvel, too mysterious for admission into the class which I am upon. I meant that strange impression, which will occasionally come with unexpected suddenness upon the mind, that the scene now passing, and in which we share, is one, which in the very place, and very words, with the same persons, and the same feelings, we had accurately rehearsed, we know not when before. It is the oddest of sensations; and one which will occur, where, in what is going forward, there is nothing remarkable, or of particular interest involved. While we speak, our former words seem ringing in our ears; and the sentences which we form, to be faint echoes of a conversation had i' the olden time. Our conscious thoughts too, as they rise, seem to whisper to each other, that this is not their first appearance in this place. In short, all that is now before us seems the apparition of a dialogue long departed; the spectral resurrection of scenes and transactions long gone by. Or we may be said, by the gleam of a momentary flash of reminiscence, to be renewing in a mysterious mirror, the dark reflection of times past; and living over in minute and shadowy detail, a duplicate of the incidents of some preexistent state.[69]

Déjà vu stands here as an exemplary instance of the eerie effects engendered when the past seeks to make itself at home in the present. In the passage quoted, the strange psychic state described by Cusack Smith—a sensation located between past and present—is anchored and made sense of by reference to the miracles on the one hand and the novels of Walter Scott on the other. What is most significant here is not merely Cusack Smith's evident admiration for Scott's ability to reproduce psychological experiences within the fabric of fiction, nor his inability to find an Irish novelist with similar qualifications, but rather his use of Scott alongside fiction, folklore, and psychology as an agent of the modernizing process.

Nancy Schultz's study of the American miracles relates the reported events to a wider question: how culture registers supernatural or paranormal phenomena. Protestant religiosity, she argues, became secularized as "excursions into the magical and superstitious,"[70] resulting in a

powerful strain of American Gothic. This devolution from church to culture did not occur in Ireland, however, where religion remained a stumbling block for literary visions of the island at least until the period of the Revival. Writing of the problematic equation between Catholicism and primitivism in the theatre of W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory, for example, Lionel Pilkington is at pains to underline "the degree of tension that existed between the longed-for national public sphere that the Irish Literary Theatre appeared to herald and the continuing reality of anti-Catholic discrimination that made the realization of that public sphere an impossibility."[71]

Romantic-era Irish cultural encounters with supernature confront painful confessional difficulties that similarly threaten the existence of a new public sphere. Charles Robert Maturin's novel *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) is remarkable as one of the very few instances of the unexplained supernatural in Irish writing of the Romantic period. It is simultaneously the text that involves itself most closely with religious hatred and its psychic consequences across time. *Melmoth the Wanderer* was published before Prince Hohenlohe performed his Irish miracles, but does use faith in miracles as one of a series of affective modes (passion, hunger, religious enthusiasm) that serve to wreck already fragile social or national bonds. Miracles in the novel are presented in terms of a series of paradoxes—false but authenticated, sincere but profane—and preside over one of *Melmoth*'s most striking images of the destruction wrought by confessional conflict. In the final romance scene between the hero, Melmoth (who is part Faust, part Mephistopheles) and the woman that is carrying his child, Isidora, Melmoth attacks her hopes of heaven: "'My dear saint,' said Melmoth, laughing and kneeling to her in mockery, 'let me make early interest for your mediation—how many ducats will it cost me to get you canonized?—you will furnish me, I hope, with an authentic account of legitimate miracles—one is ashamed of the nonsense that is sent monthly to the Vatican.'" The reply serves to raise the specter of conversion, and with it the vicious world of early nineteenth-century Irish religious life: "'*Let your conversion be the first miracle on the list,*' said Isidora, with an energy that made Melmoth tremble."[72]

When George Brittaine's virulently anti-Catholic fictions of the 1830s take on the topic of miracles, it is with conversion clearly in mind. *Irishmen and Irishwomen* (1831) attacks the "cures" supposedly performed by local priests and friars. Brittaine invokes a range of miraculous happenings, with memorable depictions of Protestants turned in sods of turf and letters that swell in size to fill an entire house. An editorial footnote in Brittaine's novel insists that the reported miracles are aggressively anti-Protestant in intent: "The Editor cannot vouch for the truth of the two miracles recorded by Mrs. O'Neil; but he knows a Protestant woman, upon whom, the bare relation of them, made so strong an impression, that she turned Roman Catholic when she heard she was dying, about four years ago. He had the story from her own lips. Some of our readers may be glad to learn, that she did not long continue a member of the Church of Rome."[73] The footnote removes the barrier erected by the fictional status of what is described in the narrative and place the threat of Catholic proselytism firmly in the world of the author and the likely experience of the reader.

Seeking to defuse the dangerous rhetoric of anti-Catholic writers who are in favor of "bringing us back, in more than one sense, to the Whiteboy days," Cusack Smith turns to Scott: "This sketch of the political events of 1822 starts, *un peu à l'Irlandaise,* at 1759; and though ''tis sixty years since,' I of course retrograde with my author: who is for bringing us back, in more than one sense, to the Whiteboy days."[74] The reference is to *Waverley* and its famous subtitle, *'Tis Sixty Years Since.* Cusack Smith asks: "How could [the pamphlet] fail to reach me? wafted as it was by a thousand puffs, imbued with the best odour our Orange plantations could supply? I should no more have dared to neglect reading it, than if it had been Peveril of the Peak."[75] Published in January 1823 (with a date of 1822), *Peveril of the Peak* would have been the newest and thus most appealing of Scott's novels at the time of Cusack Smith's writing, testimony to the compelling cultural phenomenon of the Waverley Novels. As a novel that features, as Maria Edgeworth puts it, "an elfin page, who has the power of shrinking or expanding, as it seems, to suit the occasion," *Peveril of the Peak* also stands as a representative of Scott's rational handling of supernatural material. For Edgeworth, who read the novel just as soon as it was published, there remains "too much of the dwarfs and the elfie."[76] Despite her reservations, however, Scott's novels serve as supreme examples of a fiction that gives cultural expression to supernatural manifestations while neutralizing their effects.

If comparing the miracles controversy to a novel helps to defuse their incendiary possibilities, then comparing them to a novel by Scotland's "secular national mythographer" offers particular advantages for Cusack Smith's argument. Scott's Waverley Novels, writes Ian Duncan, "discover history in order to discover the horizon at which . . . history comes to a stop."[77] The many complaints as to the absence of an Irish Walter Scott in the nineteenth century (and the failed attempt to cultivate a replacement in the figure of Maturin) should be understood as calls for a cultural progressivism that can accommodate the past while channeling and controlling its energies. Such a figure is found in political if not cultural life: Daniel O'Connell was "typical of the advancing

Catholic bourgeoisie," writes Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, in being "content to salute the glories of the Gaelic past" while at the same time viewing the decline of the Irish language "with relative equanimity."[78] The leader of the Irish Catholic cause was, as his biographer Oliver McDonagh puts it "eager in pressing the case" for miracles in the early 1820s. At the same moment, as McDonagh also points out, "his leading pleasure" consisted of reading Scott, a novelist who in O'Connell's view outshone all his Irish contemporaries.[79]

Cusack Smith, Scott, and O'Connell are brought together in my argument as evidence of a shared set of efforts to erect a boundary around the past. The miracles are outrageous, suggests Maturin in one of his controversial sermons, because "the miracle-workers of the Roman Catholic Church, with Prince Hohenlohe at their head," can neither "make two and two five" nor "recal [*sic*] the past or anticipate the future by a moment."[80] As with the Freudian uncanny, however, the prohibition against temporal border crossings produces strange results: illicit encounters with both the individual and the collective past that serve to unsettle any secure sense of social or historical stages.

It is possible to situate this concern with temporal limits within what J. G. A. Pocock calls the "recurrent" eighteenth-century debates on miracles.[81] In Edward Gibbon's philosophical view of miracles, the historian ought not to shy away from the task of "defining with precision the limits of that happy period exempt from error and deceit, to which we might be disposed to extend the gift of supernatural powers." For Gibbon, "it is evident that there must have been *some* period in which they were either suddenly or gradually withdrawn from the Christian Church";[82] the difficulty arises, however, in knowing "in what particular link we should break the chain of tradition."[83]

While obviously providing a vehicle for the dissemination of openly skeptical views, the eighteenth-century dispute about miracles was initially organized more narrowly around theological differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Broadly, Protestant theologians wished to confine miracles to the earliest period of Christianity (the exact date was much discussed) in order to establish a chronology in which outside interventions came to be gradually replaced by individual access to divine authority. The debate in Britain, as Pocock describes it, centered round the following questions: "by what stages the miraculous powers given to the apostles had ceased and by what spiritual gifts it could be said they had been replaced."[84]

The best known answer to this question of "stages" is found in Scottish Enlightenment philosopher David Hume's essay, "On Miracles," published in 1748 in his *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*. Hume defines miracles as "a violation of the laws of nature,"[85] while at the same time making a careful case for the incontrovertibility of those laws. This weak form of skepticism is buttressed by Hume's locating miracles in places, feelings, and times other than his own: miracles are associated with the "wonderful adventures" of travelers, the "gross and vulgar passions" and, finally, the belief systems of "ignorant and barbarous nations."[86] In terms of Prince Hohenlohe's miracles, Hume is cautiously invoked to discredit the events of 1823–24. His philosophical position is a difficult one to articulate in the Irish climate, however, and is more often ridiculed than upheld. A pamphleteer who writes on behalf of "Catholic Englishmen" condemns "the folly and irreligion" of those who fail to believe in Prince Hohenlohe's miraculous powers. He accuses his critics of outright skepticism. A rival argument, for instance, relies on Hume's definition of miracles: "This you say is unobjectionable. No doubt it is so to a *materialist;* but to a *christian* it is highly objectionable." A sentence from the same pamphlet is quoted in which the "Catholic Englishman" substitutes Jesus for Prince Hohenlohe: "To appreciate this tinsel oratory I have only to transfer it to the mouth of a Hume or Carlisle."[87]

This eighteenth-century debate did not, however, impart itself, pristine, to Ireland and to the 1820s. Key events and writings intervened: the French Revolution, the Irish rebellion of 1798, and the writings of Edmund Burke. Not only does Burke want to believe in miracles right up to the sixth and seventh centuries, making his position legible as "crypto-Catholic,"[88] he also, in the *Reflections,* set in motion a redefinition and revaluing of the idea of religion itself. Rescuing religion from the skepticism of previous generations, Burke found in its principles and institutions an essential bulwark against revolution. As his most recent biographer F. P. Lock puts it, "[i]n Burke's view, even the apparent absurdities and abuses of religion and religious establishments contributed to the growth of civilization."[89]

In the Irish context, Burke's views provided part of the vocabulary with which the religious fervor of evangelical Protestantism is not only resisted, but itself targeted. In the prose satire in which he attacks the spiritual emptiness of Irish Protestantism, *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion* (1833), Thomas Moore imagines that if the Church fathers "had been able to borrow the magic nightcaps of their contemporaries, the Seven Sleepers, and were now, after a nap of about fifteen centuries, just opening their eyes in the town of Carlow, they would find in the person of Doctor Doyle, the learned Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, not only an Irishman whose acquaintance even *they* might be proud to make, but a fellow Catholic every iota of whose creed would be found to correspond exactly with their own."[90] The "magic cap" that

will make Bishop Doyle seem a respectable Christian serves, in Moore's satire, to make Protestantism disappear.

Travels of an Irish Gentleman seeks to reinvigorate the meanings of Catholicism in the aftermath of Emancipation. In the course of his hero's spiritual travels, Moore turns to Conyers Middleton on miracles and finds in his *Inquiry* evidence of the early church's continuity with Catholicism, while also reading him for proof that modern Protestantism is only one step away from scepticism.[91] Middleton contended that miracles should be confined only to the apostolic succession, and denied all miracles performed after the lifetimes of Christ and his apostles. This argument threatened to return all the moral authority to the Catholic church, which continued to assert a continuous spiritual communion. In Moore's account, Middleton shows how the early church was both "the least pure" and "the most popish" manifestation of Christianity.[92] Thus the early church under attack for its corruption and was fundamentally Catholic in its outlook—"Primitive Christianity was neither more nor less than Modern Popery." In the former mode, he sees Middleton as giving armor to "all sceptics and infidels for a general assault on the earliest witnesses of the Christian faith."[93] In order to attest to this point of view, Moore cites a comment to the effect that "Dr Middleton . . . does not seem to fall far short of Mr. Hume on miracles."[94]

Moore's *Travels of an Irish Gentleman* thoroughly rewrites and seeks to undo the Reformation, concluding that Protestantism is a spiritual nonpossibility and seeking to ensure an alignment of Catholicism with the meaning of religion itself: "'Either Catholic or Deist,' said Fenélon, 'there is no other alternative'—and the appearance which the Christian world wears, at this moment, fully justifies his assertion."[95]

In a letter written in 1826, Moore makes a clear link between the politically modernizing policies of Daniel O'Connell and "his friend Hohenlohe": "Just returned from Ireland . . . The Catholic Cause is going to the dogs in Ireland—O'Connel's popularity is 'Tumbling all precipitate down-dashed' and nothing less than another miracle of his friend Hohenlohe can save him."[96] Moore is surely correct to associate the respectable, Europe-focused nature of Hohenlohe's miracles with O'Connell's politics. Yet O'Connell himself was at this time the subject of a popular oral tradition that saw him as an old style miracle worker and magician.[97] A German traveler in Ireland, Johann Georg Köhl, encountered O'Connell's popular status as the hero of hundreds of folk tales, and saw in this phenomenon evidence of Irish faith in the face of modernity and enlightenment: "The Irish are a people after the old model, a people almost without counterpart in the world. In Germany we have everywhere become too enlightened and too self-dependent for any authority. We laugh at all who call themselves prophets; but among the Irish the old faith in saints and miracles still exists."[98]

But this is of course too simple. Ireland in the 1820s confronts us not with a conjunction of superstition and enlightenment but of one kind of belief and another; just as O'Connell managed to be the avatar of an old Ireland and politician of the new. The innovative mass politics in the 1830s and '40s similarly kept a foot in folk belief while setting in motion the machinery of democratic politics. O'Connell himself described mass politics as deriving its energy from a "moral electricity."[99] When William Gregory, Under-Secretary in Dublin Castle, wrote to Robert Peel about the new Catholic rent, he claimed that the money was associated in the minds of the peasantry with Pastorini's prophecies predicting the end of Protestantism and that, as Bartlett puts it, "this is why they were induced to part with their money."[100]

Unlike the "stream of millenarian ideas"[101] flowing through Romantic-era Ireland, however, Prince Hohenlohe's miracles happen in the here-and-now and in (quasi) public: they puncture the rhythm of prophecy and draw attention to political solutions in the present. Hailed as harbinger of the predicted extermination of Protestantism by some commentators ("This event was to have been preceded by miracles, and lo, here are the miracles actually announced"),[102] the miracles nonetheless retain their scandalous status as "wicked experiments" with immediate results. They give voice to what one commentator calls a "thirst for intercourse with the higher world"[103] and show how desires expressed in religious or spiritual terms can have agency in the history of democratic politics.

Notes

Thanks to Ian Duncan, Luke Gibbons, Siobhán Kilfeather, and Peter Kuch for helpful questions asked and ideas offered following presentation of versions of this argument in the universities of Aberdeen, Notre Dame and Debrecen.

1. *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (1908) http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07384c.htm.

2. Laurence M. Geary, "Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastornini and Miraculous Healing in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland," in *Medicine, Disease, and the State in Ireland, 1650–1940,* ed. Greta Jones and Elizabeth Malcolm (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999), 40–58 (42).

3. Review of John Badeley, *An Authentic Narrative of the Extraordinary Cure performed by Prince Alexander Hohenlohe on Miss Barbara O'Connor, a Nun, in the Convent of New Hall, near Chelmsford,* 3d ed. (London, 1823), in *Edinburgh Review* 39 (1823): 54–66.

4. Geary, "Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastornini and Miraculous Healing in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland," 44.

5. *Dublin Evening Mail,* September 10, 1823, reprinted from *Dublin Evening Herald,*

cited in Geary, "Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastornini and Miraculous Healing in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland," 44.

6. *A Complete Exposure of the Late Irish Miracles. By a Rational Christian,* 2d ed. (Dublin, 1823), 3.

7. Toby Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649–1770* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 330.

8. Clifford Siskin, *The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain, 1700–1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 86. Siskin draws on Murray G. H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 42–43.

9. See, however, Ian Duncan's revisionist reading of the King's visit: "Edinburgh, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in *Romantic Metropolis: the Urban Scene of British Culture, 1780–1840,* ed. James Chandler and Kevin Gilmartin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 45–64 (45–48).

10. See, for example, E. Barton [Sir William Cusack Smith], *Miracles: A Rhapsody* (London, 1823), 74.

11. Hayden White, "Interpretation and History," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 59. In White's summary of "critical" positivist history, "historians were permitted to draw upon the scientific lore of their own time in order to justify rejection of certain kinds of facts, however well attested by the documentary record—as, when, for example, they reject amply attested reports of miracles."

12. Geary, "Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastornini and Miraculous Healing in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland," 41–42.

13. Lionel Pilkington, "Religion and the Celtic Tiger: The Cultural Legacies of Anti-Catholicism in Ireland," in *Reinventing Ireland: Culture, Society and the Global Economy,* ed. Peadar Kirby, Luke Gibbons, and Michael Cronin (London: Pluto Press, 2002), 124–39 (138).

14. Luke Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, Politics and the Colonial Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 171.

15. Joe Cleary, "Irish Modernity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture,* ed. Joe Cleary and Claire Connolly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–22 (19).

16. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); especially ch. 2.

17. Joep Leerssen, *Hidden Ireland, Public Sphere* (Galway: Arlen House, 2002), 24.

18. Ibid.

19. Review of Badeley, *An Authentic Narrative,* 59.

20. *A Complete Exposure of the Late Irish Miracles,* 64.

21. Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: The Catholic Question, 1690–1830* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1992), 332.

22. S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 313.

23. Joseph Liechty, "The Problem of Sectarianism and the Church of Ireland," in *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation,* ed. Alan Ford, James McGuire, and Kenneth Milne (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1995), 204–222 (220).

24. Leichty, "The Problem of Sectarianism and the Church of Ireland," 220.

25. Wellesley's American wife was the granddaughter of a Mr. Patterson, widely believed to be the original for Walter Scott's Old Mortality.

26. Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation,* 328.

27. Ibid., 334.

28. Ibid., 326.

29. E. Barton [Sir William Cusack Smith], *Recent Scenes and Occurrences in Ireland* (London, 1823), 2.

30. Barton [Cusack Smith], *Recent Scenes and Occurrences,* 9.

31. *A Complete Exposure of the Late Irish Miracles,* xvii.

32. Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 45.

33. *A Complete Exposure of the Late Irish Miracles,* 2.

34. Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland.* See especially ch. 6.

35. *A Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Editor of the Edinburgh Review, on the Evidence in Support of a Continuation of Miraculous Powers in the Church; Partly Intended as an Answer to the Third Article of the 77th Number of Said Work, on the Miracles Ascribed to Prince Alexander Hohenlohe* (Edinburgh, 1824), 58.

36. Simon During, *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 10.

37. *Fanaticism! Cruelty!! Bigotry!!! The Particulars of the Horrible Murder of Catharine Sinnott, a Child under Four Years of Age, by the Rev. John Carroll, an Irish Catholic Priest, under Pretence of Performing a Miracle, by Casting Devils out of the Child, which took place at Killinick, in the County of Wexford, on Friday, July 9, 1824, including the Coroner's Inquest, and Reflections on the Influence of Catholic Priests over the Minds of the People, as Exemplified in this Melancholy Case* (London, [1824]), 4.

38. Thomas Moore to John Murray, April 17, 1829, in *The Letters of Thomas Moore,* ed. Wilfred S. Dowden, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 2:623.

39. Niall Ó Ciosain, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750–1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1997), 193.

40. Quoted in Thomas McGrath, *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education in the Public Ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786–1834* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 107–8.

41. McGrath, *The Pastoral and Education Letters of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786–1834* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 14.

42. McGrath, *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education,* 108.

43. Quoted in McGrath, *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education,* 109.

44. McGrath, *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education,* 109.

45. Leerssen, *Hidden Ireland, Public Sphere,* 31.

46. See Geary, "Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastornini and Miraculous Healing in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland," 44.

47. C. Otway, *A Lecture on Miracles! Delivered in the Parish Church of Saint James, on Wednesday, the 17th of September* (Dublin, 1823), 10.

48. Ibid., 41.

49. McGrath, *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education,* 118.

50. Ibid., 121.

51. Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation,* 332–33.

52. Nancy Lusignan Schultz, "Prince Hohenlohe's Miraculous Meddlings: Transatlantic Intercessions in Washington D.C. and Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1824–1827," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 20: 1 (2002): 1–19 (9).

53. Quoted in Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation,* 304.

54. McGrath, *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education,* 110.

55. See Gibbons, 92, 259n.

56. Quoted in Schultz, "Prince Hohenlohe's Miraculous Meddlings," 10.

57. Geary, "Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastornini and Miraculous Healing in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland," 49.

58. See, for example, *A Brief Disclosure to the People of England, of the Liberality of the Irish Roman Catholics, Both in Politics and Religion, and the Contempt with which all Classes of that Community treat the Miracles of Prince Hohenlohe. With a Postscript, On a Late Occurrence in the Catholic Association. By a Roman Catholic* (London, 1824), 19.
59. Barton [Cusack Smith], *Miracles: A Rhapsody*, 59–60.
60. Ibid., 64.
61. Ibid., 58–59.
62. Ibid., 76.
63. See Diarmuid Ó Giollain, "Folk Culture," in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, ed. Cleary and Connolly, 225–44 (226–27).
64. Thomas Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland* (London, 1824), 99.
65. Barton [Cusack Smith], *Miracles: A Rhapsody*, 60.
66. Ibid., 59.
67. Ibid., 57.
68. Catherine Jones shows how the operation of individual and collective memory is crucial to *Guy Mannering* in *Literary Memory: Scott's Waverley Novels and the Psychology of Narrative* (Lewisburg PA: Bucknell University Press, 2003), 133.
69. Barton [Cusack Smith], *Miracles: A Rhapsody*, 56–57.
70. Schultz, "Prince Hohenlohe's Miraculous Meddlings," 2–3.
71. See Lionel Pilkington, *Theatre and the State in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Cultivating the People* (London: Routledge, 2001), 25. The "material miracles" of Oscar Wilde's fiction are also significant in this respect. See John Stokes, *Oscar Wilde: Myths, Miracles and Imitations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
72. Charles Robert Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer*, 4 vols. (London, 1820), 4:372–73.
73. George Brittaine, *Irishmen and Irishwomen* (Dublin, 1831), 143n.
74. Barton [Cusack Smith], *Recent Scenes and Occurrences*, 2.
75. Ibid., 1.
76. Letter from Maria Edgeworth to Jane O'Beirne, January 15, 1823: *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus J. C. Hare, 2 vols. (London: Arnold, 1894), 2:92–93. Quoted in Peter Garside, Jacqueline Belanger and Sharon Ragaz, *British Fiction, 1800–1829;* http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk (accessed December 5, 2005).
77. Ian Duncan, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 107, 53.
78. Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, "Language, Ideology and National Identity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, ed. Cleary and Connolly, 42–58 (44).
79. O'Connell did recognize Scott's anti-Catholicism and commented despairingly that: "with all his unquestionable merits, Scott was a sad bigot": William J. O' Neill Daunt, *Personal Recollections of the late Daniel O'Connell, M.P.*, 2 vols. (London, 1848), 2:44–45. While in Ireland Scott met with warm welcome almost everywhere but in Kerry, as Lockhart recounts: "the refusal of a Roman Catholic gentleman, named O'Connell, who kept stag-hounds near Killarney, to allow of a hunt on the upper lake, the day he visited that beautiful scenery. This he did, as we were told, because he considered it as a notorious fact, that Sir Walter Scott was an enemy to the Roman Catholic claims for admission to seats in Parliament." O'Connell's brother John, a Kerry landlord, had refused to allow the famous novelist to hunt on his land when he visited Ireland in 1823 (J. G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott* [London: Dent, 1937], 476–77).
80. Charles Robert Maturin, *Five Sermons on the Errors of the Roman Catholic Church, Preached in St. Peter's Church* (Dublin, 1824), 49.
81. J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion, Volume One: The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 44.

82. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (London: Penguin, 1995), 1:474.
83. Ibid., 473, 474.
84. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, 45.
85. David Hume, "Of Miracles," in *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology*, ed. Alexander Broadie (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), 300–316 (304).
86. Hume, "Of Miracles," 306–7.
87. *The Exposer Exposed, In an Answer to the Author of a Book, Called "A Complete Exposure of the Late Irish Miracles," by a Catholic Englishman; to which is added, A Reply to the Edinburgh Reviewers on the Same Subject. Concluding with a Letter from the Rev. Prince Hohenloe* (London, 1824).
88. F. P. Lock, *Edmund Burke: Volume One, 1730–1784* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 153.
89. Ibid., 156.
90. Thomas Moore, *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1833), 1:71.
91. Prior to Hume, the most significant contribution to the eighteenth-century miracle debate was Conyers Middleton's *A Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers Which are Supposed to have Subsisted in the Christian Church, from the Earliest Ages through Several Successive Centuries: By which is it Shewn that We have no Sufficient Reason to Believe, upon the Authority of the Primitive Fathers, that any such Powers are Continued to the Church, after the Days of the Apostles* (1751).
92. Moore, *Travels of an Irish Gentleman*, 2:65.
93. Ibid., 2:65, 66.
94. Ibid., 2:66n.
95. Ibid., 2:342.
96. Thomas Moore to John Cam Hobhouse, January [15], 1826, *Letters*, 2:688.
97. See Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, "The Folk Hero and Tradition," in *The World of Daniel O'Connell*, ed. Donal McCartney (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1980), 30–42 and Diamuid Ó Muirithe, "O'Connell in Irish Folk Tradition," in *Daniel O'Connell: Portrait of a Radical*, ed. Kevin B. Nowlan and Maurice B. O'Connell (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1984), 53–69.
98. Quoted in Ó Muirithe, "O'Connell in Irish Folk Tradition," 53.
99. Quoted in R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland: 1600–1972* (London: Penguin, 1988), 298.
100. Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation*, 322.
101. James Donnelly Jr., "Pastorini and Capain Rock: Millenarianism and Sectarianism in the Rockite Movement of 1821–4," in *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest*, ed. Samuel Clark and James Donnelly Jr. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1983), 102–39 (111).
102. Daniel Murray, *Miracles Mooted: An Inquiry into the Nature and Object of Miracles, Generally, and of the Recent Irish Miracles in Particular, with Observations on the Pastoral Address of the Most Rev Dr Murray to the Catholic Clergy and Laity of Dublin, Announcing 'The Miraculous Cure of Mrs Mary Stuart, A Religieuse of the Convent of St. Joseph, Ranelagh* (Dublin, 1823), 17.
103. Review of Badeley, *An Authentic Narrative*, 55.