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HISTORY OF THE POLICY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ROME IN IRELAND.

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POPULATION BY CENSUS OF 1831		POPULATION BY CENSUS OF 1851	
Leinster	1,945,120	Leinster	1,973,731
Ulster	2,266,620	Ulster	2,306,373
Connaught	1,336,508	Connaught	1,418,850
Munster	2,227,152	Munster	2,396,161
Total	7,767,400	Total	8,175,124

POPULATION BY CENSUS OF 1851

1. Ulster	2,004,289
2. Leinster	1,667,771
3. Connaught	1,021,917
4. Munster	1,831,817

Total 6,525,794



HISTORY OF THE POLICY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ROME IN IRELAND,

FROM

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ENGLISH DYNASTY
TO THE GREAT REBELLION.

BY WILLIAM PHELAN, D.D.

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR,

BY JOHN JEBB, *of the Lincol. & Arundel & Aconbury*
LATE LORD BISHOP OF LIMERICK;

AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

BY JAMES LORD,

OF THE INNER TEMPLE, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW; AUTHOR OF "THE VATICAN AND
ST. JAMES'S; OR, ENGLAND INDEPENDENT OF ROME," ETC., ETC.

Third Edition.

* * * "It is hoped that when temporary excitement shall have subsided, it may
be studied with advantage * * not least by members of the Church of Rome."

—*Bishop Jebb.*

LONDON:
WERTHEIM AND MACINTOSH, 24, PATERNOSTER-RROW;
AND PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION OFFICE, 6, SERJEANTS' INN,
FLEET-STREET.

1854.
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ROY WITH
1871
VIA RAIL

TO HIS GRACE THE
LORD JOHN GEORGE BERESFORD, D.D.,
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,
PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND,
ETC., ETC., ETC.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

It is with much satisfaction that I avail myself of your kind permission to dedicate to your Grace this third edition of Phelan's "Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland."

The subject is intimately connected with the vital interests of that portion of the Church of Christ over which your Grace has so long presided.

Nor is it confined to these. It concerns the well-being of the British nation,—for national religion

ever brings national blessings with it; and no course more efficient could be adopted to render Ireland and every portion of the British empire as happy and prosperous as they might be, than to pervade the whole with the animating principles of that primitive, Scriptural Christianity,—which was received in Ireland before Popery was known there—and will survive, when Popery shall be no more.

I have the honour to remain,

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

Your Grace's

Very obedient,

Humble Servant,

JAMES LORD.

31, *Bedford-square, Bloomsbury,*
London, March 3d, 1854.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

BY JAMES LORD, ESQ.

THE writer of the following work was an Irishman. He cannot, therefore, be justly suspected of writing with any unfriendly feeling towards Ireland. To her best interests he was warmly and intelligently devoted.

Dr. Phelan
an Irish-
man,

By education he was a Roman Catholic. Bishop Jebb, in his Biographical Memoir,* records some of the interesting circumstances under which he became a Protestant. But, though he escaped from the Romish apostasy, he never indulged in rancorous feelings towards the Church he had left, or the individual members of her communion.

and a
Roman
Catholic.

In his highly-cultivated and charitable mind the *odium theologicum* found no place. He felt as a patriot and a Christian. He wrote as one mourning over the social and physical miseries superinduced by Popery upon his native land, and desirous of amelio-

The *odium
theologi-
cum* had no
hold on
him.

* Pp. 7, 8, 9.

rating the temporal as well as the spiritual condition of his fellow-countrymen. To effect this, their emancipation from the thralldom of Rome seemed an essential and a preliminary step. His Christian patriotism was that of one who lived and laboured for the good of his country:—not of that modern school of patriots, who assume the name the better to disguise selfish purposes.

Did not view matters through the medium of party optics.

He did not regard matters through the distorting medium of party optics, but taking a broad and comprehensive view, formed his own opinion as to what would best conduce to the real benefit of his country. Instead of advocating any diminution of British influence and authority, or of supposing it inconsistent with the welfare of his native land, he has recorded his opinion that *England's weakness*, and not *her strength*, has been the bane of Ireland.

Extent of English rule in Ireland.

The territorial extent of England's rule in that country was, for a long time, very small. From the reign of King Henry the Second to that of King James the First, it is thus graphically described by Dr. Phelan at p. 71:—"A level district round the capital, containing the small shires of Louth, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin, limited the range of the English law, the jurisdiction of the Viceroy, and, except on some rare occasions, the ambition of the crown. Far from indulging schemes of more extended authority, the conscious weakness of Royalty took refuge in a ludicrous but humiliating fiction:—all beyond this *pomærium* was presumed not to be in existence, and,

in Court language, *the land of Ireland* was synonymous with *the Pale*.

“ Of the Pale itself, an ample stripe, comprehending one-third, and sometimes half, of each county, was *border land*, in which a mixed code of English, Brehon, and martial law, and of such points of honour as are recognised among freebooters, suspended for a season the final appeal to the sword.”

Why, it may be asked, has England's influence in Ireland been so small, and so crippled for good purposes? Why was that of Ireland so small? Why the separate or combined influence of the two countries so small? Why is it so now, compared with what it might be? Why but because, prior to the period of England's connexion with that country, and, indeed, ever since, there have been internal and external causes in operation, of a nature alike hostile to the interests of Ireland and of England;—causes which had from the first produced unpleasant consequences in each of those countries; causes, too, which continued in operation after Pope Adrian, in 1155, and Pope Alexander, in 1171, in conjunction with Romish dignitaries in Ireland, handed over that country to the English. Ancient historians record these facts. From them we learn how the exoteric influence of Rome had created divisions, and fanned the flame of sedition amongst powerful and rebellious chieftains, as best suited the far-sighted designs of the Papacy, and its perfect recklessness of consequences as regarded others,—even before Henry Plantagenet, with his warriors, set foot upon the

Exoteric
influence of
Rome.

shores of Ireland. From the testimony of modern historians we gather information as to the continued efforts made by Rome to consolidate her sacerdotal despotism, and to extend her jurisdiction over temporal, no less than over spiritual, affairs; and how, by stratagem in some cases, by force and intimidation in others, and often by the two combined, she succeeded in extorting from monarch, nobles, and people, fresh concessions to her power and continued augmentations of her influence.

Tactics changed to suit the times.

Matters, indeed, have changed greatly during the last few centuries. The days of feudal tyranny are past. Rival chieftains assemble their followers no more, and Rome cannot, as before, send forth her mailed warriors to the battle-field. But, adapting her mode of operation to the changed position of affairs, she now seeks to effect, through the people and the priests at the hustings, what she of old accomplished by the swords of nobles and subservient kings. The domestic, no less than the foreign, policy of our own country too clearly indicates the existence of such influence and efforts, and the success with which they have been attended.

Study of Irish Church history, with reference to Popery, has been too much neglected.

The study of Irish history, and especially Irish Church history, in connexion with Popery, has been too much neglected. Hence it has happened that fallacies the most ludicrous, and inaccuracies the most gross, have been put forth by some as axioms which could not be disputed, and received by others, almost as the oracular edict and inspiration of infallibility. This has been felt for more than half a century. An

historian, writing in the year 1800, says, "I consider it, then, as an important, nay, as a sacred duty, to lay before the people of England the origin and progress of the late conspiracy and rebellion: for I have good reason for saying that the majority of them are as ignorant of the real state of Ireland as they are of Kamshatka or Madagascar."—*Musgrave, Irish Rebelions.**

Sir Richard
Musgrave
quoted.

"The History of the Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland" deserves, therefore, the attentive study and perusal of those who have to perform the duties of legislators. The highest, the most intelligent and influential in the land, may derive light and instruction from it. It tends to demonstrate clearly that the *imperium in imperio*, the divided empire, created by the presence of Popery, ever works ill for the monarch, for the people, and for the best interests of a country, in its foreign no less than in its domestic relations.

Mischief
of *impe-
rium in
imperio.*

Rome, when struggling for power and supremacy, creates discord; when supreme, tyranny and oppression. Where her influence most flourishes, it is upon the ruin of those who have been the longest and the most servilely subject to her despotic sway.

Ever may Great Britain be free from Papal supremacy and dictation! Earnestly may she struggle to sever each tie that holds her in guilty alliance with Popery, and may her theologians and statesmen perform the high and holy duties which devolve on them, whether in the senate, on the platform, in the pulpit, or through the press, in a manner worthy of the most illustrious of

* Vide Appendix A, p. 334, for the alleged causes of this.

their predecessors; worthy of the Christian, the Protestant name they bear; of the eventful time in which their lot is cast, of the crisis now present; and of that more terrible one which seems to be fast approaching!

The history clearly shows that subserviency to the cause of Rome in Ireland has neither tended to promote the happiness of the people:—the security or independence of the crown. The object of the Church of Rome is still the same as it was at and prior to the period of the Reformation, though her policy, her mode of seeking to attain the object or end in view, may be different, varied—skilfully varied—according to the changing aspect of the times.

Protestantism no mere negation.

Protestantism, too, is the same. It is no mere negation. It is primitive, Scriptural Christianity. It is positive, as asserting the fundamental truths of the Christian religion. It is negative, as rejecting those errors and corruptions which, during the lapse of ages, the Church of Rome has engrafted on, or substituted for, the soul-saving doctrines of Christianity.

The above may be taken as a description or definition, which, though not perhaps a perfect one, will render tolerably clear the import and meaning of the word Protestantism, as used in this introductory sketch.

The Church of Rome.

By the *Church* of Rome may be signified strictly the religious system of Popery, or Popery theologically and ecclesiastically considered.

The Court of Rome.

By the *Court* of Rome, when used in contradistinction to the Church of Rome, is implied the

political system of Popery, or Popery politically considered.

In common parlance, the term *Popery* is made use of in opposition to the term *Protestantism*, and embraces the descriptions or definitions above given.

In the course of these introductory remarks, "*The Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland*" is a term made use of to imply some account of the designs and doings of Rome as a compound system: a politico-religious system, of which, however, politics form the chief portion of its constituent or elementary items. This also appears to have been the comprehensive sense in which Dr. Phelan made use of the expression, and which he intended it should convey to others.

Popery is a politico-religious system.

The controversy between these conflicting systems of Popery and Protestantism gains strength day by day, and neutrality becomes more difficult. They started originally from the same point. They diverged into different lines as they went onward. They lead to different results, and, in their terminations, are wide as the poles asunder.

Neutral grounds diminished.

The indifferent and lovers of ease may disregard distinctions as they please. They may call virtue, vice; and vice, virtue. They may substitute the name of darkness for light, and that of light for darkness: and put sweet for bitter, and bitter for sweet.

But the inherent contrast will remain the same; light will still be pleasing to the eye, and darkness its aversion; sweet still agreeable to the taste, and bitter the reverse of it; and truth, Divine and saving truth

—that merciful emanation from Deity—continue in perfect harmony with the Divine will, though scorned and rejected by an unbelieving world.

Hence Popery, as a system of darkness, error, delusion, will, so long as it endures, be in opposition to Protestantism, however politicians or Jesuits may seek to deny the fact, or disguise the nature, of the difference, and to sophisticate the minds of men upon the subject.

Popery and
Protestant-
ism irre-
concilable.

The two systems, then, are irreconcilable. They will struggle so long as they both exist. Rome strives for supremacy. Great Britain dare not grant it. There cannot long be an equality. One or other must be supreme.

This difference, however, is to be borne in mind, as regards the result. Protestantism in the ascendancy is tolerant of Popery; but Popery in the ascendancy is intolerant of Protestantism.

If statesmen professing to be friendly to the Church of England, or theologians, members of her communion, are determined to persist in lowering the tone of British Protestantism to meet the insidious requirements of Rome, they greatly mistake their vocation, and sadly betray their trust, and throw away a golden opportunity for good which may never again occur.

It has been grievous, in past years, to witness how ministers of religion have lent their aid, by promoting concessions of political power, or of pecuniary endowments, or by theological tendencies and teachings, to

help forward the cause of the Papacy. Yet let it not be supposed that all have desired to produce the evil consequences which have resulted from such courses, or that reference is here made to one denomination only, to the exclusion of others.

The expression—ministers of religion—may be taken in its most comprehensive sense, as including those belonging to, or seceding from, the Establishment, many of whom seem to have been not less in fault than the laity of their respective communions in these matters.

The errors we deplore, have, alas! been too general. Yet from those—whose peculiar office it is to guide and teach others, the laity naturally expect a high and consistent tone, and to have their own deviations rectified by the higher and holier standard or practice of their recognised spiritual superiors, teachers, pastors, and masters. Consequently a very painful impression is produced when the contrary of this is the case—when such expectations are not realized.

The laity look up to their spiritual superiors to be rightly guided.

A modern writer of celebrity has given expression to the feelings of disgust with which slaveholders themselves regard ministers of religion, who become the apologists of their cruel and nefarious traffic, and seek to prove from Scripture the divine right of buying, and selling, and enslaving the souls or bodies of their fellow-creatures, in this the nineteenth century of the *Christian* era!

They themselves well know, that, however a fancied expediency, or necessity, or love of gain, may urge

them to enter upon or to continue a traffic which many of them abhor, and which common humanity condemns, it is a perversion of the Bible, and a misrepresentation of Christianity—a venal or sycophantic degradation of the high and holy functions of the ministerial office, to stoop so low as to distort the sacred writings, and seek to force from them proof that slavery is a Christian institution.

Politicians sometimes seem to be so surrounded by circumstances, that they find or fancy a *necessity*—the statesman's, often, as the tyrant's, plea—for yielding to the exactions of Popery. But how great is the disgust justly entertained by many, even amongst themselves, when they see Protestant divines *voluntarily* defending and applauding such course; when they see the constituted guardians of our faith—it may be even those who not only minister in holy things, but consecrate, ordain, and set apart those who shall do so, and who partake of the emoluments of the Church of England—devoting themselves assiduously to advance the cause of Rome, and to impair, if not destroy, the interests and institutions which every tie of honour and duty, and obligations the most sacred, call upon them to vindicate and to promote!

Great Britain not prepared to become Romish.

The people of this country, come what will, are not prepared for Popery. The vast proportion of the Church of England is against it. Scotland is against it. The awakened spirituality and activity of the clergy and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland are against it; and the Dissenters

of this country, with the influence which they possess, especially amongst the middle and lower classes,—are against it. They will never consent to see Popery dominant, nor much longer endure to see it endowed, promoted, and patronized by the State.

Too long and too silently have they acquiesced in what they disapprove, while Rome with her bold invasions, almost unchecked, has pursued her course, despoiling Protestantism both of gold and power, and encouraging herself therewith for fresh encroachments. But that mischief, we may hope, is now at an end; or, if it still progresses, it will be only as the result of the impetus already given by past attempts at conciliation.

The avalanche loosened from the mountain's brow acquires a power and velocity in falling which renders useless all resistance to its progress, but the very impetuosity of its movement quickens the period of its transit, and, once in the valley, its short reign of terror and destruction is no more. The affrighted villagers recover from their alarm, and set to work with promptitude and vigour to repair the mischiefs they may have sustained. So now, the Protestants of this empire are beginning to recover from the consternation produced by the demands of Popery, whose evil influences for more than a quarter of a century seem to have paralyzed the energies of the hereditary, no less than those of the elective guardians of our rights and liberties.

Reaction
taking
place.

We hear no more of sacrificing bishoprics, or despoiling the Irish clergy, and making fresh concessions to Rome—too strong, as it is—but Protestants are claiming that concessions and endowments already made—to propagate the errors against which they protest—be modified or withdrawn.

Nor are they bestirring themselves too early or too earnestly in the matter. They have lost much vantage-ground, and may lose more by delay.

The
Papacy a
conspiracy.

There is a conspiracy centralized at Rome against the rights and liberties of mankind. Its design is to subjugate the human race and to render all Churches and empires obedient to its sway. It styles itself religious, but is no less secular and political. Its ramifications extend to every quarter of the globe, and almost to every country. Whether amongst the inhabitants of the polar regions,—or those under the burning influence of the torrid zone,—or those inhabiting more temperate regions,—the agents and emissaries of this system have been, and still are, active. Nothing seems too lofty for its vaulting ambition, nothing too small to escape its microscopic observation. It stoops to conquer. Having conquered, it tyrannizes over its victims, whether in mind, body, or estate. Not satisfied with dominion limited by the life of man, it extends its empire beyond the grave. Crossing the border which separates the seen from the unseen world,—Rome professes to involve in the punishment of

Its extent
and acti-
vity.

Its unhal-
lowed in-
trusion
into the
world of
spirits.

penal fire, or to withdraw from it, the spirits of the departed not dying in mortal sin. Thus making the world of spirits to re-act upon this; Rome uses the imaginary fires of purgatory to extort from the weak or dying, the patrimony which should go to the orphan children, or other surviving relatives and friends. Nor is this power exercised only when "filthy lucre" is in question; nor are the terrors of this portion of the system confined to any class. The monarch and the peasant have alike trembled before them. The wise and intelligent have often, like the philosophers of Pagan Greece and Rome, been scarcely able to rise above their system. The wealthy and the poor have felt the necessity of yielding to the fears which superstition had first engendered, and then fastened on them. Often, indeed, this spiritual arm of the Church of Rome has compelled princes and statesmen to adopt a policy which they disapproved, and to reject a course which they may have deemed essential or conducive to their country's good. Even at the present day this is the case.

Purgatorial fire.

By spiritual terrors sways the destinies of men and nations.

It is not long since her spiritual appliances and death-bed terrors were brought to bear against the colleague of a statesman who, in one of the smaller nations of Europe, had attempted much, and accomplished something, to ameliorate the condition of his country. Santa Rosa, when *in extremis*, was refused the last rites of the Romish Church. He trembled like a child at the chimera which Papal superstition had conjured up before him, and was

The Siccardi Laws, and M. Santa Rosa.

offered the *viaticum*, on condition of betraying a cause he had held dear to him as life. This he would not do. The last solemn rite of the Church, therefore, was withheld. "He received absolution, but he did not receive extreme unction."—*Tablet*.

Theology
and policy
of Rome
dangerous.

Theologians who derive their theology from the written Word of God, will in no case find a more subtle, dangerous, and perfidious foe than Popery, though coming in the appearance of a friend; and politicians will rarely find a deadlier enemy of constitutional government, the independence of sovereigns, the rights, the liberties, and interests of the people. Monarchy or Republicanism, whether limited or unrestricted, may prevail with less or greater advantages or disadvantages, taken *per se*. But Popery looks upon those ruling or administering national affairs, as so many instruments, to be used at the discretion of Romish priests and Jesuits, as may best tend to advance the interests, and to promote the powers of the Papacy. The Monarchies of Europe, whether absolute, limited or mixed, equally as the Republic of the United States of America, may be referred to in illustration of this. The Church of Rome may flourish in the country which she ruins, and triumph over the fall or confusion of individuals, families, nations, and Churches which would oppose her authority.

Rome not
to be con-
ciliated.

Yet with this system our theologians and statesmen have been desirous of cultivating a friendly relationship!—ignorant or forgetful of the fact, that the

inherent nature and principles of Popery remain the same;—that the dogma of infallibility precludes the abnegation or renunciation of any other dogma, once defined and received by her as an article of faith, and, therefore, that all assimilation must take place only by Protestantism renouncing its own principles, and becoming more like to Romanism; forgetful also, or wishing to ignore or conceal the fact, that the spiritual claims of the Church of Rome do of necessity include a great interference with, and oftentimes a control over, temporal matters.

The power of Popery is increased by yielding to it. With a subtlety peculiar to the system, it insinuates itself where other influences might attempt to work in vain, and preying alike upon the fears and the hopes of its victims, alternately allures or frightens them to courses best adapted to suit its purposes.

Rome's
power
increased
by yielding
to it.

Striking indeed is the contrast between the position of Popery in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and Popery in the reign of our present most gracious Sovereign, Queen Victoria. Its power was then decreasing. It has been latterly increasing. This difference, however, is not referrible to a changed feeling on the part of the Sovereign or the people of the present day, but to causes more remote, and some of which have been in operation long anterior to the present period. Some of these, indeed, manifested themselves even in the time of the Reformers.*

Popery in
England.

* A passage from Wilberforce's "Practical View of Christianity" in support of this view, is given in Appendix B, *post*, p. 333.

Mischief
of disunion
amongst
Protest-
ants.

Amongst them may be mentioned, divisions between Protestants ; the decay of vital piety. Then came the civil wars and insurrections ; decline in public and private morality ; growth of scepticism and infidelity ; latitudinarianism of principle amongst statesmen ; and the long series of continental warfare, only terminating in the early part of the present century. During this latter period, the Papacy was comparatively quiescent, or even suffering, and eliciting sympathy and support from powers who had before opposed her.

All this long time, however, Rome was not asleep ;— she “ *bides her time.*” Though defeated for centuries, she does not withdraw her claim. What was once hers, is ever hers. No rule of prescription applies to the “ spiritual corporation ” of Papal Rome : “ *Nullum tempus occurrit Ecclesiæ* ” is her motto.

Powerless when watched, and opposed by the awakened skill and combined energies of a free and united people, she rises into importance when hatred and discord have weakened them by divisions, or a false security has lulled them to repose. Thus, and from some of the above-mentioned causes, has she gained strength ; and it remains yet to be seen how far, and after what further suffering, humiliation, and disaster, we may be permitted to resume our lost position ; whether, having long possessed the power of opposing Popery, without the desire of doing so, we may not find ourselves with the inclination to oppose Popery, but without the power of doing it.

This, time will manifest. Our duty, meanwhile, is

clear. The feeling of the country at large is intensely Protestant. There is a diversity in its manifestation, but the spirit is deep, strong, intelligent, determined.

The very skirmishing with Tractarian Popery—in which, it may be, many have been seriously, and some fatally wounded—has prepared the public mind for dealing with Italian Popery.

Tractarianism has succeeded in doing much of the mischief which its originators intended; and has accomplished but little of the good which some of its mistaken promoters, and earlier followers, hoped it would produce. This, however, may be stated as one of the results,—that the people of this country are, if possible, more determined than ever to resist the encroachments of the Papacy.

Churchmen and Dissenters have their points of difference, but they have also their points of resemblance, and bear a decided testimony against Popery. Politicians of various shades and parties have also their differences, but they have also their resemblances. Differing, it may be, on many points, there are others on which they may be found almost unanimous. Actuated by a spirit higher than party, animated by a love of their country and their religion, they all, or most of them, if not equally, yet to a high degree, abominate Popery in the ascendancy, and will risk anything—should a final contest be precipitated—rather than see their religion corrupted, their liberties subverted, and their native land again become the patrimony of St. Peter!

The apparent absence of any such immediate crisis, has led successive statesmen to neglect some of our outposts, under the delusive hope that the nature of the Papacy was changed, and therefore that we need apprehend no evil.

Extent of
Papal
power.

When the extent of Papal dominion and wealth are referred to, or when architecture, and sculpture, and the fine arts are invoked, to show what Romanism has done for mankind, we may point to the stately cities and the ancient empires of the world, to the grandeur of Nineveh and of Egypt; the magnificence and beauty of pagan Greece and Rome. Yet in them there was nothing toward off approaching desolation;—nothing to regenerate man's corrupt nature, or to repair the ruins of the Fall. Christianity was not sent into the world merely to patronize the fine arts; nor will intellect alone ever lead to a saving knowledge of Christ Jesus. The Pagan nations of antiquity possessed intelligence and taste; fragments from their chisel serve us as models even in the present day: yet the testimony of Scripture is—"The world by wisdom knew not God."* Hence the need of a revelation. It was given. God appeared, in Christ, the only, but all-sufficient, Saviour of sinners, "reconciling the world unto himself."†

Yet Christians too frequently seek, in religious matters, not so much to elevate all to the level of Christianity; as to present Christianity in some, even, of its essentials and details, opposed as little as possible

* 1 Cor. i. 21.

† 2 Cor. v. 19.

to existing errors and corruptions. Rome is not free from this.

In some of her missionary efforts, she is open to the charge of having paganized Christianity, rather than of having Christianized pagans, and converted sinners from the errors of their way to worship the true God.

Rome would paganize Christianity.

The simplicity of Christianity, which places its saving efficacy within the reach of all grades of intellect; all classes of men; and of every rank in society; is a stumbling-block to those who would represent it in a form more captivating to the senses.

The earlier pagans were long held in subjection to their dumb idols, and to the vain and superstitious practices in use amongst them.

Accustomed to the gorgeous ceremonials with which their own worship was accompanied, and believing them to be essential ingredients of true devotion,—the simplicity of a Christian assembly was not only destitute of every charm for them, but seemed wanting in respect towards the unseen object of their veneration. To them a temple without an idol, and an altar without a sacrifice, had no attraction; it seemed like a world without a visible semblance of Deity, or worshippers without an object for their adoration. Is it not too much so with regard to the worshippers of papal Rome? Endeavours have been made to connect altars and sacrifices, images and pictures, with the practice and profession of true religion; and vast multitudes have embraced this corrupted, this paganized form of Christianity.

Numbers. The numbers, however, who follow Popery should weigh as nothing in the scale; for any argument based upon mere numbers might be turned against Rome herself; and might from the first have been turned, as now, against Christianity in general, for a much greater portion of the population of the earth are pagan idolaters than professing Christians.

Antiquity. Any deduction from antiquity alone, will also be unsafe as a guide, for there are superstitions of a date more ancient than the Christian religion.

It is not, therefore, to numbers, or antiquity, that we must look; it is not by them that the conscience must be guided. We must look to the truth, be guided by the truth, and base our religion upon the Divine will, as revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures.

Holy
Scripture
the stand-
ard of
Christian
truth.

With the light of that book for our guide, we must be compelled to admit that Popery is not Christianity, if by Christianity be understood the pure and undefiled religion of Christ Jesus as contained in the Holy Scriptures. Indeed, Rome does not profess her religion to be such: she claims that holy book as the basis of her edifice, and then erects upon it a superstructure of a totally inconsistent character. She gives us, if not Christianity without Christ, yet with Christ placed in a subordinate position; or impaired in the fulness of the attributes and offices which are solely and peculiarly his;—sharing them with creature mediators, and fancied human merits, and good works. Most of the articles of her creed are more novel than the New Testament. Many are not even to be found in it:

and hence we have the strange anomaly of a system calling itself Christian, founding its existence and claims to authority upon a portion of the New Testament, and yet refusing the members of its communion the right of investigating the charter of their salvation, or the alleged foundation of its authority!

Rome, however, has prospered. Endowed with much subtlety, and enriched with the fruits of long experience,—she makes use of appliances for gaining wealth and power, of which Protestants cannot avail themselves; and no small portion of the property enjoyed by the Papacy has been acquired by means which certainly appear to Protestants of a very questionable character.

How
Rome
acquires
wealth.

Thus, much of what was done by the English settlers in Ireland dates its origin from superstitious fears, or an erroneous idea of making the perishable goods of this world subserve the cause of promoting or securing their owners' happiness in the world to come. Dr. Phelan, having referred to some existing evils, during the early portion of Ireland's history, proceeds—"But if the clergy occasionally suffered a few of those annoyances which were as the course of nature to less fortunate men, they had a peculiar and abundant recompense in that soldierly devotion which sought to appease God by largesses to his ministers. The early English adventurers were eminently distinguished for this species of piety: one hundred and sixty religious houses, founded and endowed between the landing of Henry the Second and that of Edward Bruce, with countless grants of land, and other minor benefactions, were

160 re-
ligious
houses
founded in
148 years.

the splendid monuments of their remorse. In fine, all the privileges, and nearly all the riches which the Church then enjoyed (and it enjoyed an ample share of both) had been derived from the policy or bounty of Englishmen, and were still suspended upon the continuance of their ascendancy. From a state of some hardship, and total dependance, it had been exalted as the Church of a dominant party, and pampered into all that florid prosperity which the envy or imagination of modern agitators has ascribed to the reformed establishment; it was indulged, besides, in the exercise of many branches of the Papal craft, to the great oppression of the people, and to the detriment and dishonour of the civil authorities. The spirit which could discover a motive to rebellion in treatment such as this would be inconceivable, did not history furnish so many examples of the insatiable cravings of Popery, and the madness of disappointed ambition."—P. 137.

Conven-
tual insti-
tutions.

Conventual institutions have, no doubt, proved very powerful auxiliaries to the cause of Rome. Whether established and endowed from pecuniary sacrifice made by parties in their lifetime as an atonement for their offences, or by money extorted from the hard earnings of the poor, or wrung by death-bed terrors from the rich,—they show the hold which Popery has had or retains over its victims; and are landmarks denoting a country's vassalage to Rome. They operate injuriously upon the interests of society, whether passing under the name of religious houses of men, or of convents or nunneries.

Protestant ministers have not the same means of acquiring wealth, nor the same motive for doing so. On this the Bishop of London made some very weighty and pertinent remarks, when examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, on the subject of the Mortmain Laws, 24th June, in the year 1844. He is asked by the Chairman, Lord John Manners (Q. 570), "Does your experience as a parish clergyman lead you to apprehend undue influence with persons, particularly in sickness, from clergymen or others, for the purpose of obtaining grants or bequests for the Church?"

Mortmain
Laws.

Evidence
of the
Bishop of
London.

"Certainly not. There is nothing in the principles of our Church which need lead any person to entertain such an apprehension, even in theory, and I believe in practice it is equally groundless. Lord Hardwicke, indeed, said, "One of my chief reasons for laying a restraint on such donations, is, lest the clergy of our Established Church should be tempted and instructed to watch the last moments of dying persons, as insidiously as ever the monks and friars did in the darkest times of Popery and superstition. The opportunity is established by the laws as they stand at present. They may, by so doing, increase the wealth and the power of the Church; nay, they may increase the revenue of their own particular cure;" and, he concludes, "if ever we should have an ambitious clergyman for a Prime Minister, it would be the only way to acquire an influence at Court, or preferment in the Church." I think, from the last reason, the Committee may judge of the validity of the others.

The
Bishop of
London,
and the
Mortmain
Laws.

Such an argument could not be used in the present day. I think in respect to the Roman Catholic clergy there would be great reason to apprehend this influence, because the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is this (the words in the Latin I will thus translate) :—" It is confessedly taught in the writings of both Testaments that there are three most convenient modes of washing out the stains of sin—alms, prayers, fastings; and that it is altogether reasonable that one of these fountains should flow abundantly when the others fail and are dried up.' "

(571.)—" Have you the original words in Latin ?

" 'I have. Thomassinus *Discipl. Eccl.*, iii. 1 :—

" *In confesso est sacris utriusque Testamenti literis propositos esse hos abluendis scelerum maculis opportissimos fontes, eleemosynas, orationes, jejunia; et consentaneum omnino esse, ut unius horum fontium copiâ abundet, ubi ceteri deficiunt, et arescunt.*"

And, therefore, if dying persons are persuaded that by leaving large bequests for charitable purposes, or for the purpose of having so many masses said for the repose of their souls, they can wash out the stains of sin, or escape a certain period of the pains of purgatory, there would be great danger of unjust disherison. The danger of this is of course much less in our own Church, which teaches no such doctrine, but merely instructs the clergyman, when visiting a dying man, to exhort him to settle his worldly affairs, and to be liberal to the poor. I may add that I have been informed, on authority which I believe to be credible, that an eminent Roman Catholic of the present day in

England said that, if the Mortmain Act were repealed, he would require no other measure in favour of the Roman Catholic Church.'

The
Bishop of
London
and the
Mortmain
Laws.

(572.)—"Mr. BROTHERTON.—Is your Lordship of that opinion?'

"'No; I have too much confidence in the intrinsic truth and vigour of the Reformed Church to be much afraid of it myself.'

(573.)—"Sir G. GREY.—Do you think that he meant that endowments in landed property would be so rapidly created?'

"'Yes.'

(574.)—"Mr. MILNES.—Does not your Lordship think that public opinion would act very strongly at the present time against any such abuse of the liberty?'

"'Might I be allowed to ask how public opinion would affect that?—I think that a religious principle, a principle of truth on the part of those who had property to dispose of might operate: a Roman Catholic might be anxious to provide for the dissemination of what he considered the truth, and other members of the Church might be equally anxious to provide for the dissemination of what they considered the truth. The one is more accessible in his dying moments to the arguments which I have described than the other, to whom such an argument could not with consistency be used.'

(575.)—"What I intended by the question was, whether you did not think there would be the fear of creating scandal, and also a feeling against the Roman

Catholic Church itself; would not that, in all probability, be a strong check against any member of the Church abusing the power which such liberty would give to them?’

“ ‘ But they would hold it to be anything but a scandal.’

(587.)—“ ‘ CHAIRMAN.*—Supposing, for instance, such safeguards could be devised as would be agreeable to the Roman Catholic laity, does your Lordship then think that those reasons of public policy should prevent the relaxation from being extended to them?’

“ ‘ I think the policy of this country, since the Reformation, with respect to restricting the Roman Catholics in matters concerning the propagation of their principles, to be defensive. The difference between their Church and our own is of so essential and vital a kind, that I am not at present prepared to consent to any measure which shall increase the facility they now possess of advancing the boundaries of their Church in this country.’

(588.)—“ ‘ Mr. SHAW.—Does any possible way to prevent it occur to your Lordship’s mind?’

Protestants have slept upon their rights.

“ ‘ The Committee will be so good as to understand that I am looking at the question throughout, in its bearings upon the Church. *It is only within the last few years that we have begun to think about such matters.*’ ”—*Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Mortmain, 24th June, 1844.*

* Lord John Manners.

On this it has been observed *—

“ Here is the melancholy fact—a fact, however, which, while it discovers to us the cause of our weakness, points out also the source of our future strength.

“ The truth is, that till very recently the distinctive marks of Popery and Protestantism have been unheeded, if not unknown, by the great proportion of our fellow-countrymen. They have never, or but rarely, and then superficially, formed a portion of education, either in public or private seminaries, the public schools, colleges, and universities of the land; nor, so prominently as they ought to have done, points of examination before admission into holy orders.

“ But let it not be supposed we are referring, in these remarks, to the Church of England alone. No. Every body of Dissenters seems to have been equally asleep on these points.

“ The fault of our present position is not with one man, or any distinct body of men; it seems to have resulted from the apathy of all, and to require the united efforts of all to obviate the evil state of things at present existing. Popery was forgotten by many. By others she was thought to be dead, and by more to be harmless. From the extreme of hatred, we

* “ Observations on the Mortmain Laws, Act of Supremacy, &c., with reference to Bills now (1846) before Parliament; or, Popery opposed to National Independence and Social Happiness.” By James Lord, of the Inner Temple, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London: Seeleys. 1846.

seem, as a Church and a nation, to have leaped to the opposite extreme, without halting in the happy medium, where we ought permanently to have taken our position, with a Christian firmness and moderation, alike removed from bigotry on the one hand, and an unprincipled Latitudinarianism on the other."

Meanwhile the Papacy has been sending forth her picked men, armed at all points,—trained at our expense,—denying what has been received from history against that system, and misleading alike the theologian, the statesman, and the diplomatist, as to its nature, pretensions, and designs.

The Mortmain Laws, however, have been declaimed against, as harsh, unjust, and impolitic. Yet who framed those laws? What is the date of the earliest? Why, and upon what principles, were they enacted?

Our
Roman
Catholic
ancestors
and
Popery.

We answer, they were framed by the Roman Catholic monarch and nobility of this country (for the people then were of little note). They were framed to check Romish rapacity, and to preserve or rescue England from the exoteric influence of Rome.

That influence continues at work upon the broad surface of the country, and in families. The laws which our Roman Catholic ancestors deemed essential for the preservation of their property from ecclesiastical confiscation, can hardly be thought needless for us, as a Protestant people, in the present day. Instead of being repealed, they should be extended.

Principle
of the
Mortmain

Personal property, which, when the Mortmain Laws originated, was comparatively nothing, is now

of enormous value ; yet we still jealously guard against the improper alienation of even one acre of land in mortmain, but leave it open for any infirm, or sick, or dying person, even *in articulo mortis*, at a period when the vanity and transitory nature of earthly things is more and more seen, and the powers of superstitious dread, it may be, are at their highest,—to alienate for ever from all dearest to him his entire personal property, whether of hundreds or thousands of pounds.

Laws require extension to personal property.

Nunneries are institutions which seem to be an almost necessary accompaniment of Roman Catholicism. They require special notice and investigation. A country jealous of the liberty of the subject should forbid their existence, guard against their increase, or provide for their inspection. It has done so with regard to other institutions for those classes of persons, whose mental or bodily infirmities may at any time have required them to be submitted to restraint. By parity of reasoning, it should provide for those who, even when they have voluntarily entered the convent's lonely shade, may, after experience there, wish again to return to their relatives and friends. We ought not to consign, or suffer to be consigned, the young, the confiding,—once and for ever to "the deep solitudes and awful cells" of these institutions, knowing too well that something besides "heavenly, pensive contemplation" finds admission there. History and experience tell us of the mischief of so doing, and caution us against those whited

Nunneries.

sepulchres, where not the dead, but the living body, is entombed, and that for life; yea, more, where not the body only, but the soul is buried—the one imprisoned in vaults of masonry and iron; the other, beneath the gloomy shades of superstition, whose noxious influence deadens the moral sensibilities; perverts, where it does not destroy, natural affection; and impairs the vitality of all that comes within the sphere of its fatal power.

Protestantism
the cause
of British
prosperity.

On the testimony of divines, historians, and statesmen,—British Protestantism has been the basis of British prosperity and renown. The moral, the social, the religious, the intellectual, the political, the commercial, the literary reputation and interest of our country, have grown with its growth.

A policy opposed to British Protestantism is, therefore, subversive of those fundamental principles to the influence of which are to be attributed many of our national, social, and individual blessings. Such policy must be unfriendly, if not dangerous, to the best, the dearest, and the highest interests of Great Britain.

Yet for the last seventy-five, fifty, and twenty-five years in particular, successive politicians have adopted a course friendly to Popery, hostile to British Protestantism, and, therefore, to the good and welfare of the British Empire.

Who, that is well conversant with facts, and capable of viewing them in their connected form;—alive to the portentous consequences involved, and free from undue influence of party feeling, can arrive

at any other conclusion than this—viz., that the interests of British Protestantism have been sacrificed at the shrine of party feelings, personal interests, or sectarian prejudices?

The Whig and the Tory parties, with all their respective affiliations, or ramifications, have indeed been contending with each other as to the principles upon which the government of the country should best be carried on,—but in their controversies they have invoked the aid of a third party—friendly to neither—actuated by a deadly hostility to both—to aid them in their mutual struggles; and too often the price for which such aid has been given has involved a sacrifice of some of the best interests of the country—the only objects for the guardianship or advancement of which they professed to have been contending.

Popery has taken advantage of party feuds amongst Protestants.

Is it not abundantly clear, that for a long time past even the profoundest of our statesmen have been playing a ruinous game with Popery? The Vatican, which in reality had nothing to lose, was sure to gain by any diplomatic relations, whether openly or covertly carried on, between it and the Court of St. James's. It takes advantage of our disunion. It makes our vain efforts at "conciliation" serve to promote its designs, and to prepare the way for fresh encroachments. Such ought not to be the humiliating position of Great Britain. But so long as politicians, for party purposes, submit to the degradation of accepting or holding office at the will of a

person or party animated by an influence centralized at Rome, and hostile to the Protestant faith and the supremacy of British renown, it will continue to be so.

Those more conversant than myself with passing events will, no doubt, be able to call to mind frequent instances where, both at home and abroad, aggressions have been made by Romanism greatly injurious to the highest interests of this or of other countries, and calculated to promote the power of the Papacy.

Tahiti. Many years have not passed since we beheld an independent sovereign, in the Pacific Ocean, compelled to receive "Popery at the cannon's mouth," and the territories of the Queen of Tahiti invaded for the purpose of establishing Popery therein.

In various European States, within a recent period, efforts have been made to supersede the civil government, and so to overawe statesmen and officials, as to reduce the temporal into subjection to the spiritual power.

Austria. It is yet fresh in the memory of many, how Romish bigotry in Austria drove the Zillerdalers from the lovely valleys of their native land; how abruptly they were compelled to depart; what suffering they had endured for conscience' sake; and how those sufferings would have been prolonged, had not the King of Prussia promptly afforded them an asylum in his dominions, and, in conjunction with King William IV., the uncle of our own most gracious sovereign, interposed in their behalf.

Prussia. In Prussia we have seen the Archbishop of Cologne

exalt himself in prelatie power above the royal authority. In Prussia, too, we have yet more lately heard of an edict emanating from Rome, or from Romish authority, on the subject of mixed marriages—an edict of such a nature, that the King of Prussia has felt necessitated in self-defence to declare, that any officer of his army who shall venture to obey it shall be instantly dismissed from his Majesty's service.

Switzerland has witnessed the intrigues of the Jesuits, and the horrors of a disastrous internecine war, fomented by their instrumentality, was only evaded by the blessing of the Almighty upon the intervention of the European Powers.

Switzerland.

Holland, like England, has been the scene of a "Papal aggression." Bishops who were not required have been obtruded upon that country. Thus much dissatisfaction has been created there, and the seed sown for yet further mischief.

Holland.

Belgium and Holland, once referred to as an illustration of the way in which Papal and Protestant States could unite and blend harmoniously in one, have since been separated. The former kingdom now constitutes one of the darkest portions of those on which rests the oppressive dominion of the Papacy—a power which has there recently materially interfered with temporal matters, elections, and affairs of State, compelling the ministers and the monarch alike to yield to its usurping influence.

Belgium.

France—successively monarchical, republican, consular; and again monarchical and imperial, in her

France.

form of government, has found the Papacy changing with each change, but still holding fast the reins of power over the people and their governors.

The arms of the monarch, the consul, the emperor, have successively been approved or consecrated.

While Louis Philippe was king, then the priests were for monarchy; the people gained the day, and the priesthood turned republican. They sided with the people, and blessed their "trees of liberty" which they had planted, and watered them with their blood. Change came again. The imperial dynasty is restored. The "trees of liberty" are plucked up. The cry of "Liberty, equality, and fraternity," is heard no more, and the priesthood re-appear upon the scene in their natural character, in alliance with despotic power.

Sardinia.

Sardinia, desirous of ameliorating the condition of her subjects, enacted various laws for the accomplishment of that purpose. Rome as an obstructive power interferes. The vengeance of the Papal Government is drawn down. The ecclesiastical authority of Rome is arrayed against the civil authority of the State—and the death-bed scene of Santa Rosa, a colleague of Siccaldi, is rendered painfully instructive by the intractable spirit of Romish domination.

Tuscany.

The cases of the Madiai and of Miss Cuninghame have exposed to the world the superstition and cruelty of the Tuscan Government, or the power said to animate its movements, and show that to live in the midst of the fine arts, with galleries of

sculpture and painting, is not enough to change the heart of man, or abolish the degrading principles and practice of cruelty and superstition.

Baden, also, has been the scene of Papal daring and intrigue. There, too, recently the Archbishop of Freiburg, in the plenitude of Papal presumption, has ventured to fulminate the ban of excommunication,—less terrible than it once was,—but not even now without effect when Popery is strong. Baden.

Spain, who owed her deliverance and existence to Protestant England, has, under the influence of Popery, refused decent burial for our dead, till the voice of Protestantism, and the decided diplomacy of Great Britain, overruled the miserable bigotry of that priest-ridden and priest-ruined country. Spain.

Portugal, by various proceedings, and especially by her new code, has sought to emulate the darkness of the dark ages, and has rendered Madeira notorious for the efforts made by her against the cause of Protestantism. Instances from Ireland, England, our colonial dependencies, and America herself, might be added to the above enumeration, which would then form but a small portion of what might be adduced to show the almost universality of Rome's actings, and the danger of acceding to her assumptions. Portugal.
Ireland,
England.

Yet it is abundantly clear, that if the Protestant powers of the world chose to repel these aggressions and interferences by armed intervention, the days of Papal Rome, already numbered, would be few indeed. The people of every Romish nation would rejoice to

become possessors of true liberty, and hail the day of their country's emancipation from the thralldom of Rome as one of the brightest that ever dawned upon their land.

Even the Papal Powers of Europe, if they would, and as perhaps some day, not far distant, they will, might rise up and repel these aggressions on their power and independence, and hurl back upon Rome what she has inflicted upon them. But, however, they at present, from State policy, or from other causes, may find it convenient to tolerate such interference at the hands of Rome, so that, by her, they may better govern the people; even State policy itself may ere long seem to be best served by the pursuit of a different course.

It rarely happens that statesmen, professionally such, *i.e.*, official, place-holding, or place-expecting statesmen, seek so much to ameliorate the state of society, as to make use of what they find around them for state-craft, or state purposes, so as may best serve to advance their own aggrandizement.

The relative importance of principles and details.

In the present day, too, many seem devoted to details, rather than to principles; and to be ready, like children, to throw away the lasting benefits of abiding by a good principle and its results, for the sake of grasping impatiently some temporary advantage which flits before their vain imaginations. It was not so that our ancestors acted. Without neglecting details, they accorded to principle the first place in their political and intellectual temple. They based

their polity on a rock, and it stood the tempest. Others have based their polity on the sand, and are perpetually busy with details, little or great, but alike unsuccessful, to obviate some of the mischiefs of building upon a bad foundation. One of our Christian poets has well described this principle of action,—that of making duty paramount to expediency; one which whenever steadily pursued, in reliance on the grace of God, elevates above the debasing tendency of many surrounding influences, and is ever attended with consequences more or less beneficial. He thus apostrophizes the Roman poet and temporizing expediency:—

“ Sweet moralist ! afloat on life’s rough sea,
 The Christian has an art unknown to thee.
 He holds no parley with unmanly fears—
 Where duty bids, he confidently steers ;
 Faces a thousand dangers at her call,
 And, trusting in his God, surmounts them all.” *

A cursory glance at a few of the apprehended evils, which have passed away, and yet the fancied magnitude and terror of which alarmed our statesmen, may not here be out of place. Reference is made to them not for the purpose of recording party triumphs or party defeats, but to mitigate in the minds of some those apprehensions of danger which oftentimes are found to exist when they need not, and are sometimes allowed to deter from the prosecution of a right and consistent course.

Rebellion and disaffection in Ireland, many years

* Cowper.

ago, created alarm. "Catholic Emancipation" was spoken of as the panacea for the evils of that country. It was granted, but the good results anticipated have not followed: claims for fresh concessions have been based upon those already made; and for all that politicians have done, the Papacy at this moment looks not with less complacency upon Ireland, as a lever for the moving of England, than it did a quarter of a century ago.

To pass over the measures of Reform, and of Free-trade—so warmly advocated by some, and reprobated by others—the common observer can hardly fail to remark, that the supposed specifics have not realized the hopes of the one party, nor the gloomy forebodings of the other.

Ireland again was reported to be a difficulty; the alleged number and disaffection of the Roman Catholics made it so. But was this a sufficient argument for bad legislation, or for encouraging Popery? Matters in Ireland have changed since then. Fever, and famine, and pestilence—scourges in the hand of the Almighty—have removed, or diminished, that difficulty; while now, from every quarter of Ireland, we hear of many glad to receive the Gospel of peace and salvation, and of the ranks of Popery being thinned by the dissemination and reception of the truth.

Agrarian outrages, cupidity of land, were spoken of as inseparable from the nature and character of the Irish, who did not always stop short of committing the greatest crimes, either to possess the land, or to

revenge themselves upon those by whom they were kept out, or thrust out from it. Owing to a mysterious agency, they now fly the land of their birth, and avoid what they once coveted. The tide of emigration has set in, and bears away its tens of thousands a-year of the sons and the daughters of Erin,—who in America, the land of their adoption, find what our Government and legislature too little laboured to secure for them at home—liberty of conscience and of action, and an immunity from the exacting claims and tyranny of Rome's priesthood.

These points are here thus briefly brought under review, to show that, in the path of duty, it is not even the wisest policy to shrink from dangers which must be encountered, and which, if not with equal certainty, will yet, in most cases, be overcome: and to make clear that an anti-Protestant policy has not achieved, even for Ireland, anything approaching to a realization of the golden dreams of the fond visionaries by whom it has been so strenuously applauded. Ireland, it is evident, has not been regenerated. Peace and happiness have not yet been secured. But what statesmen could not do; what legislation hitherto has failed to accomplish, we now see coming to pass, by the silent influence of the Gospel of peace and salvation.*

Irish
Church
Missions.

* Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics are effecting a great and rapid change in the feelings and conduct of the population of Ireland.

Christian statesmen cannot safely ignore or despise this great fact.

If Christianity be acknowledged merely as a traditional system, as an historical or existing fact, rather than as the divinely-appointed means for the regeneration of a fallen world,—statesmen may indeed be less inexcusable for not seeking to enter into its spirit, or to understand its nature and its claims.

But whether so recognised or not; whether appreciated or not, it remains the same; not only the most powerful, but *the only efficient* agency for accomplishing all that the most benevolent and patriotic have desired.

But while private exertions and benevolence are thus doing much to enlighten and ameliorate the condition of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, we are supporting from the national funds an institution calculated to counteract all these efforts, and whose anti-social and anti-national principles are instilled into the minds of those who are to become the instructors, the guides, and, in too many cases, the despotic rulers over the people. We must not continue this British Propaganda for the dissemination of Popery in Ireland, Great Britain, and our Colonies. In the retributive providence of the Almighty, the evils inflicted by one upon another are often made, by a re-active influence, the cause of punishment to the evil-doer. This is especially so

with regard to nations. England planted Popery in Ireland, and Ireland is sending over Popery to England. We endow Maynooth College, ostensibly, for Ireland; but the priesthood not required there visit and settle down in various other portions of the British empire, despising, and seeking to overturn, the system under which they have been fostered and endowed.

Scotland
and May-
nooth
priests.

The March number of a religious periodical,* published in Scotland, complains, that a Romish publication, giving an account of the "ordinations and appointments in 1853," gives five cases in succession of students entered at Maynooth, and educated there, and who in 1853 were nominated, or appointed, or in some way attached to missions or congregations in Scotland.

If an investigation were made, many more similar instances might no doubt be traced, both at home and abroad.

As regards the grant to Maynooth, one thing, however, seems abundantly clear. It is this: either our ancestors were not right in separating from Rome, or we are not right in seeking reunion with Rome. Either we are not right in professing ourselves to be Protestants, or we are not right in endowing Popery. But we do both; and, therefore, must as to one be wrong, and, as to both, inconsistent.

Maynooth
College.

The two, being opposite, cannot both be right. They cannot consistently stand together. Nor can the

* The "Bulwark."

conduct of those who *support* the two be guiltless ; and not being guiltless, it may, it must, expose to the danger of punishment. This question is one which affects the national well-being of England ; for, if endowment of Popery be a national sin, it must involve in national guilt ; and, if unrepented of, in national punishment. Individuals will have to bear their punishment, or to reap their full harvest of reward, hereafter. Nations must bear it now. They must here reap their harvest according to the seed they have sown. There is no eternity for *them*.*

Each member of the community will do well to consider and to act upon this. Individual and national interests are involved in it. Statesmen, too, might act a nobler and more Christian part and policy were they to bear this in mind. Nations are not intended for their amusement, but for the glory of God. The government of the world is in the hands of the Almighty. Nothing can happen, but by His appointment or permission. Nations, and individuals, rise or fall subject to His decree. He vouchsafes His blessing, and they prosper ; He withholds it, and they fall into decay and ruin.

The power of evil,—restrained by His omnipotent

* National Religion :—“The Advantage of Religion to Society.” See this subject, well treated by Archbishop Tillotson, vol. i., Sermon 3, fol. ed., p. 39, on the text, “Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is the reproach of any people.” An extract from this discourse is given, *post*, Appendix C, p. 335.

control,—rushes onward for the destruction of what is good—the moment He withholds His protecting providence and care.

Impressed with these convictions, and that the full measure of Divine blessing cannot be ours while, as a nation, we support, endow, and disseminate Popery,—it has been my endeavour, for several years past, in co-operation with others, to point out these evils, with a view to their removal, that so, a remedy being applied, the danger may be escaped, and the judgment averted.

When statesmen and heroes, in common with their more humble fellow-creatures, are reduced to the insignificance from which they sprung; when the mere worldly and temporary interests which have excited, it may be, their vain hopes or their equally vain fears shall have passed away,—the great principles of Christian truth will still survive, unimpaired by time, untouched by any process of decay; and those, also, who have savingly embraced that truth, and have been its true friends and advocates, shall survive with it, partaking of its own eternal nature, becoming “joint heirs with Christ,”* who is “the way, and the truth, and the life”†—“the blessed, and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords.” ‡

* Rom. viii. 17. † John xiv. 6. ‡ 1 Tim. vi. 15.

BISHOP JEBB'S BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM PHELAN, D.D.

WILLIAM PHELAN, D.D., was born at Clonmel, in the county of Tipperary, on the 29th of April, 1789. His father, Mr. John Phelan, was in narrow circumstances, and of humble station ;* but with feelings and habits such as, in England, are rarely to be met with, in the less fortunate portion of society. It is, unhappily, matter of history, that, down to the close of the seventeenth century, changes of property in Ireland were great, violent, and irretrievable. In the course of those changes, the ancestors of young Phelan were heavy sufferers ; but they cherished the remembrance of the past ; † and in this, and other instances, men, not much raised above the rank of peasants, were often distinguished by a conscious dignity, wholly independent of, and superior to, mere outward condition.

His birth
and
parentage.

* He was, by trade, a wool-comber.

† A long remembrance: but thus it is in Ireland. The great bulk of the Phelan property was lost, I believe, so early as the twelfth century.—J. L. The notes signed J. L. are by the late Bishop of Limerick ; those by the present Editor are signed ED.

Such was, peculiarly, the case in Clonmel. Many reduced families resided there. To these was attached a kind of traditional estimation, by persons, in externals, abundantly more prosperous; and their children, not unfrequently, grew up with a sense of personal respectability, and a disposition to re-assume, if they could, what they thought their proper station in society.* The subject of this memoir, accordingly, was never vulgarized: he was, what his father had been before him, a native gentleman. There ever adhered to him a self-respect, and a dignity of character, which shrunk from everything ungenerous and unworthy. And both the example and conversation of his father were well calculated to confirm his good dispositions. Filial piety, it will appear amply in the sequel, was, with him, almost an instinct; and it is certain, that, thus to call it forth, there must have been genuine worthiness in the parent. Nor should it be omitted, that the literary aspirings of the youthful student were first nourished beneath the paternal roof. The elder Mr. Phelan was well versed in the Latin language; and he failed not to impart, where they might prove eventually beneficial, his own classical predilections. But, what was of far more serious consequence, those principles of virtue and goodness were instilled, which, during his short, but

* The writer cannot help recording a curious fact, which he heard several years ago from Dr. Phelan's own lips. His words were nearly as follows:—
 "When I was a very little boy, I was invited to attend a funeral. The house in which the people were assembled was within a short distance of Clonmel, on the banks of the river Suir; and commanding an extensive prospect, into the county of Waterford. A friar, who happened to be present, drew me apart from the company (I was then a Roman Catholic); he led me to a bay-window, took me by the hand, and said, 'Look there, look around you, my boy; those mountains, these valleys, as far as you can see, were once the territory of your ancestors; but they were unjustly despoiled of it.' I never can forget the impression. My young blood boiled in my veins. For the time I was, in spirit, a rebel. And I verily believe, if it had not been the good pleasure of Providence to lead me into other circumstances, and furnish me with better instructors, I might have terminated my life on a scaffold."—J. L.

exemplary life, never forsook the grateful son; he might, indeed, well say,

“Non patre præclaro, sed vitâ et pectore puro :
Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus.”*

In the year 1796, William was sent to a daily grammar-school, in his own immediate neighbourhood. The master, Mr. Michael Ryan, was an expert Latinist: pedantic, amiable, and enthusiastic. Of general information, indeed, his portion was but scanty; and he was no Grecian; but the little that he knew, he imparted with steady, and affectionate sedulity. His pupil ever felt towards him a strong sense of obligation, and repeatedly declared, that to him he was indebted for the correctness and facility with which he both wrote and spoke the Latin language. There he remained between six and seven years; and, certainly, his time was not misemployed. The business of the school he made, invariably, his grand object. It seemed to be a law of his nature, that the most important things had the first claim on his attention. Matters of daily business, once thoroughly mastered, then, and not till then, he felt himself at liberty to look elsewhere for recreation: this he found in those healthful, manly exercises which he keenly relished; but, especially, in those more recondite pursuits, to which, from early youth, he was devotedly attached.† His gaiety of heart, and buoyancy of spirits, tempered, as they always were, by a certain meditative gravity of mind, were no less delightful to his companions than they were indicative of his own future eminence.

Sent to
daily
grammar-
school.

While yet a school-boy, he showed strong military propensities; not, indeed, a predilection for the pomp and

* Admirably transfused and heightened by the greatest of our later poets:

“My boast is not, that I deduce my birth
From loins enthroned, and rulers of the earth:
But higher far my proud pretensions rise,
The son of parents passed into the skies.”

† Irish history and antiquities should, more particularly, be mentioned among his favourite recreations.

circumstance, so much as for the science, of war. He was fond of military evolutions; and he especially noticed scenery, with reference to the disposition of forces, the selection of commanding posts, and the occupation of important vantage-grounds. From topics of this nature he was apt, in more advanced life, to borrow illustrations; but always strictly in keeping with the religious character of his mind.

Sent to endowed school at Clonmel.

But that, under Mr. Ryan, his education never could be completed, he well knew. Therefore, both he and his father readily acceded to a proposal which, about this time, was made to them. It happened that two of his play-mates* were about to be sent to the endowed school of Clonmel, then under the direction of the Rev. Richard Carey. Their father good-naturedly suggested that it would be well if they were accompanied by their young comrade. To school, accordingly, the three friends proceeded, as day-scholars. This occurred in 1803, when William was about fourteen years of age. The date seems not unworthy to be specified: for this was the great providential turning-point which determined the direction and character of his future life,

Never, perhaps, was master more beloved and revered by his pupils, than was Mr. Carey. With extensive knowledge, critical acumen, and refined taste, he united the most childlike simplicity of spirit. It was almost impossible to be admitted to his familiar society (and all his deserving pupils became his private friends) without growing "lenior ac melior," gentler in manners, and more kind in heart. One who knew him well, has sketched the likeness of this amiable man,† with such just though vivid colouring, that it were injurious to substitute other phraseology than his own;—

* The Rev. Samuel, and Rev. Mortimer, O'Sullivan.

† I, too, had the gratification of meeting Mr. Carey, but it was only once,—*Virgilium tantum vidi!* But that once was enough to satisfy me that all which I had heard of him was strictly true. It was in the month of

“I have his light and graceful figure,” says my correspondent,* “at this moment before me. His bare and reverend forehead, slightly sprinkled with the snows of time, and his mild countenance radiant with benignity, and sparkling with intelligence. The gentleness, and suavity of his disposition; the polished courtesy of his manners; his exact and discriminating judgment; his various and profound learning; these were scarcely adverted to by his friends, amidst the love and veneration which were inspired by the richer treasures of his moral nature; by his generous detestation of oppression; by his noble scorn of every thing mean or base; by his fervent piety, his steadfast friendship, his rare disinterestedness, and his deep humility; by the charity, which prompted him to be liberal, often beyond his means; and by the singleness of nature, which almost unconsciously realized the Gospel rule, ‘not letting his left-hand know what his right-hand did.’ My recollection of William’s first introduction into Mr. Carey’s school is vivid, as though it took place but yesterday. The good old man was, at that period, gradually withdrawing from active life, and his attention was limited to a very small number of pupils. He received, indeed, those only who were recommended by his personal friends. Of that number my father had the good fortune to be one; and thence it was that we were admitted to a trial. From the slovenliness which, in that part of Ireland, then prevailed in the elementary parts of classical education, Mr. Carey had found it necessary to establish the general rule, that all who came to him from other schools should, however plausible their seeming proficiency, retrace their

The school-
master.

October, 1806, at Darling Hill, in the county of Tipperary, by the invitation of an old pupil of his, the present Mr. Serjeant Pennafather. It gave me singular pleasure to see the good man. He recalled, almost every moment, the memory of my beloved college friend, JOHN SARGENT, who, in the course of the years 1791—1798, delighted in recording anecdotes of his school-boy days; and never failed to speak of his master, Mr. Carey (who long survived him), with the most affectionate veneration.—J. L.

* The Rev. S. O’Sullivan.

steps through the Latin grammar. My brother and I were, from our time of life (we were a few years junior to our friend), exempt from all mortification on this score: we were mere beginners, and, of course, were well satisfied to commence at the commencement. Some of the boys, however, officiously told Phelan of the humiliation which awaited him; no slight one, it will be admitted, to a diligent student of six or seven years' standing, who had been already delighting himself with the dense eloquence of Tacitus. He reddened, but said nothing. Then came the trial. A book was put into his hands; when such, at once, appeared his grounded knowledge of the Latin language, and so correctly classical was the diction of some exercises which he produced, that, without the least hesitation, Mr. Carey passed him into his highest class. On being asked what he would have done, if relegated to the pages of Lilly, 'I should immediately have walked out of the school,' said the high-minded youth, 'and never set my foot into it again?'"*

He was now placed in circumstances well fitted to unfold his powers. He soon came to revere Mr. Carey, who stood to him in the relation, not so much of an instructor, as of a parent, and a friend. Under him, in addition to his former acquirements, young Phelan gained a thorough knowledge of Greek; and, what was far better, his genius was kindled, and his taste refined, by constant, familiar

* This early anecdote is highly characteristic. The writer has seen Dr. Phelan under momentary bursts of feeling, which this trait of the Clonmel school-boy powerfully calls to mind. But I have heard, too, his ingenuous confessions of error; his humble and contrite submission, in cases where the offence had been purely venial. The truth is, he was intimately known to very few; few, therefore, could enter fully into his character. But it is no more than justice to bear witness, that his failings were but the infirmities of a noble mind. His native temperament, indeed, was peculiarly sensitive and delicate; and while he strove, habitually, to keep it under due control, some allowance will be made, by every generous mind, for the natural influence of failing health. But, after all, I never knew a human being with a more placable spirit, or a tenderer heart. This I say advisedly; and, as I think, with a thorough knowledge of the man.—J. L.

intercourse with a "master-spirit." A slight, but characteristic incident, will best show the terms on which they lived. One evening, as they were returning towards the school, from a country residence of Mr. Carey's, Phelan, on passing a particular street, looked up, and said, "That Sir, is the house in which I was born." "Well, my dear William," the benevolent man replied, "I trust that your fellow-townsmen will, one day, point out *this* house, with a satisfaction no less lively, but far better founded, than that with which they now show to the inquiring stranger the birth-place of unhappy Sterne!" Surely, not to love such a man was altogether impossible.

Anecdote
of Mr.
Carey.

The young student's views for the future were, at first, not very definite; certainly, they were anything but hopeful.

His poor parents had made a great struggle to procure him the advantages which he already enjoyed; and to think of the University seemed little less than preposterous. But Mr. Carey was a vigilant and ardent friend. He smoothed all difficulties, surmounted every scruple, and, from his own scanty income, advanced a sufficient yearly allowance to cover all ordinary college expenses. Nor was this assistance discontinued, but in consequence of Phelan's own earnest request, when, on his election to a scholarship, it ceased to be strictly necessary. And, to bring his school-boy days to a close, he was, after having remained three years under Mr. Carey, admitted a sizar of Trinity College, Dublin, in June, 1806, and in the eighteenth year of his age.

Before his removal, however, to this wider sphere of action, an important change had taken place in his theological opinions. The commencement of this change I have the advantage of stating in the words of Dr. Phelan himself, as related by him to an early friend.* "I was walking home with ***** (member of a lay fraternity of Roman Catholics), to translate for him some portion of

Change in
religious
views of
Dr. Phelan.

* The Reverend Mortimer O'Sullivan.

Private
judgment.

the Breviary, when Mr. Carey rode by on his mule, at his usual quiet pace: 'What a pity,' said ***** , 'that *that* good man cannot be saved!' I started: the doctrine of exclusive salvation never appeared so prodigious; and I warmly denied its truth and authority. ***** was stubborn in his defence; and we each cited testimonies in behalf of our respective opinions. I withdrew to bed, occupied by thoughts which this incident awakened; went over again all the arguments, *pro* and *con*, which my memory could supply; weighed all the evidence which, in my judgment, might throw light on the subject; questioned whether any evidence could induce me to acquiesce in a dogma so revolting; and fell asleep, in no good disposition to the creed which could pronounce Mr. Carey's reprobation. In the morning, when I awoke, it appeared that I had insensibly reasoned myself into the belief of the right of private judgment; and thus, I virtually reasoned myself out of the Church of Rome."

The impression thus happily made, was not suffered long to remain dormant, or inactive. Even in his boyish days he had a most sagacious, penetrating mind. With him, religion was never a matter of compromise or convention. He regarded it as the main concern of life, on which was suspended his everlasting happiness or misery. It became, therefore, the object of his very serious thoughts; and his anxious researches produced a thorough conviction, that the Church of England is the soundest portion of the Church of Christ. Accordingly, on entering college, he gave in his name as a Protestant; * while any lingering doubts (those fond misgivings of the finest and the firmest minds), which might, perhaps, at first have somewhat obscured his intellectual vision, were entirely

* In the University of Dublin Roman Catholics are admissible.

A fact which I have learned since writing the above paragraph should by no means be omitted. Before Dr. Phelan's entrance into Trinity College, it had been the wish of his father (a very natural one, surely) that he should become a student at Maynooth, with a view to the priesthood of the Church of Rome. He was induced, accordingly, to attend an examination, held at

dissipated by a judicious course of reading, in which he was accompanied and assisted by his able and affectionate tutor, at that time preparing for holy orders.* Nor should it be omitted, for in him it was quite characteristic, that the clear convictions of his judgment were unaccompanied by the least acerbity of feeling. Indeed, he never ceased to bear the tenderest affection towards his Roman Catholic brethren; he continually and most earnestly looked to their spiritual improvement; and a very short time before his death he thus writes to a confidential friend: . . . "My heart yearns to go to the South: I would revive my Irish, and acquire enough of it for expounding the Irish Bible."

He was now (1806), fairly launched in academic life; and his progress may be not unfitly described as an unbroken career of successful application. His competitors were the most distinguished men who for many years had appeared in the University. But among the very foremost he honourably maintained his ground; and it is little to say, that he obtained a scholarship, and the highest honours, both classical and scientific, which could be conferred; for, in truth, he rated such things at their proper value: trifling in themselves, and chiefly to be prized as indicating studious habits, and a healthful, manly mind. One great object, indeed, he had of what may be termed a holy ambition: it was that, under Providence he might become the support and stay of his aged parents.

Phelan
at college.

It should be mentioned, that, during his undergraduate course, he obtained several prizes for compositions in

Waterford, for one or more vacancies in that seminary. Though much younger than the other candidates, his literary superiority was evident, and a vacancy was, in consequence, placed at his option. He, however, declined it. The fact is, his former opinions had been already shaken; and he soon became irrevocably attached to the Church of England.—J. L.

* Dr. Wall.

English verse and Latin prose. Such, however, was his fastidiousness, or his modesty, that in no single instance did he keep a copy: not a line of those early productions has been found amongst his papers; and there is every likelihood that they have altogether perished. But the recollection of them is still vivid among his contemporaries.

Literary
attain-
ments.

And it is worthy of being recorded, that an Englishman, Dr. Hall,* then Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards (for one short week!) Bishop of Dromore, one of the most accomplished scholars of his day, was often heard to express his admiration at the skill and power evinced in the composition of Latin prose by this extraordinary young man. One Essay, in particular, he used to say was so purely classical, that whole passages might have been taken from it, and, without risk of detection, inserted in the works of Cicero.† In English verse, too, his union of metaphysical and poetical expression was truly remarkable. And it has been observed, by one well acquainted with the early movements of his mind, that if he had chosen to concentrate his powers in one great poem on Mental Philosophy, he would, perhaps, have been unrivalled in the art of clothing the abstractions of metaphysical science in language alike elegant, perspicuous, and familiar.‡ Happily, however, his mind took another direction.

Obtains
gold medal.

In the spring of 1810, he commenced A.B. On that occasion, the Provost and Senior Fellows adjudged to him the gold medal, then given—not, as at present, to the best answerer at an examination, held expressly for the purpose, but to that graduating student who, throughout

* George Hall, D.D., educated at the celebrated grammar-school of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

† From the information of a contemporary.

‡ He was fond, though not indiscriminately so, of the Anti-Lucretius of Cardinal Polignac. See pp. 298—319, of this volume.—J. L.—i.e. Vol. I. of the "Remains;" "Essay on Scientific and Literary Pursuits."—ED.

the entire previous course of four years, had evinced the greatest industry, diligence, and ability.* About the same time he obtained the mathematical premium on Bishop Law's† foundation, the examiners being Dr. Magee, Professor of Mathematics (late Archbishop of Dublin); Dr. Brinkley, Professor of Astronomy (now Bishop of Cloyne); and Dr. Davenport, Professor of Natural Philosophy.

The important period had now arrived when he was to make his choice of life; and, not without some interval of suspense and deliberation, he determined to read for a fellowship—an undertaking, under any circumstances, arduous in the extreme, but in his case attended with peculiar difficulties. Like other candidates, he had the probability before him (should life be spared) of devoting six or seven of the prime years of life to intense, and perhaps unavailing, application. The drawbacks, too, of a very delicate constitution were to be disregarded, or overcome; while the daily drudgery of private tuition was to be endured, not merely for his own support, but, what was a far dearer object, for the maintenance and comfort of his aged parents. All this he encountered with pious and persevering equanimity; and perhaps I may scarcely be credited when I state the fact, that, between reading and lecturing, he was commonly occupied from four o'clock in the morning till ten or eleven at night, while almost his single relaxation was sought in variety of labour. But at all times he evinced so collected a mind, such disengagedness, animation, and serenity, that it was visible only to the scrutinizing eye of friendship how irreparably he was undermining his constitution.

Reads for
a Fellowship.

* The writer is well aware that there are difficulties in the case. Still, however, he begs leave to express his doubts whether some modification of the old plan might not be advantageously resorted to. It seems desirable to have some test, not only of comparative, but of positive merit—not merely of a superiority, perhaps accidental, in one great trial, but of an habitual course of continuous and well-directed exertion.—J. L.

† John Law, D.D., formerly Bishop of Elphin.

His alacrity to aid others.

As matter of duty, his anxious friends sometimes broke in upon his abstruse speculations; but when for a short space thus compelled to be comparatively idle, he would always take the interruption in good part, and, not less to the instruction than delight of his associates, would enter, with freshness and spirit, upon some literary topic. Nor was he mindful only, or chiefly, of his own mental wants and feelings. Often, with a shade before his weak eyes, his temples bathed with vinegar, and his mind engaged on some difficult problem, has he cheerfully paused from his labours, and with alacrity applied himself to remove the scientific difficulties, not of his pupils (that was a distinct duty, to be performed at stated intervals), but of some junior friend or acquaintance. This was a volunteer service; the habit of aiding others, from pure benevolence of disposition, grew into his very nature; thus it was at school, from an early period; nor in after-life was there, in this respect, any perceptible difference.

Throughout the fellowship course, his kind tutor, Mr. Wall, regarded him not merely as a friend, but as a brother. Books, experience, literary counsel, were ever ready at a call; his purse, too, was always generously open; and he often entreated that it might be allowed to supersede the necessity, which the young candidate felt imposed upon him, of taking private pupils. This aid, offered as it was with most scrupulous delicacy, was sometimes accepted with manly freedom. One restriction, however, he almost invariably imposed upon himself: he would never consent (unless when himself wholly unprovided) to employ the resources, even of his dearest friends, in aiding his beloved and respected parents. It was his delight—the purest, surely, which a pious son can enjoy—to afford assistance, by his own independent exertions, to those who, with much difficulty and self-denial, had procured for him the benefits and blessings of a good early education.

Thus he persevered for nearly three years in a course of

well-sustained though ruinous exertion, under which many a more vigorous constitution must have inevitably sunk ; but he was supported by the indomitable principle of filial piety. Towards the close, however, of the year 1812, his medical advisers were constrained to make it a point that he should intermit some portion of his daily labours, and should sleep out of the air of Dublin. Accordingly, he took a small lodging, at a moderate distance from his college chambers. Here it occurred to him, that if he could obtain a prize of 50*l.*, then offered by the Royal Irish Academy for the best Essay on a given literary subject, he might for a time relieve himself from the irksome task of private tuition. But, as success was uncertain, he was still obliged to retain some pupils ; and thus, till the period of decision, his labours were not diminished, but increased. In the brief interval, then, the hasty moments which he could snatch from his daily toil, he penned his Essay, on the backs of letters and on such scraps of paper as might be at hand. He walked every evening (the only exercise he allowed himself) to his college-chambers, that he might give those papers to his brother for transcription ; and relied on his memory alone for taking up the train of thought each day where it had been laid down the day before. He did not revise, or even read, the transcript ; and, as this was his first effort in English prose, he felt so much difficulty in arranging his thoughts in our language, that he actually resorted to the expedient of first mentally composing in Latin, so that the entire Essay may in a great measure be accounted a translation. It is given in this volume (pp. 260—320),* therefore it is needless for me to pass a judgment on its merits. It will, I think, be considered an extraordinary composition to have been produced under such circumstances, by a young man of less than four-and-twenty ; and its terseness, facility, and elegance of diction, may, perhaps, best be accounted for by the

Writes for
Royal
Irish
Academy's
prize.

* Vol. I. of "Remains of Phelan."

Obtains it. fact, that it was originally conceived in Cicero's own language by a finished classical scholar. To this Essay was adjudged the Academy's first prize, in the beginning of 1813. It may here be mentioned, that in the earlier part of 1814 he prepared another successful paper for the Academy, "On the Force of Habit, considered in conjunction with the Love of Novelty." This has not been published in the Transactions, having, by some unfortunate mischance, been lost at the Academy-House. I am told, however, that both by Dr. Phelan himself and by others it was considered superior to the Essay of the preceding year. It showed an uncommon command of language, and fine metaphysical powers.

Candidate
for a Fel-
lowship.

But we must return to his great and overwhelming pursuit. In the year 1813, then, he offered himself a candidate for one of the fellowships at that time vacant: his preparation was intense, and his answering, both in quality and style, was such, that it excited a very general interest in his behalf. In the interval between the examination and the announcement of successful candidates, scarcely a doubt was entertained that he would have been the second fellow. His friends had by anticipation hailed the consummation of his labours; and even his own modest and retiring nature was unable wholly to withstand the popular impression. But the event was otherwise.*

* There were then three vacancies; the filling up of the first was beyond all question: Mr. Purdon had eight voices, those of the whole examining body. Respecting the other two vacancies there was more difficulty. The examiners were divided; and Mr. Phelan was thrown out by the casting vote of the Provost. The statute requires, that vacant fellowships shall be filled up, not *seriatim*, but *simul et semel*, and no provision is made for ascertaining the value of each particular vote. The special hardship, which in this instance inevitably grew out of this untoward arrangement, was, that had there been but two, instead of three, vacancies, Mr. Phelan must have succeeded. These facts I have from unquestionable information. It is but proper to add, that there was not the slightest shade of unfairness in the whole transaction. All arose from the unhappy wording of the statute, which loudly calls for alteration.—J. L.

In the almost certain prospect of success, he had set apart nearly the whole of that little which he possessed for the comfort and accommodation of his parents; nor in the moment of defeat did he alter his pious purpose. His words to his brother, when he recovered from the first shock, are never to be forgotten: "Well, James, send the money, nevertheless, to its proper destination; and, my dear fellow, have a good heart, and a hope fixed on high; we shall overcome even this blow."

Is unsuccessful.

A few days after this disappointment, he met Dr. Graves,* one of his examiners, who, in his kind, sympathizing manner, said, "Phelan, I am sorry for you: but I did my best—you had my vote." He bowed, smiled, and instantly answered,

"*Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni;*"

The good and benevolent man was visibly affected.

At this trying juncture—as, indeed, throughout the whole course of his varied life—Divine Providence raised up to him many and discriminating friends: among these was the Right Honourable William Conyngham Plunket, the present † Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The writer well remembers the ardour with which Mr. Phelan was accustomed to dilate on the high intellectual attainments of that eminent individual. In the family of that gentleman he had been repeatedly domesticated, having been private tutor to several of his sons; and from his familiar conversation he reaped advantages which no person was better able to enjoy and appreciate than Mr. Phelan himself. At this season of disappointment, Lord Plunket

Befriended by Lord Chancellor Plunket,

* The late Very Rev. Richard Graves, D.D., Dean of Ardagh, honourably known by his various theological publications. May the writer be permitted to add his humble but sincere tribute to the learning, piety, and goodness of this exemplary man? Towards his latter days, we had, on a particular question, some trifling difference of judgment. But I never can forget the impression made on my youthful mind by the mild, but powerful influence of his unaffected zeal.—J. L.

† A.D. 1832. He was afterwards raised to the peerage, and died 5th of January, 1854, in the ninetieth year of his age.

came forward as an attached friend. He recommended to him the study of the law; and, till practice should come in, nobly pressed on him an allowance of 300*l.* a-year. For this princely offer he was deeply grateful; indeed, he never forgot it to his dying day; but, after mature deliberation, he most thankfully declined it. In fact, he thought the kindness too great to be accepted; but what with him was far more decisive—though, like most young Irishmen of talents, he had originally a predilection for the bar,—his more serious studies had given him another relish, and he thought he might be happier, as well as more useful, in the service of the Church.

and by
Arch-
bishop
Magee.

Amidst his arduous labours he derived never-failing supplies of animation from the fresh and salient mind of Dr. Magee, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin. This distinguished scholar was in the constant habit of visiting his chambers, inquiring after his progress, and entering into all the misgivings of his sensitive mind. With the office of speaking, as I feel, of almost my earliest friend—of him who guided my first youthful efforts, and encouraged the pursuits of my maturer years, I should fear to trust myself. Therefore it is with peculiar satisfaction that I resort to the anonymous, but faithful testimony, of a friend, which I know had special, though not exclusive, reference to his affectionate kindness for Mr. Phelan:—

“The most engaging instances of his (Archbishop Magee’s) philanthropy, were undoubtedly those in which he made it his business and found it his pleasure to direct and animate by his advice the young men in whom he perceived any remarkable degree of ability; while he literally watched over them with the affection of a father, he entered into their views and concerned himself in their interests with the warmth and familiarity of a friend. Were they desponding? they were cheered; were they negligent? they were counselled; were they straitened by pecuniary difficulties? relief was liberally afforded; did they experience an embarrassment in mastering the

severer sciences? amidst all the cares and occupations of his laborious station assistance never was withheld. Many are the hours of despondency which hang upon the spirits of that young man who, unsupported by wealth or patronage, is labouring, by the path of academic distinction, to attain a reputable independence. Frequent are the misgivings which damp his ardour in a pursuit where health is not seldom irrecoverably lost before the object is accomplished; and no one feels with more poignant bitterness that 'sickness of the heart' which arises from 'hope deferred.' How often has Dr. Magee passed from the privacy of his own domestic circle to the lonely rooms of the pale and wasted votary of science, and banished, by his benignant presence and his cheerful, animating conversation, the morbid melancholy which was preying on him, and which otherwise might have brought him to an untimely grave! How often have the studies which were abandoned in disgust or despair been resumed at his instance with alacrity and diligence, and ultimately rewarded with a success which must have been unattainable but for his generous and inspiring encouragement!"

But a deeply-seated, and, as the event finally proved, an immedicable wound, had been inflicted on Mr. Phelan's constitution. The shock given to his bodily frame rendered him for several months incapable of any continuous exertion, and, at this season of depression, the sole fruit of his labours was the second of his prize Essays, for the Royal Irish Academy.

Towards the commencement of the year 1814, we find him again devoted to severe fellowship reading. In the month of June, he sat, and was defeated by Thomas Romney Robinson, the most distinguished of his contemporaries, now D.D. and Astronomical Professor, on the foundation of his namesake, but not his relative, Primate Robinson,* at the Observatory of Armagh.

Again reads for fellowship; again defeated.

* Lord Rokeby, Archbishop of Armagh, eminent for princely munificence.

And here it may not be improper to say a few words on the character of Dr. Phelan's mind.

Character
of Dr.
Phelan's
mind.

His powers of acquiring knowledge were of a peculiar and very superior quality. He had the happy faculty of instantly mastering a writer's meaning; he could instinctively seize on everything, in every possible direction, which was of the least real moment. He glanced with the rapidity of lightning through the most abstruse and difficult volumes, and his mind seemed invested with a sort of magical influence which compelled them to render up their contents, and turned, so to speak, the minds of authors inside out. He discerned matter, even in the more abstract sciences, which could happily illustrate whatever might be the immediate object of research. Facts and narratives were to him that which the elementary forms of letters are to ordinary readers—conveying, not so much the impression of themselves, as that of the thought or principle towards imparting which they were instrumental. History, travels, philosophy, and poetry, no less than matters of strict science, he read with a sagacious, comprehensive spirit, separating always eternal principles from the accidents in which they were rendered visible. And that which, even to advanced students, is commonly the result of distinct, and often of severe reflection, was in his mind the thing primarily noticed. The matter professedly studied was to him merely introductory and subordinate.

He used to complain that his mind suffered from mathematical pursuits, that when engaged in such investigations his finer and more delicate powers were depressed, and that he became disqualified for the pursuit of higher and nobler inquiries. But this, it is humbly conceived, was a mistake; at least, he appeared to his friends always ready to form a judgment, not only sound and good, but exquisitely refined, on almost every subject within the compass of letters; and, indeed, his very fondness for the higher branches of mathematics is in itself a sufficient

refutation of this morbid apprehension. He was eager for principles, impatient of details; but, at the same time, he subjected every principle to the severest possible test, and would never admit any position, within the scope of ratiocination, till it was most incontrovertibly proved.

All inquiries about light and heat had for him a peculiar interest; these qualities seemed, on account of their extreme tenuity, ever ready to evanesce, till they became almost immaterial. This predisposition of his mind may be illustrated by a little circumstance within my own recollection. During one of the visits with which he indulged me, when Rector of Abington, he manifested the most intense gratification (even now I have a lively image of it present with me) at Sir Walter Scott's beautiful fiction of the "White Lady." "Of all apparitions," he said, "this comes nearest to my conception of a pure spirit."

But the pursuits in which he took unmingled pleasure, were those of mental and moral philosophy. To these, when fatigued and exhausted by severer study, he turned with ever-new delight. On such occasions he used, with our Platonic bard, to exclaim—

"How charming is Divine philosophy!
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical, as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns."

In the weak state of his eyes, it was his habit to read with the eyes of a friend. In this manner he prepared the entire logical and ethical course prescribed for fellowships in Dublin. His friend particularly mentions the enthusiasm with which he used to expatiate on some parts of Cicero's Second Book, "De Legibus;" of Bishops Berkeley and Butler, too, he used to speak highly; and with complacency of Dr. Reid. He was not so well satisfied with Mr. Locke. To him the design

of this eminent man seemed to embrace too little or too much : too little, if the understanding alone, as distinguished from the moral mind, imagination, passions, and affections, was the object of his inquiry ; too much, if the positions for which he contended be thought in themselves sufficient to account for all the moral and intellectual phenomena of our nature.

While reading for fellowships his progress was unquestionably retarded by a habit in which he freely indulged, which, however, contributed much to increase, not merely the extent, but the accuracy of his knowledge, and to repress at once and discipline that fondness for mental anticipation which is so apt to beset youthful and ardent minds. The habit was, "never to rest satisfied with the bare demonstration of a truth." He wished, so far as practicable, to know whence it came and whither it was going. He would, therefore, to the utmost of his power, investigate any important fact in all its bearings ; and frequently has he employed half a day (a serious expense of time, as all fellowship-men are perfectly aware) in tracing the various deductions which might legitimately be drawn from it. His competitors, on the other hand, were often more prudently, if not so intellectually, employed. They were collecting materials less recondite, indeed, but more immediately producible ; and their object was, not so much to lay the foundation for future researches, as to show themselves competently versed in that which was already known. Mr. Phelan could never endure the thought of becoming the mere carrier of intellectual burthens. His wish was, so far as might lawfully be, to lift the veil from nature, and get an insight into the wondrous principles, both natural and moral, on which all-perfect Wisdom regulates the world. Thus, the very superiority of his mental powers and attainments often stood in his way. He read more like a master than a scholar—more as one whose own mind was to be satisfied than as a person whose business it was to satisfy.

the minds of others. He looked around him with the ken of a philosopher; and he less assiduously cultivated presence of mind and fertility of resources than those subtler processes of mind which have ever formed the chosen exercise of genius. Had the question been, who of his contemporaries it was that possessed the seeds of powers most akin to those of the great discoverers of science or restorers of letters, he might, perhaps, have ranked not greatly beneath the first men of our best days. As it was, with a nearly exhausted constitution, broken spirits, and a debilitated frame, it is little to be wondered at that he was unequal to the arduous conflict, which, however, he still gallantly sustained.

But, that we may pass to a more grateful topic, it can be readily understood that with a mind thus stored and thus disciplined he must have been a delightful companion. That which I have heard from his early associates, was, in the course of no slight, superficial intercourse, abundantly realized to myself. I have rarely met with an individual who in conversation so fairly produced his mind,—or, let me add, whose mind was more worthy of production. At the instant he could command all the powers of thought and aids of learning to bear on any subject which they might properly illustrate; and, what was more remarkable, they never failed to come at his bidding. Those with whom he was in the habit of familiar intercourse will not readily forget the force and animation of his manner when he wished to express himself pointedly upon any topic which had seriously occupied his mind. His sentences followed each other uninterruptedly and without effort—brief, terse, and emphatic; and if, on the spur of occasion, taken down and made use of, they would have been found to possess all the elements of exact and finished composition. While there would occasionally burst from him the liveliest sallies of wit, and not unfrequently a vein of playful humour, which rendered his conversation, in its happier

hours (and they were always its quiet ones), one of the richest intellectual enjoyments. Such intercourse could not fail to delight, for it was ever natural, ever instructive; and it is still among my chosen recreations to recal the days and nights which I have passed in the society of William Phelan.

His trial for fellowships was now over; to all appearance it was interminably closed. But he was not destitute of consolation. He was conscious that he had done his best; he could not charge himself with any wilful failure of duty, or any want of persevering application; and he viewed disappointment itself as a mode of providential discipline, which "He who careth for us" ever graciously adapts to our peculiar exigences.

Degree of
A.M., July,
1814.

In July, 1814, he proceeded A.M.; and, shortly after, on the kind and seasonable invitation of his friend and former associate on the fellowship bench, the Rev. J. H. Stubbs, Master of the endowed school of Dundalk, he became for a short time the guest of that gentleman. An influential visit, as will afterwards appear; which, eventually, occasioned a great change in the prospects and circumstances of his after-life. In the month of October, on the recommendation of Dr. Magee, then Dean of Cork, he was appointed Second Master of the endowed school of Derry.* Here he entered into holy orders, being ordained deacon Dec. 4, 1814, and priest Jan. 4, 1815, by the Lord Bishop of Derry; and, soon after his first ordination,

Enters
into holy
orders.

* I cannot help mentioning, that at this school I was educated, under the Reverend Thomas Marshall, A.M. This kind and generous man was the delight of his pupils: and I never shall forget the tragic impression made on us all, when, about the autumn of 1790, it pleased God to remove him. How much I am indebted to his fostering care, I shall never, in this world, be fully able to appreciate. One of my earliest efforts was a boyish, but sincere, tribute to his memory; it was an imitation of the "Quis desiderio," &c., of Horace.

But to Derry School, and to Horace, I have other, and far higher obligations. They were the means of introducing me to the notice of Alexander Knox, Esquire, who was fond of hearing me repeat my lessons

began to officiate, in the chapel of ease of that city.* There he continued for upwards of two years, applying himself diligently to the duties of his humble calling, and devoting every leisure hour to those sacred studies, which, even then, constituted his resource and delight. He thus disturbed the repose of a few valuable old volumes in the diocesan library; though of the time occupied in this manner there is probably no written record. But his was a mind which was never idle; and, to such information as he already possessed, there is a moral certainty that, at this period, he added extensively. In the month of August, 1816, it should be mentioned, he was, with some apparent hopes of success, a candidate for the endowed school, or college, of Kilkenny.

About this period the writer had the happiness to form an acquaintance with Mr. Phelan, which, at no distant day, ripened into friendship. A valued contemporary of his† had, some time previously, told me several interesting anecdotes of his early life; and put into my hands, at the Rectory of Abington, his prize Essay, "On Scientific and Literary Pursuits." I was, therefore, duly prepared to appreciate a singularly modest, unpretending letter, which he addressed to me from Derry, bearing date the 14th of December, 1816. It now lies open before me; and it could not fail to rekindle, were they dormant—which, happily, they never have been—the liveliest feelings of interest in himself, his mind, and his pursuits. Like every other production of his pen which it has been my fortune to see (for, in his instance, to see and to read were identical), it is clothed in language alike natural, manly,

from that most felicitous of authors; he afterwards became my guide, philosopher, and friend. From him, in the course of a long intimacy, I derived principles which, I trust, will never die. Obiit, eheu! June 18, 1831.—J. L.

* His appointment, at the salary of £50 a-year, is dated Dec. 27, 1814; of which salary he was never paid a single shilling; though he served the chaplaincy, without intermission, till March, 1817.

† The Rev. Richard Ryan.

and independent. The object of it was to ascertain how far his judgment and mine might coincide, respecting the eligibility of his publishing a short treatise, which he was then preparing, on the subject of the Bible Society. As to the general bearings of that question, my feelings are, elsewhere, briefly stated.* In conformity with opinions which I had early formed, and from which I have never swerved, I ventured to suggest that his mental powers would be employed far more advantageously on some great original work, than upon what must, after all, rank as a mere temporary pamphlet. My reasons, however, failed to have quite so much weight with Mr. Phelan, at the time, as they may, perhaps, have subsequently had. He accordingly published, not immediately (for a very serious occupation intervened), but in the autumn of the next year, his able tract; powerful in its reasoning, though I have never been able to see the practical wisdom of its publication; *παντα μοι εξεστιν, αλλ' ου παντα συμφερει*. It was entitled "The Bible, not the Bible Society." This work, greatly praised, and not good-naturedly vituperated, was, for a long while, the alternate mark of reprobation and panegyric; and, in its immediate, and, yet more, in its remote consequences, it gave a colouring nearly to the whole of Mr. Phelan's apparent future life; but, happily, he had another, and a better life, which was "hid with Christ in God."

The life
"hid with
Christ in
God."

To the world he was chiefly known as a polemical writer; indeed, it is probable that many of his contemporaries have heard of him in that capacity alone. And it must be confessed that, hitherto, from unhappy circumstances, there has been, in Ireland, but little opportunity, and, if possible, less encouragement, for theological learning. While, under a proper system, and with wise selection, eminent examples of it might have been multiplied, to the unspeakable advantage both of Church and country. But, in fact, though some ephemeral stimulus

* Practical Theology, vol. ii., p. 70.

to exertion may have occasionally been applied, it is a melancholy truth, that the flippant pamphlet, and slight brochure (of merit very different, indeed, from the slightest efforts of Mr. Phelan) have been generally thought a far more marketable commodity than any solid work of genius, piety, or learning.

But his was, in truth, a far loftier spirit: he predominately loved the high and lonely walk. His most current, popular productions, occupied but a small portion of his time, and less of his thoughts. And they, who have enjoyed his confidence the longest, and most unreservedly, are best aware on themes how different from the vulgar cant of the day it was his delight to expatiate. For my own part, I can safely say, that in all our years of friendly intercourse, he never uttered a syllable, whether grave or gay, which did not, as was said of Archbishop Leighton, more or less directly tend to edification. Indeed, if I had not intimately known that he was something far other, and better, than an expert controversialist, I will candidly own that the present memoir should not have been written. This fore-dated disclosure will, I trust, exempt me from all but the bare mention of his chief polemical tracts, in the order of publication. They were written merely *εκ παρηργου*, called forth by the seeming exigences of the times: but he was living centrally, for eternity,

Edifying
conversa-
tion of
Phelan.

“And all his serious thoughts had rest in Heaven.”

We may, now, revert to Mr. Phelan's more private concerns. He had long been in a very delicate state of health, and his physicians thought it might be expedient that he should try the air of Mallow, in the county of Cork. Symptoms, however, seemingly improved: and as, on several accounts, such an excursion must have been inconvenient, it was not, under this favourable change, at that time undertaken.

Meanwhile, he was, unexpectedly, summoned to a wider sphere. Towards the close of March, 1817, his

In 1817
again sits

for a fel-
lowship,

vigilant friend, Dr. Wall, strongly urged that he should, forthwith, come to Dublin, and again sit for a fellowship, of which there were, at that time, two to be filled up. All his friends, none more earnestly than Dr. Magee, were, also, instant in their intreaties. Therefore, after nearly three years' alienation from academical pursuits, and about six weeks before the day of trial, he came to the scene of action. His first visit was to the college chambers of a friend: "Well," said he, "here I am; and what do you want with me?" "We want you," was the reply, "to get a fellowship." He looked perplexed and anxious. He was almost certain that, within the space of six short weeks, it was hopeless that he should regain so much lost ground. Besides, a great additional weight of science had been thrown into the course, especially the whole system of French Analysis, to which he was nearly a total stranger. To work, however, he went, and with that vigour and intensity which seemed inseparable from his being. And what was the consequence? Difficulties, like a "frost-work," suddenly "melted away"* before him; and he was unanimously elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

and gains
it.

During the short, but arduous course of immediate preparation, he withdrew to the adjacent village of Dumdrum; and there he was affectionately watched, and cheered, by his early and unchanging friend, the Rev. Richard Ryan.

His own account of the transaction is remarkable for its simplicity and candour; it is derived from two of his letters, written at the very time. Short extracts from them will, probably, interest the reader. "April 12, 1817. I am going in again for fellowships; not from any hope, nor, indeed, from any wish, to succeed, but merely because I want money [clearly to relieve his parents; for his personal expenses were small, and his prudence was great]; and I think it just possible that I may get the first

* Rogers: "Pleasures of Memory."

premium. Three weeks ago I formed this resolution ; and I have now six weeks to read." Three days after the termination of the conflict, he again writes :—" June 5. By a caprice of fortune, entirely unexpected, I am now a fellow. The answering, you may suppose, was but indifferent, when, after three years' cessation, I was considered the best answerer." Such was his own modest estimate, ever apt to undervalue his mental attainments ; but it was happily corrected by the public voice : his very friends, too, the jealous guardians of his good repute, were abundantly satisfied ; not by his success merely, but especially at the manner of it.

He was, by the blessing of God, on his own exertions, now placed in a station of permanent independence ; certain of an income, moderate, indeed, but competent ; and having the fair prospect of attaining, at no remote period, what to him would be affluence. But his mind was raised above all selfish considerations ; now, as formerly, his parents were foremost in his thoughts ; and the path which he marked out for himself was one of unassuming privacy. During the long vacation he sought that repose which his wearied mind required : he had done much in a little time ; and it was not till October, 1817, that he gave to the press that pamphlet which he had prepared at Derry. Thenceforward, his time was chiefly divided between private study and his college duties.

In November, 1818, he was elected *Donnellan Lecturer*, and preached the first sermon of his course on Trinity Sunday, 1819. The manner, and general purpose of these lectures will be sufficiently explained by the following extract from the Registry of Trin. Coll., Dublin :—

In 1818
elected
Donnellan
Lecturer.

" February 22, 1794.

" Whereas, a legacy of 1,243*l.* has been bequeathed to the College of Dublin by Mrs. Anne Donnellan, for the encouragement of religion, learning, and good manners, the particular mode of application being entrusted to the Provost and Senior Fellows :

“ Resolved,

“ 1. That a Divinity Lecture, to which shall be annexed a salary arising from the interest of 1,200*l.*, shall be established for ever, to be called Donnellan's Lecture.

“ 2. That the Lecturer shall be forthwith elected, from among the Fellows of said College; and hereafter, annually, on the 20th November.

“ 3. That the subject, or subjects, of the Lecture, shall be determined at the time of election by the Board; to be treated in six sermons, which shall be delivered in the College Chapel, immediately after morning service, on certain Sundays, to be appointed on the 20th of November next after the election of the Lecturer, and within a year from the said appointment.

“ 4. That one moiety of the interest of the said 1,200*l.* shall be paid to the Lecturer, as soon as he shall have delivered the whole number of lectures; and the other moiety as soon as he shall have published four of the said lectures, one copy to be deposited in the Library of the College; one in the Library of Armagh; one in the Library of St. Sepulchre; one to be given to the Chancellor of the University; and one to the Provost of the College.”

This foundation, unquestionably well intended, has failed, nevertheless, to render all the service which originally was designed. Since its establishment upwards of eight-and-thirty years have elapsed: * how many volumes have, in consequence, been published? how many sermons have been preached? The fact is, an original error seems to have taken place, in limiting the field of the Donnellan Lectures to the narrow circle of existing Fellows, seven seniors, and fifteen (afterwards increased to eighteen) juniors; three, at least, of whom are statutablely laymen. These able men are all fully and laboriously occupied, in the government, or education, of fifteen hundred under-

* Written 1832.

graduates; and the inevitable consequence has been, that few candidates have proffered themselves for the office of Donnellan Lecturer.* The remedy, in this case, seems natural and easy. Why not throw the field of selection open (as in the Bampton Lecture Sermons, at Oxford, and the Hulsean Lectures, and office of Christian Advocate, at Cambridge) to all persons who have taken the degree of Master of Arts? The present excellent Christian Advocate of the latter University never was a Fellow. This suggestion is thrown out in ardent, but, it is hoped, not ill-regulated zeal, at once for the credit of the College, and for the advancement of good letters in Ireland. The University, and the country at large, ought, in various respects, to be drawn more closely together; and, from a proper intercourse, and community of feeling, great benefits might, at no distant day, eventually arise to both of them. But we must pursue our more immediate subject.

Dr. Phelan, if his health, which was always delicate, be excepted, was well circumstanced for close application to this additional duty. So young among the Fellows, he had few pupils, for whom, indeed, neither directly, nor indirectly, neither by himself, nor by his friends, did he ever think it right to seek. He had full leisure, therefore, for his favourite pursuits. His mind always had a predilection for inquiries, addressed, at once, to the intellectual

* On a former occasion, the writer used language nearly similar; which he here takes the liberty of citing:—"In Ireland, we have, unfortunately, not abounded in magnificent patrons of learning. The University of Dublin was founded at a period when the zeal for *thus* [by foundations, benefactions, &c.] promoting good letters had gone by. Accordingly we have but one College, one Provost, and twenty-five Fellows, for the education of about fifteen hundred undergraduates. These twenty-six very learned men, who attained their present honourable rank, after years of intense study, and through the most arduous literary competition in the world, have upon their shoulders the instruction and government of fifteen hundred young men: and, thus occupied, they certainly have little redundant time for the pleasures and the pains of authorship."—*Bishop of Limerick's Speech in the House of Lords, June 10, 1824.*

and moral man ; and he loved to regard the deeper, and more mysterious truths of Christianity, as not merely on proof given of their divine authority to be implicitly received, and venerated, but, much more, as indispensable parts of a divine system, provided by the comprehensive and all-gracious wisdom of God, for the renewal, enlargement, and purification of our spiritual being. He sought, therefore, to exhibit the Christian scheme in such a manner as might best show its correspondence, in all its parts, to the wants and anticipations of human nature. His lectures, accordingly, may, in some sort, be regarded as an effort to describe the physiology of revealed religion. Others have carefully examined facts, and doctrines, and discussed their evidence, according to the dictates of forensic pleading : he, on the contrary, was more solicitous to discover, what may be termed the functions of those facts and doctrines. It is one thing, for example, to establish the doctrine of the Trinity, by alleging the various passages of Holy Writ in which it is more or less distinctly revealed. It is another, and perhaps a yet more important office, to show that this mysterious, yet infinitely practical doctrine is precisely such a revelation of the Divine Nature, as could, alone, enable man to accomplish the great purposes for which he was called into existence. By the one line of argument, the timid believer may be persuaded that his Christianity is true ; by the other, the candid sceptic may be convinced that it is reasonable and just. The judgment is thus satisfied, through the previous conviction of the moral sense ; and, from the congruity between ends and means, between the weakness of man and the sufficiency of God, the facts and doctrines which may once have appeared, not merely above reason, but contrary to it, will, at once, be found harmonious in their operation, and, so to speak, in their nature necessary.

Such was the lofty argument which habitually occupied Dr. Phelan's mind, and which he sought to embody in the Donnellan Lectures. How far he may have succeeded in

Doctrine
of the
Trinity.

the application of these principles, and in all the resulting details, it remains for the judgment of competent and meditative readers to determine. But all such are, at the same time, entreated habitually to keep in mind, that the present publication is a posthumous one; that, had life and health been spared to the Author, he would have explained and supported his theory by extensive researches, both ancient and modern; that a copious body of materials even now exists, among his papers, not only unused, but, from imperfect references, quite unusable; and that, had his own acute and comprehensive mind presided over a full exhibition of that scheme, which, for many years, he had meditated and planned, the result must have been far different from anything which is now brought forward.* But, especially in his later years, infirmities were gathering fast upon him: in one letter to a friend, he writes, "For some months back I have been hearing with one ear, and seeing with one eye." In another, what now seems like the language of solemn anticipation, "The abortive *Donnellans* lie in my college-desk, not to be disturbed again, at least, not by my hands." This sacred, and, he will add, this delightful duty, has unexpectedly fallen into other, and, the writer fears, very incompetent hands: but this he can say, with perfect truth, that, if he were not convinced of the value and importance of these papers, he would never have proposed to undertake, what, to him, has proved a source of unmingled satisfaction, the office of their Editor.

Infirmities
gathering
on Phelan.

About this time, Mr. Phelan became one of the six university preachers. He was not what is called an orator, in the popular sense of the word: but he was a much better thing; a calm, deliberate, and singularly impressive preacher. His voice was far from strong, or powerful; its volume was thin, and its compass very

One of the
six univer-
sity preach-
ers.

* The publication of Dr. Phelan's *Donnellan Lectures* had been delayed, in the hope that the Author might be enabled to bring them out, with the advantage of extensive notes and references.

limited, but its tones were clear, animated, and flexible; his enunciation was distinct and solemn; his face, when he was preaching, as when he was familiarly conversing, bore the stamp of zeal, earnestness, and pure affection. He thought that the natural variations of the eye, voice, and countenance, were the sole legitimate kind of action, the only one suitable to the dignity of the pulpit. And the combined effect of his manner, his delivery, and that truth of character, which the most eloquent words, in themselves, altogether fail to convey, was that, as Archdeacon Churton has beautifully said of Dr. Townson,—

“ You would pledge your soul on his sincerity; you were sure there was nothing he longed for so fervently as your salvation.”

Arch-
deacon
Churton.

Ten of the discourses thus preached are given as specimens of Dr. Phelan's peculiar manner. They were not prepared by him for the press, and were composed in the ordinary discharge of his duty as university preacher. Their matter, though perfectly practical and familiar, is distinguished, amidst all its simplicity, by the same profundity of thought which characterizes his Donnellan Lectures. While, in manner, they afford the happiest specimen of united ease and vigour, of acute reasoning and affectionate familiarity. But their great charm is a certain air of reality, which everywhere pervades them: they insensibly twine around our hearts; and, without the least effort at exhibition, of which, indeed, he had not the remotest thought, they set us at home in the very scenes and circumstances which they cause to rise graphically before us. Of our Lord's general character, especially as it may be “pondered”* out of the first few glimpses of his early life, the young preacher had a deep and strong impression; and what he felt acutely for himself, he never failed to impress vividly on others. Of the discourses, those entitled “Christ in the Temple,” “Few Notices of Christ's Early Life,” “Jesus at Cana,” and

* St. Luke ii. 19.

those which immediately follow, to the Seventh Discourse inclusive, appear to the Editor, as, he doubts not, they will do to the reader, full of just, discriminative, and original observation, and, even in their present unfinished form, seem entitled fairly to take their place (no common praise) beside Dr. Townson's exquisite Sermon, "On our Lord's Manner of Teaching."

It would be alike unjust and injudicious to forestall the reader's interest by any detailed notice of this portion of the "Remains." But, from amidst various passages of great interest and beauty, it seems right to select one or two brief specimens, which may, in some degree, illustrate the style and power of Dr. Phelan's mind, and, as the writer thinks, the abiding influence of early circumstances upon it.

Very early in his first discourse, he has, with peculiar felicity, applied his knowledge and experience of humble life to the elucidation of our Lord's visit, in childhood, to Jerusalem and its holy Temple. In treating of that remarkable occurrence, to which Saint Luke (ii. 46) refers, Dr. Phelan observes that "The first circumstance which should be noted is, the kindly and sociable spirit of the child Jesus. It is acknowledged that, in the course of his public ministry, our Lord manifests a cordiality towards mankind, second only to that unreserved devotion with which He had surrendered Himself to the business of his heavenly Father. And we may perceive, from the circumstances now before us, that this gracious disposition was the impulse of his tenderest, as well as the habit of his most mature, years. 'As they returned,' says the Evangelist, 'the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it. But, supposing him to have been in the company, they went a day's journey; and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance.' No sooner do they miss their precious charge, than they conclude that he had mingled with the companions of their journey. This persuasion is no less

Extracts
from his
discourses.

firm than it was instantaneous; they travel a whole day, without faltering in their assurance. At length they go in quest of Him; and where do they search? Not in solitude, or in secrecy; not, as they might have done for the austere Baptist, in a wilderness. They seek him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance, among persons whose intimacy is generally more unreserved in proportion to the humility of their rank in life; and who were then, as we may suppose, beguiling the fatigues of a toilsome journey by the free and playful interchange of confidential conversation. Now we cannot imagine that Joseph and his mother were careless of the treasure committed to their keeping, or that, in their search for Him, they were guided by no surer principle than indiscriminating surmise. Their conviction, that He had mingled with their friends, was natural and reasonable; but it could not have been so, had it not been suggested by his ordinary conduct." (Pp. 127, 128.)*

Our Sa-
viour's
poverty;

He thus beautifully touches on the poverty of the blessed Jesus:—

"We are, generally and incidentally, given to understand that our Lord was poor, yet no images are presented to us which can excite mean and vulgar associations. There are, perhaps, only two instances in which his poverty is pictured distinctly to the mind. These are, the scene of his nativity, and that mournful expression of his, that He had 'not where to lay his head.' Now, in the first of these cases, the associated ideas are all even of unearthly magnificence; the stable of Bethlehem is transformed into a holy tabernacle, where the wise and great come to offer their incense, and angels themselves attend in humble ministration. And, as for the pathetic expression of the Son of Man, there is a majesty in its pathos, which exalts our conception of the moral sublime. We hear nothing but what is fit to fall from the lips of persecuted royalty; we see nothing, save what a wise heathen

* Vol. i. of the "Remains," &c.

has pronounced the noblest sight, even for God to see—a great and good man rising superior to adversity.” (Disc. iii., pp. 160, 161.)

The susceptibility of our Lord, unmingled with a single shade of weakness, is pictured with happy discrimination:—

His susceptibility.

“ In the most highly gifted among men, that temperament, by which the soul is softened to imbibe the influence of genius or of sensibility, generally weakens the severer moral powers. In Christ alone, both are united in their full perfection. He feels all our infirmities, yet He yields to none. He, no less than John the Baptist, is inclined to lonely meditation. He does not disdain to contemplate even the lilies of the field, yet He can move unwearied and undisturbed amidst the tumults and anxieties of public life. Unlike John, He is courteous; but his is always the courtesy of a superior being, the serene grandeur of sovereign dominion. He calls, and public officers rise and follow Him; He appears, and rich young men kneel down to Him, and call Him Master; He comes into the synagogue of his own town, and the eyes of all the congregation are fastened upon Him; He is silent, and no man durst question Him; He speaks, and the people wonder at the gracious words which proceed out of his mouth.” (Disc. iv., p. 175.)

How these passages (and in the discourses of Mr. Phelan there are many such) may affect the reader, it is impossible to predict. To the editor, it must be owned, they appear the mingled growth of native temperament, of indigenous habit, and, he will add, of the triumphant grace of God. At an early period of this memoir, it was intimated that the subject of it was “ never vulgarized,” that he was, in principle and manners, “ a native gentleman.” I will now add, from long experience and observation, that he became more and more a devoted but a happy Christian; and my wish, serious as though it were my last one, is, Sit me anima cum Phelano!

The grace of God triumphant.

It now seems proper to revert to Dr. Phelan's state of Feelings on

obtaining
fellowship:

feeling, on the occasion of fellowship-examinations in 1817. From the extracts already given of his correspondence (p. 26), it is evident that he was neither sanguine in his hopes, nor elated by his success. To some, indeed, it may almost appear that he had attained, or affected, the tranquillity of stoical indifference. Far different, however, was the real case; and, in order to place it fairly before the reader, we must recur to other passages of the same letters. In that of April 12, he tells his friend, "I am not happy, nor can a fellowship make me so." And, on June 5, three days after having apparently realized his most ardent hopes, he emphatically writes, "At present, I feel myself very far from happy." The fact is (and this will at once explain all seeming contradictions), that, during his visit to Dundalk (p. 22), his affections had been irrevocably engaged to a sister of his friendly host. And although, during his continuance in Londonderry, prudence, and principle, and voluntary devotedness to his parents, allowed him not to think of an immediate marriage, yet he was not without hopes that some settlement might offer, compatible with the attainment of his dearest wishes. It is not wonderful, then, that a fellowship, which, so long as it should be retained, must probably doom him to hopeless celibacy, was anything rather than an object of complacency or self-gratulation. He literally, therefore, had not wished to succeed. And when, most unexpectedly, his efforts were crowned with success, his great object was, if practicable, to emancipate himself by a Royal dispensation. To accomplish this purpose, powerful efforts were, at different times, fruitlessly employed. But the sudden death of the young lady's natural protector determined him, at all hazards, to resign his fellowship, and fulfil his honourable engagement. Accordingly, on the 18th of May, 1823, he was married, on the licence of the Lord Bishop of Ferns, to Miss Margaret Stubbs, by her brother, the Reverend J. H. Stubbs, Vicar of Kilmacahill, in the church of that parish. Within the

In 1823, he
marries,
and resigns
it.

time specified by law, he subsequently resigned his fellowship, on the 12th of August in the same year; having received from the Provost and Senior Fellows a generous engagement to extend to him the future privilege of option to a college living. Nor should it be omitted, for it is highly to their honour, that the Junior Fellows voluntarily relinquished their claims to any emolument accruing from his late pupils, not only for the remainder of the current year, but so long as they might continue their names upon the college-books.*

The connexion thus disinterestedly formed greatly augmented his happiness, and probably also contributed to the extension of his short but valuable life. His delicate health demanded the most tender care, and this Mrs. Phelan delighted to administer, with all that noiseless assiduity which attends every step and movement of an affectionate female. Her principles, tastes, and habits, were in complete accordance with his own; and, for years before their marriage, she had been the faithful depository of his inmost thoughts and feelings. But the privacy of such a correspondence is too sacred a thing to be needlessly violated; fragments of but one letter have been committed to the writer, and, as these are at once beautifully simple, and throw a vivid light upon some particulars of his life and character, I shall give them without scruple. They seem to have been written from his native town, or its immediate vicinity; and I envy not the heart of that man who can read them without emotions that he would wish to cherish for ever:—

. . . . "Have you not remarked that the religious world is, after all, *the world*, and has the Scripture marks of the world about it? It is constantly substituting things external and adventitious for things internal and essential. A dogma, or a ceremony, or a public Meeting, or any-

The religious world too much of the world.

* For this fact I am indebted to the information of the Rev. Dr. Wall, at that time Junior Bursar. The sum thus liberally ceded was above 900*l.*—
J. L.

thing else that the times may countenance, is sure to take the lead of 'Righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.'

"In the more immediate circle, at present, of the Church Establishment, a dogma is the rage. Did it ever occur to you, to note the opposite conduct of our Lord, in regulating his family? No less than four times, in the first three chapters of St. Luke, it is said that his mother and Joseph did not know the import of expressions, relating to Him and his kingdom. We are not told that He even gave them any particular information. In general, it is to be observed that the truths, facts, and persons of the Gospel are revealed to us as objects of the affections: they are addressed to the intellect, only so far as every object of the soul must pass through the perceptive powers to the heart; when there, they are at home, no matter how they effect the passage. All dogmatists pass their time in examining, and, as they think, repairing the road to the intellect, and getting presentiments for short cuts, &c., &c. Thus, like our Irish highways, they are always *a repairing*, never *in repair*. Meanwhile, the heart is cut off from all valuable communication with that gracious but mysterious Being, who is 'a God that hideth Himself,' indeed, from ill-directed inquiries, but who delights to abide with the humble and contrite spirit, 'full of grace and truth.'

Mischief
of dogma-
tism.

"Such I firmly believe was his indwelling with your father; it was not manifested by any direct exhibition of religion, but it was known by its effects—known as a refreshing and purifying essence, which makes an atmosphere of sweetness around the place where it is concealed.

"Cherish, then, those feelings about your father, which become you equally as a child and as a Christian. In the present trying moments they will console you, and through life they will serve as those auxiliary lights which the gracious order of Providence kindles from time

to time for the guidance of the pure in spirit, so that they count it all joy when they fall into tribulation.

“ There is one quality both of my mind and of my heart to which I do not believe you have much adverted—that is, their *youthfulness*; they promise to grow, to shoot out blossoms and fruits for years to come. And, even in that stage when nature shall indicate that we are shortly to remove to another state of being, I trust that I shall still retain a buoyancy of spirit.

“ The most grateful moments I can enjoy are those in which I feel myself of value to the few whom I really love. The feelings I have towards that dear old man, my father, are experienced, I believe, by very few sons; at least by none that I ever knew, to the same degree. And I cannot describe to you the delight I felt when I saw his face tinged again with the freshness which I used to observe on it in my childhood. His filial piety.

“ I have been travelling these one-and-twenty years, and never saw so rich a harvest; it is called a *war-harvest*, the common people having a persuasion that pre-eminently good seasons introduce war, or some other calamity. Such is their theory of the balancing of good and evil in this *wady-buccady** world.

“ The character of the people in this country appears to most advantage in times of calamity. When above immediate want their vivacity is apt to become insolent, and their proud spirit breaks into turbulence. But in distress the common Irishman is meek as Moses. The loss of health, wealth, friends—all, in a word, that our nature deems most valuable, is met by him with the

* See-saw, up-and-down—a game in which two persons, seated on the extreme ends of a long piece of timber, supported in the centre by a fulcrum, at once balance each other, and are alternately elevated and depressed, by that motion which they communicate.

ejaculation, 'Welcome be the grace of God.' They see the correcting hand of Providence in every visitation, and receive it as an act of mercy."

He settles
in diocese
of Armagh.

On finally leaving college, in August, 1823, Mr. Phelan's first settlement was at the curacy of Keady, in the diocese of Armagh. This situation had for several months been kept open for him by the kindness of the Lord Primate, and gave promise of that literary leisure which he keenly relished, but never allowed to run to waste. "Here," said he to an early intimate,* "I can complete my attainments as a scholar and divine; all that I want is a library."

Just at this time, however, the Professorship of Astronomy at Armagh became vacant; for this situation Dr. Phelan thought it right to apply, but he learned that two days before it had been conferred on Dr. Robinson. At this appointment he was far from repining; on the contrary, he was satisfied that it did the Primate much honour. In that particular department Dr. Robinson's reputation stood unquestionably at the very highest; and the choice has been amply accredited by the opinion of scientific Europe.†

Mr. Phelan's habits had hitherto been those of a severe student; and he was better calculated for the literary and perceptive than for the more active departments of his calling. His health was exceedingly infirm, and he was often unequal to those laborious out-of-door exertions the vast importance of which he strongly felt. But his best energies were faithfully devoted to the spiritual improvement of his flock. He had hitherto appeared in the pulpit almost exclusively before a learned audience, and his discourses had been adapted always to satisfy the requirements of cultivated minds, and often to rivet the

* The Rev. Richard Ryan.

† The Observations of Dr. Robinson have been more numerous, and have excited greater attention, than those made at any other Observatory within the same period.

attention of profound thinkers. It now became his duty to adopt a different style of preaching. And it is an encouraging fact to all persons similarly circumstanced, that in adjusting his discourses to the capacity of his humble congregation he was quite successful. He had not formerly been more remarkable for the eloquence of thought than he now became for primitive simplicity. He seemed to preach under the habitual conviction, that "A pastor is the deputy of Christ for the reducing of man to the obedience of God." *

His style
of preach-
ing.

George
Herbert.

On ordinary occasions it was not his habit to commit to writing the entire of his sermons; he used merely to note down his principal topics; for he felt that a northern congregation especially would be more interested and impressed by conceptions reduced at the moment to words, than it could have been by any more elaborate process of composition. But his discourses were quite free from the usual defects of extemporaneous addresses. † The thoughts were always lucidly arranged; for the subject-matter had been thoroughly digested. He never ascended the pulpit without an awful sense of ministerial responsibility, nor willingly left it without having enforced at least some one religious truth in a novel and interesting manner. His learning was so attempered by suavity, that the people delighted in him as a teacher, while his parental concern for their welfare endeared him to them as the tenderest of friends.

With true humility of mind he united a strong, and

The Pri-
mate atten-

* George Herbert. Country Parson.

† "In this whole discourse" [the Sermon on the Mount], said Mr. Wesley, "we cannot but observe the most exact method that can possibly be conceived. Every paragraph, every sentence, is closely connected, both with that which precedes and that which follows it. And is not this the pattern for every Christian preacher? If any, then, are able to follow it, without any premeditation, well. If not, let them not dare to preach without it. No rhapsody, no incoherency [whether the things spoken be true or false], comes of the spirit of Christ."

Mr. Wes-
ley.

tive to the
Curate.

even lofty spirit of independence. He loved rather to confer than to receive a benefit, and could with difficulty be induced to incur a personal obligation. This the Primate well knew; while at the same time he was apprehensive that on moving to the curacy of Keady, Mr. Phelan must necessarily require some pecuniary aid. He accordingly took an early opportunity of calling at the curate's humble residence, and, after some general conversation, delicately hinted at the expenses which must almost inevitably beset a new-married man, expressing a hope that he might be permitted to become his banker. Mr. P., with very fervent acknowledgments, assured his Grace that he did not at that time stand in need of such assistance, but promised that should any emergency arise he would, without hesitation, avail himself of it. The Primate still persevered: "You cannot," said he, "be aware how many demands on your purse must now be answered. Mrs. Phelan, too, must want several articles of comfort, which your present means may not be able to supply." Mr. P. respectfully declared, "That he was unconscious of any want for which he was not already provided." "Come, Phelan," says the Primate, "you must want a horse." The reply was, "My Lord, I have two." "Well, then," his Grace added, "you will excuse my importunity—but, the remittance to your father, have you thought of that?" "My Lord," said Phelan, the tears of gratitude in his eyes, "I have not forgotten him; before leaving Dublin I took care that he should not want."*

These last were far from words of course. In a confidential letter to a friend, dated August 18, 1823, he thus unbosoms himself: "If I have means enough to

* Dr. Phelan related this conversation to a friend; and the editor could not suppress a circumstance so richly biographical. He must, therefore, at once throw himself upon the indulgence of the eminent individual who, above most other men, "does good by stealth."

continue my usual allowance to my father, I am perfectly satisfied."

"Filial piety," it has been said at the commencement of this memoir, "was with him almost an instinct." And the fact is illustrated by an affecting entry found in one of his note-books, to which Mrs. Phelan says he was fond of alluding. It is simply this—for it would seem never to have been wrought up into regular composition,—“The emotions of filial piety, perhaps the nearest approach that nature gives to the love of God.” Now, his own conduct shows the high sense which he ever entertained of both sacred ties; and the analogy is the more beautifully striking, as coming from the lips and heart of such a son and such a Christian. The sentiment of natural affection in him was sublimated into a feeling which had “less of earth in it than heaven.” This was the animating soul of all his efforts, from the first moment that such efforts could availably be made, for the securing of his parent’s worldly comforts; it was the most remote thing possible from the callous and rigid payment of a debt involuntarily contracted; and an indescribable emotion of mingled reverence and love, from early childhood to his latest hour, would seem to have been above most others the master-affection of his soul. “I can never forget,” says Mrs. Phelan, “the manner in which, on receiving a letter or other tidings from his first home, he was wont to say, ‘How I love and venerate that dear old man, my father!’”

Filial piety
and love to
God.

By the kindness of his family, the writer possesses copies of letters addressed to that “dear father” by Dr. Phelan, almost from the year of his entrance into College to the year of his death: from these I now propose to insert extracts of a small number, not selected with any very curious nicety, but evincing, as indeed all the letters do, the affectionate and wholly unselfish character of his nature.

Letters to
his father.

Dublin, December 23, 1808.

HONOURED SIR,—How different is our situation this Christmas from that with which we were usually blest! It is indeed a gloomy change; but still, it is our duty to receive the change as a visitation from the Almighty: for “whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth.” Let us learn to bear our present humiliation with patience, and the Lord will, no doubt, reward our perseverance in a manner beyond our expectations.

Your ever-obedient Son,

WILLIAM PHELAN.

April 28, 1809.

HONOURED SIR,—I have just happened to receive the enclosed, and I hasten to remit it to you. My endeavours to do without it will be facilitated by the sweet hope of its being useful to the best of parents.

Your ever-dutiful Son,

W. P.

Dublin, April 13, 1810.

HONOURED SIR,—Enclosed I send you share of another prize, which I obtained at the time I took my degree. It was for English verse; the first time I made any attempt that way; and, luckily, I have been very successful. I also, on the same day, got the gold medal;* so that, for a while, I am pretty well supplied with college honours. I know you, and my dear mother, will be glad to hear of this: so I have told you everything that has happened to me.

I hope, my dear father, that, whenever you find yourself weakened by work, you will stop and indulge yourself. I am young, Sir; *my* work is not so hard as *yours*; and I should be ashamed to hear that he to whom I owe my life and my education, should labour too hard, while I have the means of furnishing assistance.

* See p. 10, *ante*.

Tell my mother that I am not, nor ever shall be, forgetful of her tender care of me: and believe me, dear Sir,

Letters to
his father.

Your ever-grateful Son,
W. P.

Trin. Coll., Oct. 15, 1820.

MY DEAR FATHER,—Once more I must deny myself the pleasure of taking a trip to Clonmel. My entrance to-day was only two pupils; and this is too small to allow of any more travelling for the year. I wish very much that you would lay out the enclosed upon yourself. This day three weeks I shall send as much more, which can be used for the family purposes.

I shall send the spectacles by the first opportunity.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Ever your affectionate Son,
W. P.

Trin. Coll., Oct. 7, 1821.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I wish very much that you would, immediately, have the flannel waistcoats made. Give up one pound to the purpose; and I shall be sure to make it up to you. Take care, and make yourself comfortable this winter. It can make the difference of only a very few pounds to me; and I hope it is needless to say that, for such a purpose, I do not value a few pounds.

Your ever-affectionate Son,
W. P.

Trin. Coll., Nov. 20, 1822.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I beg you will employ the enclosed in some articles of comfortable dress for yourself and my mother. Do not think of my being a little embarrassed for money; my difficulty on that account will be but for a short time: and my uneasiness would be, beyond com-

Letters to
his father.

parison, both heavier and longer, if you wanted anything which I could procure.

W. P.

Trin. Coll., Oct. 25, 1823.

MY DEAR FATHER,—It has just occurred to me that I have neglected you sadly as to money matters. To remove all such inconveniences in future, I shall make it a rule, please God, to pay you quarterly. You shall have, as long as we all live and do well, twenty-five pounds, on each of the following days, &c.

W. P.

Tuesday (1829).

MY DEAR FATHER,—I do not know how to address you at this afflicting time. Our darling B—— is gone to a better world ; but you must feel the loss of her society deeply. However, it would be selfish, as well as presumptuous, to murmur at the will of Him who is the Father of us all.

I send the enclosed for the purpose of buying mourning. It is right that we should pay every respect to the memory of that sweet creature who is gone from us.

Ever, my dear Father,

Your most affectionate Son,

W. P.

3, Lower Merrion Street, Dublin,

March 11, 1830.

MY DEAR FATHER,—It will grieve me excessively if I should discover that you have been denying yourselves anything comfortable, from reluctance to call upon me. Indeed, I am never satisfied when I see, or hear, that you do not take all the care you ought of yourselves, or do not attend to those little supports of life which your state, and that of my mother, requires. You cannot but feel

that I would count nothing within my power too much for your use, &c. Letters to his father.

Ever your affectionate Son,
W. P.

Dublin, March 25, 1830.

MY DEAR FATHER,—It mortifies me more than I can express, that I find it quite impossible to accompany Catherine to Clonmel. Various things conspire to make it necessary for us to leave Dublin very early next week, and many preparations are to be made before we can set out. All these causes compel me to let Catherine travel alone. But I live in hopes that I shall see you before the summer is over, and that I shall find you and my dear mother improved by the fine weather.

You will perceive, by what Catherine brings, that I am still in your debt. I trust that I shall be able to pay you. With my best love to my dear mother,

Ever your affectionate Son,
WILLIAM PHELAN.

This was *his last* letter to his father, and gives delightful evidence that something far tenderer, and more sacred, than mere family affection, was triumphant, even to the close.

But a touching incident yet remains. The heavy expenses of his last illness had drained his purse; and, for some time, he had been unable to remit his father's allowance. Unexpectedly there came in, for the renewal of a lease, five-and-thirty pounds. "Let that immediately be sent to my father,"* said Dr. Phelan, "I have been in his debt too long." It was enclosed accordingly: and his sister, observing his extreme weakness, was about to direct the cover; but he said, quickly, "Give me the pen; if he saw any other handwriting than mine, the dear old

* Here was, precisely, the same spirit which dictated the memorable saying to his brother, sixteen years before. See page 15, *ante*.—J. L.

man * might think me worse than I am." Within three days he breathed his last!

Next spring (1831), Miss Phelan writes, "My father is pretty well, considering his infirmities: he bows with submission to the will of our heavenly Father. But the tears roll down his aged face whenever William is mentioned; and sometimes, when alone, he speaks to himself, in Irish, about his darling."

Phelan's
father, aged
86.

In April, 1832, Mr. Phelan, senior, was in his eighty-sixth, and Mrs. Phelan in her sixty-ninth year.

It is, perhaps, very generally felt, that the most natural and affecting letters of Pope, Warburton, and Hurd are those dictated by filial piety. But, in genuine pathos and simplicity, they are far excelled by several of Dr. Phelan's. We are continually reminded of those exquisite lines, which few sons have equally realized:—

"O friend, may each domestic bliss be thine:
Be no unpleasing melancholy mine:
Me let the tender office long engage,
To rock the cradle of reposing age;
Explore the thought, explain the aching eye,
And keep awhile BOTH PARENTS from the sky!"

From 1823 to 1829, Dr. Phelan's favourite and more congenial studies, were often interrupted by various political discussions of the day. To dilate on such subjects is foreign from the purpose of this memoir; and (may the memorialist be allowed to add) from the habits of his own life. Therefore, as has been already intimated, I shall here confine myself to the simple mention of his chief treatises, in the order of publication:—

Dr. Phelan's
publications.

1. Essay on the subject proposed by the Royal Irish Academy, "Whether, and how far, the pursuits of scientific and polite literature assist or obstruct each other?" 1813. Re-published in the present volume.
2. "The Bible, not the Bible Society." 1817.

* Dr. Phelan's usual phrase, when speaking of his father, amidst his own family.

3. A Letter to Marquis Wellesley, on "The Case of the Church in Ireland: by Declan." 1823. DECLAN was the name of the first Bishop of Ardmore, in Ireland: traditionally a member of the family, whence Dr. Phelan was descended. Not published till after the author had withdrawn from college.
4. The same. Second Edition, much enlarged. 1824.
5. A second Letter to the Marquis Wellesley, under the same title and signature. 1824.
6. "A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq.," suggesting some alterations in Mr. Goulburn's Tithe Composition Act. 1825.
7. "A Digest of the Evidence taken before the Committees of both Houses of Parliament, &c., in 1825." Vol. II. The first volume of this work was drawn up by the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan. Both he and Dr. Phelan had been previously examined before the Committees. The Digest was brought out in March, 1826.
8. "History of the Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland," &c. 1827. This work forms the second volume of the present publication.* It is given, not as a controversial, but purely as an historical discussion; and it is hoped that, when temporary excitement shall have subsided, it may be studied with advantage by persons of every description, and, not least, by members of the Church of Rome.
9. Two Letters, from a Clergyman in Ireland, to his Friend in England. 1828.
10. "Remains," &c. 2 vols. 8vo. 1832.

On the 26th of May, 1824, he was appointed by the Primate to the Rectory of Killyman, in the Diocese of Armagh. His announcement of this event (to him certainly an important one) bespoke a singularly well-balanced mind. He had been writing on other subjects, and at some length, to his friend, Mr. Ryan, when he thus proceeds:—"This morning, his Grace presented me

Presented
to the Rec-
tory of
Killyman.

* *i.e.*, "The Remains."

with a very well-circumstanced living, and unincumbered with any claim for building. I have now, thank God, an immediate prospect of competency, after a total demolition of my affairs within the course of the year. I am deeply grateful to Providence, but not elated; on the contrary, my mind is quite still and motionless."

Killyman was eligible as a residence, in several respects; in none more so than its vicinity to Armagh. Thence Dr. Phelan was enabled to pass many agreeable and many useful hours in communication with the Primate, whom it would be impossible to say how deeply he revered. And there, along with Archdeacon Stopford, and the present Dean of Armagh [1832], the Primate being generally present, he acted as examiner for holy orders: an important office, by him most faithfully discharged, for none felt more acutely its weighty responsibility.

Succeeded to
Rectorry of
Ardrea.

He succeeded, in virtue of the arrangement made with the Provost and Senior Fellows, to the Rectorry of Ardrea, in the gift of the University of Dublin, about the 23d October, 1825.* His pecuniary circumstances now gave promise of becoming easy; and, had his life been spared for a very few years, he might have provided competently for his family. It is, however, but fair to say, that his *mere acquaintances* were apt to think him ambitious; and it need not be concealed, that he sometimes seemed to view with complacency the possibility of, at a future day, obtaining a more prominent place in his profession. But the present writer, speaking from some knowledge of facts, and after much deliberate thought on the subject, does not hesitate to say that Dr. Phelan's

* The income of the two parishes has been accurately reported to me; it appears that Killyman produced about 850*l.*, and Ardrea 950*l.* per annum. From this amount is to be deducted 400*l.*, allowed by Dr. Phelan to his curates, and at least 150*l.* for the expenses of collection, &c. From the charges of faculty, outfit, furniture, &c., he was just beginning to emerge, when it pleased God to remove him. The delicate state of his health put a life-insurance out of the question. It was not even so much as attempted, nor, indeed, in his circumstances, would the attempt have been honest.

ambition (no modification of which can be perfectly or abstractedly right) was, at least, quite free from selfishness; that he regarded station in the Church not as an end, but as a means of usefulness; and that the prevailing disposition of his mind was to perform faithfully his own immediate duties, and leave events confidently and unreservedly in the hands of God.

The testimony of my friend, the Rev. Charles Forster, so perfectly accords with my own experience, that I cannot allow myself to suppress it; and it is the more valuable, I conceive, because it is given in his own unpremeditated words, taken down exactly as they were spoken:—"In October, 1825, I saw Dr. Phelan in Dublin, immediately after he had succeeded to the living of Ardrea. It was the last opportunity I enjoyed of his confidential conversation. The sentiment uppermost in his mind was a lively sense of the goodness of Providence towards him. He introduced, of his own accord—the mouth manifestly speaking out of the abundance of the heart—the great cause he had for thankfulness; expressed, with a look of thoughtful calmness, his gratitude at finding himself in a situation beyond his deserts, and fully equal to his desires; and concluded by observing that he had nothing more to wish for in this world, but had every reason to be contented and happy."

In July, 1826, he proceeded D.D.; and immediately after was appointed, by the Lord Primate of Ireland, his Examiner for Faculties; this office, however, soon virtually ceased, the Primate having, greatly to his honour, declined to grant any more faculties.

From the spring of 1827 [with the exception of his two letters to a Clergyman, &c., and a few essays in the periodical Journals], he did not publish: he seems to have resumed, for some time, his earlier pursuits with unabated delight. He read Plato, and the philosophers of his school; Kant, and the chief metaphysicians; nor was he wholly inobservant of the new system in progress among

The Holy Scriptures his chief study.

men of letters in France. But the Scriptures were his real and profound study. He estimated the best human productions only as, by correspondence or by contrast, they served to display the surpassing excellence of God's Word; and he thought our present intellectual systems, *therefore*, incomplete and uncertain, because they are formed not in accordance with, and subservience to, that all-perfect rule. He soberly was of opinion that, when philosophy should condescend to become the humble disciple of revealed religion, she would make the most rapid advances, and commence a new era of metaphysical science.

Philosophy and the Bible.

"If ever," he was used to say, "there arises a NEWTON in the philosophy of intellect, he will be a man profoundly acquainted with the BIBLE." Here, he was satisfied, are the principles of all knowledge that has man for its object; and, in the society of his chosen intimates, whatever might be the subject of conversation, it never failed to terminate in considerations drawn from the sacred writings; or, rather, he very soon proved that by the light of Scripture it could best be elucidated and expanded. To his theological studies, therefore, he drew all that was really interesting in every literary pursuit; and, as his acquaintance with the Bible grew more profound, it became more and more evident that from thence he was continually deriving new and striking thoughts.

Meanwhile, it was manifest to his anxious friends that his bodily health was rapidly on the decline. The symptoms were, perhaps, first and most distinctly observed by himself. Thus, so early as the month of October, 1825, he writes to a confidential friend:—"I am beginning to have fears of another kind, which I do not like to detail on paper, but which occupy a great portion of my secret musings." Again, on the 19th of November, 1826:—"As for myself, I am certainly not well. My power of enduring study is greatly reduced, and my susceptibility of cold increases to a most uncomfortable extent." In the summer of 1827, his feelings were yet more distressing:

July 16, he says, "I am very low, with respect to my own state. For the last six years I have had occasionally an intermitting pulse, which at first was said to be nervous. But I was given to understand that, unless it were mastered by exercise and tranquillity of mind, it might ultimately turn out to be organic. It was diminishing up to last winter; so much so, that I had begun to hope I had mastered it; but my long confinement then brought it on to a very serious degree. Common sense agrees with the physicians, that a disease which attacks so directly the seat of life must be treated with very respectful attention. I have been ordered, and I intend obeying the precept, to give up my books and scribbling, and devote my care to my health. The great difficulty I feel is, how to avert my thoughts from my own state, when I am not occupied in studious thinking. I find that minute care about myself increases the agitation of my pulse; and, from the long-formed habits of my life, I do not know any way of diverting my thoughts effectually, but by engaging in some settled scheme of mental occupation. This last, however, every one agrees in condemning. I had designed, by this time, to have commenced a series of . . . ; but it will not be allowed. The worst of the matter is, that I really believe the irksomeness of want of settled employment is as bad for me as work." His spirits, towards the close of this year, appear to have been nearly overwhelmed. He writes, December 1, 1827, "A History of the ancient Church of Ireland has been one of the many things upon which my thoughts have dwelt; but this, as well as all the rest, must now be postponed—perhaps for ever. The state of my pulse and nerves renders application to study perfectly impossible; and as, in these cases, mind and body react upon each other, I see no reasonable prospect of improvement. An occasional sermon will now, probably, be the measure of my labours for the rest of my life. I attend to myself very carefully; rise at six o'clock, am systematically temperate, read very little, and

His failing health.

go out whenever the weather permits. My great desideratum is, the want of society; the society, I mean, of men with whom I might converse upon those topics which are now part of myself."

The very evening of the day in which this melancholy letter was penned he had a serious attack of pleurisy, and, after five weeks' close confinement, he was not able so much as to reach the hall-door. The utmost exertion that he could make was a gentle walk about his study; and his friends were desirous that, when his strength should be tolerably returned, he would consent to vary the scene. The general feeling on the subject may be collected from a letter written at the time:—"Ardrea, January 25, 1828. Most people here speak of the Cove of Cork as the most desirable retreat for me; the doctors say, an excursion and idleness, without any particular destination; and, though last, not least among my advisers, the Primate recommends a trip to Dublin."

To that city, therefore, he removed in the winter of 1828-9, medical men having concurred in ordering a removal from the cold, damp climate of the north, to a more genial atmosphere. While he continued in Dublin he apparently grew much better, but no sooner had he returned home than the affection on his lungs became more distressing, and he was medically forbidden to preach, or perform any part of Divine service. Shortly after, he was afflicted with a violent palpitation of the heart, which forced him to give up his usual exercise, a short ride or walk causing him much embarrassment.

His seclusion.

Just before his return, he addressed to his brother-in-law a letter, which throws some interesting light upon his character:—"Dublin, Feb. 23, 1829.—My life here is one of perfect seclusion, except so far as going occasionally to a news-room, or to the college chapel on Sunday, may be called going into society. I see **** but seldom, and scarcely ever dine out. You will be surprised at all this, but it is because you have mistaken my character and

disposition ; for though I have, or rather *had*, somewhat of a lively manner with my very few close intimates, there is no one of a really more retiring turn. I dwell too much among my own thoughts to have either the power or the will to make myself acceptable to many of those around me. There is much of this that I would not change if I could ; for I am satisfied that the world is a very heartless affair. In some instances, however, I am quite aware that my shiness, or sullenness, or whatever else it may be called, is downright infirmity."

Towards the close of 1829 he again went to reside in Dublin ; not, however, with any very beneficial effect. A physician of great eminence interdicted, not merely preaching and performance of all parochial duty, but any continuous writing and study of whatever kind. The tone of his mind was unusually depressed ; but, to me, the most affecting thing of all is the rich vein of imagination which was continually breaking forth, evincing, even in his most morbid state, the supremacy of mind over matter. Thus on the 17th of October he writes to his friend Mr. Ryan : " I am indeed very low ; and the worst of it is, that the mind has sunk into a kind of lethargy, from which I have no power of rousing it. My faculties are not gone,—for sometimes, when I dream, I can energize as well as ever, and am busy in discussions of various kinds, but, while awake, they go to hide from me, and all my efforts cannot bring them out of their holes. The cause, I suspect, is to be found in a morbid excess of bile, which I have been secreting. I remember to have seen somewhere that a man's understanding is very much in his stomach ; and, from my recent experience, I believe it to be true."

Yet even at this period his mind was frequently as much alive as ever to his intellectual improvement and pursuits ; thus, in a letter to his early associate, Mr. S. O'Sullivan, dated Dec. 17, 1829, he says, with his usual modest estimate of his own powers : " I opened an old

sermon of my college days yesterday, and was disappointed greatly at the execution, though the thoughts are good. You ought to give me a lecture in composition; I hope to be soon able to profit by it."

The extracts lately given from Dr. Phelan's correspondence are evidently fitted to leave a far less lively impression than the just one, of the habitual frame of his mind and spirits. But they were for the most part written at times of illness and depression, and they have been selected for the express purpose of showing, that even then his feelings were such as one alike qualified to live and prepared to die would willingly cherish at the approach of "the inevitable hour." They were chiefly written to that bosom-intimate* by whose kindness I am enabled to characterize them in Dr. Phelan's own words: "I have laid open my reveries to you in the same rambling, unreflecting manner as if I had been thinking aloud, and by your fireside. To you I write of myself, because I am sure that what concerns me is not uninteresting to you. There is no one to whom I dare behave so." His last letter to his chosen friend, written on the 29th of May, just seventeen days before his death, has these words—a characteristic close of such a correspondence—"I have been greatly cheered by your last two letters, and I look forward with impatient anxiety to your promised visit. The circle of our friends narrows so fearfully as we proceed in life, that the affections gather, with intensity of regard, round the few that remain within the little inclosure.—W. P."

In April, 1830, his brother,† who for nineteen years had with anxious fondness been watching each expressive variation of his countenance, saw in it, on his return to the country, the signs of fast-approaching dissolution.

* The Rev. Richard Ryan.

† The Rev. James Phelan, then Curate of Killyman, now Prebendary of St. Audoen's, Dublin.

On May the 24th, he went to the Chapel-in-the-woods, one of the churches of Ardtrea, nine miles distant from the rectory, to hold a vestry. The day was wet and tempestuous; he sat for several hours in damp clothes; and, as might have been anticipated, took a severe cold. On the 28th, the injurious effects became sadly apparent: a distressing cough, extreme difficulty of breathing, total sleeplessness, impossibility so much as to lie down. Mrs. Phelan, finding that the means prescribed wrought no abatement of suffering, now proposed that he should go to his brother's at Killyman; for she had often been led to remark that the society of that dear relative, in his affection for whom were blended the feelings of a brother, a father, and a friend, had commonly a salutary effect upon his health and spirits. He went accordingly. On entering the house, he first saw Mrs. James Phelan, towards whom he had ever felt and showed the truest brotherly affection. To her he said, with that playful seriousness which in him was quite characteristic, "Harriette, I am come to die with you." This was on the 6th of June. For the next three days, in the course of which he took two airings in an open carriage, some hopes were entertained of his recovery; his cough was more infrequent, his breathing less embarrassed, and he had a little sleep. But, on the 10th, all the old symptoms returned, with aggravation; and a new symptom appeared, which seldom fails to prove an immediate forerunner of dissolution. Still, however, on the 11th, he ventured, supported by his brother, to take a short walk in the garden; and next day he was up a little while. But at nine o'clock A.M., on Sunday, June the 13th, he expired, without the slightest struggle. To the last he retained full possession of his mental powers, and exercised with unabated vigour the kindest of human affections. Nor is it presumptuous to hope, that through the merits and mediation of a Divine Redeemer he is gone to that state where the aspirings of a purified spirit

His death.

shall not be weighed down by the pressure of a mortal body.*

It may perhaps be expected that the writer of this Memoir should add somewhat in the way of character. But he trusts, that from almost every page may be collected his estimate of this excellent and extraordinary young man. And, happily, Mrs. Phelan has put into his hands a paper, drawn up by herself, the faithful result of fifteen years' intimacy with his whole mind and heart. This I will give almost as I received it, and I think its beautiful simplicity far more eloquent than the most laboured panegyric. Here, then, I close my biographic labours. And I cannot but express my fervent wish that many may be induced, not merely to admire, but to emulate the virtues and the spirit of Dr. Phelan. For my own part, I feel that my responsibility is in no slight degree increased by the long and close inspection of such mature goodness.

JOHN LIMERICK.

*East-Hill, Wandsworth,
May 21, 1832.*

* At four o'clock in the afternoon, of June 15, 1830, his remains were deposited in a vacant space, where the old church had formerly stood, in the grave-yard of Killyman. A numerous body of clergy, and a vast concourse of people, assembled at the funeral. His brother, the Rev. James Phelan, and his brother-in-law, the Rev. J. H. Stubbe, were mourners. The funeral-service was read by the Rev. Richard Horner, Rector of the neighbouring parish of Drumglass, who pronounced a very instructive and affecting address at the grave.

MRS. PHELAN'S PAPER.

ON looking through his earliest manuscripts, it is evident how entirely from the beginning his mind was directed towards the one great end of our being. Even in these unfinished papers it is an office of delightful interest to trace the progressive history of his fine mind—to see it, from tenderest youth to maturest manhood, continue to expand and give forth fresh promise, till at length it burst forth from its earthly incumbrance, as we may humbly trust, to enjoy heavenly converse in a state of unalloyed purity.

Mrs. Phelan's Paper,
referred to
p. 68.

His many note-books, and even the smallest shred of written paper left behind him, testify the fulness of that mind, and its ever-budding freshness, each beautiful thought seeming to contain matter for a volume. While inspecting such documents, my heart is lifted up in adoration of the great Creator, who alone can give such faculties to man, with the power and the will to use them.

The sweetness of his domestic qualities shone in beaming tenderness through his manly nature, rendering him in all seasons, whether of labour or repose, a most delightful companion. Delicacy of constitution, and unintermitting devotedness to literary pursuits, enhanced his natural love of home-quiet, but never for a moment relaxed his ever-working powers of thought.

Except when labouring under very distressing illness, he was not merely cheerful, but animated, and full of the

joy even of childhood. Often have I seen him, after dancing and singing with his little children, suddenly throw himself into his chair, take up his note-book, and write, exclaiming, "I have worked up a good thing for my book." And thus frequently some of his happiest and most exquisite thoughts suggested themselves to him amidst the full enjoyment of his delighted little family circle.

Abstractedness, therefore, so usual an accompaniment of literary habits, was never to be detected in him. He was present to everything, always ready to take a part in conversation, and felt a lively interest in whatever was going forward. Even when engaged in the closest and deepest application, his intercourse with his family was not suspended; the amusements of his children did not interfere with him; their presence and enjoyment gave him pleasure; reading aloud interrupted not the train of his thoughts; music seemed almost to assist him; and, in the midst of intense study, he would pause to answer the simplest question, in a manner equally full of encouragement and affection.

But whenever information of an instructive kind was asked for, he delighted especially in giving it, and never failed to do so in that happy style of brevity and clearness for which he was remarkable, replying with readiness and interest, as if the particular subject in question had exclusively engaged his thoughts; and on such occasions his countenance and manner told what pleasure he felt in communicating knowledge. Indeed, whenever he spoke his air was animated and joyous; and so thoroughly was information, at once general and deep, diffused throughout his mind, that he viewed the most ordinary subject in an uncommon light, and unconsciously excited new trains of thought in the minds of those around him. In his hours of necessary relaxation he ever combined wit with instruction, and philosophy with mirth, and playfully imparted those treasures which he had laboriously accumulated by

severe study. Above most other men he possessed the happy faculty of teaching, without appearing to dictate; and he continually enlightened the circle which revolved around him, unconscious that he was himself the luminary in whose beams they were rejoicing.

His general manner was simple and unpretending; he never assumed the air of conscious superiority; but, "possessing that prime knowledge which consists in knowing how little can be known," he was at all times too deeply occupied with the beauty and tendency of the idea to dwell for a moment on its mere origination. The same unaffected demeanour marked him whether in the pulpit, in private discussion with his friends, or in the more general conversation of mixed society. I never heard him speak on any subject, whatever its apparent difficulty, without feeling that I could, in some degree, at least, find my way through it. Such was his lucid clearness, and concise, though beautiful method of reasoning. And perhaps the best evidence of a great mind is that power of simplifying food for the feeble-minded.

Devotion to his beloved studies, but too often, and in many ways, affected his bodily health. At one period he became subject to a distressing complaint in one of his eyes. To this, however, he never yielded, till acute pain made it indispensable that the organ should have rest. At these times he was in the occasional habit of dictating from the stores of his mind that which another reduced to writing. In the latter years of his life he had repeated attacks of this nature, succeeding each other with so short a respite between, that, but for that active energy of mind which never forsook him, he must have sunk under mere physical depression. When suffering in this way, he has often dictated various portions of his works, arranging long passages in his mind, as he walked through the room, and repeating them with great accuracy and clearness, while one of his family wrote them down for his future correction. And at times, when able to use his eyes, but

much hurried in composition for the press, he has worked double tides; at once dictating to an amanuensis, and rapidly penning some other part of the same treatise.

It has been well observed of him, that "he lived two lives in one." The quickness of his apprehension enabled him to acquire knowledge in a far shorter space of time than most persons; while this faculty served but to stimulate his exertion, and excite an appetite for fresh information, never to be satiated in the present stage of existence. In his favourite study of theology he laboured, with a persevering ardour perhaps seldom excelled or even equalled. And the result gives a fresh instance of the fact, that a sincere and humble search after truth, directed by a clear intellect, and aided by solid learning, is always productive of a self-conviction which, generally, draws others to the same belief. In fact, Dr. Phelan had read more than enough to unsettle the minds of many acute, but unballasted, unstable, half-thinkers; while, to him, inquiry never failed to produce a deeper and more principled conviction of the great truths of the Gospel.

No person, indeed, could be more deeply impressed with a sense of man's utter helplessness, in his unassisted state. Therefore the humility of his faith was of the most profound character. But he felt what noble things restored and re-created man is capable of, and intended for. Therefore he continually aspired, through Divine grace, after the renovation and improvement of his fallen nature.

His conception of our Lord's character was so perfectly lovely, that, where we might have dreaded to approach, we are attractively drawn forward, and gratefully behold Divinity itself embodied in the Redeemer of our souls. By ever keeping before him this model of perfection, he was gradually becoming conformed to His image; and he truly, and habitually, "walked humbly with his God."

For two or three months previous to his final separation from us in the flesh, the idea of his own approaching dissolution seems to have been familiar to him. I had an oppor-

tunity of observing this, especially at one particular period, when, from a recent confinement, and the interdiction of all study, he became acutely nervous and sensitive. About that time, too, he was seized with an alarming numbness in one of his arms, attended by a shock similar to that of paralysis. During the continuance of this attack, which lasted about an hour, he appeared to undergo a great mental struggle, the agonizing conflict bringing tears to his eyes. At length, the power having returned of shaking off this weakness by a violent effort, he was quite overcome by the gracious relief, and immediately withdrew to his own room, where he remained alone for upwards of an hour. Then he rejoined his family, with more than his usual cheerfulness, and with a heavenly serenity, which seemed newly *given* to him.

The last week of his mortal being cannot, while I remain after him, be severed from my thoughts; the recollection of it fills me with heartfelt gratitude to the Most High. From the great difficulty of breathing under which he laboured, it was a period of almost unintermitting suffering; fits, nearly of suffocation, came on continually during the night, frequently, too, during the course of the day. But his equanimity, patience, and reliance on the Divine Mercy never for a moment forsook him. His resignation to the Divine will was meek and unvaried; his whole manner showed this; and the few consolatory words which at any time he uttered, were evidently designed but to relieve the agonized feelings of those who witnessed his sufferings. The night before his departure, he called me to his bedside; and, in the beginning of his little address, his countenance and manner bore an almost playful animation. I am now fully persuaded that glimmerings of the glory so soon to be revealed were, at that moment, dawning on his mental sight, and even giving him bodily ease, while he spoke to me these comforting words:—

“I am greatly relieved by the bleeding, thanks be to God! And, though I have, indeed, had a very violent

attack, yet I feel as though I had still a sufficiency of strength, with God's help, to bring me through. And now go over, and lie down in your bed with a full confidence in the power of the Almighty. I will call you to me, when necessary. Pray for me, giving HIM thanks for all His mercies to me. There never was any one who had more abundant cause for humble gratitude."

Then, nearly exhausted, his words gradually became indistinct; and, from mental prayer, he sunk into a calm and childlike sleep. These were the last words of consequence I ever heard him utter. But if, at any time, upon its separation from the body, a spirit has been blessed with a foretaste of immortal peace—and if it be not presumptuous to indulge in the delightful confidence—may I be enabled to rest in sure and certain hope that his soul is numbered with the blessed!

M. P.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Sine ira aut studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

It is very frequently said, that the evils with which Ireland is unquestionably afflicted have arisen from the vicious policy of her more powerful neighbour. This opinion, first advanced by men who endeavoured to divert the attention of the public from the true causes of our distress, has gradually made its way into better company. If, indeed, its merits were sufficiently examined, *by comparing the state of the two countries*, and by computing the years of their political connexion, its truth would cover the ignominy of its origin, and Irishmen of all parties would have reason to complain. Many circumstances, however, are to be taken into the account, which people of a warm and generous temperament, who have read of much calamity, witnessed much suffering, and perhaps, in their own persons, experienced some harsh disability, are liable to overlook.

Irish
misery.

The following pages will not have been written in vain, should they induce any such to consider these few but important questions:—What portion of our misfortunes is imputable to the *crown* or *parliament* of England; whether the local English government introduced new grievances, or merely omitted to remove old abuses; whether this omission arose from culpable neglect, or, on the other hand, from necessity, from principled forbearance, and from respect, however erroneous, for the supposed rights of others.

Not the
result of
English
power.

Without proceeding minutely into these inquiries, it will be enough, in this place, to state one general proposition—that the great source of Irish misery has been, not the *power* of England, but its *want* of power. From the first connexion between the islands, to their legislative union, two local oligarchies, fiercely opposed to each other, but waging emulous hostility against the public welfare, fill a large space in our melancholy annals. Liberty and good order were equally the objects of their dislike: they intercepted from the sovereign the allegiance of his subjects, and from the people the protecting care of their prince, and the blessing of impartial laws. Thus the country was exposed to a long succession of misfortunes, which its nominal monarch, the remote and unheeded colleague of domestic tyrants, might deplore, but was unable to prevent or to remedy. Absenteeism, the freehold system, and the abolition of our colonial legislature, have greatly reduced the power of the more ancient of these factions,* the landed aristocracy: a brief account of it will be no unsuitable introduction to the history of its triumphant rival.

Ireland in
the 6th,
7th, and
8th centu-
ries.

There is good reason to believe that in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, the Irish were possessed of a respectable share of those benefits which result from industry, laws, and literature; with perhaps as much tranquillity, public and private, as was enjoyed by Greece at its most brilliant period. But, amidst the rapine and massacre of the three following ages, their spirit and their imperfect civilization sunk together, beneath the ferocity of the northern Corsairs. The degenerate race which now appeared inherited the mingled vices of their fathers and their enemies; the grossness and turbulence, without the generosity, of barbarians; the corruptions, without the arts, of more cultivated life.

Ancient

At the date of the arrival of the first English adventu-

* That is, *so far as it was* a faction: it has, indeed, been reduced considerably below its constitutional level.¹

¹ Written A.D. 1827.—ED.

ers, every chieftain, from the dynast of a province, to the tiny potentate of a realm which might be enclosed within a modern barony, was a king. The annual claim of his superior lord was settled, according to circumstances, by a tribute or a battle; but, within his own territory, he exercised all the powers of barbarous royalty. By a custom which seems to have at once extended from the Himalaya mountains to the Atlantic, he was sole proprietor of all the land in his sept: the clansmen held their portions during the pleasure of their chief; and there were some national usages which added to the uncertainty of this precarious tenure. All dignities were elective: vacancies were made, and elections carried, most frequently by the sword; so that every change of masters, in every tribe, threatened, if it did not cause, a new partition of lands. No special claims to inheritance were derived from primogeniture, legitimacy, or kindred. Upon the death or emigration of a vassal, his holding reverted to the common stock: on the other hand, as youths grew to maturity, or as strangers became naturalized, the older occupants contracted their bounds, to make room for the new settlers. These eternal fluctuations had their full effect upon the face of the country and the character of the people; there was no motive to industry, no spirit, except for turbulent adventure; cultivation was limited to the demands of nature and the landlord, and the fertility of the soil was abused by a wretched system of husbandry.* A distinction was acknowledged between a slave and a freeman; but it seems to have denoted no other difference than this, that

petty subdivisions of Ireland.

Effects of clanship, &c.

* It was one of the articles of *impeachment* brought in 1613 against the lord-deputy Chichester, that his officers levied a fine on the Irish, for *ploughing with horses by the tail*. (See *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i.) In 1648, it was one of the articles of *peace* with the Duke of Ormond, "that two Acts lately passed in this kingdom, the one prohibiting the ploughing with horses by the tail, and the other prohibiting the burning of oats in the straw, be repealed." Such was Irish patriotism in the seventeenth century, making a grievance of every measure that was calculated to promote comfort and civilization, or to raise the character of the people: such it is in the nineteenth.

Ploughing with horses by the tail.

the freeman had the right of choosing his tribe : in choosing *that*, he chose his master. Excluded from landed property, by a selfish despotism, and from commercial wealth by the circumstances of a country, which had no money, no trade, and few manufactures, all who could not boast of princely blood were condemned to a state of hopeless dependance. The lords had neither the intelligence, nor the generosity, to give liberal institutions ; and the Brehon Code, minute in its decisions between vassal and vassal, had not ventured to restrain their licentious misrule. Ireland had no towns, except a few sea-ports, which were still in the hands of the Danish enemy ; there were, therefore, no corporations to diversify the bleak uniformity of feudal barbarism, to plead a chartered exemption from servitude, or to reflect the dangerous image of plebeian rights.*

Henry II.

Such was the system of the Irish chieftains whom Henry the Second found here ; and thenceforward, until the reign of James the First, by whom their power was finally broken, it continued rather to degenerate than improve.

Characteristics of Irish Society.

* These are the more palpable and prominent facts, as they are presented by history ; yet we must not forget that, in a very great degree, things *are* as they are *felt*. A *family man* would say, that such a state of society could afford no fireside comforts ; a *statesman*, that it was equally adverse to national greatness : both would say truly, but not the whole truth. It had its own attractions for a people, as the Irish were, as they are at this day, of few and simple wants ; strangers to the spirit of trade ; castle-builders without forethought ; convivial with their equals ; aspiring to familiarity with their superiors ; reckless of danger ; Stoics in endurance ; Cynics in their whimsical contempt of appearances ; Epicureans in their relish of the passing hour ; and full of airy and buoyant spirits, which shoot up, as some trees are said to do, the more vigorously, for the pressure of some incumbent weight. By the law of Tanistry, every man of noble blood was eligible to the chieftie of his tribe. The law of Gavel-kind was equally liberal of fair promises to every vassal ; it gave him the chance of the great object of an Irishman's ambition, *a bit of land*.¹ To be sure, it could be only for his

¹ The change wrought in this respect would have been regarded as impossible if predicted fifty years ago, and to some even now seems almost miraculous. Irishmen fly from the land for possession of a portion of which they willingly braved almost every possible danger, and did not always hesitate at the commission of the greatest crimes.—ED.

Through the whole of that interval, they submitted to an English monarch as they had done before to one of the Milesian line, with the same readiness, the same inconsistency, and the same reservations. They acknowledged him as the centre of their federal union; a theoretic union, which their petty hostilities were constantly violating; as a superior, whose pre-eminence they attested by a slight tribute or occasional military service; and whose reciprocal good offices they looked for in their difficulties and disputes. This was the amount of his sovereignty: it could not, or would not, be understood by those sturdy lords, that he was to invade their precious right of mutual slaughter, or to mitigate the internal anarchy of their dominions.

own life, but his sons could not hope to be better men than their father, or look for better prospects than he enjoyed. In fine, in our Irish world, life was all a lottery, an adventure, a spirit-stirring uncertainty, in which a sanguine and elastic temper found enjoyment by snatches, and excitement always. The cup of expectation went round to every lip, and the visions which it conjured up were to be realized by the exercise of a smooth tongue and a sturdy arm, gifts in which the Irish were seldom deficient, and which were, in themselves, as much sources of self-complacency, as the good things to which they ministered were objects of desire. Besides, it must be remembered, that the vassals were the constituents of their chief and landlord; a connexion not the less intimate from this circumstance, that the hustings of those days were, for the most part, literally fields of battle. Thus, if harshly treated by the actual great man, they were sure to receive from the aspirant all the blandishments of a canvass; and, whenever they could muster a majority of battle-axes, they might proceed, without further ceremony, to a new election.

This mutual clientship and interdependence between sovereign and subject, lord and serf, though a powerful element of commotion in the social chaos, must have greatly assuaged the sense, if not the reality, of oppression. In particular, it gave rise to two domestic relations, which united, without confounding, the upper and lower classes; the noble gave out his children to be nursed by his retainers, and, in return, became baptismal sponsor for theirs. These two very innocent and very interesting customs of *fosterage* and *gossipred* have been described by Sir John Davis in terms of rather absurd reprobation: at all events, however alarming to a politician, they would afford excellent materials for a novelist.

We ought to have a writer of national tales. The Munster Farmer,

Si quæ fata aspera rumpat,
Hic Marcellus erit.

But he is better employed.

English
Adventu-
rers.

The great English lords were no less resolute than the Irish in their opposition to the sovereign, and their oppression of the people. Adventurers, of reckless and ferocious habits, distinguished from the worst of the native chiefs by nothing but their superior skill in the arts of predatory warfare; they had conquered without the aid of the king, and were determined to govern without his interference. The honorary title of lord of Ireland excited neither their ambition nor their jealousy: perhaps they were pleased with the existence of a claimant, whose rank, while it placed him above competition, extinguished all pretensions to supremacy among themselves, and whose residence in another country left their movements uncontrolled. These dutiful subjects claimed only to be the irresponsible deputies of their master, to enjoy the fulness of sovereign power, each within the circle which his sword had traced: and, from a multitude of causes, they were able to dictate the terms of their contumacious loyalty. Some of them, as the two great branches of the De Burgo family, the Geraldines of Kerry, and the Berminghams lords of Athenry, renounced the language, laws, and usages of the mother country. They had been smitten with the barbaric circumstance, and unlimited sway, of the native chieftains: they became chieftains themselves; assumed Irish appellations; and moulded their motley followers into the form of Irish tribes. Others, retaining the English name, and something of English manners, acquired, at a less price, nearly equal dominion. In the space of thirty years after the first descent, eight palatinates, comprehending two-thirds of the English settlements, were erected in Ireland; there was afterwards added a ninth, the county of Tipperary, the splendid domain of the Earls of Ormond. *Within* these districts, the lords possessed all royal rights; created knights, and even barons; appointed their own judges, sheriffs, seneschals, and escheators; collected their own revenues; and held their own courts for the determination of all causes: *without*, they exercised the detestable prerogative of

waging civil war, in all quarters of the island. Armed with these enormous powers, they proceeded to reduce or exterminate their own countrymen of the middle class, who had presumed to set an example of comfort and independence. Many of these fled; their lands were seized by the lords, and parcelled out among the conquered Irish, to be held on Irish tenures: many others surrendered a part of their property, in the hope of being allowed the quiet possession of the remainder; but this grace was refused, and they were, gradually, broken in spirit and circumstances to the villenage of the native population.

This was the state of things, in the aboriginal clans, in the revolted septs of Anglo-Irish, and, except within a few garrison towns, in the counties palatinate, from Henry the Second until James the First. Whether English lords or Irish chieftains obtained a temporary triumph, the mass of the people suffered equally; their tyrants might change, but the tyranny was the same; the domestic and almost indigenous tyranny of their own primitive customs. A level district round the capital, containing the small shires of Louth, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin, limited the range of the English law, the jurisdiction of the viceroy, and, except on some rare occasions, the ambition of the crown. Far from indulging schemes of more extended authority, the conscious weakness of royalty took refuge in a ludicrous, but humiliating fiction; all beyond this *pomærium* was presumed not to be in existence, and in court language *the land of Ireland* was synonymous with *the Pale*. Of The Pale.

Extent of
England's
jurisdiction:
James I.

leagues, or opponents, of the English monarch : and, so late as the reign of Henry the Seventh, the rebel Earl of Kildare was taken from the Tower of London " to govern all Ireland, because all Ireland could not govern the Earl."

Henry
VIII.

Many circumstances had conspired to obtain for Henry the Eighth a general submission from the Irish aristocracy; and his vigorous common-sense knew how to appreciate and improve the rare advantage. Cautiously abstaining from precipitate change, he allowed them the temporary use of whatever was most tolerable in their domestic customs; and, in the meantime, endeavoured to prepare the multitude for the reception and enjoyment of more liberal institutions. He founded a system of national education; the schools were to be under the direction of the clergy, and, through them, of the state; the children were to be trained " to the good and virtuous obedience they owe their prince and superiors, and to receive instruction in the laws of God, with a conformity, concordance, and familiarity, in language and manners, with those that be civil people, and that do profess and know Christ's religion, and civil and politic laws, orders, and directions."

Queen
Elizabeth.

But the haughty spirit of Elizabeth, and the scholastic intellect of James, were equally unfavourable to this temperate procedure. The former was impatient to crush the power of the nobles: she succeeded, and thus removed one formidable obstacle to the enfranchisement of Ireland, but the rising fabric of national schools was overthrown in the concussions of thirty years of rebellion. The latter overlooked, or perhaps could not estimate, another and greater difficulty, which was thus left in its original force; the difficulty arising out of the character of a race, in which barbarism had been ingrained by immemorial oppression. James unhappily mistook manumission for freedom; he left the *habits*, while he abolished the *usages*, of the Brehon Code, and transplanted, all at once, the delicate and exotic blossoms of the English Constitution to a sterner climate and an uncultivated soil. This teme-

James I.

rity may be traced through the rest of the century, in a disastrous train of results and reactions; in the great rebellions, the bloody retribution of the regicide army, the Act of Settlement, and the unnatural contest of James and William.

When these horrors had cleared away, and the political horizon of Ireland once more disclosed a field for extended contemplation, its first appearance was sufficiently novel. Clans and palatinates had vanished; the manners and, with few exceptions, the families of the old oligarchy of both races had become extinct; the surface of society had been everywhere broken up, and arranged anew upon the English model; and nearly the whole proprietary of the island was now a body of British Protestants, of recent transplantation. At a change so striking, one is prompted to imagine that the power and consequent responsibility of England may be dated, at least, from this era; but the impression is weakened by a nearer survey. We can discover, beneath these superficial changes, the original principles of Irish calamity: a titular sovereign, a despotic aristocracy; a population debased, and unfit for freedom, if the laws had made them free.

Principles
of Irish
calamity.

The new race of landlords, English and Scotch adventurers of a revolutionary age, were surcharged with the spirit of the times and countries which had given them birth. Liberty, if not the ruling passion, was at least the prevailing cry, in the greater island, during nearly the whole of the seventeenth century: an undefined liberty, which the peaceful were willing to limit to freedom from oppression, but which the bold *would* interpret into freedom from responsibility. It was only natural that these *new men*, soldiers of fortune, flushed with victory and pampered with its rewards, should cherish the most licentious signification. The liberty which animated their language and their conduct was a restless, petulant, and aggressive spirit; liberty *taken* with others, as well as vindicated for themselves; an impatience of restraint, and

No resident
Viceroy.

an appetite for power. They professed, indeed, to respect England as their model, not their mistress. Though the country of their birth, it was now a foreign state, whose interference would be an insult to their emulous love of freedom, and in the country of their choice they were exempt from control or competition. On the one side, there was no resident Viceroy to offend them by his harmless pageant of monarchy; on the other, the longevity of the Colonial Parliament, and the necessary restrictions upon all civil franchises,* relieved them from annoyances of a more popular nature. Ireland had, as yet, no public opinion to shame them into circumspection; and the constitutional forms which the crown had prematurely given were a barrier against English influence, behind which they could pursue their domestic schemes. Thus, the circumstances from which they had risen, and those in which they were placed, combined to give them a mixed character, between the baronial insolence of their predecessors in Ireland, and the levelling intolerance of their more honest contemporaries, who sowed the seeds of democracy on the farther shore of the Atlantic. Ireland, under their government, was, in its relations with England, a separate, jealous, and almost hostile power; in its internal economy, an abortive and anomalous *lusus* of political nature, partly a close borough and partly a plantation.

The last flight of these adventurers had scarcely alighted upon the soil, when a novel species of patriotism, "a graft," as it is aptly called, "of English faction upon an Irish stock,"† shot out into a precocious luxuriandy of

Parliament
for life of
the Sovereign.

* A Parliament lasted for the life of the sovereign.¹ It was *proved* by the evidence of Dr. Doyle and Mr. O'Connell, before the Parliamentary Committees, that restrictions were necessary.

† "Memoirs of Captain Rock."

¹ This continued to be the case till the passing of the Octennial Bill, *post*, p. 81.—Ed.

edition. In the month of October, 1692, within one year from the surrender of Limerick, the Commons of Ireland rejected a money Bill, because it had not originated in their House. Many of the Members were the well-paid followers of William; the rest had been the destined victims of the sweeping proscription of his rival; the supply was wanted, probably, to pay off the foreign army whose valour had contributed to raise or to uphold them; yet the omission of a doubtful etiquette was fatal to the application of their patron and deliverer. The celebrated "Case of Ireland," which appeared six years after, led to another and more dangerous controversy between the colony and the mother country. Whatever may have been the merits of these now fortunately obsolete questions, the daring and obstinate vehemence with which they were maintained by the colonists is abundant proof of the weakness of England. The mass of the population, dissembling their fierce and recently-exasperated animosities, were induced, for their own reasons, to favour the intrigues of their new masters: the murmur of independence gradually swelled into a storm, until, in 1724, the era of Wood's halfpence,* and Swift's greatest popularity, it reached the uproar, if not the dignity, of a hurricane. But it was far from the intention of those who had excited the commotion, to brave the perils of independence: they had raised a popular clamour, that they might be employed to put it down, and that the minister, alarmed for his own or the public safety, might acquiesce in that local despotism which they were labouring to establish. The device succeeded. "It required," as we are told by respectable authority, "the superior good sense of Sir Robert Walpole, his conciliating wisdom, and the result of that wisdom, his pacific system, to effect what he did ;

October,
1692.

Sir Robert
Walpole.

* After all due credit is given to the factious talents of Swift, it will still remain one of the mysteries of party, that not only Whigs and Jacobites, but Protestants and Roman Catholics, should have joined in the outcry, of which Wood's patent was the ostensible cause.

and it is a plain proof that he well knew, and duly estimated, the understanding and temper of those on whose regards Ireland, at that time, rested." These were the Whig aristocracy, whose character is described by the same writer as compounded of "a love of liberty, a thirst of dominion, the spirit of Cromwell's agitators, and a jealous anxiety to secure their new possessions."

The Under-
takers.

Walpole's pacific system was, in fact, a capitulation with the heads of the party, by which he surrendered to them the internal administration of Irish affairs, with those emoluments of place and patronage which limit the ambition of sordid minds. They were styled the *undertakers* of the king's business—an ominous title, but most justly applied, "as, from education and from habit," said the late Lord Charlemont, "they were well fitted to preside at the funeral of the common-weal." The floors of Parliament were strewed with golden favours, which the chiefs distributed, in due gradation among the other lords and principal proprietors. Bounties were voted for the encouragement of agriculture and other local improvements, which, by a process well known to Irish nobles and their agents, returned in the shape of rent into the pockets of the bountiful: magistrates were raised above the laws: grand juries were invested with an indefinite and irresponsible power of taxation: places were multiplied, in all the public offices, until the establishments of Ireland grew to a gorgeous magnificence, which mocked the poverty of the state, and the wretchedness of the people. In the mean time, the Roman Catholics, left to writhe under the atrocious code of the aristocracy, had leisure for reflection on their own folly, and the duplicity of those whom they had helped to aggrandize.

Change of
policy,
1753.

Nearly thirty years passed away, during which the dominion of this oligarchy was unmolested. At length, in 1753, the English Ministry repented their inglorious abdication of the government of Ireland. They resolved to introduce a more liberal system; but, aware of their

own weakness, or perhaps averse to precipitate changes, they at first spoke of no more than a *rotation of offices* among the Irish gentry. The undertakers, on the other hand, had by this time consolidated a very formidable power, and were determined to defend the bulwarks of their profitable monopoly. They presented to the minister a firm parliamentary array, which called itself the Fixed National Interest of Ireland, comprising in fact a majority of the great proprietors, which had been taught, by long possession and by the cravings of prodigality, to consider the gains of office as a species of private right, and every member of which, being himself the centre of a minor sphere of corruption, was supported, in his turn, by a host of retainers. A contest ensued, which, with the exception of a few intervals of exhaustion on both sides, was maintained for nearly half a century. In its later stages, discipline improved both the taste and the tactics of the advocates of colonial tyranny; flashes of genius gave occasional brilliancy to the dispute; popular topics were adroitly pressed into the service of corruption; and some unexpected incidents arose from time to time, which, even now that their importance is gone for ever, quicken the throbbings in the breast of every Irishman: but the first struggle of the aristocracy was one revolting exhibition of insolent venality.* It ended without any decisive result. Many of the minor placemen were dismissed from office; but the phalanx was too extensive, as well as too firm, to

* The pamphlets of the time and the party are preserved in two volumes, under the title of "The Patriot Miscellany," which had reached a fourth edition so early as 1756. Ireland had nothing, in those days, which could be called a republic, and the local despots had succeeded in shutting out all communion with the mind of England. Accordingly, there is a frankness of avowal in these pieces, which more recent patriotism has found it prudent to disguise. A complete scheme of public profligacy may be constructed out of a few sentences. Thus:—

The
Patriot
Miscellany.

1. Rights of the Commons.

"The recommendation to appointment is, apparently, the unalterable due of the majority of the representative body of the nation."—*Second Letter from a Gentleman in the Country.*

be broken at one effort, nor could persons be readily found in Ireland to complete the projected rotation. "The English Cabinet," says Mr. Hardy, "acted a wise and moderate part in checking themselves in mid career: they saw the difficulties with which they were surrounded; and, though perfectly convinced of the obliquity of many who opposed them, they dreaded the too great success of those who combated on their side." Upon the whole, the advantage, as well as the *éclat*, of victory inclined to the *domestic* Government: an earldom, with a pension of 3,000*l.* a-year for thirty-one years, appeased the seditious zeal of the leader, and his principal associates were continued in their places. "Thus," continues the writer

Those who have ever seen Lord Clare's magnificent sarcasm upon "the gentlemen who call themselves the Irish nation," will easily understand this language. To others, it may be expedient to observe that the counties, cities, and respectable towns of Ireland are very fairly represented at present by 100 Members; that the Irish Commons consisted of 300; that, of the 200 borough Members discarded at the Union, more than half were the creatures of a few grandees.

2. Conduct out of place.

"Will the high-born and not less high-spirited Protestant gentry of Ireland, always ready to draw their swords for, and devote their lives and fortunes to, the service of his Majesty (*i. e.*, in modern phrase, *his Majesty's Opposition*) tamely look on while all employments, places, and preferments, are distributed among a set of minions and — ?"—*Dedication on Dedication*.

3. Conduct in place.

"Until the new plan (the rotation of offices) was discovered, the gentlemen of the House of Commons were even over-complaisant, and too cautious to give the least rub to the measures of the Court."—*Answer to Candid Inquiry*.

"Such incidents in business as had the least tendency to interrupt the quiet of the Session, were connived at, and passed *sub silentio*."—*Dedication on Dedication*.

4. A receipt for forming a Government.

"You know that, in your country (Ireland), public matters take their complexion entirely from the ruling interest in the House of Commons; that this interest must always have a few leaders at its head; and that to support it, so as to carry on smoothly and peaceably the public business, the leaders must be invested with a power of gratifying and rewarding."—*Letter from a Right Honourable in England*.

above quoted, "the blaze which had been excited in 1753 was seen no more for a time. The chiefs who had fanned that flame were completely gratified by the Court, and had not the least inclination to indulge the public with such spectacles longer than suited their own sinister ambition."*

The English Cabinet prepared for its next campaign upon a more extensive scale of operations. It was resolved that Ireland should have a resident Viceroy, and octennial Parliaments. Changes highly acceptable to the body of the people, who had begun to look on with considerable interest at this conflict between their masters and a distant Power, which now for the first time was beginning to make itself felt in their local concerns. Both measures were justly dreaded by the oligarchy. The former they had already endeavoured to pervert into a grievance:—"How dangerous," cried one of their champions in 1753, "to intrust too much authority to any stranger, who, by constant residence amongst us, may possibly in time subvert the little remains of liberty we enjoy!"† But the latter was now so universally acceptable among those upon whose credulity they traded, that direct opposition was not to be attempted; a system of coquetry was therefore devised, which furnishes no unamusing illustration of the liberality of more recent times. The whole story is thus told by Mr. Hardy:—

"On the 22d of October, 1761 (the first day of the meeting of the new Parliament), leave was given to bring in the heads of a Bill to limit the duration of Parliament; but when, on the 9th of December following, it was moved that the Lord-Lieutenant would be pleased to recommend the same in the most effectual manner to His Majesty, the Motion was negatived by a large majority. This proceeding very justly awakened the suspicions of the people as to the sincerity of their

A resident
Irish Viceroy.

The Octennial Bill.

* Mr. Hardy, as before.

† "Answer to Candid Inquiry."—*Patriot Miscellany*, i. 138.

representatives, and the House, perfectly conscious that such suspicions were by no means vague or idle, thought proper to adopt the following very undignified, disingenuous Resolution:—‘Resolved, that the suggestions confidently propagated, that the heads of a Bill for limiting the duration of Parliament, if returned from England, would have been rejected by this House, are without foundation.’—26th of April, 1762. The progress of the Bill through the House in the subsequent session of 1763, was still more languid, and more calculated to awaken and keep alive every doubt and suspicion of the people. Leave was given to bring it in on the 13th of October, and it was not presented till the 14th of December following, nor reported till the middle of February. Nothing can more evidently mark the real disposition of the House towards this very constitutional Bill; the people became more importunate than before, and the House of Commons once more passed the Bill, having, according to the usage of those days, sent it to the Privy Council, where the aristocratical leaders were certain it would be thrown into a corner; nor were they mistaken. If they could have so long combated this measure in an assembly that had at least the name and semblance of a popular one, with what facility could they overthrow it in a select body issuing directly from the Crown, and where some members, not of one, but both Houses of Parliament, would, like confluent streams, direct their united force against it, with a more silent, indeed, and therefore more fatal current. The Bill being thus soon overwhelmed, nothing could be done till another session. Once more the people petitioned, and once more the House of Commons sent the Bill to their good friends the Privy Council, enjoying in public the applause of the nation for having passed it, and in secret the notable triumph that it would be so soon destroyed. But here matters assumed a different aspect: the Privy Council began to feel that this scene of deception had been long enough played by the Com-

mons; and being, with some reason, very much out of humour that the plaudits of the nation should be bestowed on its representatives, whilst His Majesty's Privy Council, by the artifice of some leaders, was rendered odious to the country, resolved to drop the curtain at once, and certified the Bill to the English Privy Council, satisfied that it would encounter a much more chilling reception there than it had met with even from themselves. The aspect of affairs was again changed. The Irish Privy Council had disappointed the Commons, and the English Cabinet now resolved to disappoint and punish both. Enraged with the House of Commons for its dissimulation, with the aristocracy for not crushing the Bill at once, and, amid all this confusion and resentment, not a little elated to have it at length in their power completely to humiliate that aristocracy, which, in the true spirit of useful obsequious servitude, not only galled the people, but sometimes mortified and controlled the English Cabinet itself—afraid of popular commotions in Ireland—feeling as English gentlemen, that the Irish public was in the right—as statesmen, that it would be wise to relinquish at once what, in fact, could be but little longer tenable,—they sacrificed political leaders, Privy Councillors, and Parliament, to their fears, their hatred, their adoption of a new policy, and, though last, not the least motive, it is to be hoped, their just sense of the English constitution. They returned the Bill, and gave orders for the calling of a new Parliament, which was dissolved the day after the Lord-Lieutenant put an end to the session of 1768.

“ It is impossible not to mention in this place an anecdote which I heard from Lord Charlemont, as well as others. He happened at this time to dine with one of the great Parliamentary leaders—a large company, and, as Bubb Dodington says of some of his dinners with the Pelhams, much drink, and much good humour. In the midst of this festivity the papers and letters of the last

Anecdote
of Lord
Charle-
mont.

English packet, which had just come in, were brought into the room, and given to the master of the house. Scarcely had he read one or two of them when it appeared that he was extremely agitated. The company was alarmed. 'What's the matter? Nothing, we hope, has happened that'— 'Happened!' exclaimed their kind host, and swearing most piteously, 'happened! The Octennial Bill is returned.' A burst of joy from Lord Charlemont, and the very few real friends of the Bill who happened to be present. The majority of the company, confused, and indeed almost astounded, began, after the first involuntary dejection of their features, to recollect that they had, session after session, openly voted for this Bill—with many an internal curse, heaven knows! But still they had been its loudest advocates, and therefore it would be somewhat decorous not to appear too much cast down at their own unexpected triumph. In consequence of these politic reflections, they endeavoured to adjust their looks to the joyous occasion as well as they could. But they were soon spared the awkwardness of assumed felicity. 'The Bill is not only returned,' continued their chieftain, 'but—the Parliament is dissolved!' 'Dissolved! dissolved! Why dissolved?' 'My good friends, I can't tell you why, or wherefore; but dissolved it is, or will be directly.'

"Hypocrisy, far more disciplined than theirs, could lend its aid no further. If the first intelligence which they heard was tolerably doleful, this was complete discomfiture. They sunk into taciturnity, and the leaders began to look, in fact, what they had so often been politically called, a company of undertakers. They had assisted at the Parliamentary funeral of some opponents, and now, like Charles the Fifth, though without his satiety of worldly vanities, they were to assist at their own. In the return of this fatal Bill was their political existence completely inurned. Lord Charlemont took advantage of their silent mood, and quietly withdrew

from this group of statesmen, than whom a more ridiculous, rueful set of personages in his life, he said, he never beheld."

If the passing of the Octennial Bill was calculated to reduce, ultimately, the power of the aristocracy, the dissolution of Parliament enabled them, for the present, to maintain a furious contest. While those rueful malcontents, who had been for ever ejected, were employed out of doors in swelling the clamour against English tyranny, the more wealthy, who had purchased re-admission, went in, resolved to avenge or to recompense their losses. Of more than two hundred borough members, a considerable majority were the vassals of titled chieftains, who could now, without waiting for the tardy demise of the Crown, or exposing their venal retainers to too long a temptation, recruit the ranks and revenues of opposition. In the new Parliament the disputes which had agitated the reigns of William and Anne were revived, and attended with similar results. A money Bill was introduced, according to the constitution, from the Privy Council into the Commons; it was rejected, in conformity to the rules of that assembly; and the Viceroy, like his predecessor of 1692, entered his disregarded protest upon the journals of the Upper House. Mr. Grattan trod in the steps of Molyneux, with higher fame and fortune than his more moderate precursor, and Ireland was shaken by another storm of independence. But though the chiefs affected to guide themselves by precedent, the independence at which they aimed was of a more refined and perilous character than any which had yet stimulated the desires of the Anglo-Irish. Of separation, indeed, they did not think, and for the same good reasons which during six centuries had deterred their predecessors from refusing a nominal homage to the Crown of the mother country. Like them these modern lords sought the uncontrolled management of Irish affairs, and the protection, without the restraint of England; but

Effects of
the Octennial
Bill.

their views had expanded from municipal regulations to questions of external and international policy. They maintained that the Crown of Ireland was *imperial*, reserving to *themselves* the powers of administration, unclogged by ministerial responsibility; they demanded a *free trade*, of which they were to have the sole direction; they insisted on a *free Parliament*, in both Houses of which, by themselves or their nominees, they already constituted an efficient majority. Men who could suppose that an English Cabinet would acquiesce in all these pretensions, or that, if England were passive, their project would not be overborne by its own innate violence, must have been ignorant of human nature, as well as of the commonest maxims of statesmen. But however extravagant their scheme, the ferment which they had excited, and the earlier annals of their order, suggested an expedient which obtained for it a momentary and noisy triumph. In the bold, but apposite language of an orator of the time, discord sowed her dragon's teeth in the country, and the furrows bristled with armed men. The ancient clansmen seemed to have returned to life, in the more orderly array of a hundred thousand volunteers. This formidable reserve protected and invigorated the Parliamentary operations; the colony was declared a nation, at the point of the bayonet—a bayonet which would not have been bloodless had the chiefs dared to try the liberty in which they affected to glory, or England to resent the insolence of her unnatural children.

The aristocracy had now attained their objects, and would gladly have arrested the progress of revolution. But with the contempt observable in demagogues of all classes for the common sense and feelings of mankind, they had inculcated principles which they feared to follow, and roused tempestuous passions which they had not the power either to gratify or to subdue. The reins of faction dropt from their hands, to be caught by a new race of patriots, whose humbler rank and bolder character made

consistency more easy, and whose headlong career filled some with consternation, while it sustained the excited enthusiasm of the multitude. The volunteers, from being the instruments of oligarchical ambition, came to be considered, or to consider themselves, as "the armed majesty of the people;" and the people began to infer that poverty, subordination, and the payment of rents or taxes, were so many species of suicidal high treason. Conventionists, United Irishmen, and those to whom, by a rather capricious distinction, custom has appropriated the title of rebels, succeeded to the volunteers, in unpremeditated, but not unnatural order. Everything seemed to proclaim to the dismayed nobles the disastrous nature of the victory they had achieved. They had left but one bond of connexion between the islands—the diadem of the sovereign: its weakness had been already proved by the question of the regency, and were it to snap asunder, their ruin was inevitable. Thus fear at length banished these glittering illusions which had so long fascinated the Anglo-Irish aristocracy. But powerless and almost hopeless as they now were, they retained to the last moment the arrogance and the corruption which had ever been the ruling passions of the order; they practised on the generosity of the English Minister, while they panted for his protection; and their Parliament was carried off by a surfeit of those good things on which it had battered for a century.

The volunteers.

Conventionists.
United Irishmen.

Davis informs us of the old Anglo-Irish nobles, "that they could hardly endure that the Crown of England should have any jurisdiction over them, but drew all the respect and dependance of the natives unto themselves:"* in precisely the same manner, from the Revolution to the Union, these Whig lords had obstructed all salutary communication between the people of Ireland and the centre of the British system. If, during that

* "Discovery," p. 100.

time, the country was misgoverned—if it had darkness instead of light, and perturbation instead of order, reason would of itself suggest the conclusion, that the evil was not to be ascribed to the central power, but to the irregular influences of the interposing body. But we are not without more direct evidence. From the multitude of instances which might be adduced, two only, which will show how fully this last dynasty of our nobles had imbibed the spirit of its predecessors, can be inserted here; stronger could not be looked for, and weaker would be superfluous.

English
and Irish :
Protestant
and Roman
Catholic.

After the Revolution, the old distinction of English and Irish, merged in that of Protestant and Roman Catholic. Names were altered, but the feelings, circumstances, and character of the two classes experienced little change. One striking specimen, for each class, will illustrate the conduct of the aristocracy:—

1. Towards the Irish, or Roman Catholic, population.

Earlier policy. “For three hundred and fifty years at least, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed to them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same. They might not converse or commerce with any civil men, nor enter into any town or city without peril of their lives; they might not purchase estates of freehold or inheritance, which might descend to their children, according to the course of our common law. The natives, being in the condition of slaves and villeins, were *more profitable* to the lords than if they had been the king’s free subjects. Those great English lords did, to *the uttermost of their power, cross and withstand* the enfranchisement of the Irish for the causes before expressed;—wherein I must still acquit the Crown and State of England of negligence or ill policy, and *lay the fault upon the pride, covetousness, and ill counsel of the English planted here*, which in all ages have

been the chief impediments of the final conquest of Ireland."*

Later policy. We are told by Bishop Burnet, that, when the project of the atrocious penal code was sent over to London, in the shape of a Bill, for the royal approbation, "the English ministry introduced a clause which the Roman Catholics hoped would hinder its being accepted in Ireland. The matter was carried on so secretly, that it was known to none but those who were at the Council, till the news of it came from Ireland, upon its being sent thither. The clause was to this purpose, that none in Ireland should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament, according to the test act passed in England, which before this time had never been offered to the Irish nation. It was hoped, by those who got this clause added to the Bill, *that those in Ireland, who promoted it most, would now be the less fond of it, when it had such a weight hung to it.*"† These promoters of persecution were the Whig aristocracy, many of whom, persons of great wealth and influence, were Dissenters themselves, as well as extensively connected with the Ulster Presbyterians. Being enabled, some, by the wearing away of their prejudices, to comply with the sacramental test, and the rest, by their power, to elude or to defy the threatened consequences of refusal, they baffled the humane device of the Cabinet, and the Bill passed into a law.

Bishop
Burnet.

The Whig
aristo-
cracy.

By the provisions of this nefarious Act, the Irish were once more cut off "from commerce with civil men," "from freeholds, inheritance, purchasing estates," or from acquiring landed property in any manner whatsoever; in a word, they were brought back to that "condition of slaves and villeins,"‡ which the hard hearts and narrow policy of

* Davis, 84, 103, &c.

† *History of His own Times*, ii. 214. This, it will be remembered, is the testimony of a Whig.

‡ To complete the parallel, their minds were left in that unreclaimed state

their old tyrants, of both races, had regarded as so profitable. In our own times, the increase of population, and the struggling competition (too frequently, indeed, the mortal strife) for land and employment, have secured to the lords all that was profitable in the penal code, while, by consenting to its repeal, they have acquired, at a cheap rate, the doubtful praise of liberality; praise which, if ever *the* crisis shall arrive (and they seem disposed to hasten it), they may discover to have had more than the bitterness of "satire in disguise."

Captain
Rock.

The biographer of Captain Rock gives some valuable collateral evidence on this subject:—

"The tithe of agistment, the least objectionable of any, as falling upon that class of occupiers which could best afford to pay it, was, nevertheless, considered, by the land proprietors (who were of Falstaff's opinion, that 'base is the slave that pays,') a burden not fit for gentlemen to bear. They accordingly abolished it; at the same time assuring the clergy, whom they thus despoiled of their most profitable tithe, that it was all for the 'Protestant * interest' they did so; and handing them over, for their support, to the 'tillers of the land,' and to those wretched cottiers, the very poorest of poverty's children, upon

which seemed best to correspond with their circumstances. King William, indeed, made an effort to revive the plan of national schools; but, by that fatality which seems to thwart every measure intended for the real welfare of Ireland, his statute was never put into execution. A glorious opportunity has been given to the present Commissioners of Education; ¹ of the value of which, to the country and their own good name, it does not appear that they are yet sensible. But it is not too late: they have only to fling aside sectarian prejudices, and to follow the example of Mr. Brougham, who, with the magnanimity of genius, has done a great constitutional justice to the Church of England.

* Arguments, if such they may be termed, of a somewhat similar kind were more recently put forth to justify the suppression of Protestant Bishops in Ireland, and taking away twenty-five per cent. of the incomes of the Irish clergy.—ED.

¹ A.D. 1827.—ED.

whom the burthen of the Protestant establishment has, ever since, principally lain.

“The consequences of this vote to me and my family, and the increased sphere of activity which it has opened to us, may be judged from the events of the last sixty years.”

—*Memoirs*, 132.*

* As evidence so unsuspecting must help to give credibility even to the words of an Archbishop, the following passage is subjoined from Primate Boulter's opinion.

“Without *this* tithe, there are whole parishes where there is no provision for the minister; yet we do not desire to be judges, but that our rights may stand on the same bottom as those of other subjects, and the judges not be intimidated, by votes of either House of Parliament, from doing us justice, if we seek for it. A great part of the gentry entered into associations, not to pay for agistment to the clergy; and to make a common purse, in each county, to support any one there that should be sued for agistment; and were understood by the common people, everywhere, to be ready to distress the clergy, all manner of ways, in their other rights, if they offered to sue for agistment. I have, in vain, represented to several of them that, in the south and west of Ireland, by destroying the tithe of agistment, they naturally destroy tillage; and, thereby, lessen the number of people, and raise the price of provisions, and render those provinces incapable of carrying on the linen manufacture, for which they so much envy the north of this kingdom. It is certain that, by running into cattle, the numbers of people are decreasing in those parts, and most of their youth out of business, and disposed to list in foreign service for bread, as there is no employment for them at home, where two or three hands can look after some hundreds of acres stocked with cattle; by this means, too, a *great part of our churches are neglected*, in many places five, six, or seven parishes (denominations we commonly call them) bestowed on one incumbent, who perhaps, with all his tithes, scarce gets an hundred a-year. And how far, and to what other purposes, such associations may in time extend, I do not pretend to judge; but I find, in some counties, they already begin to form associations against what they own due to the clergy, but they are encouraged by the success of this first attempt to go on to further steps. The humour of clans and confederacies is neither so well understood nor felt in England as it is here: some gentlemen have let their lands so high, that without robbing the clergy of their just dues, they are satisfied their rents can hardly be paid; and others fall in with them, that they may be able to raise their lands as high; and the controversy here is, not whether the farmer shall be eased of an unreasonable burthen, but whether the person shall have his due, or the landlord a greater rent. Some hope they might come in for plunder if the bishops were stripped.”

The emigrants, it must be observed, were nearly all of the Church of Protestant

And the late Lord Charlemont, a nobleman, whose political creed does not diminish the value of his acknowledgment, writes:—

“ At this time, 1761, when we were involved in a war with Spain, the Portuguese, then esteemed the natural allies of Great Britain, had warmly solicited some effectual and permanent aid from the English court, and a plan was formed to comply with their request, by suffering them to raise, among the Catholics of Ireland, six regiments, to be officered with Irish gentlemen of the same persuasion, and taken into the pay of Portugal. To this effect a motion was made in the House of Commons, by Secretary Hamilton, and supported by a torrent of eloquence which bore down all before it. The measure, however, was warmly opposed; the danger was alleged of suffering so great a number of Catholics to be arrayed, armed, and disciplined, who, though in a distant and friendly service, might, at some unforeseen but possible crisis, return to their native land, to the manifest danger of the Protestant interest in Church and State. It was also said, that Ireland could not spare so many of her inhabitants; that the south and west, where these recruits would principally be raised, were thinly peopled; and that the cultivation of those counties would be checked, if not entirely annihilated. The bigoted zeal, which evidently appeared to be the basis of the opposition, undoubtedly added strength to my wishes. The loss of inhabitants was not much; the defalcation of three thousand men could scarcely be

emigrants. England. The Roman Catholics clung to the soil,¹ with a tenacity alarming to the few who reflected on its cause, but highly acceptable to that blind and rapacious prodigality which wished for a tenantry of “ slaves and villeins.” Thus the vote of the Irish Commons against the title of agistment was a double persecution of Protestantism; on the one hand, banishing the laity; on the other, shutting up the churches, and reducing the number of the clergy: by the combined action of these two causes, the Church and the State were despoiled of a most valuable population, in the south and west of Ireland.

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 68.

supposed capable of annihilating the cultivation of two great provinces ; neither did *they* seem well entitled to the benefit of this argument, by whose oppression double the number was annually compelled to emigration ; and it was but too evident, that *a principle of the most detestable nature lay hidden under this specious mode of reasoning.* The Protestant Bashaws of the south and west were loth to resign so many of those wretches, whom they looked upon, and treated, as their slaves." *

2. Towards the English or Protestant population.

Earlier policy.—Sir John Davis quotes an Irish statute of the 10th Henry the Seventh :—

10th of
Henry VII.

“ Whereas of long time there hath been used and exacted by the lords and gentlemen of this land many and divers damnable customs and usages, which been called Coigne and Livery, and pay for their horsemen and footmen ; and besides, many murders, robberies, rapes, &c. ; and other manifold extortions and oppressions ; by the said horsemen and footmen dayly and nightly committed and done ; which been the principal causes of the desolation and destruction of said land, and have brought the same into ruin and decay, *so as the most part of the English freeholders and tenants of this land been departed out thereof,* some into the realm of England, and other some to strange lands ; whereupon the foresaid lords and gentlemen have *intruded into the said freeholders and tenants' inheritances, and setten under them in the same* the King's Irish

* *Life of Charlemont, 67.* Lord Charlemont passed an unnecessary censure upon these commoners, when he accused them of bigotry : his last sentence assigns an easy and adequate solution of their conduct. As everything is of some value which tends to set men right with each other, it may be useful to observe, that the earliest, the most disinterested, the only *perfectly unsuspecting* movements in favour of the Roman Catholics were made by men who conscientiously shrunk from imposing on them the responsibilities of civil power, as persons under the disturbing influence of an external, and, possibly, hostile force. The great impulse was given by our late good monarch (George III.), who regarded all his subjects with the feeling of a Christian father ; the first measures of relief were proposed, in Ireland, by Lord Charlemont ; in England, by Sir George Saville and Mr. Dunning.

enemies, to the diminishing of holie church's rites, the disinherison of the King and his obedient subjects, and the utter ruin and desolation of the land."

Coigne and
Livery.

In another passage, Davis writes thus:—"This most wicked and mischievous extortion was originally Irish; for the chiefs used to lay bonaght upon their people, and never gave their soldiers any other pay. But when the English lords had learned it, they used it with more insolency, and made it more intolerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time, but because there was everywhere a continual war, either offensive or defensive; and every lord of a county, and every marcher, made war and peace at pleasure; it became universal and perpetual, and indeed was the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any Christian or heathen kingdom, and therefore, *vox oppressorum*, this crying sin did draw down as great or greater plagues upon Ireland, than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt. For the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were but of a short continuance. But the plagues of Ireland lasted 400 years together. This extortion of Coigne and Livery did produce two notorious effects. First, it made the land waste; next, it made the people idle. For when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldier, in one night, did consume the fruits of his labour: had he reason, then, to manure the land for the next year? Hereupon, of necessity, came *depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects*; and such as remained became idle, and lookers on, expecting the event of those miseries and evil times. Lastly, this oppression did, of force and necessity, make the Irish a crafty people; for such as are oppressed and live in slavery are ever put to their shifts; and, therefore, in the old comedies of Plautus and Terence, the bond-slave doth always act the cunning and crafty part."

We have a similar testimony from Baron Finglass, in the reign of Henry the Eighth:—

"*Item*. In the aforesaid manner for the lack of punish-

ment of the great lords of Munster by ministration of justice, they, by the extortion of Coyne and Livery, and other abusions, have *expelled all the English freeholders and inhabitants* out of Munster, so that, in fifty years past, was none there obedient to the King's laws, except the cities and walled towns; *and so this hath been the decay of Munster.*"

Later Policy.—“The Londoners found the natives The Londoners. willing to overgive, rather than to remove; and that *they could not reap half the profit by the British which they do by the Irish, whom they use at their pleasure, never looking into the reasons which induced the natives to give more than indeed they could well raise,* their assured hope that time might, by rebellion, relieve them of their heavy landlords, whom, in the meantime, they were contented to suffer under, though to their utter impoverishing and undoing. Thus they slighted, for their private profit sake, the planting of religion and civility (the seeds of peace and plenty), which his Majesty especially sought to sow for God's service, and the safety of the country. So as what his Majesty intended should have been a terror to his enemies for looking into that kingdom, is now become a bait to invite them thither, where the chief tenants and inhabitants, being Irish, are prepared to entertain them.”
—*Sir Thos. Philips's Letter to Charles the First. Harris's Hibernica, vol. i.*

Similarly in Pinner's “Survey of Ulster.”

“No. 132.—The Earl of Castlehaven hath three thousand acres. Upon this proportion there is no building at all, neither freeholders. I find some few English families, but they have no estates, for since the old Earl died, the tenants, as they tell me, cannot have their leases made good unto them unless they will give treble the rent which they paid, and yet they must have but half the land which they enjoyed in the late Earl's time. All the rest of the land is inhabited with Irish.”

And again:—“Nos. 133, 134, 135.—The Earl of

Castlehaven hath six thousand acres. The agent of the Earl showed me the rent-roll of all the tenants that are on these three proportions, but their estates are so weak and uncertain that they are all leaving the land. There were in number sixty-four, and each of them holds sixty acres. The rest of the land (two thousand one hundred and sixty acres), is let to twenty Irish gentlemen, contrary to the articles of plantation, and these Irish gentlemen have under them about *three thousand souls of all sorts.*"

It will be remembered that the "Irish gentlemen," and those English who followed their example, continued to force a barbarous system of husbandry upon the poverty of their wretched retainers. Thus we find in Pinner:—"No. 160.—Tirlagh O'Neil hath four thousand acres. He hath made no estates to his tenants, and they all do plough *after the Irish manner.*"

A century after the Great Rebellion, we find the aristocracy pursuing the same heartless and perilous career. A pamphlet, published in the year 1746, gives the following account of the landlords of the day—the same men, it will be observed, who plundered the clergy for the good of the Church:—

Rejection
of Protest-
ant ten-
ants.

"Popish tenants are daily preferred, and Protestants rejected, either for the sake of swelling a rental or adding some mean duties which Protestants will not submit to; but the greatest mischief in this way is done by a class of men whom I will call land-jobbers. Land-jobbers have introduced for farmers the lowest sort of Papists, who were employed formerly as labourers, while the lands were occupied by substantial Protestants; but since potatoes have grown so much in credit, and burning the ground has become so fashionable (a manure so easily and readily acquired), these cottagers, who set no value on their labour, scorn to be servants longer, but fancy themselves in the degree of masters, as soon as they can accomplish the planting an acre of potatoes. One of this

Potatoes.

description not being able singly to occupy any considerable quantity of ground, twelve or twenty of them, and sometimes more, cast their eyes on a plowland occupied by many industrious Protestants, who, from a common ancestor, planted there, perhaps, one hundred years before, have swarmed into many stocks, built houses, made various improvements, and nursed the land, in expectation of being favoured by their landlord in a new lease. These cottagers—seeing the flourishing condition of this colony, the warm plight of the houses, but especially the strong sod on the earth, made so by various composts collected with much toil and care, and which secures to them a long continuance of their beloved destructive manure made by burning the green sward,—engage some neighbour to take this plowland, and all jointly bind themselves to become under-tenants to the land-jobber, and to pay him an immoderate rent. This encourages him to outbid the unhappy Protestants, and the great advance in the rent tempts the avaricious and ill-judging landlord to accept his proposal. The Protestants, being thus driven out of their settlements, transport themselves, their families, and effects, to America, there to meet a more hospitable reception amongst strangers to their persons, but friends to their religion and civil principles.”

“Notwithstanding this dismal relation of the evil consequences of so mean a traffic (for the truth of which I appeal to all who know the condition of the country), the present profit is so sweet, that many proprietors grudge the land-jobber his fag-rent, and are grown so cunning, that they set the land originally to the mean cottagers, and so take the whole price for a season,—not once reflecting, that their sons will not have by this ruinous practice an estate near so valuable as that they received from their fathers.”

“Some endeavour to excuse themselves by saying that Protestant tenants cannot be had. They may thank

themselves if that be true, for they have helped to banish them by not receiving them when they might. But it is to be hoped we are not yet so distressed. Those who have the reputation of good landlords, and encouragers of Protestants, never want them. But *there is a Protestant price and a Popish price for land*, and he who will have valuable Protestants on his estate must depart from his Popish price. Here I fear the matter will stick. It will be as hard to persuade a gentleman to fall from one thousand pounds a-year to eight hundred, as it was to prevail on the lawyer in the Gospel to sell all, and save his soul."

Established Church
discoun-
tenanced.

It is now easy to appreciate the policy of our great proprietors in the eighteenth century. The Established Church was discountenanced for two reasons: its possessions attracted their cupidity; its principles laid the foundations of the public weal, in moderation on the part of the rulers, and on the part of the people in a regulated love of freedom, and a judgment exercised in the discrimination of right and wrong. Protestants had a self-respect, a taste for comfort and independence, which rendered them unacceptable; many of them fled from persecution, many of those who remained, deprived of the consolations of their own Church, broken in spirit and fortune, and attracted by those gregarious sympathies which act so powerfully upon persons thus reduced, sunk into the religion as well as the habits of their new associates. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, were cherished as a tenantry; their lords perceived, or imagined, many advantages in the encouragement of a race whose desires had never been suffered to rise above the cravings of animal nature. It is a curious circumstance—one, indeed, which deserves to be recorded in the natural history of the mind,—that, while the aristocracy were thus multiplying their enemies, and banishing their protectors, they trembled with the fear of an insurrection, which, as appears from the journals of the Irish Commons,

Impolicy of
the Irish
landlords.

the priesthood was then organizing in favour of the Pretender. The Great Rebellion had warned them, that though the Irish might say with Zanga—

“ Born for your use, I live but to obey you ; ”

they could, like him, treasure up the remembrance of all real or fancied indignities against a day of devastating retribution. Yet, in the conflict of base passions, the thirst of sudden gain and barbarous authority prevailed over terror, and the daily hazard of a servile war was preferred to that repose which encircles the mansion of an English landlord.

Instances might have been readily found which would have given these remarks a more pointed application. Unhappily, the annual cry of famine and pestilential disease which rises from three-fourths of our fertile island, and the annual emigration from every port of our Protestants to America, are facts which render it unnecessary to continue the sketch to the present time,—the subject shall therefore be dismissed with one further observation. Deprived by various circumstances of much of their local power, the great Irish proprietors have been diligent in building up authority elsewhere, and are now in possession of a commanding influence in the Cabinet and the Legislature of the United Kingdom.

Passing events seem to render it probable that on *them* it will mainly depend whether Ireland is at length to have the benefit of English connexion, or whether Spenser's mournful prediction shall be accomplished, and England shall experience the disastrous consequences of a connexion with Ireland. Which of these results is the more likely? Already* has a Parliamentary Committee recorded its grave conviction, that the flood of Irish misery is overflowing upon England—a flood which has been caused by the system hitherto adopted, and which will continue to pour forth its desolating

Famine and pestilence.

Shall Ireland ruin England, or England elevate Ireland?

* Written in 1827.—Ed.

waters, unless that system be for ever abolished. The course, therefore, which may be pursued henceforward is a matter of deep and awful moment. When one reflects on the mighty interests, spiritual and temporal, which appear to be involved in it, the words of the Jewish lawgiver, "Behold I have set before thee a blessing and a curse," are scarcely more than applicable to the momentous alternative. "A blessing," if by excluding foreign influence, by coercing demagogues, by allowing the growth of domestic enjoyments, by instituting a sound system of national instruction, and by supporting the exertions of the established clergy, they educate the people up to the appreciation of British privileges;—"a curse," if they sacrifice the Church to a selfish liberalism; if they debase the pure and elevated principles of the old English nobility by an infusion of the spirit of a colonial House of Assembly; if they break up the hereditary comforts of the English yeomanry by the poverty, the squalid habits, and the ferocious combinations, which have so long been the disgrace and the calamity of Ireland.

HISTORY OF THE POLICY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ROME IN IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HENRY THE SECOND TO EDWARD THE SIXTH.

THE connexion of Ireland with the Crown of England originated in a compact between Henry Plantagenet, Pope Adrian the Fourth, and the Irish prelates of the day. This treaty would be memorable if it had no other claim to the consideration of posterity than the hypocrisy, the injustice, and the mutual treachery of the parties; but their views and pretensions, descending regularly to their successors, and exerting a constant influence upon Irish affairs, make it an object of nearer interest. Without attention to these, it is impossible either to unravel the history of Ireland or to judge correctly of its state at the present crisis.

A.D. 1155.
The triple compact.

To the Pope, the transaction was fraught with unmingled triumph. On the one side, an artful and refractory sovereign, who had hitherto scandalized the faith of Christendom by his contumelious disobedience, crouched

CHAP. I. in abject submission before the chair of Peter; on the
 A.D. 1171. other, an island, beyond the limits of the Roman world, bowed to him as the supreme arbiter of her destiny, and quietly received a foreign governor at his hands. The claims of Rome to spiritual and to temporal authority in Ireland had arisen together about eighty years before. First advanced by the daring ambition of Gregory the Seventh, pressed by the wily pertinacity of his successors, admitted by the simplicity of some of the hierarchy and the corrupt poverty of others—they made slow and unnoticed progress, amidst the dissensions of a rude chieftainry and the torpid ignorance of an enslaved population. Adrian now enjoyed the mature fruit of all these advantages, and challenged, without contradiction, the supreme dominion of Ireland. The chance of inquiry into his title or his proceedings gave the father, probably, but little concern. It was the age of the Albigenses; all inquiry was heresy, and heresy was chastised by the sword of the crusader,—at least, his dear son Henry, who was to govern the island under him, would have enough both of power and motive to maintain the royalties of the Holy See.* He sent a ring of investiture to the English monarch, † together with the following letter:—

* See "A Digest of Evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committees," vol. ii., chap. 2.

Speech of
 the late
 Mr. O'Connell.

† "Sir John Davis's 'Discovery of the true Cause why Ireland was never subdued,' page 15. In a recent speech at the Roman Catholic Association in Dublin, the following account was given of the landing of Henry to take possession of his new territories:—"It was on the evening of the 23d of August, 1172, that the first hostile English footstep pressed the soil of Ireland. It is said to have been a sweet and mild evening when the invading party entered the noble estuary formed by the conflux of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, at the city of Waterford. Accursed be that day in the memory of all future generations of Irishmen when the invaders first touched our shores! They came to a nation famous for its love of learning, its piety, and its heroism; they came when internal dissensions separated her sons and wasted their energies. Internal traitors led on the invaders; her sons fell in no fight; her liberties were crushed in no battle; but domestic treason and foreign invaders doomed Ireland to seven centuries of

“Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, health and apostolical benediction.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1171.
Pope
Adrian's
letter to
Henry II.

“Full laudably and profitably hath your magnificence conceived the desire of propagating your glorious renown on earth, and completing your reward of eternal happiness in heaven, while as a Catholic prince you are intent on enlarging the borders of the Church, instructing the rude and ignorant in the truth of the Christian faith, exterminating vice from the vineyard of the Lord, and, for the more convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the counsel and favour of the Apostolic See. In which, the more mature your deliberation and more discreet your conduct, so much the happier, with the assistance of the Lord, will be your progress, as all things which take their beginning from the ardour of faith and love of religion are wont to come to a prosperous issue.

“There is, indeed, no doubt, as your Highness also doth acknowledge, that Ireland, and all the islands upon which Christ the sun of righteousness hath shone, do belong to the patrimony of St. Peter and the holy Roman Church. Therefore are we the more solicitous to propagate in that land the godly scion of faith, as we have the secret monition of conscience that such is more especially our bounden duty.

“You, then, most dear son in Christ, have signified unto us your desire to enter into that land of Ireland, in order to reduce the people to obedience unto laws, and extirpate the seeds of vice; you have also declared, that

Peter's
pence.

oppression.”—*Dublin Evening Mail*, Friday, November 17. With the slight mistakes of 1172 for 1171, and of August for October, Mr. O'Connell's description is as accurate as, perhaps, it could have been rendered without injury to his eloquence. The independence of Ireland was not crushed in battle, but quietly sold in the synods of the prelates, those internal traitors to whom the orator alluded, but whom he was much too prudent to name. “The professed design of Henry's expedition,” says Leland, “was not to conquer, but to take possession of an island granted him by the Pope.”—*History of Ireland*, i. 69.

CHAP. I. you are willing to pay from each house a yearly pension
 A.D. 1171. of one penny to St. Peter, and that you will preserve the
 rights of the churches of said land whole and inviolate.
 We, therefore, with that grace and acceptance suited to
 your pious and praiseworthy design, and favourably assent-
 ing to your petition, do hold it right and good, that, for
 the extension of the borders of the Church, the restraining
 of vice, the correction of manners, the planting of virtue,
 and increase of religion, you enter the said island, and
 execute therein whatever shall pertain to the honour of
 God and the welfare of the land, and that the people
 of said land receive you honourably, and reverence you as
 their lord,—saving always the rights of the churches, and
 reserving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny
 upon every house.

“ If, then, you be resolved to carry this design into
 effectual execution, study to form the nation to virtuous
 manners; and labour, by yourself, and by others whom
 you may judge meet for the work, in faith, word, and
 action, that the Church may be there exalted, the Chris-
 tian faith planted, and all things so ordered for the honour
 of God and the salvation of souls, that you may be entitled
 to a fulness of reward in heaven, and, on earth, to a glo-
 rious renown throughout all ages.”

This conveyance was made to Henry in 1155, and by
 him communicated to the Irish hierarchy. The negotia-
 tion between them was conducted secretly for some years,
 until circumstances had effected a lodgment for the Eng-
 lish arms in Ireland; the brief was then [1171] publicly
 read at the Synod of Cashel, with this confirmatory letter
 from Pope Alexander the Third:—

Pope Alex-
 ander's
 confirma-
 tory letter,
 1171.

“ Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to
 his dearly beloved son the noble King of England, health,
 grace, and apostolical benediction: Forasmuch as things
 given and granted upon good reason by our predecessors
 are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed, we,
 well pondering and considering the grant and privilege for

and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland, to us appertaining, and lately given by our predecessor Adrian, do in like manner confirm, ratify, and allow the same; provided that there be reserved and paid to St. Peter, and to the Church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house, both in England and in Ireland: provided also that the barbarous people of Ireland be by your means reformed, and recovered from their filthy life and abominable manners, that, as in name, so in conduct and conversation, they may become Christians; provided, further, that that rude and disordered Church being by you reformed, the whole nation may, together with the profession of the faith, be in act and deed followers of the same."

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1171.

England to
pay Peter's
pence.

Four years after [1175], these two edicts were again solemnly promulgated by a Synod held at Waterford; Henry was formally proclaimed lord of Ireland, and the severest censures of the Church were denounced against all who should impeach the donation of the holy see, or oppose the government of its illustrious representative.* From that period to the Reformation, the English monarchs, and the little Parliament of the pale, unable to maintain their pretensions by the sword, appealed to the sacredness of these Papal grants, and thus gave the

A.D. 1175.

* O'Connor's "Historical Address," i., 65, 86. Lanigan "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," iv., 222. The Irish annalists of those days are fond of styling Henry *the son of the Empress*, as if the grandeur of the name consoled them for the loss of independence. A French writer accounts for the coalition between Adrian, Henry, and the Irish prelates, in a manner not generally known. His solution partakes somewhat of the levity of his country, yet, at least in the present day, is not altogether unworthy of grave consideration:—"Les Irlandois, ne voulant endurer leurs prestres sans avoir leurs femmes avec eux, furent cette année, declarés rebelles et hérétiques par le Pape Adrian; qui aussi donnoit charge au Roi d'Angleterre de les guerrouer à toute outrance; en vertu de quoy, il mena uné armée contre eux, qui les subjuga, et contraignit de se sousmettre à sa volonté." Vignier, quoted by Campbell; "Strictures on the History of Ireland," 231.

CHAP. I. weight of four centuries to an authority which was
A.D. 1175. ultimately to be turned against themselves.*

King
Henry and
the Vati-
can.

The conduct of Henry, on this occasion, is a memorable instance of the meanness and inconsistency of ambition. Cordially returning the hatred of the Vatican, and resolved to disencumber his crown of its patronage, he yet sought to entangle himself in new engagements to that artful court: he declared himself the vassal of the holy see, applied for permission to enter Ireland, and gave a faithless assent to those humiliating terms upon which the pontiffs condescended to his desire. When he discovered that St. Peter had as yet but little influence in the internal affairs of Ireland, he defrauded the apostle without ceremony; delaying, diminishing, or withholding altogether, the stipulated tribute, as suited his caprice or parsimonious convenience.† The good offices of the hierarchy promised to be of more permanent advantage, and their demands were treated with proportionably greater attention. Henry expected to find, in that order, a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, whether of Norman or of Irish race. The latter, possessing all the powers of sovereignty within their respective districts, had not paid to their native monarchs, and did not intend to pay to those of a foreign dynasty, any other mark of subjection than a slight and precarious tribute: and should any of the various motives which are covered by the name of state necessity, dictate the removal of these turbulent lords, the adventurers by whom that service might be effected would expect to conquer for themselves, and not for their master. These were unpromising ministers for the settlement of his new province; but it

* Leland, ii.; Appendix, note c.

† The saint, however, or his successor, contrived to obtain ample compensation from the clergy, who, in their turn, drew largely on the people. The Popes had a regular treasury chamber (*Camera Apostolica*) in Ireland, into which contributions, under one name or another, were daily flowing.

was reasonable to suppose that a spiritual aristocracy, of which he hoped to have the exclusive appointment, would furnish some less unmanageable auxiliaries. Accordingly, Henry made it his first care to provide a liberal establishment for the Church.*

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1175.
The spiritual aristocracy
courted.

But the bishops did not limit their views by the convenience of their associates in this partition alliance. They had now, though at the high price of the independence of their country, purchased no inconsiderable emoluments for themselves. Their demesnes, which were ample, but hitherto exposed to the ravages of an unscrupulous laity, had at length found a protector: the claim of tithes, which, for some time, they had been endeavouring † to maintain by spiritual censures and the dogma of divine right, was henceforward to be enforced by the secular arm; privileges, also, and immunities, such as, in those jubilant days of the Church, were enjoyed by the ecclesiastics of the most orthodox regions, and a large share in the administration of public affairs, were the immediate results of their recent intrigues. A more dazzling prospect opened to them in the distance. They considered themselves rather the colleagues than the subjects of Henry, both parties being, within their respective spheres, the deputies of the same superior: if he wielded the temporal authority, they were to bear the other and more formidable of the two swords, which, at that period, belonged to the sovereign Pontiff. What was still more opportune, this lay governor and the supreme head would be necessarily absentees: the mass of the people, sunk in the stupor of feudal villenage, ‡ were incapable of taking a part, or feeling an interest, in political measures: the native chiefs, as it was easy to foresee, would continue to waste their strength in unmeaning quarrels among themselves, and new elements of division were now about to be

* See "The Case of the Church in Ireland," letter i.

† Lanigan, "Ecclesiastical History," iv., 146.

‡ See Leland's "Introduction."

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1175.

Rome's
prudence
forgotten
in pros-
perity.

introduced, by the inroads of adventurers from the other island: the ecclesiastics, on the contrary, had been recently organized into one effective body, upon the Roman model, and trained to the pursuit of a common interest.* Thus, everything conspired to flatter the prelates that, by unanimity in their own counsels, and by a cautious balancing of the Pope, the King of England, and the nobles, against each other, the virtual sovereignty of the country might devolve upon themselves. It was but natural that men, whose order was their family, and who possessed so many tempting facilities for the prosecution of ambitious designs, should cherish these splendid hopes of its exaltation; and, had they been as temperate in the use of power, as they were dexterous in its acquisition, there is little reason to doubt that their hopes would have been realized. But, though always bold players of their lofty game, they have seldom been judicious. They have borne up against disappointments with a spirit which cannot be admired too highly; but prosperity has ever been a trial too severe for them, the first appearance of success generally betraying their purposes, and their arrogance never failing to defeat their intrigues.

It would be unjust to deny that feelings of a more generous nature than those of personal or corporate aggrandizement might occasionally mingle with these speculations. Their regards were no longer circumscribed within the precincts of their own island. They now stood by the throne of the Vicar of Christ, and were admitted peers of that mystical commonwealth,† which seemed entitled, by the extent of its jurisdiction and the awful magnitude of the interests it involved, to control all local and merely human authorities. In the more fortunate countries of Europe, the sentiments ‡ inspired by the persuasion of so high a calling were a source of much

* Lanigan, iv., 18, 188. Leland, i., 10.

† See the "Digest of Evidence," vol. ii., chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4

‡ See Note A. at the end of the chapter.

benefit during the middle ages, overawing the violent, protecting the forlorn, mitigating the prevailing ferocity of manners, and supplying in various ways the defects of civil institutions. But, in Ireland, the circumstances which gave birth to Papal dominion were unfavourable to the production of these salutary results. The ascendancy of the Pope did not rest, as in other countries, upon the obligation under which he was supposed to lie, as the common father of Christendom, of enforcing the claims of religion upon mankind, and of incorporating all the faithful into one visible brotherhood. His pretensions were those of a feudal monarch; pretensions which had an obvious tendency to secularize the minds of his ecclesiastical retainers; which were felt, by the more intelligent among them, to be equally destitute of truth and of moral influence; and which yet were maintained, from the same motives which have inspired the modern advocates of the miracles of Prince Hohenlohe.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1175.

In the interval between the second and the eighth Henry, though at what particular seasons it is impossible to tell, the Irish monasteries brought forth a strange progeny of legends, monstrous productions in the eye of reason, yet sufficiently attractive to a simple race, unlettered, unsuspecting, and possessing, or possessed by, that love of the marvellous, which still distinguishes their imaginative posterity. To reclaim the people from their schismatical indifference, and to impress them with devout gratitude to the partial Pontiff who, while he swayed the sceptre of both worlds, took an especial interest in *their* welfare, was the common end of all these fables; but the inventors differed widely in the explanations which they gave of the origin of this peculiar connexion between Ireland and the holy see. Some were content to refer to a donation of the Emperor Constantine, who was said to have bestowed *all* islands upon the successor of St. Peter; but this notion, although supported by the authority of several pontiffs, was displeasing to the national vanity,

Monastic legends.

CHAP. I. and never became very popular. Others, following Pope
 A.D. 1175. Adrian the Fourth, discovered in the prophecies a *divine*
 right to islands; but this hypothesis, like the former, laboured under the disadvantage, that it did not account for the *particular* tenderness which the Pontiff was supposed to feel for his Irish people. A third hypothesis was therefore framed, that a King of Munster, and some other chiefs had visited Rome as pilgrims, and, retiring from earthly cares to the holy tranquillity of the cloister, had surrendered their dominions to the apostolic see: even this had an obvious defect, for the Irish principalities, though hereditary in the family, were elective as to the individual. The fourth and favourite solution was, that, in the time of St. Patrick, the whole Irish nation, filled with gratitude to the Pontiff whose pious care had thrown open to them the kingdom of heaven, ceded their island, in full and perpetual sovereignty, to his see. It was maintained, by the more ardent advocates of this position, that the title of Holy Island, or Island of Saints, had been prophetically applied to Ireland in Pagan times—a sure presage of the high destiny which awaited it, as the chosen patrimony of the holy father.*

Holy
 Island.

* The second of these four opinions is espoused by the titular Primate Lombard, who was private secretary to Pope Clement the Eighth: the third by his contemporary, the celebrated Geoffry Keating: the fourth seems to have been most popular in the times of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth; it was adopted in the former reign by Polydore Virgil, the collector of the Peter-pence, and in the latter by the Jesuit Sanders, the missionary of rebellion among the Irish lords. The hint of the prophetic name of "Isle of Saints" appears to have been caught from Festus Avienus, who professes to copy the Phœnician annals of the voyage of Himilco. His verses are—

Ast hinc duobus, in *sacram sic insulam*
Dixere prisci, solibus cursus rati est.
 Hæc inter undas cœspitem multum jacit,
 Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.

J. K. L. seems to allude to this in his third letter on Ireland, "when it pleased God to have an isle of saints upon the earth, he prepared Ireland from afar for this high destiny." I do not remember any Irish, at least

Some generations must have passed away before the easiest faith of the priesthood could have believed in a title which rested only upon fictions so contemptible, and there is very decisive evidence that its progress among the nobles was slow and unsteady. Had the pretension been accompanied by no other change than a transfer of their nominal homage from a rival chief to a formidable monarch, whose power placed him above all competition, it is probable that these rude lords, who had no idea of national interests, and whose sept was their country,* would have continued to regard it with the same indifference which marked their first reception of both the English and the Papal claims. But fables and dogmas were of small avail in reconciling men to invasion and to the novel tyranny of ecclesiastics. Little known in the reign of Edward the Second, disregarded in that of Henry the Eighth, the sovereignty of the holy see became thenceforward more popular, until, in the times of the first James and the first Charles, it was at length incorporated into the religious belief of the country. Some of the credit of this achievement may be claimed for the industry of the Jesuit missionaries: but the true solution is, that the antipathy to English rule, which had hitherto opposed the Papal claims, was now their advocate; and the bull of Adrian proved more powerful, as an incentive to rebellion, than it had ever been as an argument for loyalty.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1175.

Papal su-
premaccy in
Ireland.

The clergy, however, had abundant motives to animate the zeal of proselytism; and, wherever the English arms

any Milesian, writer, who acquiesces in the donation of Constantine. Our national feelings have a natural, though not a very reasonable, source of gratification in the escape of our forefathers from the Roman *arms*; had the yoke of *Imperial Rome* fallen upon Ireland, the loss of liberty would have been compensated by arts, letters, general civilization, and internal tranquillity.

* Down to the last moment of the feudal system in Ireland, a man's *tribe* was his *nation*: in the indentures of submission, executed in the reign of Elizabeth, even subordinate chieftains are styled *heads* of their respective *nations*.

CHAP. I. were sufficiently strong to protect the preacher, the tem-
 A. D. 1175. poral and spiritual supremacy of Rome were inculcated
 together. The pious fraud was sanctified by its utility. Whatever emotions of awe and superstitious reverence might be gradually associated with the mysterious name of the Pope, would minister to the views, and swell the power, of the hierarchy: the Pope was to be the new idol of the popular worship; the hierarchy were to enjoy the offerings of his votaries. It was easy to raise many profitable doubts, as to the nature and extent of those functions, which the secular magistrate was now to administer in Ireland. The Governor appointed by the King of England was, at the most, the deputy of a deputy, reflecting the distant splendour of royalty with a feeble and uncertain lustre: the prelates were nearer the fountain of honour and authority, and might, therefore, not unreasonably, claim superior consideration. But the Bulls of Adrian and Alexander had been framed with a provident ambiguity, which left it a very debateable question (whenever circumstances might render it a prudent one) whether even so much should be conceded to the lay executive. The English monarch was acting under a commission, which, by prescribing a sphere of duty, at once conferred and limited power. He was the General of the Holy See, appointed to reduce its province of Ireland to a suitable state of obedience; its Procurator, bound to secure the return of a certain revenue; and the chief officer of its police, whose duty it was to aid the spiritual authorities, in enforcing their temporal privileges, and punishing schismatical or disorderly members. In fine, it might be said, with much less of special pleading than is generally used by the advocates of the Papacy, that his was an adventitious and instrumental power, introduced for specific purposes, and to be regarded solely with reference to their advancement. Not so the claims of the hierarchy (or, if a word may be invented, for which there is much occasion), of the *hierocracy* of Ireland. Their title was similar to

The deputy of a deputy.

The *hierocracy* of Ireland.

that of the Pontiff himself; their office indissolubly united to his; their exaltation an indispensable part of the end of his government. They were his brethren, successors of the co-apostles of St. Peter; their divine rights were of the same indelible sanctity, not separated from his by any essential difference of nature, or *even of order*; but faintly shaded off by evanescent tints, which perplexed the nicest scrutiny of infallibility. Upon the whole, it could scarcely be denied that, in the absence of the chief bishop, they were his natural representatives, upon whom those cares of government, which he had not expressly imposed on others, devolved with an obvious and peremptory propriety.* Accordingly, they proceeded with greater boldness than the prelates of other countries to extend their claims, from immunity to jurisdiction; to establish their code of canons as the law of the land; and to coerce even the heads of the civil executive with the severest penalties of interdict and excommunication.†

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1175.

Canon
Law.

Our records have preserved many anecdotes of those early ecclesiastics. A few are inserted here, both to illustrate the general view which has been given of their policy, and to prepare the reader for those more ample details which will become necessary as we descend from the era of the Reformation.

Scarcely had Henry returned to his hereditary dominions, when the Bishops, presuming on the service which they had performed, began to embarrass and insult his Irish Government. It had been stipulated in Adrian's Bull, that the borders of the Church should be enlarged: an expression which does not signify that religion should be

* The ease with which all supposed distinctions between the pontifical and the ordinary episcopal authority may be explained away, whenever circumstances require, is obvious from the memorable evidence of the Roman Catholic prelates. J. K. L. acknowledges even the *felicity* of an expression of Cyprian, "that the episcopal character admits of no degrees, and that every member of the order has the same inherent fulness of spiritual right."
—*Defence of the Vindication*, p. 81.

† Leland, ii. 56.

CHAP. I. propagated, but that more broad lands should be given to
 A.D. 1175. ecclesiastics. And these prelates, "having sold the independence of their native country, and the birthright of their people,"* like most agents of that description, were impatient for their reward. Justly thinking that their own treachery stood higher on the scale of iniquity than the open aggression of strangers, they had looked for a proportionate share of the spoil; and now, when they found or imagined their merits undervalued, they assumed airs of patriotism.

A.D. 1179. Lawrence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, was the
 Lawrence most conspicuous in this new character. After some years
 O'Toole. of ostentatious attachment to the British monarch, this prelate appeared as his accuser, at the Council of Lateran, supported by a deputation of five other bishops. They had all sworn allegiance at Cashel; and the King, suspecting their intentions, arrested their progress through England, and exacted a second oath † that they would do nothing at the Council prejudicial to his interests; but the ardour with which they were now inspired overcame every obstacle. Some Irish writers ‡ assert, that Lawrence obtained a revocation of the papal grant to Henry; however that may be, it is certain that his complaints were loud and well received: "he exerted himself," says a contemporary, § "with all the zeal of his nation, for the privileges of the Church, and against the King's authority;" and the Pope, in acknowledgment of his eminent services, raised him to the dignity of apostolic legate. Thus armed with new powers of mischief, Lawrence set out for Ireland; but Henry wisely prevented his return, and the disappointed agitator passed the remainder of his days in Normandy. The monkish writer of his life, with that affected compas-

King
 Henry and
 the Legate
 —a hint to
 modern
 statesmen.

* The *mal-à-propos*, but by no means unjust, language of J. K. L.—*Vindication*, 81.

† Lanigan, vol. iv., 238.

‡ O'Sullivan Beare's *Catholic History*, p. 62.

§ Giraldus Cambrensis, ut *infra*.

sion for the misery of Irishmen, which the sad experience of so many centuries has not yet taught them to despise, gives these as his last words :—“ Ah ! foolish and senseless people, what will now become of you ? Who will heal your sufferings ? Who will relieve you ? ” This manifold traitor to his Church, his country, his native prince, and the sovereign of his own election, was, in due season, canonized ; and his saintly protection is still invoked by our titular hierarchy, with a publicity which displays the unshaken constancy of the order.*

When Henry appointed his son John to the lieutenancy, the Pope seized the opportunity of re-asserting his title to the supreme dominion of Ireland ; and, with somewhat of sarcasm upon the foppish imbecility of the youthful Governor, sent him a diadem of peacock's feathers, as the symbol of his investiture. In his train came the celebrated Gerald Barry, usually known as *Giraldus Cambrensis*. This writer, the creature of the monarch, and the confidential adviser of his successor, has left us his thoughts upon the condition and claims of the Irish Church : a few passages deserve to be inserted.

After some remonstrances upon the mismanagement of civil affairs, he proceeds thus :—“ But the *greatest* evil is, that, in this our new domain, we confer *nothing new* upon the Church of Christ ; that we not only withhold from it due honour, and that bounty which it beseeems a sovereign to exercise, but even invade its rights, and reduce its ancient dignity. One night, while I lay anxiously musing and troubled, by reason of *these insults to our Redeemer*, I had a vision, which I next morning imparted to the Archbishop of Dublin, deeply affecting that venerable man by the recital. Methought I saw Prince John in a green plain, as if preparing to lay the foundation of a church, and drawing on the turf a plan of the edifice ; ample space was allowed the laity, but the part assigned to the priest-

* See the *Digest of Evidence*, vol. ii., p. 163.

CHAP. I. hood was miserably narrow, and ill-proportioned. I
 A.D. 1179. reasoned with the Prince earnestly, but in vain, that he
 would give this latter portion a form and dimension more
 suited to its sacred dignity; and, as I proceeded, I
 was at last awakened by the vehemence of my expos-
 tulation." Again, addressing John:—"If, therefore,
 your Highness be minded effectually to take compas-
 sion upon this wasted and afflicted land, and to bring it
 into a condition useful and honourable to you and yours,
 attend to this my counsel. Your father, when he was
 meditating so sanguinary an attack upon a Christian people,
 with a discreet regard to himself and his affairs, applied to
the supreme power on earth, and bound himself to two
 conditions for leave to enter Ireland. One was, that he
 would exalt the Church of God in that country; the
 other, that he would pay to St. Peter a penny annually
 for every house.

"Such are the stipulations, according to the license issued
 by the Pontiff, and deposited faithfully in the archives of
 Westminster. Wherefore, to release your father's soul,
 seeing that, as Solomon says, nothing so ill becomes a
 Prince as lying lips, and that it is especially dangerous to
 lie unto God; and also to release your own soul and those
 of your successors, for *you and they have no other defence
 against the avenger of the blood which has been already shed,
 and which may be shed hereafter*; endeavour, with all
 diligence, to fulfil that contract. So, by these hostilities,
 may honour accrue to God; to you and yours prosperity
 be increased on earth; and, in the future life, be secured
 that happiness which surpasseth all things. Let those
 evils, therefore, be corrected by a good Prince, to whose
 honour it would belong (although the honour of God were
 no way concerned) that his clergy, who are to assist in
 his councils, and in all arduous affairs of state, should be
 treated with due reverence. And, in order that God may,
 in some degree, partake of the spoil, and be appeased for

this bloody conquest, let the promised tribute, which will redeem all, while it oppresses none, be paid henceforward to St. Peter."*

CHAP. I.
A. D. 1179.

These are the words of a man who had no other connexion with the Irish hierarchy than his sympathies as an ecclesiastic. He was, besides, not only a practised courtier, but a zealous maintainer of his master's honour: he had been employed to extenuate the guilty ambition of Henry, by making out, against the people of Ireland, a case of such inveterate barbarism as should appear to reject all other reform but the radical one of the sword; and he executed his task with an obsequious contempt of truth and of his own reputation. His language may be received, therefore, as a very softened picture of those gorgeous visions which had, at first, seduced the prelates into treason, and now tantalized their hopes, and exasperated their disappointment. And yet it is no faint colouring: "You have made," says the humane Archdeacon, "a most sanguinary attack upon a Christian people; you have shed much blood, and are about to shed much more; but do not spare, there is an easy atonement for all; only be careful to exalt the Church, to extend its sacred borders, to give wealth, dignity, and offices of state, to the bishops; so will you have honour amongst men, and from God, instead of vengeance, an immortality of glory." When Giraldus complains of the invasion of clerical rights, he is far from meaning to charge the Government of his master with *positive* harshness to the priesthood generally: on the contrary, he says, in another place, "that it was most meet and suitable that Ireland should receive a better rule of life from England; that she was indebted, for whatever advantages she enjoyed in Church or State,—to the magnanimous King Henry; and that the manifold abuses which formerly prevailed had, since his coming, gone into disuse." The species of outrage which had excited his indignation was rare and accidental. Amidst the atrocious

Cause of
indignation.

* *Prooimium in secundam editionem, Hibernia Espugnata.*

CHAP. I. tumults of the first descent, his own uncle Fitz Stephen,
 A.D. 1179. John De Courcy, Henry De Monte Morisco, and one or two others of the buccaneering partisans of Henry, unable, perhaps, to distinguish, or, at all events, to protect, the sacred borders of the Church, had committed, or allowed, some ravages upon ecclesiastical lands. They endeavoured to expiate the involuntary trespass by the most superb offerings: within eight years after the appearance of the first English man-at-arms, splendid abbeys in Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Wexford, Meath, and Down, some of the finest which Ireland ever possessed, attested their desire of reconciliation to the offended majesty of the prelates. But the propitiation, which would have satisfied for the slaughter of myriads of the betrayed laity, could not obtain the forgiveness of these bloodless transgressions; because, as we learn from the temperate pen of Giraldus, they were regarded by the modest hierarchy as *insults to the Redeemer*. Having no personal interest in the quarrel, to betray him into harsh expressions, the impartial Welshman contents himself with remarking that neither his uncle, nor any other perpetrator of these sacrilegious outrages, was judged worthy to leave behind him a legitimate offspring.

Arch-
 bishop
 Comyn.

The Archbishop mentioned by Cambrensis was John Comyn, an Englishman, successor of St. Lawrence. Amidst the public cares which had engaged Lawrence during his visit to Rome, he retained sufficient presence of mind to obtain from the Pope a grant—the parties called it a *confirmation*—of most extensive possessions in lands, villages, and parishes, in the neighbourhood of Dublin.* Though the firmness of the English monarch prevented the prelate himself from returning to enjoy this splendid endowment, it was all claimed, of course, by his successor. But in the meantime Hamo de Valois, Prince

* "It is *surprising*," says Dr. Lanigan, with much slyness or simplicity, "how richly endowed the See of Dublin was at this time."—*Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 240.

John's deputy in the government, had set up a counter-claim for some of the lands; whether in the name of his master, in his own, or in that of some ancient proprietor, does not now appear. Comyn, being thus excluded from possession, excommunicated De Valois, and all the other members of the administration; and, not content with this vengeance upon the transgressors, laid his unoffending city and diocese under an interdict. To indicate that the passion of Christ had been renewed, in the indignity offered to his minister, he caused the crucifixes of the cathedral to be laid prostrate on the ground, with crowns of thorns on the heads of the images; and one of the figures was pointed out as the miraculous representative of the suffering Redeemer, the face inflamed, the eyes dropping tears, the body bathed in sweat, and the side pouring forth blood and water. In the end the lord deputy was obliged to yield; and, as an atonement for his former injuries, he made a donation of twenty plough lands to the See of Dublin.*

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1179.

The next archbishop of the same see, an Englishman also,† was equally resolute. The clergy of Dublin having claimed some exorbitant fees, under the specious title of Oblations of the Faithful, were opposed by the magistrates and citizens, who had just before successfully resisted a demand of the Crown. An interdict upon the whole city, and special anathemas against the offending persons, were the immediate consequences of this insubordination. The people appealed to the lord deputy, and the cause received a formal hearing before the Privy Council; but here the clergy were triumphant, and their adversaries reduced to a very ludicrous composition. It was agreed, that, in cases of open scandal, such as that of opposition to the priesthood, a commutation in money should be made for the first offence; that, for the second, the

A.D. 1220.
Romish
clerical
ambition
and rapa-
city.

* Leland, i. 164; Lanigan, iv. 332. An *interdict* is a suspension of all religious rites.

† A Londoner, if we may conjecture from his name, Henry de Londres.

CHAP. I. culprit should be cudgelled round the parish church ;
 A.D. 1220. for the third, the same discipline should be repeated
 publicly at the head of a procession ; and if the obstinacy
 proceeded farther, that he should be either disfranchised,
 or cudgelled through the city. Such were the citizens
 whom the King of England had thought it necessary to
 pacify, by an apology for his conduct and a promise of
 redress of grievances.*

Anecdote
 of the
 Bishop of
 Ferns.

The following anecdote of the contemporary Bishop of Ferns is a graver instance of the zeal which animated the hierarchy of those days. This prelate had excommunicated the great Earl of Pembroke, on the pretence that he had seized two manors belonging to his Church ; and upon the death of that nobleman he appeared before the King to claim restitution. Being ordered to pronounce an absolution at the Earl's tomb, he attended the King thither, and with judicial solemnity pronounced these words : " Oh, William, thou that liest fast bound in the chains of excommunication, if what thou hast injuriously taken away be restored, by the King, or thy heir, or any of thy friends, with competent satisfaction, I absolve thee. Otherwise, I ratify the sentence, that, being bound in thy sins, *thou mayest remain damned in hell for ever.*" The heir would not surrender the disputed manors, and the bishop confirmed his malediction. Some time after, the male line of the family having become extinct, it was carefully pointed out to the common people how the curse of God had followed the imprecation of his minister.†

Hitherto we have seen the bishops contending with their armed associates for the spoils, and almost over the bodies, of their common victims. But time had now begun to mark out prescriptive limits to their estates, and, accordingly, henceforward other desires are gradually

* Leland, i. 237.

† Lel. *ibid.* *Quære*—Could the bishop have believed in the efficacy of his anathema ?

unfolded, and other objects engage the growing ambition of the Church.

CHAP. I.

The Archbishop of Dublin having been appointed lord justice, and, about the same time, legate of the Holy See, employed all the power which these offices gave him in extending the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts. The citizens, oppressed by these new tribunals, appealed to the King, who wrote a sharp, but ineffectual letter to his deputy.* The civil sword was then transferred to the hands of a layman, but the clergy persevered in their career of usurpation, and, after eleven years of silent endurance, the monarch was compelled to issue a writ, which affords a striking proof of the ascendancy which they had attained:—

A.D. 1222.

“The King, to his earls, barons, knights, freemen, and all others of his land of Ireland, greeting: Whereas, it is clearly known to be contrary to our crown and dignity, and to the laws and customs of our kingdom of England, which our father, King John of worthy memory, established in said land, that pleas should be held in court Christian touching the advowsons of churches and chapels, or lay fee or chattels, unless such as may accrue from wills or marriages; we, therefore, straitly charge you, that you by no means presume to sue such pleas aforesaid in court Christian, to the manifest prejudice of our crown and dignity; and we give you to know for certain, that we have enjoined our chief-justice of Ireland to enforce the statutes of our courts of England against all transgressions of this our mandate, and to execute whatsoever pertaineth to us in this matter.”†

King
Henry III.

The King, it would seem, was afraid to provoke the prelates, by opposing himself directly to their aggressions. He consulted for his dignity, as well as he dared, by attacking them through his nobles, knights, and freemen,

* Prin's "Animadversions on the Fourth Institute," quoted by Cox, "Hibernia Anglicana," p. 58.

† Cox, p. 62.

CHAP. I. who were thus not only worried by an arrogant priest-
 hood, but upbraided by a feeble prince, for "presuming"
 A.D. 1222. to submit to a power which held the throne itself in
 vassalage.

A.D. 1266. Towards the close of this long reign, the heir apparent,
 who had been created Lord of Ireland by his father, had
 the courage to confront the true authors of the evil.
 History has not acquainted us with the effect of his
 spirited reprimand, but the document itself is well de-
 serving of attention:—

Prince
 Edward.

"Edward, first-born of the illustrious King of England,
 to all archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical judges,
 within the land of Ireland, whether ordinary or delegate
 from the Apostolic See, greeting: It pertaineth, and hath
 of old pertained to the Royal dignity of the kingdom of
 England, that secular persons cannot be impleaded before
 an ecclesiastical judge, unless the suit against them be
 matrimonial or testamentary, for the Royal power hath
 reserved all other causes to itself. And whereas, by the
 grant of our lord and father the King, we enjoy, touching
 the premises, the same privileges in our land of Ireland
 which our said lord enjoyeth in the kingdom of England
 aforesaid, we therefore strictly inhibit you, that you hold
 no plea of debts or chattels in court Christian against our
 citizens of Dublin, unless such debts or chattels arise out
 of matrimonial or testamentary cases; because pleas which
 are not matrimonial or testamentary belong to our dignity,
 and we accordingly prohibit any actions whatsoever con-
 cerning lay fee to be held in court Christian. And that
 this our prohibition may have force in future times, for
 the benefit of our said citizens, we have caused these
 our letters to be made patent, to continue during our
 pleasure.

"Given at our castle of Kenilworth, the 27th day of
 June, in the fiftieth year of the reign of our lord
 and father the King." *

* Harris, "Hibernica," part ii., p. 60.

Even this letter, however amply it attests the indignant spirit of the prince, gives a very decisive proof of the insignificance of his authority. "It pertains," he says, "to the Royal dignity, that *all* pleas of a certain description should be reserved to our civil courts; we therefore prohibit you from holding such pleas *against our citizens of Dublin.*" In the capital, where the image of royalty might inspire a little respect, and where the citizens had obtained a charter of special privileges, he makes an effort to maintain the rights of a sovereign; the rest of the island is surrendered, without a struggle, to the misrule of the hierocracy.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1266.

The annals of the following reign have preserved a curious petition of a widow:—"Margaret le Blunde, of Cashel, petitions our lord the King's grace, that she may have her inheritance, which she recovered at Clonmel, before the king's judges, against David MacCarwell, Bishop of Cashel. *Item*, for the imprisonment of her grandfather and grandmother, whom he shut up and detained in prison, until they perished by famine, because they sought redress for the death of their son, father of your petitioner, who had been killed by said bishop. *Item*, for the death of her six brothers and sisters, who were starved by said bishop, because he had their inheritance in his hands at the time he killed their father.—It is to be noted, that the said bishop has built an abbey in the city of Cashel, which he fills with robbers, who murder the English and lay waste the country; and that when our lord the King's council examine into such offences, he passes sentence of excommunication upon them. *Item*, it is to be noted, that the said Margaret has five times crossed the Irish sea. Wherefore, she petitions, for God's sake, that the King's grace will have compassion, and that she may be permitted to take possession of her inheritance. It is further to be noted, that the aforesaid bishop has been guilty of the death of many other Englishmen besides her father, and that the said Margaret

A.D. 1276.
Episcopal
avarice
and
cruelty.

CHAP. I. has obtained many writs of our lord the King, but to no
 A.D. 1276. effect, by reason of the influence and bribery of said
 bishop."*

If these enormities, or any approaching to such a description, could be committed by the prelates upon Englishmen, we must not be surprised at any extent of suffering which may have fallen to the lot of the native population. King John, with more of wisdom and humanity than is discernible in his other actions, had granted to his Irish subjects a charter of the laws and usages of England, to the observance of which he bound Henry III. the nobles by an oath. His son and successor, Henry the Third, confirmed this charter by a patent of the first year of his reign; eleven years after, he enforced it, in a mandate directed "to his *archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors*, earls, barons, knights, freeholders,† and the bailiffs of his several counties." After a second interval of eighteen years, the monarch again addressed the same personages, but in the humble tone of supplication, that, "*for the sake of peace and quietness, they would permit* the English laws and customs to be observed in his land of Ireland." But neither commands nor entreaties were found availing. The lay lords of both races, from the same heartless and short-sighted views which now influence the absentee proprietors, preferred serfs to a yeomanry, and resolved to continue the horrors of the aboriginal system. The prelates adopted a more prudent, but not a more liberal course: they allowed *their own vassals* the use of the English laws in all matters which they had not reserved to their spiritual jurisdiction; and by this measure they at once pleased the Government, secured to themselves a reasonable revenue, attached their retainers, and displayed to all *the great advantage of being*

* Leland, i. 234.

† That is, not *forty shillings*, but gentlemen who hold directly under the Crown—*libere tenentes*. The several particulars mentioned in this paragraph, are given by Leland, vol. i., pp. 189, 223, 292.

under the Church. But it was by no means their intention that a benefit, which was thus a sort of ecclesiastical privilege, should be vulgarized by indiscriminate enjoyment; and hence we find them as hostile as the lay nobles to the general extension of the English usages.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1276.

In the reign of Edward the First, a few broken clans and many smaller groups of the miserable natives, the refuse of the sword and its attendant horrors, were still lingering within the precincts of the English colonies: they were pent in those corners of their old possessions which had not yet attracted the desires of the settlers, contemptuously tolerated in their ancient usages,* but excluded from all the benefits of English law or government. Few situations could be more forlorn. On the one hand, their original polity (which was so exceedingly simple, that the members of the same tribe had, perhaps, no civil relation to each other, except their common attraction to one chief) had crumbled away, as this central power was removed or weakened, and left them nearly, if not entirely, in a state of nature: on the other hand, they were not acknowledged as the king's subjects; the king's courts were not open to them; and, if the blood of a father or brother were shed, his assassin had only to plead that the deceased was an Irishman, and he was secure from all vengeance but that of the Almighty. In the truce, which had naturally arisen out of their weakness and the sated thirst of conquest in their invaders, they every day received some new and mortifying proof of their own destitution, and of the manifold advantages enjoyed by Englishmen. All hope of expelling the strangers had now vanished from their minds; those feelings and circumstances, which had hitherto blinded them to the defects of their Brehon code, were no longer in existence; and they resolved on the experiment of an

* These were considered to be *good enough for them*, as some customs of the modern Irish are said to have been pronounced by a great statesman.

CHAP. I. unqualified submission. They made up a purse of 8,000
 A.D. 1276. marks, which, through his Irish Governor, they tendered
 The Irish to the king, with a request that he would receive them as
 seek pro- to his faithful liegemen, and take them under the protection
 tection of of the laws of England. Nothing can so well illustrate
 English their broken-hearted wretchedness as this mode of pre-
 law. ferring the petition. A measure, so just in itself, so fair
 in its prospects, so full of glory to the prince who might
 condescend to adopt it, was not even to be thought of by
 the supplicants, unless, like too many of their unhappy
 posterity, they approached the seat of justice with a bribe.
 King Edward's answer deserves to be given in full:—

A.D. 1278. “Edward, by the grace of God, King of England,
 Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, to our trusty and
 well-beloved Robert de Ufford, Lord Justice of Ireland,
 greeting :

“The improvement of the state and peace of our land
 of Ireland, signified to us by your letter, gives us exceed-
 ing joy. We entirely commend your diligence, hoping
 that, by the Divine assistance, the things there begun so
 happily by you, shall, as far as in you lieth, be still
 further prosecuted with the greater vigour and success.

English
 law ex-
 tended to
 Ireland.

“And whereas the Irish commonalty have made a
 tender to us of 8,000 marks, on condition that we grant
 them the laws of England to be used in the aforesaid
 land, we wish you to know that, inasmuch as the Irish
 laws are hateful to God, and repugnant to justice, it
 seems expedient to us and our council to grant them the
 laws of England, provided always that the general consent
 of our people, or, at least, of our prelates and nobles of
 said land, do concur in this behalf.

“We therefore command you that, having entered into
 treaty with this commonalty, and inquired diligently into
 the will of our people, prelates, and nobles, in this matter;
 and having agreed upon the largest fine of money that you
 can obtain to be paid to us on this account, you make,
 with the consent of all aforesaid, or, at least, of the greater

and sounder part thereof, such a composition touching the premises, as you shall judge, in your discretion, to be most expedient for our honour and interest. Provided, also, that said commonalty shall hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number as you shall agree upon, for one campaign only, to repair to us as we may see fit to demand them."

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1278.

In reply to this letter, Ufford stated that the time was unsuitable; that far the greater number of the barons were absent from the seat of government, upon the business of the State, or the defence of their lands, and that many of the others were minors; and that it would, therefore, be impossible to collect an assembly sufficiently numerous or respectable for so grave a deliberation.

But the Irish renewed their affecting appeal, and the king issued a fresh mandate:—

Second
appeal,
A.D. 1280.

"The king to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, counts, barons, knights, and other English of his land of Ireland, greeting: Whereas we have been humbly supplicated by the Irish of said land, that we would vouchsafe to grant them, of our grace, that they might use and enjoy the same common laws and customs within the land,* which the English there do use and enjoy. Now we, not thinking it expedient to make such grant without your knowledge and consent, do command you that, upon certain days about the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and in some convenient place, you hold diligent inquiry amongst yourselves, whether or not we can make such grant, without your loss, and the prejudice of your liberties and customs, and of all other circumstances touching such grant aforesaid; and that, before the next Meeting of our Parliament, to be held at Westminster, you distinctly and fully, under the seal of our Lord Justice of Ireland, do advise our council what you shall

* The original has *in terra*. Leland has proved very clearly that the pale, or English district in this country, was called *the land*, or *the land of Ireland*.—See vol. i., p. 243, &c.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1280.

determine in this matter: and you shall not be moved to omit this, by reason of the absence of those peers who may be detained away, or of those who are under age, or in a state of wardship; so that, after full deliberation, we may take such course in this behalf as to us and our council shall seem expedient.

“ Given at Westminster, September 10, 1280.”

Here was offered to the Church one of those invaluable opportunities of repentance, by which the benignant wisdom of Providence will sometimes extract blessing from the greatest transgressions. The king had declared, in his first letter, that he would be guided by the opinion of his prelates and nobles; and, in his second, that, notwithstanding the inevitable absence of most of the latter, the assembling of the council should by no means be deferred. Thus the ecclesiastical members, bishops, abbots, and priors, would have easily commanded a very decisive majority.* Ireland was, therefore, once more at the mercy of its prelates: they might now, by a vote, have almost atoned for the original baseness of their predecessors, and arrested the bloody progress of centuries of desolation. But the canon law was the only code which they desired to establish generally; and the law of England was, even then, too favourable to liberty, not to be viewed with alarm by men who aimed at despotic power. On the one hand, they wished for a continuance of the inequality between the races, because, in fact, it was only a gradation of servitude, and kept the ascendancy of the Church upon a higher pedestal. On the other hand, they could not tolerate a measure which, by diffusing through all classes a spirit of spontaneous attachment to the State, might diminish their own political importance: *there was to be no loyalty of which they were not the mediators*; and, while overt acts of rebellion were occa-

Popery
mediating,
that it may
govern.

* It would seem that in those days the spiritual lords outnumbered the whole body of their lay peers. See the quotation from Spenser at *Edward the First*.

sionally restrained, a spirit was to be kept alive, which would render their constant interference indispensable. It cannot be ascertained, from any authentic record, whether this council ever met: one thing only is certain, that the bishops defeated the good intentions of the king, and closed their ears to the groans of their countrymen.*

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1280.

As yet, the prelates had pursued their devices with little disturbance of the civil peace, and the occasional atrocities in which they indulged are evidences rather of the character of the men, than of the system of the Church. A century and a-half had passed away without the realization of those ambitious hopes which had allured the sanguine perfidy of St. Lawrence and his contemporaries. These hopes had been transmitted, in regular descent, and with increasing bitterness of disappointment, to every new succession of the Irish clergy; and a slight, which they might have anticipated, but for which it does not appear that they were at all prepared, was gradually kindling a spirit of seditious discontent. The Courts of Rome and England—justly suspicious of men who, however useful as instruments for the acquisition of dominion, had shown that they could not be intrusted with its preservation—had, from the beginning, concurred in a plan for weakening the Irish ecclesiastical interest: a few of the most important sees, of the richest abbeys, and probably of the inferior dignities in the Church, being always filled by Englishmen. Fifteen years after the landing of an English Governor, the jealousies occasioned by this questionable policy burst out, in the Synod of Dublin, into mutual invective; and, as their cause was never removed, time strengthened the animosity of the Irish. In the year 1250, the native prelates agreed to a regulation, that no clerk of the English nation should be received into a canonicate in any of their churches; the Royal authority was exerted in vain to change this bold resolve; and some time had

Irish prelates, the Pope, and the Crown.

* Leland, i., 284.

CHAP. I. elapsed before the united influence of the crown and the
 A.D. 1280. tiara could extort a sullen retractation. But, although the vexation of the Irish ecclesiastics flamed out thus from time to time, the many solid advantages which they had obtained, and the continued want of English protection to shelter them from the vengeance of their betrayed countrymen, combined to teach them the necessity of dissimulation. Trusting to time and to their skill in intrigue for the final accomplishment of their designs, they continued to assist against the *common enemy*, with their counsels, their anathemas, and, when induced by sufficient remittances from the Exchequer, with their military talents.

Edward
 II., 1315.

At length, in the reign of Edward the Second, the invasion and partial success of Edward Bruce revived the ancient spirit of the order, and their smothered rage exploded in the design of a new revolution. Those evils which the prelates of the last reign would not allow their monarch to remedy were now converted into arguments against the government of his successor; and Church policy showed the versatility of its genius by reassuming the mask of patriotism. With the usual bad faith of pampered mercenaries, a multitude of ecclesiastics, both prelates and inferior clergy, revolted to the insurgent chieftains. They denounced the English as enemies to the Church, and oppressors of the nation; they exhorted the populace to flock to the banner of Bruce—a prince, they said, of the ancient line of Milesian monarchs, and the chosen instrument of the common deliverance; and, with that vain-glorious impatience of prosperity, which has always frustrated their most promising attempts, they formally crowned the adventurer King of Ireland.*

When the rebel priesthood had taken this irrevocable step, they began to awake to the temerity of their enter-

* Leland, i., 271. The ceremony of his coronation was performed at Dundalk, within the English pale. Spenser says he *reigned* for a whole year.

prise, and made a desperate effort to divert the approaching storm of Papal and Royal vengeance from their own heads upon those of the chieftains with whom they had united, whom, perhaps, they had seduced. The experience of our own times prepares us to find these early ecclesiastics putting forward laymen as the ostensible agitators; and, while they touch with their own hands the latent springs of sedition, slipping aside from responsibility, and relinquishing to their confederates all dangerous posts of honour. The stratagem now practised was somewhat of this nature, but more clumsy and ineffectual, it must be confessed, than if its movements had been guided by the disciplined duplicity of modern tacticians. A memorial was despatched to Rome, the work of ecclesiastics, but entitled "The Complaint of the *Nobles* of Ireland to Pope John the Twenty-second." It described, in interesting though unpolished language, the tyranny of the English over the Church and the people; it showed how these oppressions had driven the laity to arms, and the clergy to—the feeble virtue of passive obedience. Like the remonstrance of Cambrensis, this extraordinary document begins with political grievances, and then proceeds, in the following terms, to expatiate on the wrongs of the Church:—

"Let this brief account suffice, of the origin of our ancestors, and the miserable state in which Pope Adrian has placed us. It remains that we remind you, most holy father, that Henry, King of England (to whom, in the manner above mentioned, an indult was granted for entering Ireland), and also the four Kings his successors, have broken the conditions which the pontiff's bull imposed on them. For the aforesaid Henry promised that he would extend the borders of the Church in Ireland, and maintain its rights inviolate; that he would eradicate vice, and plant virtue; and that he would pay to St. Peter a yearly tax of a penny for every house. All these promises have been wilfully, and of set purpose, broken, by the kings,

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1315.

Laymen
tools of the
priesthood.

Wrongs of
the
Church.

Peter's
Pence.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1815.

their ministers, and the governors of Ireland. For, in the first place, so far are they from extending the demesnes of the Church, that they have invaded and usurped its former possessions, and despoiled some cathedrals of half their lands. Equal disregard has been shown for ecclesiastical liberty; our bishops, and other dignitaries, being cited, arrested, and even imprisoned, by the officers of the King of England. But, so broken is their spirit by the bitterness of the oppression which they endure, that they fear even to lay their grievances before your holiness; and, since they are so basely silent, they do not deserve that we should say anything in their favour." *

It appears, from the concluding sentence of this passage, that the prelates now wished to disclaim all participation in the rebellion, or in the remonstrance: but, in the first particular, the voice of history proclaims the falsehood of the denial; and, in the second, the entire structure of the *complaint* exposes its inconsistency. The *technical* chro-

* The whole of this appeal, which is styled *Querimonia Magnatum Hiberniæ ad Pontificem Johannem XXII.* is given by Mac Geoghegan, *Histoire d'Irlande*, tom. ii. At the bottom of the page in which Dr. O'Connor refers to this curious piece, he says, with his usual self-complacency:—"The greatest latitude of assertion, with the least shadow of proof, is observable in almost all modern writers who have meddled with Irish history; I have, therefore, been careful to give copious extracts from my originals." After this flourishing introduction, it is amusing to find that, in what he gives as an extract from his original, the whole of the passage above quoted dwindles into the following pointless antithesis:—"Nor have the persons of our clergy been more respected than the property of our Church." It was the pleasure of this gentleman to misrepresent *history*, by assuming that the Irish prelates had no share in the rebellion; this false assumption brought with it the necessity of another, that of maintaining that the prelates had no share in the *memorial*; hence it became necessary, in the third place, to misrepresent the *memorial itself*. There is something almost whimsical in the degree of assurance with which the learned antiquary carries on his "brave" deception. In the same note, he charges Mr. Plowden with having twice misquoted the *Querimonia*, and expresses a doubt whether that gentleman had ever seen it. Mr. Plowden, in reply, acknowledges that he had not seen the piece, and says that he had transcribed his quotations from *Dr. O'Connor himself*.—O'Connor's *Historical Address*, i. 123—137; Plowden's *Historical Letter*, 236.

Dr. O'Connor and Mr. Plowden.

nology of the Irish monasteries, and the *technical* language of papal bulls and canons, attest the professional attainments of the authors of this piece; while the pathetic detail of ecclesiastical grievances, treaties violated, lands usurped, and privileges invaded, is a decisive evidence of their professional spirit. Had the insurgent nobles been indeed the framers of a memorial to the Pontiff, it is probable that they would have expressed far other sentiments than those of compassion for the bishops of their recreant Church. Originally betrayed, and, during the long lapse of a hundred and fifty years, incessantly worried, by their hireling shepherds, it were unfair to impute to these fiery chieftains either so much weakness as to feel, or so much hypocrisy as to express, any very deep sympathy in episcopal discontents; and this weakness or hypocrisy would be utterly unaccountable, could we suppose, as the Complaint does, that the bishops had not conspired with them in their present enterprise. Had such been the case, when they pleaded "the miserable state in which Pope Adrian had placed them," they would not have been in a mood to forget, or to forgive, the share which the hierarchy had in the guilt of the partition treaty, and which it hoped to have in its iniquitous profits. The reason of the unfortunate lords would have united with their passions, in charging upon the prelates all those sufferings and indignities, by the maddening sense of which they had been goaded into their hopeless insurrection.

Sufferings and indignities they unquestionably had experienced; and, in stating these, the Complaint, though sketched by a rude and treacherous hand, catches a melancholy dignity from the subject, and becomes natural, elevated, and affecting. When it urges on their behalf, "that, besides the sufferers by famine and disease, fifty thousand of their countrymen had already perished by the Saxon sword;" and "that there is no longer a spot in their native country which the arrogance of the strangers will allow them to call their own;" it makes an appeal,

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1815.
Rome's
profanity.

the truth of which is supported by our wretched annals, and the force acknowledged by human nature. The descent from this grave impeachment, to the frivolous charges which the ecclesiastics adduce in aggravation, is almost too great for the equanimity of contempt: placed in juxtaposition, the lay and the clerical grievances assort so oddly as to present a contrast at once bitter and ridiculous. "Fifty thousand of our brethren have been cut off by the sword—and a bishop has been cited, nay, committed to prison." "We are not left a spot which we can call our own—and a cathedral has been despoiled of half its lands." Were it true that the prelates had suffered all which they assert, nothing short of that profane and heartless vanity with which the Church of Rome has identified the glory of God, and the worldly power of his minister, could have deduced from such sufferings an argument for rebellion. But a comparison of their circumstances, before and after the introduction of the English dynasty, will show that their allegations were as much unfounded in fact and reason, as they were exaggerated in importance.

Ecclesi-
astical
liberty.

Ecclesiastical liberty, the violation of which by the English Government forms a prominent topic of the complaint, is a prime article in the creed, or code, of the Vatican. It is founded upon the following assumptions:—That the Papacy is a monarchy transcending the kingdoms of this world in dignity, no less than in the ends of its institution; that the members of the episcopal, and priestly orders, are, in their several gradations, the ministers and functionaries of this great monarchy; that these officers could not fulfil their duties, or the commands of their spiritual sovereign—duties and commands above all competition or interference—if they were left in subjection to the civil authorities; that, therefore, it became necessary to exempt ecclesiastics from the cognizance of secular tribunals,* and to reserve them for the jurisdiction of the

* It is this plea of ecclesiastical liberty which forms the real objection to the oath of supremacy.

holy see. This plausible and splendid fiction was unknown in Ireland, under its ancient polity, and continued to be unknown in the remoter districts, until the joint influence of Rome and England, and the contagion of priestly intrigue, gradually effected a spiritual revolution.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1815.

A few facts, decisive of this question, and acknowledged by the most learned Roman Catholic writers, are discernible, amidst the darkness which overhangs our early history. It appears—

Ancient
Irish
Church.

1. That the Irish ecclesiastics took no oaths to the Pope.*
2. That they never applied to the See of Rome for bulls of nomination, institution, or exemption.†
3. That they never appealed to Rome for the decision of ecclesiastical causes.†

4. That the bishop, and other prelates of a tribe, were appointed by the chieftain, either directly, or with the previous form of an election by the priesthood.‡

5. That papal legates had no jurisdiction in Ireland until the twelfth century; and that, after that period, their jurisdiction was limited to the English settlements.§

6. That, in general, the discipline of the Irish Church had so little correspondence with the Roman, that it received several hard names from the papal writers of the twelfth century. Pope Alexander and Cambrensis call it *filthy*; Anselm and Gilbert, *schismatical*; Bernard, *barbarous*, and *almost pagan*.||

Not
Romish.

These instances are so many incontestible proofs that the government of the Irish Church was strictly domestic;

* Dr. O'Connor, *Columbanus*, 3—160.

† Charles O'Connor, sen. *Dissertations on Irish History*, 203. J. K. L. *Defence of Vindication of Irish Roman Catholics*, 83.

‡ Dr. O'Connor, *Columbanus*, 5—45. It would seem that, about the time of the arrival of the English, the custom of lay presentation was very prevalent. The Synod of Dublin, held in 1186, made a canon, "that any clerk who accepted a benefice from a layman should be excommunicated, unless he resigned it after the third monition."—Lanigan, iv. 271.

§ Dr. O'Connor, *Historical Address*, 1—10.

|| Lanigan, 4. 12—218.

CHAP. I. and that the hierarchy stood apart from that great organization, which, in the other nations of Christendom, sustained itself in stately independence. Thus, there being no external power to interpose between the priest and the local secular authorities, it is an obvious and certain inference, that he was either subject to their ordinary jurisdiction, or indebted, for his privileges, to their free indulgence. But we are not without more direct information; there is the clearest evidence for the following additional facts:—

7. That ecclesiastics were not excused from military service, until the year 799, after Ireland had been Christian for more than three centuries; * and that the immunity was then granted, without reference to papal authority.

8. That, in other respects, they owed their chieftains the customary duties of clansmen. †

9. That they were amenable to the ordinary Brehon jurisprudence. †

Henry II. Thus it appears that, under the ancient system, an Irish Prince was as absolute master of the priesthood of his sept, as of any other class among his followers. But a new order of things was introduced by Henry the Second, and thenceforward, kept regular pace with the advance of the British and papal power. All the privileges of the English Church, and all those vexatious pretensions, which had just attained a temporary triumph in the canonization of Thomas-à-Becket, were communicated to the Irish clergy; and were maintained by them with increasing pertinacity, in proportion to the weakness of the civil power. It was guaranteed, by the first article of the charter of Henry the Third, ‡ “that the Church of Ireland should be FREE, and have its rights and liberties inviolate;” and many subsequent acts of the state contain similar provisions. To crown all, the bishops were now placed above their former lords; and, from being the serfs

Thomas-à-Becket.

Henry III.

* O’Conor, sen., Dissertation, 216.

† Acts of Synod of Cashel, quoted by Lanigan, iv. 209.

‡ Leland, i. Appendix.

of a turbulent chieftainry, became the first order of peers under a powerful monarch. The writ of Henry the Second, appointing Fitz-Adelm to the Lieutenancy,* is addressed to his "archbishops, bishops, *kings*, earls, barons, and all his liegemen of Ireland." Henry the Third commences one of his writs in these terms:—"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, &c., to the venerable father, Luke, *by the same grace*, Archbishop of Dublin, *and* to his trusty and well-beloved Maurice Fitzgerald, his lord deputy of Ireland, greeting;" thus ranking the prelate above his lieutenant, and conferring on him a style of independent dignity, corresponding to his own. Public instruments of a later date † assign the same stately precedence to ecclesiastics; and, within the sphere which was subject to the dominion of Rome and England, not bishops only, but abbots and priors, took rank above the royal lineage of O'Neil, O'Brien, or O'Conor. ‡

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1815.

Church property was on a scale of even greater magnificence. Among the seven decrees of the Cashel Synod (the articles of union, as they may be called, between the Anglo-Irish Church and State), there were four which regulated the revenues of the clergy. It was enacted by one of these, "that Church lands should be free from the customary exactions of the chieftains, from all demands, whether of money or of entertainment:" by another, "that they should be likewise exempt from certain fines imposed

Church
property.

* Leland, i. 113.

† *Ibid*, i. 241.

‡ This circumstance alone is sufficient to prove that the *Complaint* was the fabrication of the rebel prelates. The O'Neil of the time was the lay leader of this insurrection: by the old Irish law, which he was struggling to maintain, all the prelates of Ulster were his *vassals*; by the law which the English were labouring to introduce, they were his *superiors*. Some of those prelates might have formed a temporary junction with him for their own purposes; but, whether he rose or fell, they were labouring to establish their own ascendancy. A similar observation will present itself to the intelligent reader, when he peruses the next paragraph in the text; in revenue, as well as in rank, the clergy were encroaching upon the prescriptive claims of the chieftains.

CHAP. I. by the Brehon law:" by a third, "that all the faithful
A.D. 1815. should pay tithes of their cattle, fruits, and all other
increase;" and this was explained, a few years after, by a
sweeping commentary of the Dublin synod, as including
the tithe of "provisions, hay, flax, wool, the young of
animals, and the produce of gardens and orchards:" by
the fourth, "that all the faithful should pay a third of
their moveable goods, for a solemn burial, and for vigils
and masses for the repose of their souls; and that, if they
were dying unmarried, or without legitimate children, the
bequest should be increased to one half." Such was the
splendid bribe of the traitorous Church of Ireland: its
own extensive lands protected from injury, a full tenth of
the produce of all other lands, and more than a third of all
moveable property; besides, while it was guaranteed
against loss, it might accumulate for ever.

Wherever the law or the arms of England prevailed, all
these privileges were respected; while in the other parts
of the island, the *Magnates* followed their old usages,*
refusing tithes, levying contributions, and overwhelming
their clergy with the honour of their unceremonious
visits,—regardless alike of King and Pontiff. It is
possible, indeed, that the English Government was some-
times roused from its forbearance by those prelates, who,
like the archbishop in the widow's petition,† exchanged
their sacred character for that of a leader of banditti; but
this is only conjecture. So far as appears from history,
that personage was unmolested in the enjoyment of a
degree of freedom, which, after all reasonable allowance
for the eloquence of the fair plaintiff, and the licentious
barbarism of the times, must have brought an unprivileged
marauder to the gallows. It may be allowed also, that
even within the English districts the estates of the Church
did not always escape those ravages by which all other

* Lanigan, iv. 219.—Cambrensis reckons it among the *spuroitias* of the
Irish lords of his day, that they would not pay tithes.

† *Ante*, p. 121.

lands were periodically laid waste; in the circumstances of the time and country, total exemption would have been almost miraculous. But if the clergy occasionally suffered a few of those annoyances which were as the course of nature to less fortunate men, they had a peculiar and abundant recompence in that soldierly devotion which sought to appease God by largesses to his ministers. The early English adventurers were eminently distinguished for this species of piety: one hundred and sixty religious houses, founded and endowed between the landing of Henry the Second and that of Edward Bruce, with countless grants of land and other minor benefactions, were the splendid monuments of their remorse.* In fine, all the privileges and nearly all the riches which the Church then enjoyed (and it enjoyed an ample share of both), had been derived from the policy or bounty of Englishmen, and were still suspended upon the continuance of their ascendancy. From a state of some hardship and total dependance, it had been exalted as the church of a dominant party, and pampered into all that florid prosperity which the envy or imagination of modern agitators has ascribed to the reformed establishment; it was indulged, besides, in the exercise of many branches of the Papal craft, to the great oppression of the people, and to the detriment and dishonour of the civil authorities. The spirit which could discover a motive to rebellion in treatment such as this would be inconceivable, did not history furnish so many examples of the insatiable cravings of Popery, and the madness of disappointed ambition.

But whatever might have been the merits of this complaint, Rome was too nearly interested to give it an

* As may be seen in a very cursory glance over Archdale's "Monasticum Hibernicum." There is, besides, a great number of houses of which Archdale does not assign either the date or the founder; a considerable proportion of these ought, in strict reason, to be added to the hundred and sixty in the text; but the case is abundantly strong without them.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1315.

160 religious
houses
founded in
143 years.

CHAP. I. impartial hearing. It would appear, indeed, as if the
 A.D. 1318. Pope were at first undecided, whether he would not give
 a new dynasty to his island of saints. He had commanded
 a truce for two years between the English Government
 and its opponents; * a proof that he did not *then* regard
 the Irish insurgents as rebels; but Bruce, distressed, it is
 said, for want of provisions, violated the injunction, and
 ended the doubts of the Sovereign Pontiff. In addition
 to this, the revolted priesthood had shown, much too
 clearly to be easily forgiven, how cheap they were
 disposed to hold his supremacy, except so far as it
 contributed to their own views. They had expressly
 declared that Adrian's grant was unjust; they had pre-
 sumed to remedy this newly-discovered injustice, by
 electing and crowning a king for themselves; thus they
 had shifted the question from the mal-administration of
 England to the sovereignty of the Vatican, and left but
 one answer to its indignant majesty. The whole weight
 of Papal influence was employed in favour of the Govern-
 ment; † and the custom of filling the principal sees with
 Englishmen, proved of some use in quelling a disturbance
 which it had previously contributed to raise. The leading
 prelates of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel, were English
 by birth and extraction; however, therefore, they might
 be disposed to bring the civil government into subjection
 to the Church, they could not concur in a scheme which,
 by separating the countries, must have ended in their own

* Cox, p. 98, quoting Camden.

Pope John. † Pope John, however, did not omit the opportunity of reminding the
 English prince of his duty to the Holy See. He transmitted to Edward
 the Irish appeal, and a copy of Adrian's bull, desiring his serious attention
 to their contents. Leland calls his letter "An earnest exhortation to redress
 Irish grievances;" O'Connor, much better acquainted with Roman politics,
 pronounces it a piece of *affected commiseration*. "While on one hand," he
 says, "John was writing in the language of gentle complaint, with the
 other he was employed in issuing excommunications against the aggrieved,
 for daring, without his leave, to confer the crown of Ireland on Bruce, and
 attempting to vindicate their liberties."—*Historical Address*, i. 134.

ruin. While the first of these three followed the movements of the army, distributing blessings and proclaiming indulgences to those who might fall in the righteous cause of Pope and King, the other two were successively intrusted with the conduct of the civil sword. Papal excommunications were fulminated against King Bruce, against his brother Robert, the celebrated Scottish monarch, and against the Irish prelates and clergy who had supported the insurrection, and these formidable sentences were read at every mass within the English quarters.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1318.

Checked by this severe admonition, the Irish members of the hierarchy made no attempt henceforward, until the reign of Elizabeth, to separate their cause from that of their English brethren. The common interests of the order presented a multitude of objects upon which the two parties might exercise an emulous zeal; and, before the lapse of three years, they had an opportunity of displaying the vigour, if not the cordiality, of their co-operation.

Bruce's career having terminated at the decisive battle of Dundalk, it was now the turn of the English prince to ravage the dominions of his northern neighbour. Scotland, hitherto protected by her poverty, and attracting but languidly the desires of the Holy See, had not yet acknowledged its temporal supremacy; and besides, the reigning monarch was now under an anathema: thus the expedition had so much the character of a religious war as recommended it to the zealous support of the Papacy. The Pontiff issued an edict (whether as supreme lord of Ireland, or in his spiritual capacity as head of the Church, it is not easy to determine), granting to Edward a subsidy of a tenth of the revenues of his Anglo-Irish subjects for two years. The laity submissively obeyed the mandate, paying the required contributions, and leading their troops into Scotland; but the clergy, with the thunder of St. Peter still ringing in their ears, proved refractory. They

Bruce.
A.D. 1322.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1322.

demanding a sight of the original bull, and as, for some reason which history has not recorded, this could not or would not be allowed them, they persisted in their refusal, and eluded the tax.* Such were the subdued and spirit-broken priests, who dared not lift a voice against the oppressors of their order.

Witch-
craft.
A.D. 1324.

About the same time there occurred an incident of a different character from any of the preceding, but equally illustrative of that daring spirit with which the prelates tried their power upon the highest orders in the State. The Bishop of Ossory summoned Dame Alice Ketler, a woman of some rank, with her family and dependents, before his spiritual court, to answer to a charge of witchcraft. She was accused of going through Kilkenny every evening between complin and curfew, sweeping the refuse of the streets towards her son's door, and muttering this incantation as she went—

“To the house of William my son,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny town.”

It was also said that she made assignations, near a certain cross-road, with an evil spirit, whose name the bishop discovered to be Robin Artysson, and that on these occasions she feasted her paramour upon nine red cocks', and some unknown number of peacocks', eyes. The last allegation against her was, that various implements of sorcery had been found in her house, particularly a sacramental wafer having the name of the devil imprinted on it, and a staff, upon which, when duly oiled for an expedition, she and her accomplices were accustomed to ride all the world over. Such things would be ridiculous, were they not made the pretext for atrocities at which nature shudders. One of her domestics was condemned and executed; her son thrown into prison; the lady herself, happening to escape on the charge of witchcraft, was put to trial a second time, upon an accusation

* Leland, i. 282.

of heresy, found guilty, and sentenced to the flames; and Adam Duff, a gentleman of considerable family in Leinster, was seized at the same time, and burned as a heretic. The Lord Arnold De la Poer, seneschal of the palatinate to which Kilkenny then belonged, having interested himself in favour of these unhappy persons, was involved by the bishop in the same accusation; and upon his appealing to the lord deputy, the undaunted prelate extended his charge to that personage himself.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1324.

The head of the civil government was now formally arraigned of heresy before the bishops; and the business of the State (not of the executive department only, but of the Parliament, which was then sitting, and of the law courts, for the lieutenancy was at this time filled by the chancellor,) was interrupted, until the majesty of the Church should announce its awful decision. The investigation was long and solemn; the lord justice made it appear that his accuser was actuated by personal resentment against De la Poer; and that, as to himself, he had given no other ground of offence or suspicion than his interference on behalf of an injured man. He was acquitted, and pronounced a true son of the Church; and, sacrificing the vanity of station to a natural impulse of joy, he celebrated his narrow escape with an entertainment open to all who chose to be his guests. But, in the meantime, the unfortunate nobleman who had besought his protection experienced the bitterness of Episcopal vengeance. It was the law in those days, that when a bishop gave a certificate, under his sign manual, of the excommunication of a layman, the civil authorities were obliged to act upon it; the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* was issued in the King's name, and the offender seized and thrown into prison. This had been done in the case of De la Poer: the King's lieutenant was satisfied of the man's innocence, yet he could not withhold the writ for his apprehension; and instead of affording effectual assistance, was himself in the same danger.

Power of
Rome over
laymen.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1324.

While the powerless patron was engaged in his own defence, the client had perished in a dungeon; and, as he died unabsolved, the persecution was extended to his remains: the bishop, inaccessible to the weakness of humanity, condemned the body to exposure, until the progress of decay had rendered interment indispensable. Much was still to be done and suffered before the zeal of the prelate could be appeased. Disappointed in his hope of burning the lord deputy, he resolved to degrade him into an instrument of his vengeance upon others. He represented the case at the Court of Rome, in such terms as best accorded with his malice or fanaticism, and a Papal brief was dispatched to the King, desiring that he would issue an order to his chief governor and other officers of state in Ireland, to assist the Bishop of Ossory and his brother prelates in the extirpation of heresy.*

Edward
III.
A.D. 1346.

“King Edward the Third,” says Spencer, “being greatly crossed and bearded by the lords of the clergy in Ireland; they being there, by reason of the lords abbots and others, too many for him, so that for their frowardness he could not order and reform things as he desired, was advised to direct out his writs to certain gentlemen of the best abilities and trust, entitling them therein barons, to sit and serve as barons in the next Parliament; by which means he had so many barons in Parliament, that he was able to weigh down the clergy and their friends.”† Thus reinforced, the King obtained a vote for a subsidy, which was to be levied on church lands as well as those of the laity; but the prelates, though defeated within the House, resolved to renew the contest outside. The Archbishop of Cashel, supported by his suffragans of Limerick, Emly, and Lismore, published an edict, that all beneficed priests who presumed to pay their allotted portion of the subsidy should be deprived of their livings, and declared incapable

* Cox, p. 108. Camden, p. 182. Leland, i. 284.

† *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 216.

of future preferment; and that, for the like offence, the vassals of the Church should be excommunicated, and their descendants to the third generation excluded from holy orders. Not satisfied with this severity, the Archbishop proceeded to the county town, in the habit of his order, and with the attendance suited to the most solemn exercise of his functions, and there publicly pronounced an excommunication upon the King's Commissioner of Revenue, and upon all others who should procure, pay, or in any manner contribute to, the levying of the said subsidy from lands or persons belonging to the Church. Informations were exhibited against the prelates for those outrages. They pleaded *Magna Charta*,* by which, they said, it was provided that the Church should be free; or, as they endeavoured to explain the phrase, that it should be exempt from the laws and imposts of the civil power; and that all who violated this immunity, should be punished with excommunication. Their plea being rejected, and the cause given against them, these froward lords appear in arrest of judgment, and the timidity of government suffered the controversy to die away. Thus the Church triumphed in its very defeats; and one of the greatest of the English monarchs, a conqueror, who had routed the warlike clans of Scotland, and dispersed the chivalry and the fleets of France, was "crossed and bearded" without

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1346.

Magna
Charta.

* The champions of the present Roman Catholic hierarchy are fond of referring to *Magna Charta*, as a proof that the order is not inimical to liberty. It would be well if, in the intervals of what may almost be called their professional labours, they were to examine that celebrated compact; they would then learn, that it gives to the clergy enormous power; to the barons and knights, a monopoly of those privileges which the modesty of the Church declined; and to the mass of the people, nothing. The only article of the great charter which notices the serfs, or villeins of the soil, at that time the most numerous body of men in England, has an obvious reference to the interest of their masters. A serf could not forfeit his plough, cart, or other implements of husbandry; because, if deprived of these, he could no longer minister to the barbarous plenty of the lord to whose estate he belonged.—See *Hume*, ii. 88.

OHAP. I. resistance or redress, by the termagant ecclesiastics of Ireland.*

A.D. 1367. There were two methods, each having its own recommendations, by which all the inhabitants of Ireland might have been made to coalesce into one people. The ancient race might have been compensated for much actual suffering, and for the wound inflicted upon their honest national pride, by admittance to the superior comforts and privileges of Englishmen : or, on the other hand, the colonists might have been allowed to blend with the great mass of their new neighbours, and to adopt the land in which fortune had placed them as their own country. The first method would have been the more acceptable to the multitude ; the second, the more conciliatory to the nobles ; a policy judiciously attempered of both might have moulded the social state of Ireland into something better, perhaps, than anything which now exists in either island. But, unhappily, the course pursued only added new stimulants to that mutual antipathy with which their relative circumstances had inspired the races, and left little to be effected by religious rancour. It has been already seen, that the first of these modes of union had been prevented by the bishops of one generation ; the second was now opposed by those of another, and with the same fatal success. In the Lieutenancy of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, a Parliament was held at Kilkenny, which passed an Act memorable above all others in the sad annals of Irish legislation, and very generally known as THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY. It was decreed by this statute that marriage, nurture of infants, or gossipred with the Irish, or submission to the Irish law, should be considered and punished as high treason. Again, if any man of English race should use the Irish dress or language, or take an Irish name, or observe any rule or custom of the Irish, he was to forfeit lands and tenements, until he had given security in the

Statute of
Kilkenny.

* Leland, i. 311.

Court of Chancery, that he would conform in every particular to the English manners. Further, it was made highly penal to present a mere Irishman * to an ecclesiastical benefice, or receive him into a monastery or other religious house; to entertain an Irish bard, minstrel, or story-teller; or—to admit an Irish horse to graze on the pasture of an Englishman!

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1867.

It appears to have been from the same circumstances that this Parliament was convened so far south as Kilkenny, Parliament
at Kil-
kenny.

* That is, not simply an Irishman by birth and descent, for a vast majority of the established clergy were of that description, but one who had not purchased a charter of denization, and conformed to the English usages, civil and religious. It had been enacted at Cashel that the Irish Church should be assimilated in its rites and discipline to that of England: but we are informed by the decisive testimony of Dr. Lanigan, that, wherever the natives maintained their independence, "clergy and people followed their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the Synod of Cashel had never been held." Many will be scandalized at this information: it is, however, unquestionable, that in those distant times, as well as the present, there were *two Churches in Ireland*; the one, the Church of the Parliament and the ascendant party; its preachers corresponding exactly to that description which J. K. L. has given of the first Protestant ministers, following the camp of the invaders "in the name of Christ, to watch the baggage, and collect the spoils;" the other, the Church of "the *Irish* clergy and people." The former, though a plant of foreign growth, had certain facilities for striking root, and overwhelming a rival in the night shade of its branches, which the genius of Protestantism does not allow to its successor; yet, under every disadvantage, the native Church lingered for three centuries, and discovered some languishing symptoms of life so late as the reign of Henry the Seventh. There is still extant a bull of Pope Innocent the Eighth, dated the 8th of February, 1484, for the erection of a collegiate church at Galway. It recites, "that the people of the parish of St. Nicholas were civilized men, living in a walled town, and observing the decency, rite, and custom of the Church of England; and that their customs differed from those of the wild Highlandmen of that nation, who harassed them so, that they could not hear the offices, or receive the sacraments of the Church, according to the form which *they and their ancestors of 'old time were accustomed to follow.'*" Then follows the enactment, that "the college shall consist of one warden and eight presbyters, all civilized men, and *duly holding the rites and order of the Church of England in the celebration of Divine service.*" It is obvious from this document (which is given at large by Dr. Burke, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*) that those *wild Irish Highlanders*, as the Pontiff rather unceremoniously styles them, still adhered to their own religious ceremonies, or, at least, had

CHAP. I. and that no bishops but those of the southern dioceses
 A.D. 1367. assisted in its deliberations. During the invasion of Edward Bruce, the English inhabitants had been nearly extirpated from Ulster and the adjacent parts of Connaught; and thenceforward, until the great plantation under James the First, the country north of Dundalk, with the exception of a few insignificant garrisons, remained in the hands of the original possessors. The English interest lay in the southern towns, and in various colonies of settlers, distributed over a triangular space, of which Cork, Dundalk, and Galway were the extreme points, and Kilkenny might almost be considered as the centre. At Kilkenny, accordingly, the Parliament assembled, as if shrinking on every side from the vengeance which it was about to provoke; and the diocesans of the surrounding territory, three archbishops and five bishops, leaving their brethren of the other districts to conciliate, as they might, the exasperated natives, gave their sanction to its proscribing decrees.

Had they been content with the civil penalties of the Act, it might be supposed that they had drifted, in passive servility, with the general tide of colonial politics; but, when they are found throwing the weight of their spiritual power into the scale of national hatred, we are no longer at liberty to award them this comparative praise. Whether the appetite for persecution had become importunate; whether they felt that they had an especial interest in the perpetuation of discord; or whether we ought rather to

not yet conformed to the Roman ritual. Even in the next reign, we discover a circumstance which proves that their conversion was still very incomplete. Soon after Wolsey had been created the Pope's *Legate a Latere*, he manufactured a supply of bulls and dispensations for the Irish market; but his supercargo, Allen, wrote him a complaining account that the commodities went off but slowly. "The Irish," he said, "had so little sense of religion, that they married within the prohibited degrees, *without dispensations*; they also questioned his Grace's authority in Ireland, especially outside the pale."—Cox, p. 210, quoting from Lib. coc., Lambeth.

say, of communities as of individuals, that men seldom forgive those whom they have greatly injured,—it is certain that they published a formal anathema against all transgressors of the statute of Kilkenny. Thus, as if oppression were not sufficient, the most taunting insult was offered to the noblest sentiments of a people who were at once devoted to the usages of their fathers, and deeply susceptible of religious impressions; everything Irish was denounced as an object of abhorrence both to God and man; and the bitterness of civil strife was impregnated with the deadly poison of fanaticism. There was a cold and exquisite malevolence in this measure, attainable only by a class of beings which had abjured, or had never known, the kindly sympathies of humanity, and the event proved that it was no less imprudent than unnatural. Placed under the double ban of the Church and of the lay authorities, all the English whom policy, good feeling, the natural influence of neighbourhood, or the social qualities of the natives, had taught to lay aside the arrogance of conquest, were now drawn into closer alliance with their new and only remaining connexions. Rebellions increased in strength and frequency; from Cork and Galway, the jurisdiction of Government was gradually narrowed to Carlow; and in the next century it became a proverb, that “they who lived west of the Barrow, lived west of the English law.” It deserves to be noticed that, of the eight prelates who attended this Parliament, three were apostate Irish,* and no less than

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1367.

* These were O'Carroll, of Cashel; O'Grady, of Tuam; and O'Cormocan, of Killaloe.—See Ware's "Bishops." "The statute of Kilkenny," says Lord Clare, "has been much extolled by Sir John Davies, as eminently qualified to reform the degenerate English, as he calls them; it seems difficult, however, to reconcile it to any principle of sound policy. It was a declaration of perpetual war, not only against the native Irish, but against every person of English blood, who had settled beyond the limits of the pale, and, from motives of personal interest or convenience, had formed connexions with the natives, or adopted their laws and customs: and it had the full effect which might have been expected; it drew closer the confederacy it was meant to

CHAP. I. seven of Papal appointment; their spiteful anathema is, therefore, to be ascribed, not to English insolence or English policy, but to the spirit of the order.

Pseudo-patriotism. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of this body, than its early proficiency in an art which is cultivated in our own times with rival assiduity, but by no means proportionate success—the art of uniting the most hard-hearted oppression of the people to a factious contempt of the authority of the State, and a swaggering affectation of public spirit. A.D. 1876. Nine years after the passing of the statute of Kilkenny, we find the character of lawless violence (the proverbial reproach of the country and the time) branded alike upon the prelates and the lay lords, by the impartiality of a harassed Government. In the patent issued to the Earl of Ormond, upon his appointment to the lieutenantancy, he had been granted a general power of pardon; but, in a subsequent writ, this power was explained as not extending to the pardon of “any prelate or earl, for an offence punishable by loss of life, member, lands, or goods.”* Justice, conscious weakness, and the obvious policy of dividing the oppressive weight of the temporal and spiritual grandees, would have prevented the executive from including the latter in this opprobrious reservation, had not the habitual outrages of the two orders displayed equal insolence, and attained equal notoriety.

The King and Parliament.

In the same year a transaction took place, so far beyond the licentiousness of modern opposition, that it seems to require a particular detail. The revenue being greatly reduced, and the English Commons growing uneasy under the burden of supporting the Irish Government, the King resolved to assemble another Parliament for the purpose

dissolve, and implicated the colony of the pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent district.”—*Speech on the Union*, p. 5. The account of the state of Ulster, after Bruce's invasion, is taken from the incomparable Spencer.

* Cox, 132.

of obtaining a subsidy. Parliament met accordingly, but pleaded poverty, and refused a supply. The King, provoked at this denial, despatched writs to all the counties, cities, and dioceses in his Irish dominions, requiring that two representatives from each should be sent to attend him in England, to confer with his council concerning a subsidy and other matters of State. The returns of the bishops are good evidences of the spirit which then animated the Irish Church. The Archbishop of Armagh wrote thus :—

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1876.

“ In pursuance of this writ, having called before us the clergy of our diocese, we make answer of our common opinion and assent, that, according to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws, and customs of the Church and land of Ireland, we are not bound to elect any of our clergy to be sent into England, for the purpose of holding councils or parliaments therein ; yet, because of our reverence for our illustrious lord the King of England, and the imminent and most urgent necessity of this land, we do for the present, saving to ourselves, and to the lords and commons of said land, all liberties, privileges, rights, laws, and customs aforesaid, grant unto Masters John Cusack and William Fitz-Adelm, clerks, full power to go into England and appear before our lord the King, in order to treat, consult, and agree, touching the safety, defence, and good government of the said land. Excepting, however, that we do not grant to our said delegates any power of voting subsidies or other burdens upon us and our clergy,” &c.

The Pri-
mate and
clergy.

There is something in this language which, were not the subject so grave, and the writer an archbishop, might almost be called broad irony. That “ imminent and most urgent necessity,” by which, next to their reverence for the crown, the prelate and his clergy were moved to waive their privileges, was nothing else but the extreme poverty of the State, the Irish revenue being now short of 10,000*l.* a-year. It was to remedy this evil that the King had

CHAP. I. issued his summons; and, upon every subject *but this*,
 A.D. 1876. the submissive ecclesiastics give their deputies full powers.
 The other returns are to the same effect; thus:—

The Archbishop and clergy of Cashel sent one deputy, “to treat, consult, and agree, *saving the liberties of the Church*, and the free customs of the land of Ireland.” It has already appeared that the liberties of the Church, as they were understood by Churchmen, included exemption from all secular imposts, so that this return is in substance the same with the former.

The Archbishop of Tuam made no return.

The Bishop and clergy of Meath sent one deputy, “with full power to inform and advise their lord the King concerning the state and government of the land of Ireland, *saving the liberties and customs* of said land and *of the Churches* thereof.”

The Bishop and clergy of Kildare sent two deputies, “with full power to treat, inform, consult, and agree, concerning the state, preservation, and good government of the land of Ireland: *but as to loading the clergy with subsidies*, or any other burdens than those which they already bear, *they can in no wise give them any power.*”

The Bishop and clergy of Leighlin unanimously declared “that they were too poor to send over any deputy to their lord the King.”

The Bishop and clergy of Ossory sent two deputies, “to do as the writ required, *saving the liberties of the Church* and land of Ireland.”

The Bishop and clergy of Ferns sent two deputies, “with full power to do as the writ required, *saving the liberties of the Church* and land of Ireland.”

The Bishop and clergy of Lismore protested that, “from their great and notorious poverty, they were unable to send any deputies to England.” *

A.D. 1417. The inhabitants of Ireland, in those days, were usually

* Returns, without any saving clauses, or pleas of poverty, were received from Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Cloyne, and Kerry.

classed under three denominations: liegemen, or good subjects; Irish enemies, those who had never submitted to the Government, and who, indeed, were in a state of almost constant warfare with it; and rebels, those who, being subjects by birth, or having become so by voluntary submission, took up arms against the State, or at least renounced the English laws and institutions.* In the reign of Henry the Fifth, so many of the prelates were of this third class, and they had so intimidated the local legislature, that the English Parliament found it necessary to interpose its supreme authority. An Act was passed, in England, "that all archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, of the Irish nation, *rebels* to the King, that shall make any collation or presentment to benefices in the land of Ireland, or that shall bring with them any Irish rebels among the Englishmen, to the Parliament, councils, or other assemblies within the said land, to learn the secrets or condition of the English subjects, their temporalities shall be seized until they fine to the King."† It is evident, from the terms of this statute, that these "rebels to the King" were too strong, not merely for the colonial Government, but for the Parliament and the power of England herself: the most rebellious among them had only to pay a fine to the crown, and he was restored to his temporalities and to all the rights of a liegeman.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1417.
Classification of
Irish
subjects.

The same weakness of the crown, and the same intractable spirit of the hierarchy, appear in an Irish statute of the reign of Edward the Fourth. In the infancy of the English colony, the civil authorities, weak, unsettled, and distracted by frequent and sudden assaults, had sought the assistance of their spiritual ally. Judging of the Irish by themselves, the governors ascribed much mystical virtue to the sanction of an anathema: they occasionally tried

Weakness
of the
Crown.

* So Richard the Second, in his despatches from Ireland to the Duke of York.—See *Leland*, 1. *Appendix*, No. 2.

† *Lib. MS. M. Lambeth*, quoted by Cox, p. 151. The Act, as far as Cox has quoted it, does not mention the amount of the fine.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1417.

Excommu-
nication
formidable.

its force upon some refractory chieftain; and, upon the submission of others, bound them to articles which contained a provision that the censures of the Church should be denounced against them in case of future revolt. But it was soon discovered that excommunication had few terrors for an Irish lord. The thunder of the Church was suffered to sleep, except when the prelates, in pursuance of their own objects, chose to draw it down upon the Government itself; and on these occasions it did some execution, the English having brought with them that full-grown awe of Papal censures which it took some centuries to mature in the minds of their ruder neighbours. Centuries, however, had now rolled away: excommunication had become formidable among the Irish, and, by its spiritual terrors, combined with those more tangible penalties which were attached to it by the civil law, it might have rendered important, though humiliating, assistance; but the bishops contrived to frustrate the hopes of the State, by declining to issue the necessary anathemas. An Act was passed to compel them to do their duty: "Whereas," it decreed, "our holy father Adrian, Pope of Rome, was seised of all the seigniory of Ireland in right of his Church; and whereas, for a certain rent, he alienated said seigniory to the King of England and his heirs for ever;* by which grant the subjects of Ireland owe their obedience to the King of England, as their sovereign lord; it is therefore ordained that all archbishops and bishops of Ireland shall, upon the monition of forty days, proceed to the excommunication of all disobedient subjects; and if such archbishops or bishops be remiss in doing their

* This is strenuously denied by the Irish writers, who maintain, and with perfect truth, that the Pope reserved the seigniory paramount to his see.— See *Digest of Evidence*, part ii., chap. 2. O'Sullivan goes so far as to say that the King of England was no more than a sort of chief commissioner of revenue to the Pope, having the care of collecting the *Peter's pence* and other dues.

duties in the premises, they shall forfeit 100*l.*"* The miserable effort at vigour, in this enactment, only renders more manifest the subjection of the civil power to the caprices of a restive priesthood; yet the partizans of the Lord Deputy affected to exult in it, as a proof of a resolute and effective Administration.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1417.

In the next reign (Henry VII.), the divided state of public opinion between the rival houses of York and Lancaster revived the restless ambition of the hierarchy, and encouraged them to appear once more in open rebellion against the united authority of Pope and King. The title of the reigning prince had been confirmed by the Pontiff, with the severest denunciations against all gainsayers; his Irish government had been conducted in a moderate and conciliating spirit;† yet, all the bishops except four, English and Irish indiscriminately, with a proportionate number of the clergy, joined in the conspiracy which was formed to depose him, and to place a boy of mean extraction upon the throne of the Plantagenets. The stripling Simnel, the creature of an obscure Oxford ecclesiastic, was received by these prelates with an extravagant affectation of loyal zeal. Upon his arrival in Dublin, he was conducted in state to the cathedral of Christ Church; the Bishop of Meath, in a bold discourse from the pulpit, explained and enforced his right to the throne; and a crown, taken from a statue of the Virgin in the church of St. Mary les Dames, was placed upon his head, amidst the acclamations of a deluded populace. When the bishops had thus carried their treason to the last extremity, they began to be visited with the same misgivings which had disturbed their predecessors in the time of Edward Bruce. To influence the counsels, or at least to soften the resentment of the Vatican, they assembled a convocation, and caused a subsidy to be

Henry
VII.
A.D. 1486.

* Leland, ii. 56.

† Approaching even to remissness.—See Leland's and Ware's accounts of this reign.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1486.

voted to the holy father. Whether the grant was intended as the purchase of an absolution from the impending censures, or as a substantial proof, that however they might have erred in the choice of a subordinate ruler, they had not swerved from their fealty to the supreme lord of their order and their country, it is now impossible to determine: but, whatever might have been its purpose, Rome stood firm to her own dignity, and to the claims of her faithful vassal. A bull was directed to the four prelates who had not leagued in the rebellion, commanding them to excommunicate their offending brethren; and the delinquents would have experienced the utmost severity of Papal vengeance, had not the monarch declared his willingness to admit them to pardon, upon the easy terms of acknowledging their fault and renewing their oaths of allegiance. Sir Richard Edgecombe, the officer sent over by the King to receive the submission of the lords and prelates of the pale, has left us copies of the oaths which were taken on the occasion; they were "devised by himself, as sure as he could," and cost him the labour of many days, in the discussion of the several articles with these refractory penitents. The oath for the lay lords is on the model of the old oath of a feudal vassal; with a clause at the end, that the party "will not let, ne cause to be letted, the execution and declaration of the great censures of holy church to be done agenst any person of what estate, degree, or condition he be, by any archbushopp, bushopp, &c., according to the authority of our most holy father, Pope Innocent the Eighth, that now is, agenst all theme of the King's subgetts that lett or trouble our sayd sovereign lord, King Henry the Seventh." The same pledges were exacted of the bishops, with an additional declaration, that "as oft as they should be required, they would execute the censures of the Church, on behalf of their sovereign lord, agenst all those of his subgetts, of what dignity, degree, state, or condition he be, that letteth or troubleth their seyde sovereign lord."

Feudal
oath.

The attempt made to elude the force of these oaths is a strong instance of that detestable casuistry by which the schoolmen of the Church of Rome have seared the natural susceptibility of conscience. When at length every difficulty appeared to be adjusted, it was demanded by Kildare, the leader of the rebellion, that the host on which they were to be sworn should be consecrated by one of his own chaplains. This demand involved, literally, a *mystery of iniquity*, which the rude proposer could never have fathomed for himself, and which few Roman Catholic laymen of the present day will be able to comprehend without a particular explanation.* It has long been a doctrine of the Papal Church, republished at Trent under the sanction of a curse upon all who deny it, that the intention of the officiating priest is necessary for the validity of a religious rite. The conspirators were assured that the intention of Kildare's chaplain would be cordially in their favour: thus the form of consecration would be the juggling illusion of a mountebank, the wafer would be no host, and the protestation made upon it, "so help me *this* holy sacrament of God's body, in form of bread *here present*, to my salvation or damnation," however awful in its terms, would have no meaning, and consequently no terrors, to those whom the prelates should initiate into so comfortable a secret.† But Edgewcombe was aware of the perfidy of the demand; he insisted that

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1486.

Doctrine of
Intention.

* See the "Digest of Evidence," vol. ii., chap. 1.

† On such an occasion as that mentioned above, the dogma will encourage the unprincipled villain, but to the honestly superstitious it abounds with consequences the most alarming. A priest cannot know whether he is lawfully called to the ministry; his people are equally ignorant whether his ministerial acts are valid; the want of intention in himself, or in the bishop who ordained him, is sufficient to invalidate that he does. Thus, a matron can never be sure that she is married, or a devotee that he has received any one of those sacraments, which at the same time he believes to be indispensable for his salvation. All this is unaccountable in a Church which maintains her own infallibility *in order to save her votaries from doubt*—or, rather, it would be unaccountable, did it not teach the necessity of being always on good terms with the priesthood. The words of the Trent decree are these:

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1486.

The
Romish
hierarchy
in Ireland.

the mass should be celebrated by his own chaplain; and has left us a description of the whole ceremony, which shows the appalling character of the meditated prevarication. "This done," he says, "the seyd erle went into a chambir where the seyd Sir Richard's chaplain was at masse, and in the masse time, the said erle was shriven, and assoiled from the curse that he stood in by the virtue of the Pope's bull; and before the *agnus* of the seyd masse, the host being divided into three parts, the priest turned him from the altar, holding the said three parts of the host upon the patten; and there, in the presence of many persons, the seyd erle, *holding his right hand over the holy host, made his solemn oath of ligeance* unto our souverain lord, King Henry the Seventh, in souch forme as was afore devised; and *in likewise the bushopps and lordes made like oath*; and that done, and the masse ended, the seyd erle, with the seyd Sir Richard, bushopps, and lordes, went into the church of the seyd monastery, and in the choir thereof the Archbushopp of Dublyn began *Te Deum*, and the choir with the organs sung it up solemnly, and all the bells in the church rung."* But the bishops, though frustrated in this first device, had another evasion in reserve, the benefits of which did not extend to their lay associates. The oath of the latter was absolute, concluding in the manner already quoted, "so help me this holy sacrament," &c.; but in that of the prelates, these words were followed by a sweeping clause of exceptions, "*salvo ordine episcopali*," saving the privileges of their order—privileges of which themselves were the only judges, and before the sacred inviolability of which all secular rights and secular obligations were required to give way.

This review of the conduct of the Irish hierarchy has

"If any one shall say that there is not required in ministers, when they consecrate and administer the sacraments, an *intention* of doing what the Church does, LET HIM BE ANATHEMA."—*Sess. 6, canon ix.*

* Sir Richard Edgecombe's voyage, Harris's "Hibernica," i. 78.

now been brought down to the eve of the Reformation. It has appeared, that, so far from making amends for the great treason of their predecessors, few generations of prelates passed away without adding some new grievance to the accumulation of national suffering. For the turbulence which they thus uniformly evinced, they had as little aggression to plead in excuse as perhaps ever was experienced by any community in so long a lapse of years. The sovereign, besides endowing them splendidly, had placed them next, and scarcely below, himself; the aristocracy had added many and noble benefactions; and, if we are to believe their own writers, the people were distinguished for submissiveness to the Church, and unblemished by a stain of heresy.* Those jealousies which arose from time to time between the English and Irish

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1486.

* Thus, the well-known writer under the signature of J. K. L.: "When it pleased God to have an island of saints upon the earth, He prepared Ireland from afar for this high destiny. Her attachment to the faith once delivered to her was produced by many concurrent causes, as far as natural means are employed by Providence to produce effects of a higher kind. These causes have had their influence, but there was another and a stronger power labouring in Ireland for the faith of the Gospel,—there was the natural disposition of the people suited to a religion which satisfied the mind and gratified the affections. Hence the aboriginal Irish are all Catholics; and to these are joined great numbers who have descended from the ancient settlers, and who in process of time have become more Irish than the Irish themselves."—*Letters on Ireland*, p. 58. This is not the boast of an individual, but the uniform and established language of a school. Full two centuries before J. K. L., the world was informed by another titular prelate, "that the soil of Ireland was holy, congenial to true religion, fertile in Catholics, and reclaiming even foreigners after they have been settled here a few generations;" and again, "Go, then, ye heretics, destitute of the truth, and acknowledge the wonderful providence of God, and his secret counsels towards the natives of Ireland,—cease to reproach the tenets of the children of Israel, whom God has chosen for his peculiar people."—*Bonih's Analecta Sacra*, pp. 67—74. Dr. Burke, in his "*Hibernia Dominicana*," has several passages in nearly the same terms. This good prelate, indeed, seems half inclined to insinuate, that the instinct of orthodoxy extends to Irish horses. He tells an anecdote of James the First, with great complacency:—It seems that Sir Arthur Chichester, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland, sent over a very fine horse to his master; but the King (who, by the bye, as we learn from the best of historians, the "Author

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members of the body had scarcely any effect upon its general policy. All had been Irish when Ireland was sacrificed to their thirst of aggrandizement; and, after English and Irish were joined in the hierarchy, the latter were always as ready to afflict the people, as the former to insult and embarrass the prince. Enemies alike to freedom and to government, both were engaged in all those measures, which entailed permanent misfortune on the country, and left a stigma upon the character of its inhabitants*—withholding the promised blessings of civilization—blighting the fair blossom of national union with a curse—maintaining an odious ascendancy for one race, while they subjected it, in its turn, to their own despotic misrule—setting an example of that rapacious violence which was the prevailing vice of the times—fomenting disaffection, braving the executive government, stripping the laws of their authority, and spurning even the mediation of him whom they affected to venerate as the vicegerent of the Almighty, whenever it happened to be exerted in favour of public tranquillity. Upon the whole, during a period of more than three centuries, amidst much indiscretion and wonderful versatility, one purpose appears to have animated the order,—that of drawing to itself the domestic government of the country, and of establishing this dominion upon the trampled rights and pretensions of all other classes of men.

Seeks the
domestic
govern-
ment of the
country.

of Waverley," was an indifferent horseman) eyed the present with very considerable distrust: "I doubt the knave's a Papist," said the cautious monarch, and refused to mount.

* J. K. L. thus describes the mass of the people of Ireland:—"The nation which was thus enslaved put on all the habits which had been formed for them; they became ferocious, individually brave, but cowards when collected together; cunning, astute, cruel, strangers to honesty and truth."—*Vindication*, p. 7. This humiliating description, thank God, is exaggerated; but, at all events, the national character, however barbarous he may be pleased to consider it, had been fully formed before the Reformation. How will he exculpate his own hierarchy from the charge of having contributed—*chiefly* contributed—to the corruption of a people whose capabilities are acknowledged to be of the very highest order?

It is not to be supposed that, as soon as the civil government had acquired competent strength, some effort would not be made to repress this extravagant ambition of the hierarchy, and to provide for the sober exercise of its legitimate powers. The lay aristocracy, however little inclined, in other instances, either to co-operate with the State, or to give the people a chance of liberty, were too much interested in such a measure to refuse it their active concurrence. The lords of English descent, irritated by a too successful rivalry; the Irish, still brooding over the original treachery of the Church and its many bitter consequences to themselves; and both turbulent, eager for ascendancy, and accustomed to refer everything to the arbitration of the sword, would naturally rejoice in the downfall of this arrogant order. Accordingly, when Henry the Eighth asserted his claim to the complete sovereignty of the island, all the nobles arrayed themselves on the side of the crown; they abolished the subordinate title of *lord*, the only one which the Pope had permitted to be assumed, and proclaimed him King of Ireland, and Supreme Head of the Church.* This unanimity was not confined to that body of the nobility, which conformed to the English customs, and which usually took a share in the administration of public affairs. Those powerful and refractory chieftains who had hitherto maintained a dubious struggle against the utmost force of the State, came forward on this occasion with rival zeal for the honour of royalty, and with the strongest professions of their undivided allegiance. Desmond was the first who presented himself: on the 16th of January, 1540, he executed a written indenture, in which he "utterly denied, and promised to forsake, the usurped primacy and authority of the Bishop of Rome; and engaged to resist and repress the same, and all that should by any means uphold or maintain it." Shortly after, O'Connor and O'Dunne gave

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1486.

Henry
VIII.
A.D. 1540.

* See Note B., at the end of the chapter.

CHAP. I. similar pledges. O'Donel, in his indenture bearing date
 A.D. 1540. the 6th of August, 1542, declares that "he will renounce, relinquish, and to the best of his power, annihilate, the usurped power of the Roman Pontiff; that he will by no means harbour, or allow in his country, those who adhere to the said Pontiff; but will, with all diligence, expel, eject, and eradicate them, or bring them into subjection to our said lord the King." His example was followed, in a week after, by Mac Mahon. In the January following, O'Neil, the acknowledged leader of the northern Irish, met the King's Commissioners at Maynooth, and entered into similar engagements; and, in the course of that year, the same was done by O'Brien, the first chieftain of Munster; by O'More, O'Rourke, Mac Donel, and by the head of the De Burgos, who was now known by the Irish title of Mac William. This conduct of the great lords was emulously imitated by those of inferior rank. From Connaught, from Meath, from the remotest regions of the south and north, all the most turbulent heads of the Irish tribes, all those of the old English race who had adopted Irish manners, and had lived, for ages, in rude independence, vied with each other in declarations of fidelity to the King, and executed their indentures in the amplest forms of submission.*

* Leland, ii., 178—182; Cox, 268—271; O'Connor, "Historical Address," ii., 279. Roman Catholic writers of the Popish class are exceedingly puzzled to account for this conduct of the Irish lords: the following explanation by Dr. Burke is absurd enough; yet it is the only direct attempt at a solution which I have been able to discover:—"Ireland continued in this anomalous state until the reign of Henry the Eighth; but this Prince, in consequence of the title of '*Defender of the Faith*,' which he received from the Holy See, so captivated the affections of the Irish, that he enjoyed a greater power over them than any of his predecessors. Hence, *even after the schism*, he was pronounced *King of Ireland*, by the Parliament held at Dublin in 1541."—*Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 30. That is to say, they were so delighted with *his orthodoxy*, that, *after he became* a heretic, they decreed him a heretical title of honour: it was inconvenient to the good Bishop to recollect, that they styled Henry not only King, but Head of the Church.

As these deeds are objects of considerable interest, and as they are all drawn up in nearly the same terms, a copy of one of them is inserted here:—

“ THIS indenture, made on the 26th day of September, 34 Henry the Eighth, between the Right Honourable Anthony St. Leger, &c., on the one part, and the Lord Barry, *alias* Barrymore or the great Barry; Mac Carty More; the Lord Roche; Mac Carty Reagh; Thadeus M’Cormick, lord of Muskery; Barry Oge, *alias* the young Barry; O’Sullivan Beare, captain of his nation; Donald O’Sullivan, first of his house; Barry Roe, *alias* the red Barry; Mac Donough of Allow, head of his nation; Donald O’Callaghan, first of his house; and Gerald Fitz John, knight, on the other part; doth witness, that the said Lord Barry, &c., do agree, consent, and engage, jointly and separately, for themselves, their heirs, successors, assigns, tenants, and followers, that they will hold and perform all and singular articles, pledges, and conditions, which are contained on their part in said indenture.

“ *Imprimis*. They, and each of them do, and doth acknowledge the King’s majesty aforesaid, to be their natural and liege lord, and will honour, obey, and serve him, and the kings his successors, against all creatures of the universe. And they will accept and hold his said Majesty, and the kings his successors, as the supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland; and they will obey and serve his Lieutenant, or deputy, in this kingdom of Ireland, in all things concerning the service of his said Majesty, or of the kings his successors. And, as far as lieth in their power, jointly or separately, they will annihilate the usurped primacy and authority of the Bishop of Rome, and will expel and eradicate all his favourers, abettors, and partizans; and will maintain, support, and defend all persons, spiritual and temporal, who shall be promoted to church benefices or dignities by the King’s majesty, or other rightful

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1540.

Inden-
tures of
submis-
sion to the
King.

CHAP. I. patron; and will apprehend and bring to justice, to be
 A.D. 1540. tried according to the laws made, or to be made, in such
 behalf, all who apply for provision to the Bishop of Rome,
 or who betake themselves to Rome in quest of pro-
 motion," &c.*

Novelty of
 the Pope's
 power in
 Ireland.

The sense in which the papal supremacy was thus quietly set aside, to make way for that of the King, is naturally an object of some curiosity. Of theology these Irish lords knew nothing; they were unaccustomed to any general reasoning; and, if the whole truth must be told, some of them had not advanced so far in literary acquirements as to be able to write their names. Yet the early annals of the country, and the more recent usages of those districts, which had struggled to maintain their internal economy against the encroachments of Rome and England, taught them to arrive at a just decision, without descending into those polemical labyrinths which they were so little qualified to explore. They had learned from these sources that almost every principality in Ireland had, for many centuries, its own mode of celebrating divine service; that their chieftains had been invested with the patronage and government of the ecclesiastics of their respective territories; and that the pretended right of the Popes to nominate to church dignities, to demand first fruits and other taxes, to exempt churchmen from secular tribunals, to hold separate courts, to enforce canons, independent of, and sometimes contrary to, the law of the country, had been unknown in Ireland, until they claimed it as a province of the royalties of their see.†

From such facts, the inference was easy; every independent state was competent to regulate for itself, the forms of its public worship, the government and succession of its hierarchy, and other branches of ecclesiastical discipline. In these respects, the Irish princes of former times had been, virtually, heads of the churches in their

* Cox, 272, quoting from the Council Book at Dublin Castle.

† See above, p. 133.

respective districts; although the general simplicity of manners had prevented the formal assumption of the title. The subscribers to the indentures were, therefore, prepared to regard them as the just prerogatives of royalty, and to transfer them, accordingly, with the other attributes of temporal dominion, from the successor of St. Peter, to the King of England.*

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1540.

These reasonings of the chieftains were quickened not a little by personal considerations. It was their great object, as well as that of the prelates, that, whoever might enjoy the nominal sovereignty, the internal and efficient administration of Irish affairs should be possessed by themselves: they had been outstripped in this career of factious ambition by the superior address and perseverance of their clerical rivals, and they now gladly embraced the opportunity of a triumph. They saw that the only way of effectually putting down this formidable competition was by cutting off altogether that papal jurisdiction, of which even the delegated exercise had given the prelates a mortifying and oppressive ascendancy: nor is it probable that they were blind to other advantages, which the present turn of affairs had thrown open to their contemplation. Unless the Government became much stronger (and it

* "It is very well known," says Dr. O'Connor, "that when Henry the Eighth renounced the Pope's supremacy, our chiefs, believing that he meant only to renounce the *temporal* supremacy, joined him in that renunciation. In their fourth general submission, which was made in the 33d of Henry the Eighth, they unanimously acknowledged by indenture, that he was their sovereign lord and king; confessing his supremacy in all causes, and utterly renouncing the Pope's jurisdiction in all manner of *temporals*, both in Church and State."—*Historical Address, Introduction*, xxxviii. I have made this extract from a Roman Catholic writer, chiefly because it inculcates an important truth, which is overlooked by too many Protestants. Jurisdiction over a Church is, in a great measure, *temporal* jurisdiction; particularly if the Church be one which, like the Roman Catholic, spreads its rules and its organization both deeply and widely among the mass of its lay members and the concerns of ordinary life. The priests are *men*, they are also *magistrates*; they are governed, and in their turn they govern others, by human motives; yet the GOVERNMENT, as it is called, has no control in the business.

Temporal
jurisdiction.

CHAP. I. would be always in their power to obviate such a result),
A.D. 1540. that control over ecclesiastics which they were now apparently conferring on the crown, would, in a great measure, devolve upon themselves. It was evident, too, from the conduct of the King in England, that a great share of the property of the Church was destined to fall into their hands ; and occasions could not fail to arise, for securing a portion, if not a monopoly, of the patronage of the remainder.

This good humour of the aristocracy, at the humiliation of a rival order, and their own brightening prospects, banished for a while these feelings and pretensions, which had hitherto given most uneasiness to the Government. O'Neil, whose progenitors had always affected the dignity of sovereign princes, waited on the King at Greenwich ; and, after the amplest protestations of fidelity, condescended to accept the title of Earl of Tyrone. O'Brien, in like manner, sunk the pomp of his feudal name in the earldom of Thomond ; De Burgo, whose family for many generations had laid aside the English manners, submitted to be known henceforward as Earl of Clanrickarde ; the haughty chieftains O'Donel and Mac Carthy became Earls respectively of Tyrconnel and Glencar ; and the humility of some inferior potentates was content with the title of Baron. Desmond renounced that fantastic privilege, on which his house, in imitation of the native lords, and the ancient warriors of Gaul and Germany, had so long insisted, of exemption from appearance within a walled town ; he promised to attend Parliament, and even to pay taxes ; ay, as liberally as Ormond himself ;* he resumed his long unoccupied seat at the Council Board, and assisted the Lord Deputy in receiving submissions. Others gave still more unequivocal proofs of loyalty. The chief-

* The house of Ormond was the great rival of the Desmonds, or rather, indeed, their natural enemy ; being as generally on the side of the crown, as the others were in opposition. The Whigs and Tories of those days held their debates in the field.

tain of Tyrconnel, whose family was well known both at Rome and Paris, resisted the artifices by which Francis the First endeavoured to seduce him into a revolt; and, when the son of that Fitzpatrick, whose ambassador had formerly amused the King with his threats of war, was detected in some treasonable practices, he was delivered up to public justice by the hands of his own father. In fine, for the first time recorded in her annals, Ireland was now at peace under one acknowledged sovereign. So universal was the tranquillity, that a considerable body of troops was spared for the King's service before Boulogne, where an Irishman had the honour of defeating the French champion; and another force of three thousand men was sent into Scotland to the aid of the Lord Lenox.* Even the great feud between the two races was forgotten for a season; and, while English and Irish crowded together from all quarters of the island to receive law from the throne, the loyal impulse with which they were animated seemed already to have borne its most appropriate fruits, in the feeling of a common country and the kindly affections of neighbourhood.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1540.

Peace in
Ireland.

This unanimity is the more remarkable, as being in defiance of the denunciations of the Vatican. Eight years had now elapsed since Paul the Third passed final sentence upon Henry: "that terrible thundering bull," as it is called by a Roman Catholic,† in which he not only dethroned the sturdy monarch, but pronounced him infamous, cut him off from Christian burial, and doomed him "to eternal curse and damnation." The interval had been employed, with all the vigilance and skill of the Papacy, in endeavouring to prepare a formidable opposition to the tardy movements of the Irish Government. Chronicles had been discovered or invented, in which Ireland was called the Holy Island; and thence was drawn a convincing argument that the country belonged to the Holy See. Instructions had been issued

A.D. 1543.
Bull
against
Henry
VIII.

* Leland, ii. 182—186.

† Father Peter Walsh.—*History of Irish Remonstrance*, Introduction, xi.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1543.

to the bishops in the Roman interest, that an oath of allegiance to the Pope, "in all things, spiritual and temporal," should be administered to the people at the time of confession: curses had been denounced against all who should acknowledge the impious claims of Henry, and indulgences offered to the faithful followers of the Pontiff.* The inexhaustible store-house of prophecy, which Rome possesses among her other spiritual treasures, was opened on this great occasion, and an effort was made to stimulate the warlike propensities of the chieftains by placing them in the Thermopylæ of the Catholic cause.† But all these appeals, whether to superstition or to enthusiasm, proved unsuccessful; it was too obvious that the opposition of Rome and its partizans was nothing more than a struggle for temporal dominion, and not a sword was drawn in the quarrel of the ecclesiastics.‡

There is good reason to believe, that had Ireland been in any other stage of its social progress, the Papal party

* Cox, 257.

† The following letter was written to O'Neil by the Bishop of Metz, in the name of the Council of Cardinals:—

Alleged
discovery
of ancient
prophecy.

"MY SON O'NEIL,—Thou and thy fathers were ever faithful to the mother Church of Rome. His Holiness Paul, the present Pope, and his council of holy fathers, have lately found an ancient prophecy of one Saint Lasarianus, an Irish archbishop of Cashel. It saith, that the Church of Rome shall surely fall when the Catholic faith is once overthrown in Ireland. Therefore, for the glory of the mother Church, the honour of Saint Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy, and oppose the enemies of his Holiness. You see, that when the Roman faith perisheth in Ireland, the See of Rome is fated to utter destruction. The Council of Cardinals have, therefore, thought it necessary to animate the people of the holy island in this pious cause, being assured, that while the mother Church hath sons of such worth as you, and those who shall unite with you, she shall not fall, but prevail for ever, in some degree at least, in Britain.

"Having thus obeyed the order of the sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the protection of the holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin, of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and all the host of heaven. Amen."—*Leland*, ii. 172.

‡ O'Connor has fully proved, in opposition to Leland, that O'Neil's insurrection, which was terminated by the battle of Bellahoe, was a predatory adventure, not a religious war.—*Historical Address*, i. 23.

would have been easily overthrown. Few affect to deny, that, if the great mass of the people had been somewhat more elevated above their ancient habits and prejudices, the Reformation would have made more considerable advances; perhaps it is equally probable, that had their feudal attachments remained unimpaired, they would have followed, without inquiry, the example of their lords, and passed on insensibly, in course of time, from political to religious Protestantism. But, unhappily, the Reformation was introduced precisely at the juncture when the old system of clanship was beginning to moulder away—a system for which it is so difficult to find a substitute among a half-employed and half-civilized population. The dissolution of it, however necessary to the perfect settlement of the country, and to the final triumph of liberty and law, was unseasonably urged, at a time when another most important measure was giving full employment to the utmost energies of the State. Two evils arose from this precipitancy. One was, that the nobles became distrustful at the very crisis when their cordial co-operation was most necessary;—scarcely had they testified their unanimous satisfaction at the reduction of a rival power, when they discovered the intention of the Government to complete its work of conquest by the demolition of their own.* It was another, and a greater misfortune, that the multitude, left to themselves, while as yet they were incapable of self-direction, were now in a state of destitution, not of liberty. The sense of their own helplessness, awakened by this new condition, was a kindred consciousness to that panic alarm with which superstition haunts its victims; and, under the combined

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1548.

The Reformation.

The Irish throw themselves into the hands of their priests.

* I am glad to find that my view of the subject concurs with that of Dr. O'Connor:—"Down to the accession of the house of Stuart," he says, "there was yet remaining amongst the common Irish a spirit of clanship, which operated most powerfully to subordination. This was gradually eradicated, and no adequate principle substituted in its stead."—*Historical Address*, Introduction, xxviii.

CHAP. I. influence of these two feelings, it is no wonder that they
A.D. 1543. threw themselves into the hands of their priests—the only
hands which were extended to receive them. There they
have remained to this day; and the power which wields
them has ever since been enabled to re-act upon the higher
classes of their communion, upon Ireland, and upon the
empire.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

NOTE A., page 106.

NOTE A.

THESE feelings are well expressed in a clever pamphlet of the year 1804, entitled "A Vindication of Dr. Troy." In reply to some alighting expression which had been used towards that prelate, the anonymous author, who is supposed to have been Dr. Troy himself, writes thus: "He is a bishop, Sir, and as such is acknowledged by eighty-seven millions of men in Europe: he has colleagues apostles, and colleagues princes; and kings, and the successor of Charlemagne, would incline to his blessing, and style him *Most Reverend*, to whom you refuse the protection of an alien, in his native land." This spirited sentence contains ample proof of a Roman Catholic bishop's title to respect from all men: it contains also, in the same words, the grounds of that jealousy with which, at least, under a Protestant Government, his order should be regarded. He who thus claims the homage of foreign kings, and is sustained by that conscious dignity which belongs to a leader of eighty-seven millions, to a colleague of princes, to a colleague of apostles—*such as they are now*, seated, perhaps, on thrones of judgment—cannot be contemplated without uneasiness by a sovereign who protests against these high pretensions, and declines the stately benediction. There are three points in this high-toned vindication which require particular notice; the majesty of the office, its antiquity, and the extent of that mighty confederacy in which it occupies so conspicuous a station.

Vindication of Dr. Troy.

A Papal bishop is a colleague of princes. The Church of Rome is a state, a spiritual monarchy; and the sovereign Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on earth, is entitled, in this lower world, to the same place and station which the glorified Messiah holds in heaven. *There*, the various orders of intelligences are formed into one Church, or one kingdom; and the rulers of these orders, "thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers," bow down before one Supreme Head." *Here*, in like manner, the representative of Christ is supreme over the typical

Definition of Papal bishops.

APP. TO
CHAP. I.

Church ; and all other potentates are rightfully subject to his authority, And as, in this probationary state, the complex nature of men requires two kinds of government, the one to provide for his temporal interests, the other for his eternal, there is a corresponding diversity in the nature of the powers which emanate from the sovereign. He is the fountain both of kingly and of priestly honour ; *bishops and princes are colleagues under him*, deriving from him their consecration and office, and exercising jurisdictions, which, in respect of each other, are co-ordinate and independent.

Papal
bishops.

A Papal bishop is a colleague of the apostles. The Papacy supports the doctrine of apostolic succession, not only as conservative of Church unity and ministerial power, but as inspiring lofty human feelings. By the ceremony of consecration, a bishop is, as it were, adopted into a family of more than earthly nobility, and is taught to discern, in spirit, the venerable forms of his fathers, ascending, in long procession from this probationary scene, until, with the apostles, they encircle the mystical throne of the Messiah. He mingles with men who gave laws to the fiercest tribes, and who lowered the sword of the conqueror, and the sceptre of the monarch, in homage to the milder glory of the mitre : he is their descendant ; the remoter his descent, the more exalted is his honour ; and, when he looks for the obeisance of an earthly potentate, he expects no more than what the tradition of his house pronounces to be a hereditary right.

Their oath
to the
Papacy.

A Papal bishop is a peer of that stupendous empire which extends over the globe, and which comprises a majority of the Christian world. As such, he is naturally a politician : he has a certain theory, peculiar to his order and its retainers, of civil rights and duties, of liberty, of sovereignty, and jurisprudence. No public event can occur which may not affect the temporal fortune of the Church : a spirit of action and intrigue is, therefore, infused into all the members of the hierarchy, and every bishop has a sort of official interest in the affairs and relations of the most distant countries. Bound to the Papacy by an oath without a parallel in the annals of despotism, and by the more attractive obligation of a common interest, he mingles in all transactions, and takes a part in all revolutions and intrigues, with a view to the extension and consolidation of its power. Like the envoy or minister of any foreign government, he observes the laws of the state in which his master may have placed him, and respects, for the time, the authority of the local magistrate ; but his order is his country, the Pontiff is his natural sovereign, and their welfare and their honour are the appropriate objects of his public cares.

Aliens in
their native
land.

So far, then, as the prelates of the Roman Church in Ireland can be justly styled "aliens in their native land," their estrangement arises from the spirit of the order, both as it cherishes claims inconsistent with the laws, and as it merges the charities of patriotism in a diffusive

policy, which embraces so many millions of strangers, perhaps of enemies. But as proofs are not so striking as illustrations, it may be useful to annex an example of its evil influence in each of these respects.

Had Dr. Troy been writing his name and title in the Irish language, he would have styled himself *Successor of Lawrence O'Toole* ; * and, in the same manner, his brother prelates would denominate themselves after the founders or most eminent bishops of their respective sees. These titles, if they do not inspire feelings of elevated piety, are calculated, at least, to suggest lofty aspirations after secular honours, and to prolong the contest for power. Combined with the form of an *Established Church*, which is punctiliously maintained, they keep the thoughts fixed on the apostasy and breach of faith of the English Government, and on the splendour, the political importance, and the projects of the early bishops: thus animosity is perpetuated, dignity given to intrigue, and ambition invested with somewhat of the sacredness of duty. *Sequi sinemque tuori*, was the armorial legend of the exiled house of Stuart—a motto admirably expressive of pretensions which were to terminate only with the race: the Stuart Church is equally tenacious of its claims, and not so perishable as the family.

The Stuart
Church.

The potentate distinguished from ordinary kings by the sounding title of “successor of Charlemagne,” was no other than Buonaparte. He was crowned the same year in which the pamphlet was written; and, as the coronation did not take place until the 2d of December, Dr. Troy, or his vindicator, must have been among the first to recognise the new Emperor. For several years before, the known infidelity of the French had been the great sedative of Popish † insurrection in Ireland, and the ingenuity of the rebel leaders appears to have been much exercised in endeavours to counteract its lethargic influence. Dr. M'Nevin declared, in the confession which procured his pardon, that, in the year 1797, information had been transmitted to the French Directory, “that the priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been published of French irreligion, and that they were rendering great service by the zeal and discretion with which they propagated the system of the United Irishmen.” Whatever may be doubtful, perhaps we might say, false, in this story, it proves, at least,

* The Irish word is *Comorban*, pronounced *Corban*:—its exact meaning, which gave Archbishop Usher a great deal of trouble, is rendered in Latin by *Vicarius cum jure successionis*. I have seen the arms of Dr. Carpenter, Dr. Troy's predecessor, with an Irish scroll underneath, in which that prelate is styled “Comorban of Lorcan O'Tuathal.” The arms were precisely the same as those of the *Protestant* archbishop. Dr. Troy surmounted *his* with a cardinal's hat in the place of a mitre.

† The reader must never forget the distinction between Popish and Roman Catholic.

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the strength of the barrier which religious feelings interposed at that time between the great mass of our common people and French overtures of fraternization. But, by the events of 1804, things assumed a very different aspect. France was once more a Catholic country; the arch-apostate himself had been "consecrated by the Vicar of Christ with holy and solemn rites;"* and now, in his high station, as successor of Charlemagne and presumptive founder of a new dynasty, was ready to incline to the blessing of Dr. Troy. At the same time, a French armament was in preparation for the invasion of Ireland.—See *A Letter to Dr. Troy, on the Coronation of Buonaparte by Pius the Seventh*. Third Edition, Dublin, 1805.

A.D. 1801.

The Pope absolves the French from their allegiance.

As the Papal prelates, both in England and Ireland, took a considerable interest in these transactions between Buonaparte and their master, a few further particulars may, perhaps, not be unacceptable in this place. Up to 1800, the Roman Government had opposed the Revolution with all its energy; and in the March of that year, when Pius the Seventh was elected to the tiara, he announced his accession to Louis the Eighteenth, as the legitimate sovereign of France. In 1801, however, that Pontiff absolved the French from their allegiance to the Bourbons, and executed a concordat with Buonaparte; in 1804, he raised the First Consul to the Imperial dignity; in 1805, crowned him King of Italy; and, to complete the settlement of the new order of things, he confirmed to the actual occupiers, "in opposition," says Mr. Butler, "to the crying claims of the lawful owners," the property which had been confiscated by the Revolutionary Governments. These proceedings of the Vatican were opposed very warmly, and very naturally, by the exiles: a remonstrance to the Pope was published by thirty-eight archbishops and bishops, and a vigorous controversy maintained for some years. The chief writers were, on the side of the emigrants, the Abbé Blanchard, who received the thanks of the ejected bishops, both in England and Germany; and, on that of the Pope and Buonaparte, the late Dr. Milner, the Vicar Apostolic of the middle district in England. After the interchange of some pamphlets between these disputants, Dr. Gibson, the Vicar Apostolic of the London district, where Blanchard then resided, came officially to the aid of his brother, and issued a censure, accompanied by a sentence of suspension from the sacraments, against the Frenchman. Blanchard, not yet subdued, published a fresh defence, in which he appealed to the judgment of the Irish hierarchy. A formal synod was accordingly held by that body, in June, 1809. The prelates pronounced, "that Pope Pius the Seventh, had validly, and agreeably to the spirit of the sacred canons, exerted the powers belonging to the Apostolical See,—and that they accepted, approved, and concurred with, the said acts of Pius the Seventh,

The Romish bishops in Ireland approve.

* *Sacro solennique ritu consecratio peracta est*, are the Pontiff's own words in his bulletin, upon the occasion, to the College of Cardinals.

as good, rightful, authentic, and necessary." They also declared, that the opinions of Blanchard, "inasmuch as they regarded the restoration and settlement of the churches in France, were false, calumnious, and scandalous, manifestly tending to schism, most dangerous to the peace and unity of the Church, exciting and inviting to schism, usurping ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and subversive of Church authority."*

NOTE A.

That this conduct of the titular prelacy, considering the matter simply as a problem in ethics, was perfectly irreproachable, will be readily granted by every ingenuous man who considers the nature of their obligations. Their first duty was to the Church; and there was every reason to believe that the interests of the Church would be materially promoted were its sanction extended to the new establishments of France, civil and ecclesiastical.† It is probable, that they would have felt themselves relieved from a very irksome burden had they been able so to attemper the discharge of this duty as to separate effectually the spiritual and the temporal question. But so intimate had been the union between the Church and the State under the old régime, and so connected the inroads of the Revolution upon both, that the prelates were obliged, however reluctantly, to involve the two interests in one common decision. The evil would have been more tolerable had their interference been limited to a foreign country, but, unfortunately, they could not fulfil their paramount obligations without endangering the safety of their "native land," and of the prince who considered them as his natural subjects. The United Kingdom was then engaged in a desperate contest with France—a contest which, by whatever name some eminent men may now choose to entitle it, was generally pronounced by the loyal to be a *war of principle*, the principle of legitimacy. At least, it must have been the desire of the British Government to avail itself of all the assistance which at that critical season it could honourably derive from the prepossessions of the French in favour of the Bourbons, or the attachment of Europe generally to hereditary monarchy. This desire was thwarted by the solemn judicial decision of the titular bishops. The vanity of legiti-

* Will it be pretended by any one who reads these two *unanimous* decrees of the Irish hierarchy, that no more information is requisite than has been given in "The Evidence," with respect to the *sacred canons*, the *powers of the Apostolic See*, and *Church authority* in general? The facts stated, and documents referred to, in the text, are given upon the concurrent authority of two adverse writers, one a Jansenist, the other a Jesuit. See Dr. O'Connor, "Columbanus," 6, and Mr. Plowden's "Historical Letter to Columbanus."

† The Pope has no concern with the principle of legitimacy, or with any other merely temporal principle; but it is his concern, *anything to the contrary in those principles notwithstanding*, to provide that the Church shall be exalted. (See the "Digest of Evidence," vol. ii., chap. 8.) The same rule applies to the bishops, or any body of them.

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macy, when opposed to the sacred interests of the Church, was displayed to all Roman Catholics at home and abroad; everything was done which the prelates could do (and more, doubtless, than they would have chosen had the sternness of duty allowed them a choice) to cripple the moral resources of England, and to recruit and consolidate the strength of her greatest enemy.

To resume the subject with which this note commences. The writer who had called forth the vindication of Dr. Troy underrated the dangers of the Papal system, because he disparaged the spirit and views of the prelacy. The associations which connect a bishop with princes and apostles, and prompt him to look for the homage of kings, elevate the tone, and give energy and expansion to the powers, of the mind. Their influence is increased by a discipline, calculated, perhaps above all others that ever were devised, to accomplish mighty changes—a discipline which extracts aliment from hopes that are never to be realized by the individual, which teaches him to lose himself in his order, and which diverts even the current of his natural affections upon those who have adventured in the same enterprise. All this is too refined for the apprehension of persons whose cares and duties are limited to the concerns of the moment, who coalesce fortuitously, upon a particular question, without any of the better sympathies of party, and who, though “born for the universe,” as some of them certainly were, “narrow their minds” to objects of vulgar ambition. It is placed still further above their reach by that low and *economical* character which infects the philosophy and literature, as well as the policy, of the times, and by the general spirit of the age, which concentrates its attention upon palpable and present objects, and excludes sentiment and imagination from its estimate of human nature. Thus it has happened, that many of those who have lately been engaged in negotiating with the titular hierarchy, were insensible within themselves to those generous workings of mind which sustain men in the prosecution of a great public cause: they were accordingly unprepared to appreciate them in others, *and much more, to counteract them by suitable provisions.*

NOTE B., page 159.

Oath of I HAD intended to insert here those observations on the oath of supremacy, which Carte* has collected from the professional learning of Sir John Davies, and from his own scarcely less erudite researches. But their extreme length deterred me, or, at least, would have been likely to deter my readers; and their denseness seemed to preclude

* In his “Life of Ormond,” Introduction.

abridgement. I have, therefore, resolved to substitute some shorter, but more cogent testimonies, from three very eminent Roman Catholic divines.

NOTE B.

Father Peter Walsh, the celebrated Irish Franciscan, says, with less prolixity, but not less strength, than is usual with him: "By the oath of supremacy, no other authority or power is attributed to the King, save only civil, or that of the sword; nor is any spiritual or ecclesiastical power denied therein to the Pope, save only that which the General Council of Ephesus, under Theodosius the Younger, in the case of the Cyprian bishops; and the next General Council of Chalcedon, under the good Emperor Marcian, in the case of Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople, and the two hundred and seventeen bishops of Africa (whereof St. Augustin was one), both in their canons and letters, in the case of Apiarius;—all denied unto the Roman bishops of their time."*

Father Peter Walsh.

Dr. O'Connor writes thus: "The act of supremacy was really nothing more, as to its intent, than the act of *Præmunire*. Its object was to restrain the exercise of illegal jurisdiction, and to confine within due limits the arbitrary proceedings of men who, *under pretence of religion*, claimed a power of exclusively deciding on all matters, whether mixed or unmixed, relating to the Church—men who claimed exemptions from the law courts, pretending that they could be judged only by the Pope, who frequently made the sacraments subservient to their passions, forbidding divine service, and interdicting the benefits of Christianity, to all those who refused to comply with their arbitrary injunctions and decrees."†

Dr. O'Connor.

And Mr. Berrington: "The notions of all men were indistinct upon the subject; for, so universal and undefined had the power of Rome been—call it ecclesiastical or spiritual,—so much had it absorbed within its cognizance all the concerns of life, that the primitive rights of a first bishop could with difficulty be traced, and the whole fabric of his jurisdiction seemed rather to be the contrivance of human ambition, on the one side, and weak concession on the other. How, then, should a state proceed, now convinced that such a paramount jurisdiction was incompatible with its sovereignty, except by at once breaking down the whole mass, and committing any ambiguity of expression to the interpretation of the law, should an interpretation be afterwards deemed necessary."‡

Mr. Berrington.

"Were it quite clear," says Mr. Butler, § "that the interpretation contended for is the true interpretation of the oath, and quite clear also, that the oath was and is thus universally interpreted by the

Mr. Butler.

* "History of Remonstrance," Introduction, xviii.

† "Historical Address," ii., 272.

‡ "Memoirs of Pansani," Introduction, 8.

§ "History of Catholics," i., 183.

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nation, then there might be strong ground to contend that it was consistent with Catholic principles to take either the oath of supremacy which was prescribed by Elizabeth, or that which is used at present."

Now, it is remarkable, that as to the first and most important point, namely, *the true interpretation* of the oath, Mr. Butler himself has quoted some authorities in elucidation of it, which would probably satisfy any moderate man but the too-cautious compiler.

The first, is *the Admonition* of the Queen herself, "forbidding her loving subjects to give ear to perverse and malicious persons," who explained the oath as claiming a spiritual power for the crown. She then proceeds to say, according to Mr. Butler's quotation: "Her Majesty neither doth, nor ever will, challenge any other authority than what was challenged and lately used by the said noble kings of famous memory, Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, which is, and was of ancient time, due to the imperial crown of the realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms and dominions, so as no foreign Power shall or ought to have any superiority over them." But the Queen says *more*; and Mr. Butler, having undertaken, as he did, to *sum up* so important a case for the judgment of the public, acted rather according to his habits than his professions, when he suppressed the next sentence. It is given by the more ingenuous Berrington, as follows:—"And if any person that hath conceived any other sense of the form of said oath, *shall accept the same oath, with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, Her Majesty is well pleased to accept every such, in that behalf, as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties contained in the said Act.*"

Secondly, "in the next Parliament," says Mr. Butler, "this explanation of the oath of supremacy received the sanction of the legislature." The words of the Act are given by Mr. Berrington. "Provided also, that the oath expressed in the Act made in the first year of Her Majesty the Queen, *shall be taken and expounded in such form as is set forth in the admonition annexed to the Queen's majesty's injunctions.*"

Thirdly, Mr. Butler confesses, "that the thirty-seventh Article of the Church of England is *in unison* with this exposition of the regal supremacy." The words of the Article are:—"The King's majesty hath the chief power in the realm of England, and other his dominions; unto whom the chief government of all estates in this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction. When we attribute to the King's majesty the chief government (by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended), we give not to our princes the ministering, either of God's word, or of the sacraments (the which thing the injunctions, also, lately set forth by

Elizabeth, our Queen, do most plainly testify), but *that only prerogatives* which we see to have been given always to all godly princes, in holy scripture, by God himself; that is, that they should govern all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain, with the civil sword, the stubborn and evil-doers.”

NOTE B.

Fourthly, it is acknowledged by Mr. Butler, that the same description of the nature and extent of the spiritual supremacy of the Crown was repeatedly given by King James.

Here we have the Sovereign, who imposed the oath, solemnly explaining the sense in which *alone* she understood it, and declaring that she would accept, as good subjects, all who should take it in the sense so explained. We have the same declarations from her successor, and from the Parliament, that is, in fine, from all *who had authority* to explain the sense intended: and, corresponding to these, we have the declaration of the Church, the party taking the oath, that the sense thus explained is the only one she acknowledges. Now, if oaths are not to be interpreted in doubtful cases, either by the party which imposes, or by that which accepts them, or by both together, there is no criterion of their sense; there is no standard for the interpretation of them, more accurate or more honest, than the casuists of the Papal schools.

Yet Mr. Butler is not satisfied. The causes of his scepticism are, as he says, one loose expression of Mr. Hume, in his History of England, and certain arguments of Mr. Neale, in his History of the Puritans. Weighty authorities, certainly, against the solemn decisions of the Crown, the legislature, and the Church. As to the other point, the sense generally given to it by the nation, Mr. Butler is pleased to “consider it quite undeniable,” that the objectionable sense is that “at this time understood, both by the general body of Catholics and the general body of Protestants.” That those who persist in rejecting the oath, should devise some pretext for justifying their refusal, is, of course, to be expected: if Mr. Butler had therefore said, that the interpretation above given was not received generally, either by Roman Catholics, or by Protestant *Dissenters*, he might have asserted what was true, or, at least, what was probable. As to the members of the Church of England, the Bishop of Chester* has sufficiently corrected Mr. Butler’s assumption, that the Articles do not continue to speak their sentiments.

There have been, however, many eminent Roman Catholics, from time to time, who accepted the authorized interpretation of the oath. We are informed by the candid Berrington that, in the reign of Charles the Second, some took the oath, and others wrote treatises to prove its lawfulness. Those writers undertook to show “that the oath

* Now Bishop of London, *i.e.*, 1827.—ED.

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neither did, nor could mean, to attribute any power purely spiritual to the Prince, or to take it away from the Pope; but only meant external and coercive jurisdiction in external courts, in the same sense as we call Doctors' Commons the spiritual court, all which spiritual power, it is manifest, the King of Spain claims and exercises in Sicily." The names of Winter, Hutchinson, Cressy, Fisher, and Serjeant, all English Roman Catholics, are mentioned among the advocates of this interpretation. A priest, named Andrew Bromwich, took the oath, and explained it thus:—"I am satisfied in my conscience that, under God, belongs to his sacred Majesty Charles the Second, the supreme coactive jurisdiction, sovereignty, and rule over the persons of all his subjects, within any of his dominions, of what state or condition soever they be. I have professed that neither the Pope, nor any foreign person, hath right to exercise any external power or coercion, by civil or corporal punishment, without his Majesty's authority, upon his subjects, within his dominions. I do not mean that the King can exercise any power of the keys, or any act of jurisdiction purely spiritual or internal; as to preach, minister the sacraments, consecrate to holy orders, absolve, define, or excommunicate; because all these things, being merely and purely spiritual, belong only to those whom the Holy Ghost hath placed to rule the Church of God."

It is not, then, without reason that Mr. Berrington proceeds to ask his English lay brethren, "Why should we importune Government for a further redress of grievances, or complain that we are aggrieved, if the remedy be in our own hands? One bold man, by taking the oath, may dissipate the whole charm of prejudice, and restore us to the most valuable privileges of British citizens." It would appear that such bold men would not be wanting among the Roman Catholic laity, either in England or in Ireland, if the State would but avail itself of their rising spirit, and *reduce the jurisdiction of the priesthood within those modest limits which are sufficient for all other classes of Christian ministers.* At the late election for Preston, many of the Roman Catholic inhabitants took the oath, to qualify themselves for the exercise of the elective franchise; and shortly after there appeared in the *Dublin Freeman's Journal*, a Roman Catholic paper, an able article, maintaining that the oath might be taken by every member of that communion. There is, indeed, good reason to believe that the oath would be taken by a majority of the laity, were the legislature to extend to them that protection to which they are entitled, against the tyranny of their priesthood. As the case stands at present, they cannot have the consolations of their religion, unless they yield to the great and growing usurpations of its ministers, upon their temporal rights and comforts. The law, or, at least, the local executive, allows these usurpations: thus the industrious and unobtrusive citizens in middle life, those who have not enough of wealth, or of factitious consequence, to secure them from the terrors of excommunication;

Romish
laity need
legislative
protection.

those, in fine, whom a generous Government ought to protect with the greatest vigilance, are left at the mercy of an order which has renounced all natural charities. They may, indeed, declare themselves Protestants; but this is an alternative which may be rejected from various motives; from conscience, from a spurious yet not dishonourable pride, from a natural wish to decline the unenvied honours of martyrdom; and to which, at all events, no Government has a right to compel any of its subjects.

NOTE B.

This oath would have been a proper test to separate Papists from Roman Catholics, had not the duplicity of Rome, constantly growing with its necessities, devised an expedient for evading its force. While the mass of its followers was prohibited, under the severest denunciations, from giving this, or any other pledge of loyalty, the general rule was dispensed with, from time to time, in favour of those persons whom the Papal government was employing upon some special mission, and of whose skill and fidelity it was well assured. To countenance this perfidious policy, equivocation was wrought up into a system in the Papal schools; distinctions were made between the popular and the scholastic meaning of words; it was taught that, although articles of faith were never to be denied, a greater latitude was allowable with respect to *opinions*; and that, when the good of the Church required, a man might lawfully speak and act, upon the opinion of any eminent authority, although it differed from his own.

Faith v. opinions.

Thus trained to dissimulation, the Papal emissaries began to make smooth professions of loyalty, and to work their way into Parliament, and the closet of the prince. A criterion between Papists and Roman Catholics had now become, if not impossible, at least full of difficulties, which a Protestant Government, harassed by a century and a half of intrigue, may well be excused if it judged insurmountable. On the one hand, it was necessary to select a test from which Rome could not absolve; on the other, the system of licensed perjury extended, or appeared to extend, to all tests, except those which the Church had ratified under the sanction of an anathema: one of these was accordingly adopted. Such is the account given by Father Walsh,* a contemporary writer:—"If any shall object," he says, "those penal statutes, which may be thought by some to bend all their force against some doctrines and practices of our religion, as for example, against the doctrine of transubstantiation, which this present Parliament at Westminster may be thought to make their principal mark, the answer is clear and consequential. The law-makers persued themselves, first, that the Roman Catholics in general had always declined to disown by any sufficient public instrument, the Pope's pretences to supreme dominion; secondly, that their missionaries labour to infuse into *as many of them as they think fit* all their own principles of

System of licensed perjury.

* "History of Irish Remonstrance," Introduction, xvi.

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equivocation and mental reservation, and of *forbearing any doctrine, except only those articles which, by the indispensable condition of their communion, they may not dissemble upon oath*; thirdly, that the tenet of transubstantiation is one of those articles. Therefore, to discover by this (however otherwise, in itself, a very harmless criterion) the mischief which they conceived to go along with it, they made it the test; *which they would not have done, if the Romanists had, by any sufficient test, distinguished among themselves.*"

CHAPTER II.

ELIZABETH.

THE short reign of Edward presents nothing worthy of particular notice.

That of Mary is equally void of interest, with the exception of the negotiation between her and the Pope. Immediately upon her accession, this princess had announced her design of restoring the ancient worship, but a year and a half were consumed in arranging the ceremonial of reconciliation. At length, however, the humiliating preliminaries seemed to draw to a close, and the Pontiff declared his willingness to receive an English embassy, as soon as one great difficulty, which still remained, was adjusted to his satisfaction. Mary had retained the Royal style assumed by her father and brother for their Irish dominions: perhaps this was done accidentally, perhaps in the hope of surprising the Vatican into some unguarded admission of her temporal independence; but neither cunning nor inadvertency could escape the keen eye of the holy father. Before her ambassador could be presented, she was obliged to despatch a private memorial, in which she apologized for her indiscretion, and prayed to be confirmed in the title of her predecessors: after a suitable delay her prayer was granted; and a bull, under the ring of the mystical fisherman, raised his obedient daughter to the dignity of Queen of Ireland. Thus the civil governor became once more a feudatory of the holy see; "and a difficulty," says an eminent Roman

King Edward VI.
A.D. 1546.

Queen Mary,
A.D. 1553.

CHAP. II. Catholic writer,* “which might otherwise have arisen,
A.D. 1553. was dexterously, but dishonourably, eluded.” This excellent man has left his readers to conjecture at which side the loss of honour lay.

In the Act which was passed upon this occasion by the Parliament of the Pale, we discover an attempt, more instructive than effectual, to save the honour of *both* sovereigns. This important statute opens with an account of Cardinal Pole’s mission to Mary and her consort, “as unto persons undefiled by the common infection of heresy, that he might call the people home again to the right way.” It acknowledges the condescension with which “the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, had been excused from repairing to the presence of the said most reverend father, there to make their humble submission.” After this it recites the cardinal’s bull of absolution, which, it states, “was right reverently delivered by the lord deputy to the lord chancellor, who read it upon his knees, while the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, right reverently and humbly kneeling for declaration of their repentance, did embrace the same.” In the instrument, received in this lowly attitude, and submissively incorporated into the law of the land, the cardinal declares “that the Parliaments of Henry and Edward had, for themselves and the whole nation, damnably incurred those penalties, as well *temporal* as ecclesiastical, which the Church has decreed against heresy and schism.” “But,” he proceeds, “as representing the vicar of Him whose property it is to have mercy and to spare, we absolve the island, and all its provinces, domains, cities, towns, lands, and places whatsoever, from the aforesaid heresy and schism, and from all censures and penalties, whether *temporal* or ecclesiastical, which they may have incurred in consequence. We absolve in the forum of conscience, we absolve in the forum of *external* law; we remove *every disability*, and every spot or *stain of infamy*, how-

* Mr. Butler. “Historical Memoirs,” i. 137.

soever contracted by the transgressions aforesaid ; we restore *all honours, dignities, fame, any goods, with all privileges and favours*, whether granted by the Roman Pontiffs, or by others, to be possessed and enjoyed, as the other faithful subjects of Christ do possess and enjoy the same." This *plenary* absolution, as it is most justly styled, by the very profusion with which it lavishes its benefits, exposes the native poverty of the temporal power. The supposed guilt, its penalties, and the act of grace by which both are remitted, are national and federal, as well as personal, things ; and the submission of the prostrate Parliament is not only a retraction of speculative error, but a return to the allegiance against which they had rebelled. That allegiance is the tenure by which they, and " the whole body of the realm by them represented," hold honour and dignity, property and privilege ; by which they enjoy exemption from infamy, and a title to the benefits of civil society. What then, it may be asked, do the monarch and the nation possess *in their own right* ? The Act answers as follows : " We, your majesties' humble and obedient subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, neither by the making or delivering of any of the supplications aforesaid, nor by any clause, article, or sentence thereof, by any manner of interpretation, construction, implication, or otherwise, intended to derogate, impair, or diminish any of the prerogatives, liberties, franchises, pre-eminences, or jurisdictions of your crown imperial of the realms of England and Ireland." Such is the device of this Roman Catholic Parliament for maintaining the independence of the civil government. The prerogatives of the monarch are acknowledged in the vague obscurity of general language : *what seems the head*, is allowed the idle privilege of wearing the shadowy likeness of a crown ; while certain specific powers, constituting a mass of authority, such as no other despotism has ever aspired to, are " right reverently" surrendered to a foreign prelate.

ORAP. II.
A.D. 1553.

CHAP. II. If those declarations of undivided allegiance, which have
A.D. 1558. been recently made by Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, are to be similarly understood, little has been gained for the cause of public tranquillity.*

* Much has been said of the forbearance of the Irish hierarchy in abstaining from persecution during this reign; and, if it were even probable that they had the power to injure, one would be inclined to relieve himself from the clamour, by giving the order full credit for a single instance of moderation. But it is certain that the Irish Protestants did not owe much to the lenity either of the Queen or of the bishops. In the third year of her reign, the Lord Deputy St. Leger was removed from his office, because it was suggested by his enemies at court that he had formerly made some verses in ridicule of transubstantiation. It was the first article of the instructions to the new lord deputy and his council, "that they should, by all good means possible, advance the honour of God and of the Catholic Church; that they should set forth the honour and dignity of the Pope's Holiness, and the see apostolic of Rome; and, from time to time, *be ready with their aid and secular force, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries, to punish and repress all heretics and Lollards, and their damnable sects, opinions and errors.*" The better to carry these instructions into effect, an Act was passed in the following year, reviving three statutes for the punishment of heresy; the preamble runs as follows:— "For the eschuyng and avoiding of errours and heresies, which of late have risen, growen, and mouche increased within this realme; for that the ordinaries have wanted authoritie to procede against those that were infected therewith; be it, therefore, ordayned and enacted, by the authoritie of this present Parliament, that the statute made," &c. It appears, therefore, that the Queen was too impartial a fanatic to make a distinction of places or persons; and that the prelates looked, with the same eagerness as their brethren in England, for the aid of the secular arm: but the local executive could not second these charitable intentions, without disregarding common sense, and the ordinary maxims of English policy. The great contest in Ireland was still between the races, not the Churches; the usual animosities raged between the Government and the natives; so that O'Sullivan, *over-Catholic*, as he is justly, but somewhat ominously, called by an existing poetical historian, is obliged to give this character of Mary's reign: "that, though she endeavoured to extend the Catholic reign, yet her governors and counsellors did not cease to injure and insult the Irish." The Protestants then in Ireland were English, many of them by birth, and nearly all by descent: in allowing the bishops to burn them, the crown would deprive itself of some of its best subjects; would alarm and mortify the nobles, by furnishing their old rivals with such tremendous powers; and would offend the English generally, while it encouraged the Irish. Thus, the flames that consumed the heretics might have kindled a civil war, in which the old

Elizabeth had conducted herself with much quiet circumspection during the reign of her sister; and, although decided in her views of religion, showed the same moderation upon her coming to the throne. She invited the English bishops to assist at her coronation; all except one refused, and she suffered their insolence to pass unpunished. In the same conciliating spirit, she caused her accession to be notified at Rome, in the form usually observed between friendly courts; and in this instance also her condescension was rudely repulsed. The Pope, Paul the Fourth, reminded her ambassador,* "that the British dominions were fiefs of the holy see;" he said that "it was a great boldness in her to assume the government without his permission; that she could not succeed, being illegitimate; that she deserved not to be heard in anything, yet, as he was desirous to show a fatherly affection, he would do whatsoever might be done, with the honour of the apostolic see, if she renounced her pretensions, and referred herself wholly to his free favour." But the Queen, says Father Paul, understanding the Pope's answer, and wondering at the man's hasty disposition, thought it not profitable, either for herself, or for her kingdom, to treat any more with him.† His successor, more subtle and less precipitate, endeavoured to repair

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1558.
Queen
Elizabeth.

Pope Paul
IV.

Proposed
Papal con-
cessions.

enemies of English connexion would have been aided by some who had hitherto been its most zealous supporters. But it would seem that, as the Queen's bigotry grew with the decline of her health and understanding, even this danger ceased to be regarded in any other light than as enhancing the merit of her orthodox zeal. A commission was actually signed for commencing the persecution of the Protestants in Ireland, but it miscarried on the way, and, before another could be issued, the Queen was summoned to her great account.—*Ware's Reign of Mary.*

* I have adopted here, with very little change, Brent's translation of Father Paul.

† "If," says a truly respectable Roman Catholic bishop, "in high and indignant resentment, she then made her choice, and if that choice proved subversive of a religion, the professors of which could suffer their first pastor to think or speak thus, I may be sorry, but I cannot be surpris'd."—Berrington, "Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani," Introduction.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1558.

the mischief by soothing overtures: he proposed a plan of reconciliation, founded on mutual concessions; the Queen was invited to send an ambassador and some bishops to the approaching Council of Trent; the delicate question of her legitimacy should be settled, he said, to her satisfaction; the reformed liturgy should be sanctioned; the cup allowed to the laity, and the priesthood permitted to marry. All this, and more, the complying Pontiff was willing to grant, if Elizabeth would return to the unity of the Church: power and revenue were his objects; and, could these be attained, theological differences would have created little difficulty. But the Queen understood him as well as his predecessor; "she resolved," says a Papal bishop* with unintentional felicity, "to shake off the yoke of the Roman see, and proceeded to arrange the establishment of a National Church.

Romish
laity fre-
quent the
churches.

For eleven years her measures were unmolested by the Papal Government, and received without opposition by the great body of the Roman Catholics. The laity everywhere frequented the churches; multitudes of the priests adopted the prescribed changes, and continued to officiate in their former cures; † and the majority of the prelates, leading or following the popular opinion, retained their sees, and exercised their functions according to the reformed ritual. ‡

* *Romana Ecclesie jugum excutere*, is the apposite phrase of Dr. Burke, in his "Hibernia Dominicana."

† It appears, from the report of the Lord Deputy Sydney to the Queen (in Leland, ii.), that, in the diocese of Meath, "the best-peopled and best-governed country of the realm," upon 106 improper benefices, there were only eighteen curates who could speak English,—all the rest were *Irish priests*. The number of conforming priests in the other districts may, perhaps, be inferred from this instance. Mr. Butler, following Dodd's "Church History," says of the English priests, "that many of them conformed for a while, in hopes the Queen would relent, and things come round again." (Memoirs, ii., p. 280.) He may be right in complimenting their orthodoxy at the expense of their truth, yet it is a curious circumstance that their hypocrisy, while it deceived a vigilant and justly-suspicious Protestant Government, should be disclosed by the tardy candour of their own historians.

‡ Cox, 314. Ware's "Irish Bishops," 27, 58, 128.

At length [1568], the patience of Rome was exhausted, and that spiritual sword * unsheathed against these countries, which, as it would appear, is never to be returned into the scabbard. Elizabeth was excommunicated, and her subjects absolved from their allegiance, by four successive Popes: her life was assailed by numerous conspiracies; her kingdoms given up to the vengeance of Spain, at that time the greatest power of the Continent, and to the more mischievous intrigues of the new order of Jesuits.† Consecrated plumes and banners, men, money, arms, and ammunition, were poured into Ireland: special indulgences, and pledges of absolution to the third generation, were granted to all who should rise in rebellion; and, to mark it more decisively as a religious war, similar graces were conferred on the pious for praying, according to a form which is enjoined in Ireland to this day, "for the extirpation of heresy, the union of Catholic princes, and the exaltation of holy Church."

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1568.
Queen
Elizabeth
excommu-
nicated.

By this time, the nobles, both within and without the pale, were generally discontented. The former, though few in number, and of no great consideration for wealth or connexions, had risen into importance, in proportion as their compeers in the more distant parts seceded from the Government, and adopted the aboriginal manners. They were thus left without competitors, as leaders of the colonial Parliament, and assessors at the Council Board: they generally held some of the offices of State; and, on a few occasions, the vice-regal sword itself had been committed into the hands of one of their body. These distinctions brought with them substantial benefits of power and patronage, to which, after some time, the

* See the "Digest of Evidence," v. ii., chaps. 3 and 4.

† The Jesuits were brought into Ireland by Robert Wauchope, a Scotchman. Besides this eminent service, three things conspired to give celebrity to Robert Wauchope: he was blind from his birth; he rode post better than any man of his time; and he was one of three contemporary Archbishops of Armagh. The Pope nominated Wauchope; the dean and chapter, Dowdall; and the crown, Goodacre.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1568.

possessors began to look as a portion, and no trifling one, of their inheritance: thus the Pale had become a sort of corporation, and its principal families had acquired that corrupt and illiberal spirit which too often belongs to a small privileged community. They were, in fine, the lay leaders of the ascendancy party, the genuine archetypes of that repulsive character which has been drawn for the *Protestant* Orangemen of later times; selfish, arrogant, rapacious men, holding the Crown in the trammels of a venal and factious loyalty, while they breathed a malignant rancour against the whole Irish name, and against those of the English race who had made Ireland their country. It was one of these, the Lord Gormanstown, who, when O'Neil and other chieftains had aided the English of the Pale to gain the great victory of Knocknow over the *degenerate** English of Connaught, in the first insolence of success turned round to Kildare, on the field of battle, and said, "We have slaughtered the enemy; but, to complete our triumph, we must cut the throats of the Irish of our own party."† Upon the general submission of the aristocracy to Henry, the jealousy of these personages became alarmed; they saw something in that event which threatened to lower the price of a good subject, and to break down their snug enclosure of the Pale. The soreness of their mortification may be conjectured from the following letter: it was written in the subsequent reign, when the Parliament of the colony was about to be enlarged into a Parliament of the nation; but, as the language is that of cherished and habitual feeling, the anachronism is of no importance:—

The Eng-
lish Pale.

"Most renowned and dread Sovereigne,

"The respective care of your Highness's honour, with

* The only epithet which the fastidiousness of this puny aristocracy would allow the English who conformed to the national manners.

† So the biographer of Captain Rock, quoting from Leland. He follows up the anecdote with this very natural question:—"Who can wonder that the ROCK family were very active in those times?"—the times immediately antecedent to the Reformation.

the obligation that our bounden duty requireth from us, doth not permit that we, your nobility of this part of your realme of Ireland, commonly termed the English Pale, should suppress and be silent in ought which, in the least measure, might ymport the honour of your Majesty's most royal person, the reputation of your happy government, or the good and quiet of your estates and countreys. And, therefore, we are humbly bold to address these our submissive lynes to your Highness, and *so much the rather, that, till of late years*, it hath been a duty especially required the nobility of this kingdom, *to advertise their princes*, your Majesty's most noble progenitors, of all matters tending to their service, and to the utility of the commonwealth.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1568.

“Your Majesty's pleasure for calling a Parliament in this kingdom hath been lately divulged, but *the matters therein to be propounded not made known unto us*, and others of the nobility; *we being*, notwithstanding, of the Grand Councill of the realme, and *may well be conceived to be the Councill meant* in the statute made in King Henry the Seventh's time, who should join with the Governour of this kingdom in certifying thither what Acts should pass here in Parliament; especially, *it being hard to exclude those that*, in respect of their estates and residence, should, next your Majesty, *most likely understand what were fittest to be enacted and ordeined* for the good of their prince and country.

“Yet are we, for our own parts, well persuaded they should be such as will comfort with the good and reliefe of your Majesty's subjects, and give hopeful expectation of restauration of this lately torn and rended estate, *if your Majesty have been rightly enformed*. But the extreme and public course held, hath generally bred so grievous an apprehension as is not in our power to expresse, arising from a fearful suspicion that the project of erecting so many corporations, in places that can scanty passe the rank of the poorest villages, doth tend to nought else, at

CHAP. II. this time, but that, by the voice of a few, selected for
 A.D. 1568. the purpose under the name of burgesses, extreme penal
 laws should be ymposed on your subjects here. Your
 Majesty's subjects in generall, do likewise very much
 distaste, and here exclaime against, the deposing of so
 many magistrates in the cities and boroughs of this king-
 dom, for not swearing th' oath of supremacy in spiritual
 and ecclesiastical causes, they protesting a firm profession
 of loyalty, and an acknowledgment of all kingly jurisdic-
 tion and authority in your Highnesse. And so,
 upon the knees of our loyal hearts, we do humbly pray
 that your Highnesse will be graciously pleased not to give
 way to courses, in the generall opinion of your subjects
 here, so hard and exorbitant, as to erect towns and corpo-
 rations of places consisting of some few poor and beggarly
 cottages, but that your Highnesse will give direction that
 there be no more erected, till time, or traffick and com-
 merce, do make places, in the remote and unsettled countries
 here, fit to be incorporated, and *that your Majesty will
 benignly content yourself* with the service of understanding
 men, to come, as knights of the shires, *out of the chief
 countries* to the Parliament.

“ Your Majesty's

“ Most humble and dutiful subjects,

“ GORMANSTON.

“ CHR. SLANE.

“ KILLEEN.

“ ROBT. TRIMBLESTOWN.

“ PAT. DUNSANY.

“ MAT. LOWTH.”*

Malcon-
 tents con-
 verted to
 patriots.

Their monopoly being now at an end, they became
 malcontents, and, in due course, patriots; and, with
 their accustomed arrogance, these lordlings of a district
 which extended not quite thirty miles to the north and
 north-west of Dublin, affected to be considered as *the
 country party*. Their opposition was constant, harassing,

* Leland, ii., 444; also, *ibid.*, 297.

but unarmed ; the first unarmed opposition in our history : their cooler temperament shunned the perils of the field, and their legal subtlety eluded the scaffold: the chief danger which threatened them was that of being trampled in the rout of their Irish associates, whom they treacherously goaded on to stand the shock of the English arms. But, while they thus abused the reckless valour of one faction, they were themselves ensnared by the deeper artifices of another. Led to a coalition with the bishops, by similarity of circumstances, and by the sympathies of discontent, they sunk gradually, from allies to instruments ; and their descendants, to this day, continue, for the most part, to endure the hereditary bondage, and to swell the triumphal cavalcade, of an insolent hierarchy.*

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1568.

The nobles of the remoter districts were equally dissatisfied, and were turbulent in proportion to their superior power, and to the greater rudeness of their manners. They had begun to discover that, in acknowledging a King of Ireland, they were understood by the Government as making concessions, which it was by no means their intention to grant ; while, galled by the taunting triumph of an adverse faction, they were quite willing that the civil authorities should have jurisdiction over churchmen : with this view, they had taken the oath of supremacy under Henry ; and, at the beginning of the present reign, they repeated it with the same alacrity:† but for themselves, they were still enamoured of the barbarous power

* There is only one noble Roman Catholic family in Ireland which is not descended from these lords. The first Valentine Brown in our annals was an English Protestant, employed by Queen Elizabeth as a Commissioner of Forfeited Estates ; and, in the cutting up of the great Desmond property, a portion fell to the lot of the carver. "This Brown," says Cox, "wrote a notable tract for the reformation of Ireland, wherein there is nothing blameworthy, *saving that he advises the extirpation of the Irish Papists* ; and, therefore, did not foresee that *his own heir would degenerate into an Irish Papist*, and ungratefully oppose that English interest upon which his estate is founded." P. 302.

† Leland, ii., 381.

CHAP. II. and circumstance of feudalism. Those great lords, in
 A.D. 1568. particular, who had accepted English titles, and agreed to
 attend Parliament, affected not to perceive how such acts
 of condescension implied a surrender of substantial au-
 thority, or a consent to admit the interference of the
 Crown in the internal regulation of their princely domains.*
 But no simplicity or self-importance could blind them any
 longer to the designs of Government; and they saw, with
 much vexation, that they were expected to lay aside their
 old usages, to submit to equal laws, and to associate with
 their former vassals on the footing of fellow-subjects.

Measures to this effect had been making silent progress
 during the latter years of Henry; and, somewhat more
 openly, in the two succeeding reigns; but the high spirit
 of Elizabeth dictated an uncompromising and adventurous
 policy. Resolved to monopolize the glory of the settlement of
 a barbarous country, and, as yet, a stranger to those parsimonious
 suggestions which too much influenced her later
 policy towards Ireland, the new Queen urged forward,
 together, the two measures of ecclesiastical and civil
 reform, and thus doubled and consolidated opposition.

The Crown
 and the
 nobles.

From time to time, Elizabeth sent instructions to her
 Irish Government to proceed with vigour, in breaking the
 power of the nobles; deep and general discontent among
 them was the natural consequence; and from discontent it
 was, in those days, an easy transition to insurrection.
 Having determined to rebel, they wisely made religion
 their ostensible grievance: the pretext was plausible; it
 would strengthen their confederacy, engage the simple
 and superstitious in their cause, and help to conceal from
 all the true sources of Irish calamity; accordingly, they
 became the champions of religion. Formerly, "when
 they had once resolved to obey the King, they made no
 scruple to renounce the Pope,"† knowing that, thereby,
 they would lower the tone of a domineering priesthood:

* Leland, ii., 185.

† Sir John Davies.

now, on the other hand, they had resolved to oppose the Crown, and, therefore, affected a zeal for the Papacy.

"The common opinion received," says Sir George Carew,* "and by the rebels published, to be the principal motive of their late and former rebellions, since Her Majesty's reign, is supposed to be religion. But therein let no man be deceived; for ambition only is the true and undoubted cause that moves the rebels, and others of this realm, to take arms; though the English race and the Irish have different ends. The English, to recover again the supreme government, in bearing Her Majesty's sword by one of themselves, as, for many years and ages, they have done, and generally striving to have the captainries of their countries, like the Palatines, in their own hands, not admitting of sheriffs, or other officers of justice, to overlook them, or restrain their barbarous extortions. Thus far only the ambition of the English reacheth; for, to be subjects to any other prince than Her Majesty or her successors, no man can think them so sottish as to desire it; and to be in any other quality than the state of a subject, they cannot be so foolish as to propound any hope. But the Irish rebels aim at a higher mark; still, retaining in memory that their ancestors have been monarchs and provincial kings of this land; and, therefore, to recover their former greatness, they kick at the Government, and enter into rebellion, losing no times of advantage, nor refusing the least foreign aid, that, by troubling the State, may advance their desires, hoping, in time, by strong hand, to regain the Crown of Ireland to themselves. These several ambitious swellings in the hearts of the English and Irish rebels are the true grounds of their continual rebellions; and to draw multitudes of the meaner sort of this kingdom unto them, they mask their ambition with religion, making the same their stalking-horse, to allure the vulgar to crown their fortunes."

The object of the hierarchy was similar to that which

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1668.

Ambition
masked
under
religion.

The
Romish

* "Letter to Secretary Cecil," *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, i., 6.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1588.
hierarchy
anti-
national.

Carew has here ascribed to the Anglo-Irish aristocracy. Convinced, like their predecessors, that the dependance of Ireland upon *some* foreign country would forward their ambitious projects, because the absence of the sovereign would naturally increase their own importance at home, they had now acquired an attachment to England, from the events of four hundred years, and from the associations of their order; and they were not as yet led, by repeated disappointments, and by the progress of intrigue, to think seriously of a connexion with France or Spain. They were, therefore, willing that the titular sovereignty of the country should still be vested in the English crown, provided that the substantial powers of government were committed to their own order, to be administered according to their canons or their caprice, and without responsibility to any higher tribunal.* But, though their purpose was the same, which had inspired the cabals of Lawrence and his contemporaries, they saw the necessity of devising some pretex^ts, more suited to the fallen fortunes of their body. Hitherto, prosperity had in a great measure saved them from dissimulation, and their struggle had been openly for civil ascendancy; but they had recently learned, from the universal defection, both of the nobles and of the multitude, that in such a contest the popular feeling would be in favour of the State. "The Irish," says a virulent partizan of Rome,† "had been *strangely imposed upon* in Henry the Eighth's

* See the extract from Dr. Bouth's "Analecta Sacra," in chap. 3.

† Author of "Ireland's Case briefly stated," printed in the year 1720. His concession of the fact, that the Irish *did* then believe the quarrel to be about civil affairs, is strengthened by his endeavours to explain it away. "They were confirmed," he says, "in this opinion, because the King himself, and his English Parliament too, who had declared for him against the Pope, were at the same time *all professed Roman Catholics*; for which reason the Irish Parliament made no scruple to pass several extravagant Acts against the Papal jurisdiction, the same in effect that had passed before in the Parliament of England. Yet, having had time to consider of what they had done, and *finding that all the Catholics of Europe exclaimed against their proceedings*, they no sooner met again in Parliament, in the third of Philip

time, and made to believe, that the chief quarrel this King had with the Pope was purely about civil affairs, or matters of temporal government." To efface, or at least to weaken, an impression so ruinous to their designs, the hierarchy resolved to separate, for the present, the spiritual and temporal claims of the Papal See; and while they upheld the former as the cardinal doctrine of Christianity, to withdraw the other from vulgar notice, and reserve it for those chosen followers who were qualified by zeal and prudence to employ the secret to advantage.

CHAP. II,
A.D. 1568.

The contest of which Ireland now became the theatre is one of painful but instructive interest. On the one side was the sovereign endeavouring to achieve the emancipation of a noble, but as yet unprepared people, from their old vassalage of mind and body; on the other, a coalition of three despotic factions,* which had always opposed, and still hated each other, but which found for the present a common principle of union in their equal antipathy to all good government, and a common instrument in the honest credulity of the multitude. But the prelates were the strongest party, and they resolved to show their new associates, that the Church, although it accepted support, could not tolerate competition. The first rebellion was led by John O'Neil, a man of the most besotted habits, but possessing address, subtlety, enterprise, and perseverance, to a degree scarcely ever found in one of that character. This chieftain had already baffled the English governor both in arms and diplomacy; he had overreached the law officers of the Crown; and, paying a visit to London, he not only removed the suspicions of the Queen, but insinuated himself very effectually into her good opinion. Upon his return, he prosecuted his intrigues with renewed vigour and astonish-

The Sovereign.

and Mary, than they repealed and abolished all the said statutes." The Irish did not discover their error until they were enlightened by the emissaries from Italy, France, and Spain.

* The bishops, the native chieftains, and the Anglo-Irish aristocracy.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1568.

Priesthood
require
submis-
sion.

O'Neil ex-
communi-
cated.

ing success. By force or treaty he made himself master of nearly all Ulster; the lords of Munster and Connaught promised him their support; the common people throughout the island were charmed by his representations of the ancient grandeur and independence of their country; and his agents were received at the Papal and Imperial Courts as the ambassadors of a sovereign prince, negotiating for assistance against the common enemy. But O'Neil failed in one quality essential to the leader of a religious war—submissiveness to the priesthood; his negligence in this particular had early drawn on him the displeasure of some of the prelates, and by one act of indiscreet zeal he consummated their anger and his own destruction. In an incursion into the English quarters, he seized the Cathedral of Armagh; and as it had been recently profaned by the celebration of Divine service according to the Protestant ritual, he resolved to show his detestation of heresy by setting fire to the building. The titular primate, Richard Creagh, who probably thought that a less destructive element would have been a sufficient purifier of an edifice which he wished to retain for his own use, fiercely resented this awkward burst of orthodoxy, and resolved to maintain, at all hazards, the thorny prerogatives of his order. This ecclesiastic was, according to his biographer and ardent panegyrist, “an uncompromising asserter of ecclesiastical liberty; he had grieved at the many injuries which, in their persons, property, and privileges, his clergy received from O'Neil; and now, the insolence of the dynast had proceeded to such a length that the father found it necessary to exert his pastoral authority, and pronounce the sentence of *excommunication*.”* O'Neil's dream of conquest was now over; the

* Routh, as quoted *post*, p. 197. The extent of the unfortunate dynast's offences may be estimated by this last and fatal one. It may be observed, for the satisfaction of certain persons, that it was not *loyalty* which roused this touchy prelate against the rebel general; his intrigues with Rome and Spain at length brought him to the Tower of London, where he died.

promised succours never arrived to his aid ; his confederates abandoned him ; his own followers one by one dropt away from his accursed banner ; those in whom he had reposed his chief confidence went over to the English ; and he was hunted about from place to place, deserted by all, except his mistress and a troop of about fifty clansmen. In the first agony of destitution, the unhappy chief debated whether he should not steal into the English quarters, and, with a halter about his neck, throw himself upon the mercy of the lord deputy ; but he was dissuaded by his secretary, and given up to the dirks of some Scottish freebooters, who dispatched him in a brawling carousal, to which he had been treacherously invited. Thus ended John O'Neil and the first religious rebellion in Ireland.*

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1568.

It was during the pause occasioned by this catastrophe, that Pope Gregory the Thirteenth published his edict, explaining the more warlike manifesto of his predecessor. The bull of Pius had been mandatory : not only were the people freed from their allegiance, but " all and every, nobles, subjects, and others, were enjoined, that they be not so bold as to obey the heretical Queen, or her proclamations, commandments, or laws ; and whosoever did otherwise, was bound with the sentence of anathema." † But the new Pope had the coolness to perceive, that so peremptory an order would only endanger his authority. He declared, that this language should be so understood, " as that the same should *always bind* the Queen and *the heretics*, but that it should by no means bind the Catholics, as matters then stood or were ; only thereafter it should bind them *when the public execution of that bull may be had or made.*" ‡

A.D. 1570.

In the meantime, to accelerate the arrival of so desirable a period, the Jesuits from the continental seminaries were dispersed everywhere through the country, rekindling the

Jesuits
sent over.

* Routh's " *Analecra Sacra*," ii. 85 ; Ware, " *Reign of Elizabeth*," Leland, ii., 287.

† Mr. Butler. " *Historical Memoirs*," i., 122.

‡ *Ibid.*, 196.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570.

embers of disaffection, and practising on the generous weaknesses of the people. As the arrogance of the hierarchical priesthood now threatened to promote the English interest, no less than its venality had done before, all the arts of these subtle emissaries were necessary to restore the hopes of the Vatican, and to manage the nice machinery of rebellion. In the plots and insurrections which agitated the remainder of this long reign, the Jesuits were the confidential agents of Rome; and one of them, the celebrated Saunders, was invested with the dignity of apostolic legate—an office which rose above all ordinary jurisdiction, and which enabled him to repress the extravagance of the prelates.

A cautious and intelligent* living writer† has given it as his opinion, that this explanatory bull of Gregory is *scarcely* less objectionable than the ferocious edict which it professes to mitigate. It would be foreign to the purpose of these pages to compare their degrees of moral delinquency, but if we measure them by the effects which they were intended, and are still calculated, to produce, the comment is as much more important than the text, as treachery is more dangerous than open violence. If Roman Catholics would weigh the lesson which this comment inculcates, they would soon learn to respect the prejudices of their Protestant neighbours, and, of course, would be animated by a new desire to remove them. They expect—justly expect—that all who undertake to judge of their language or their conduct will make allowance for their irritated feelings; they ought, in their turn, to examine the grounds of those suspicions which Protestants find it is so difficult to banish, and which no honourable mind can *willingly* entertain.

* Written A.D. 1827.—ED.

† Mr. Butler, as above. This gentleman, in his "Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church," transcribes several passages from the late Dr. Milner, defending and eulogising the character of Gregory. See pages 115—130.

In an ingenuous Roman Catholic, who enlarged his views beyond the immediate objects of his party, this bull of Gregory might awaken reflections such as the following:—It is true, that a considerable time has elapsed since any attempt was made to enforce the pretensions of the Holy See to the dominion of Ireland; it is equally true, that they have never been formally disavowed: Protestants are therefore left to conjecture whether they are indebted for their present quiet to the moderation or to the conscious weakness of the Papal Government. To determine this question to the favourable side, they have the evidence of a prelate,—the same prelate who a short time before had solemnly attested the supposed miracles of Prince Hohenlohe,—that these pretensions are *obsolete**—an ambiguous expression, which may signify indifferently the want of *will*, or merely the want of *power* to revive them. But were the language of this prelate as unequivocal as his character, it would convey only the judgment of an individual; it would not bind other bishops, future or contemporary, still less would it bind the head of the Church. Such is the security which the Papacy offers for its pacific intentions towards Irish Protestants; some eminent public men have undoubtedly appeared disposed to accept it, but were they to act upon similar assurances in the concerns of private life, none would commend their prudence, and many might doubt their generosity. On the other side, there are the annual curse of the Pontiff upon all the usurpers of his royalties; *and* the oath of the bishops—the strongest pledge, perhaps, which despotism could exact or servility give—that they will maintain these royalties against all men; *and* in perfect consistency with this oath, their deliberate avowal that, “were a rebellion raging from the Giant’s Causeway to Cape Clear,” not one of them would interfere to assuage its horrors; *and*

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570.

Want of
power, not
of will.

England’s
weakness
Rome’s op-
portunity.

* The well-selected term by which Dr. Doyle designated them in his evidence.

CHAP. II. the similar declaration of the lay leaders, that they will
A.D. 1570. not, indeed, attack England until her right hand is occupied by a continental war,—*but then*;—*and*, finally, as if to combine all these into a system, the maxim of Gregory, “that a sentence once passed will always bind the heretics, whenever the Catholics may be able to carry it into execution.” This, if not a system, is at least a very startling coincidence: should it induce a Protestant to hesitate before he accepts a peaceable demeanour as conclusive evidence of cordial good-will, his doubts may be unfounded in the actual state of affairs, but they ought not at once to be condemned as illiberal.

It would, indeed, be illiberal to extend these doubts to the whole, or to the majority, of the upper and middle classes of the laity in communion with the Church of Rome. They are Roman Catholics, *not Papists*; they would surely not be accomplices in any policy so detestable; but were the policy now at work, they might be made its instruments, and, if occasion should so require, its victims. Such, from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, was the fate of many generations of their ancestors; it is therefore their interest, no less than that of Protestants, to pursue the meditations which the bull of Gregory suggests.

We are informed by the authority above quoted, that, in the instructions issued by Gregory to the seminary priests in England, “he required their civil obedience to the Queen, and their public acknowledgment of her sovereignty.” It suited the purpose of that sagacious writer to separate the contemporary intrigues of the Papacy in the two islands; and, were his plan correct, his present statement might be dismissed with this brief observation,—that, although Elizabeth was the ostensible object of the allegiance of these priests, Gregory was its true and ultimate destination; they were ordered by him to acknowledge her as Queen, and they obeyed, not her, but him; her rights and the duties of her subjects were

meted out and regulated by his sovereign will. But, as the professions of the English priests, and the more active demonstrations of their Irish brethren, were parts of the same system, and different manifestations of the same spirit, the subject demands a more extended consideration.

If we give the Pontiff credit for common sense—a very moderate allowance to one who claims infallibility,—we must suppose his instructions consistent with each other, and, on that supposition, their obvious meaning will be, that the Queen should be acknowledged until there was a reasonable prospect of deposing her, and no longer. It was prudently resolved by the Vatican, that the strength of its partizans should not be consumed in a hopeless effort; and, in the meantime, the cause would gain in popular favour, and the enemy would be lulled into security by smooth assertions of inoffensiveness and warm complaints of calumny. The correctness of this interpretation is acknowledged by Mr. Butler, in one passage, and is more palpably evident from some others, in which he appears to suggest the contrary. He says, that “the Roman Catholics in general strongly condemned those who advocated the *justice* of the bull of Pius the Fifth;” and in proof of this position, he gives the following paragraph:—“Mr. Hart’s answer particularly justifies this observation. It shows, that, notwithstanding the bull of Pius the Fifth, the condemned priests acknowledged Elizabeth to be, *in the actual state of things*, their lawful Queen, though they refused going the length of declaring upon oath that there was not a possible case in which a sovereign might be lawfully deposed by the Pope. ‘Her Majesty,’ says John Hart, ‘is lawful Queen, and ought to be obeyed,’ notwithstanding the bull supposed to be published by Pius the Fifth. But whether she ought to be obeyed and taken for lawful Queen, notwithstanding *any* bull or sentence the Pope can give—‘this,’ he says, ‘he cannot answer.’ Consonant with this answer

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570.

Sovereign
deposed by
the Pope.

DESP. II.
A.D. 1570.

of John Hart, are the dying declarations of all the priests that were executed. Though they refused to disclaim the Pope's dispensing power in the extent expressed in the six questions, they explicitly acknowledged Elizabeth to be their true and lawful Queen.*

This acute writer had said already, more fully and accurately, in the preceding part of the paragraph, that they acknowledged her, *in the actual state of things*; he might, indeed, have used the very words of Gregory, "as things then stood or were." Now, this was an acknowledgment, not of the injustice, but of the impolicy, of proceeding against her immediately. The Irish insurrection had been unexpectedly marred by the insolence of the hierarchy; the *armada*, upon which the Roman government chiefly depended for the enforcement of the bull of Pius, was not yet equipped; and, in the mean time, domestic treason would have been easily crushed in England. The Queen was, therefore, reprieved, until the instruments of death should be ready for her execution; and, to give additional solemnity to the sacrifice, the intended victim was decorated in the trappings of royalty. Her ministry, not satisfied with these ominous honours, demanded an unequivocal recognition of her title, from the most suspected of the Papal emissaries. Those who frankly denied the deposing power were acquitted; and Mr. Butler adds, "their pardon seems to show, that a general and explicit disclaimer of that power by the English Catholics would have both lessened, and abridged, the term of their sufferings." Such a disclaimer was looked for by the Government, anxiously and repeatedly, but in vain. "Few of the priests," says another gentleman, himself an English priest,† "answered as became Englishmen and faithful citizens; they seemed rather to consider themselves as the subjects of a foreign master, whose

* "History of British Catholics," i., 234.

† Berrington, "Memoirs of Gregorio Pansani," Introduction, xxxiv.

sovereignty was paramount, and whose will was supreme." They would give no assurance that they regarded Elizabeth in any other light than that of an usurper; of one whom God and his vicar had reserved for some signal judgment, and who was allowed, for a while, to retain a lofty station, that the anger of heaven, and the inexpiable guilt of heresy, might be the more manifest in her fall. At first, they waited for the Spanish invasion. When the *armada* was ready for sea, a third bull was issued, restoring that of Pius to its full force; the formidable expedition failed, and, by its failure, their principles were rescued from the application of too strict a test. This great temptation being removed, it was presumed by the humanity of Government that sobriety would return, and teach them a better course: a fresh experiment was accordingly made, and the result proved that disappointment is no less unfavourable than hope to the loyalty of a papal clergy.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570.

The Span-
ish Ar-
mada.

The Queen issued a special, or, as it is termed, a *singular* proclamation, addressed to the English priests. She noticed in it that there were two parties among them; that, on the one side, stood the majority of the secular clergy, and on the other, the remainder of the seculars, with the whole body of the regular or seminary priesthood; that the former of these parties was more reprehensible than the latter, in its political conduct; or, as we might now express the difference, that one was Popish and the other Roman Catholic. She then proceeded to order that all should depart the realm, "except such as, before a member of the Privy Council, or a Bishop, or the President of Wales, should acknowledge allegiance and duty to her;" with these latter she declared that "she would then take such further order as should be thought most fit and convenient." Of the entire number then in England, which may be moderately fixed at seven hundred ecclesiastics of all classes, thirteen availed themselves of this proclamation. They presented to the Privy Council a paper entitled, "A Protestation of Allegiance;"

Number of
Romish
priests.

CHAP. II. it was well received by that body, approved by the Queen,
 A.D. 1570. discussed generally among the members of their communion, clergy and laity, but not adopted or imitated by any. While the question concerning it was still in agitation, the University of Louvain was consulted upon its merits: an opinion was returned, but so very circumspect, that, of two eminent authorities who have undertaken to interpret it, one calls it a *gentle censure*, and the other, an *approbation*.* This *protestation*, with the *opinion* annexed to each article, is inserted here in full.

Their protestation of allegiance.

Protestation. Article 1. "We acknowledge and confess the Queen's majesty to have as full authority, power, and sovereignty over us and all the subjects of the realm, as any her Highness's predecessors ever had; and further, we protest that we are most willing and ready to obey her, in all cases and respects, as far forth as ever Christian priest within this realm, or in any other Christian country, were bound by the law of God and Christian religion to obey their temporal prince; as to pay tribute, and all other regal duties, unto her Highness, to obey her laws and magistrates in all civil causes, to pray to God for her prosperous and peaceful reign in this life, and according to his blessed will, and that she may hereafter attain everlasting bliss in the life to come. And this our acknowledgment we think to be so grounded upon the word of God, that no authority, no cause or pretence, can or ought, upon any occasion, to be a sufficient warrant more unto us than to any Protestant, to disobey Her Majesty in civil or temporal matters."

University of Louvain consulted.

Opinion. "This article contains true doctrine. For where they say, 'this our acknowledgment we think to be grounded upon the word of God, so that *no* authority, no cause or pretence, can, or ought to be, a sufficient warrant to disobey,' they are to be understood according to the pre-

* Father Redmond Carond, a learned Irish Franciscan, in the reign of Charles the Second, found it convenient to call the opinion an approbation. Mr. Butler is for a censure, a *very gentle censure*.

ceding limitation, 'as far forth as ever Christian priests were bound to obey their temporal prince.' For if, by a superior authority, and for legitimate causes, the secular prince should lose his sovereignty, and his subjects be discharged from the duty of allegiance, they, no less than other Christian priests, are free of all obedience to said prince." CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570.

Protestation. Article 2 contains nothing particular, and is not especially noticed by the doctors.

Protestation. Article 3. "If upon any excommunications denounced, or to be denounced, against Her Majesty, upon any such conspiracies, invasions, or forcible attempts to be made as before expressed, the Pope should also excommunicate every one born within Her Majesty's dominions that would not forsake the foresaid defence of Her Majesty and her realms, and take part with such conspirators or invaders; in these and all other such like cases, we do think ourselves and all the lay Catholics, born within Her Majesty's dominions, bound in conscience not to obey this or any such like censure, but will defend our prince and country; accounting it our duty so to do; and, notwithstanding any authority or excommunication whatsoever, either denounced or to be denounced, as is before said, to yield unto Her Majesty all obedience in temporal causes."

Opinion. "This article contains a difficulty where it says, in case of excommunication, we think ourselves bound in conscience not to obey such censure."

Protestation. Article 4. "In this our recognizing and yielding *Cæsar's* due unto her, we may also by her gracious leave be permitted, for avoiding obloquies and calumnies, to make known, by like public act, that, by yielding her rights unto her, we depart from no bond of that Christian duty which we owe unto our supreme spiritual pastor. And, therefore, we acknowledge and confess the Bishop of Rome to be the successor of St. Peter in that See, and to have as ample, and no more, authority or jurisdiction over The
spiritual

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570
and tem-
poral
power.

us, and other Christians, than had that Apostle, by the commission and gift of Christ our Saviour; and that we will obey him, so far forth as we are bound by the laws of God to do; which we doubt not but will stand well with the performance of our duty to our temporal prince, in such sort as we have before professed. For as we are most ready to spend our blood in the defence of Her Majesty and our country, so we will rather lose our lives, than infringe the lawful authority of Christ's Catholic Church."

Opinion. "This article contains a difficulty where it says, 'We doubt not but that this obedience to the Bishop of Rome will stand well with our duty to our temporal prince,' but contains sound doctrine in saying, 'we will obey his Holiness, so far forth as we are bound by the laws of God to do;' for these latter words of the protestation appear to have been studiously balanced, lest, in giving to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, that which is God's should be denied to God, or prejudice done to the power of the Church."

These observations premised, the faculty proceeds to a more minute examination of the case.

"In these two propositions (the 3d and 4th articles) lies the whole difficulty of the protestation, both as to fact and as to opinion. They appear to suppose that the Pope has not, at least, an indirect power in temporals; and that a prince cannot be deposed, or his subjects absolved of their oaths, by any power of the Church. Now this is, doubtless, a false doctrine, yet not contrary to the faith.

Bellar-
mine.

"That it is not contrary to the faith, is manifest from Cardinal Bellarmine, who only calls the doctrine of the deposing power, '*an opinion common to all divines*;' and from Cardinal Perron, who says that 'it is not proposed by the Pontiff as of Divine faith, seeing he tolerates many of the French, who maintain the contrary.' Likewise, some of the principal fathers of the Society of Jesus, being examined by the Parliament of Paris concerning the deposing power of the Pope, protested not only that they

did not maintain it, but that they were ready to refute it in writing. This having led to a closer examination, they declared that their opinion was entirely contrary to that of the father-general of their order, who had supported the deposing power; but they added, *if they were at Rome, they would do as those who are at Rome.** What more, then, was the amount of the declaration of those fathers, than, that the question was a problematical disputation, of which either side might be maintained according to circumstances? In which, although they departed too far from the truth (for the doctrine is certain); yet it is clearer than noon-day, both from the assertions and actions of these fathers, and from the judgment of the Pontiff who receives them among the faithful, that it is not to be regarded as an article of faith. For our Saviour has taught us that *what is of faith*, instead of being suppressed or dissembled, *should always be openly avowed, which, as they have not done, with respect to this tenet*, it is manifest that they do not consider it to be of faith. And, surely, neither reason nor equity will permit that a protestation made in England, in the hope of appeasing a prince who thirsted for Catholic blood, should be judged more severely than that of both laity and clergy under the most Christian King, who has never persecuted any for the profession of the Catholic faith.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570.

Do as
Rome,
when at
Rome.

“ Thus far of the abstract proposition, that kings cannot be deposed, or their subjects freed from their oaths, by the power of the Pope. But it is not so much the general thesis, as the peculiar case of these priests, which is to be considered. Their meaning, therefore, is not that the decree of the Pontiff was to be treated with disrespect, but that, by reason of the particular circumstances of time and place, circumstances better known to themselves than to the Pontiff, they did not believe themselves so far bound by his sentence as to depart from their allegiance

* This application of the proverb is not so well known as it deserves: the French Parliament knew, it seems, how to cross-examine Jesuits.

CHAP. II. to their temporal prince. Thus, our censure of the
A.D. 1570. *fact* is still milder than that of the *doctrine*.* For it may

Plowden
on Jansen-
ism.

* Among the signatures to this Louvain decision, we find the celebrated name of Cornelius¹ Jansen; and it appears from this distinction between *fact* and *doctrine*, that he had already communicated his principles to the University. We have here, therefore, a specimen of Jansenism, which proves that its professors, however unlike the Jesuits in other respects, may be no unworthy rivals of those fathers in subtlety, equivocation, and lurking enmity to Protestants. Mr. Charles Plowden, who had been trained by the Jesuits, and whose brother was an eminent member of the order, speaks thus of British Jansenists, and especially of Mr. Butler and Dr. O'Connor, whom he represents as the leading authorities of the school:—"I was impelled to the study of Jansenism by something like *invincible grace*; from an almost innate reprobation of its principles, execration of its spirit, and abhorrence of its practices. Under these impressions, I am sensible of the *awful* and double duty I have to perform, both to Church and State. I submit to the indispensable obligation under which God's ordinances place me to both, and have resolved to put in print and circulate as widely as I can the source, principles, spirit, doctrines, designs, practices, connexions, means, power, influence, and conduct, of a description of persons wholly unknown to the laws. For the information of the civil magistrate, *whom*, without any disrespect, *I assume to be in great ignorance upon the subject*, I state their leading doctrines, their spirit and modes of proselytizing, their persevering energies, their numbers, their influence, their trust-funds or stock-purse, their emissaries, their disciples, their teachers, *their use and abuse of tests and formularies, their secret engagements and intrigues, their overt and covert connexions*, their opposition to the established religion of the State, whatever it be." And again, in an ardent apostrophe: "Irishmen, Englishmen, governors of the Church, and rulers of the State, 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?' Jansenism, from the beginning to this hour, has never boldly, manfully, and explicitly avowed its tenets: *it has fed on deception, it has thriven by prevarication*." What follows is still stronger: "I lament that I cannot strengthen my feeble efforts to extinguish the *fire concealed under the treacherous embers, ere it burst forth*

¹ There were two eminent divines of this name at Louvain. The Cornelius Jansen, who signed the opinions in 1570, was born 1510, and died 1576.

The Cornelius Jansen, from whom the Jansenists have their name, was not born till 1585 (fifteen years after the opinions were signed), and he died 1638: consequently he could not have signed the opinions referred to, and the earlier portion of the above note, seems therefore inapplicable. ("Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne," tome xxi., pp. 395, 396; and "Biographical Dictionary," vol. xviii., pp. 468, 469.)—Ed.

well happen that a case should occur, in which they might suppose, and not without reason, that they ought not to obey the sentence of the Pope, until they had fully informed his Holiness of the posture of affairs. There might be *urgent reasons for suspending, for a season*, their obedience to the see apostolic;—if, for instance, they discovered that, by such a profession of civil duty, the sovereign might be more easily appeased. For, in order that princes may be deposed by the Church, it does not suffice that there resides in the Pontiff the *naked right* of deposal; it is requisite that this right be exercised prudently and with good effect. For, *if the power of the temporal prince be such that he cannot be deposed*, or, at best, not without much bloodshed and commotion of war—difficulties which probably these priests apprehended—and if, on the other hand, there be a great hope of obtaining peace for the Catholic religion, what other fruit would violence have, than that the faith should be exposed to still greater hazards? Thus, authors note that *neither Constantius, nor Valens, nor Julian were deposed, notwithstanding* their ill deserts, and the *numbers and zeal of the Catholics in those days*, lest a greater ruin to the Catholic cause should result from the endeavour. Hence St. Thomas, when he had said that ‘Infidels, by reason of their Infidelity, deserve to be deprived of their power over the faithful,’ adds, ‘but this is sometimes done by the Church, sometimes not done.’ Because, on some occasions, it would be not only useless, but mischievous, to do so; for

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570.

Deposing
power.

into a flame that may reduce the better part of the empire to annihilation: I publish, to make known the danger both to Church and State.—*Letter to Columbanus*, Appendix, 29, 38, 37. On the other side, had not the character of Jesuitism acquired a notoriety which rejects all further illustration, it would be easy to extract from Dr. O’Conor equally vehement appeals to the State against Mr. Plowden, the College of Maynooth, and the whole body of the titular prelates in England and Ireland. Would it be beneath the wisdom of ministers, while they made allowance for the mutual spite of these disputants, to pay some little attention to *the substance* of the charges which they have brought against each other?

CHAP. II. *the tares are not to be rooted up, but tolerated, when there*
 A.D. 1570. *is danger, lest, together with them, the wheat also may be*
destroyed." *

Romish ex-
pediency.

In this memorable decision, two positions are inci-
 dentally laid down, as maxims which required no formal
 proof, and which were generally understood in schools of
 theology. One is, the suspensive principle of the Bull of
 Gregory, that the sentence of the Church is always valid
 against heretics; but that the time and manner of its
 execution will be regulated by views of expediency. The
 other, the esoteric explanation of the difference between
faith and *opinion*; what is of faith, of *divine* faith, must
 never be denied or qualified; what is merely of opinion,
 however certain in the judgment of the party, admits of
 compromise, of dispute, of positive denial, according to
 the exigencies of a controversy, or the signs in the
 political horizon.

Faith v.
opinion.

Louvain
casuistry.

At this distance of time, it is very difficult to assign the
 reasons which withheld the English Romanists, clergy and
 people, from subscribing the protestation of the thirteen

Cases of
conscience.

* A few words may be necessary to explain the Roman Catholic practice
 of consulting divines upon cases of conscience. Everybody knows that,
 under the second temple, the glosses of the Pharisaic scribes and doctors
 superseded both the words of Moses and the natural suggestions of con-
 science. Many are also aware that the few and intelligible principles of our
 civil and criminal jurisprudence have, by the technicalities of courts and
 the ingenuity wryers, of la been refracted into myriads of new shapes and
 directions. The school-divines were the scribes and lawyers of the middle
 ages, and their subtlety was exercised in distorting rules, multiplying preced-
 ents, and extinguishing the lights of reason and Scripture, that the path of
 duty might not be discovered without guidance. When a moral question
 occurred, out of the beaten track of every-day life, it was referred to a
 divine; it corresponded, even in name, to *the case* now submitted upon a
 point of our statute law; the client as unfeignedly thought it beyond the
 proper sphere of his judgment, and acted with the same deference, whenever
 he found it convenient, upon the *opinion* of his lawyer. Such, it is to be
 apprehended, is the state of a large proportion of the Irish people, except so
 far as the reflection of Protestantism has thrown a sort of moral twilight
 around them: this, unconscious of it though they be, is their great
 preservative; it keeps them from being precipitated into the darkness of
 Spain.

priests. Whether they abhorred the casuistry of Louvain; whether they held the deposing doctrine as an article of faith, and therefore not to be denied; whether they surrendered the whole case, fact as well as opinion, to the infallible care of the holy see; whether they imagined that subscription would be attended with none of those advantages to which their learned counsel had alluded; or, finally, whether they hoped that, by the expected death of the Queen, and the possible accession of a prince of their own communion, their fortunes and their consciences might be secured together:—any one or more of these considerations may have influenced their conduct, nor is it easy to decide which of all the solutions would be most agreeable to their modern advocates. But, amidst much that is doubtful, there is one strong and undeniable fact, that, neither on this nor on any other occasion during the long reign of Elizabeth, did they make a declaration of attachment to the throne.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570.

Deposing
power.

To us these occurrences are matters of interest or of unconcern, according to the degree in which they may be found connected or unconnected with the spirit and sentiments of modern Roman Catholics. For our information in this particular, we have the recorded opinions of two eminent Englishmen of that persuasion; one of them only a few years deceased, the other still among the living* lights of his age and party. Those Roman Catholics who wish for discreet and modern statements of their political principles can have no reason to be displeased if Mr. Berrington and Mr. Butler are made their representatives. The former writes thus:—

“ Had the priests continued the practice of their religion in retirement, the rigour of the legislature would have soon relaxed; no jealousy would have been excited, and no penal statutes, we may now pronounce, would have entailed misfortunes upon them and their successors. . . . But it will not be denied that, from associating too inti-

Mr. Ber-
rington.

* Written A.D. 1827.—Ed.

CHAP. II. mately with the divines of the Roman Court, and adopting
 A.D. 1670. the maxims of its schools, our foreign houses soon imbibed
 an ultramontane spirit, which, as it flattered, and, by flatter-
 ing, secured, the favour of Rome, so did it offend, and,
 by offending, draw down the vengeance of the British
 Government. The doctrine of deposing princes, and dis-
 posing of their crowns, with other concomitant maxims of
 a like tendency, were the *pabulum* on which that ultra-
 montane spirit fed; and we may too easily discover, in
 reading their works, that the divines of our English semi-
 naries had, *with a culpable inattention to circumstances*,
 espoused these *dangerous* tenets.* The tenets were
 dangerous—to themselves, and their successors; and
 therefore these priests showed a culpable inattention,
 not to truth, or to honour, or to loyalty, but to *circum-*
stances.

Mr. Butler. Mr. Butler concludes his account of the Louvain deci-
 sion in these words: "The moderation of the censure
 shows the progress of reason" †—not of that phlegmatic
 and waylaying treachery which, as its strength declined,
 the Papacy was now substituting for its former honest
 attacks, but of *reason*. In a passage formerly quoted, he
 asserts that the priests condemned the *injustice* of the Bull
 of Pius, and he proves this assertion by showing that they
 held its *inexpediency*. Again, he says in another place:
 "The only treasons for which the priests suffered were
 those which the statutes of Elizabeth had made treason-
 able, denying her spiritual supremacy, not quitting, or
 returning to England, or exercising sacerdotal functions."
 There is little fallacy in this, provided we remember that
 the spiritual supremacy which these priests ascribed to the
 Pope *included* the deposing power. Still further: "Surely,
 when he peruses the treatment of the Catholics, the reader
 must feel some indignation. But will he not himself

* "Memoirs of Panzani," Introduction, 20, 26.

† The passages referred to in this paragraph will be found in pages 266,
 244, 280, of Mr. Butler's first volume of "History of the Catholics."

excite somewhat of the like indignation, if, after seeing the loyalty of the Catholics so severely tried and thus *found so eminently pure*, he returns to his former prejudices, and allows himself to entertain, even for a moment, a suspicion of their *perfect* loyalty to their sovereign? " This language will be regarded by Mr. Butler's readers as irony or as rant, according as they suppose that gentleman to be more distinguished for the coolness of his intellect, or the singleness of his heart; and, where both qualities are so well known, it might be an invidious task to decide between them.

There is an inaccuracy in the language of the two writers now quoted, which, with persons of less probity or of inferior skill, might easily have degenerated, on the one hand, into very palpable equivocation, or, on the other, into the avowal of the most repulsive dogmas. *They* could say *unjust*, when they only meant *inconvenient*; they could consider the *diffusion of treacherous duplicity*, as synonymous with *the growth of reason*; they could pronounce that the adherence to a *principle of deadly hostility* was no more than a culpable *inattention to circumstances*; they could call it *pure and perfect loyalty* in Roman Catholics to acknowledge a Protestant sovereign, *in the actual state of things*; they could dilute *the maintenance of a right to depose* into a simple *denial of spiritual supremacy*:—all these strange misapplications *they* could fall into, perhaps, without injury to their moral perfections. But, if the same confusion prevails among the violent and the vulgar, it is certain that the time has not yet arrived when the Bulls of Pius and Gregory may be safely pronounced obsolete. It is now time to return to the age of Elizabeth and the affairs of Ireland.

While the Fathers Parsons and Campian, with their associates, were making smooth protestations and working secret treason in England, Saunders and Allen had been dispatched into the weaker island, at the head of another party of Jesuits, by the same Pope, from the same semi-

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1570.

Romish
casuistry.

Jesuit
fathers.

CHAP. II. naries, yet in open rebellion. The materials for insurrection being ready and ample, dissimulation was found to be only an incumbrance, and the cause of God and the Holy See was committed to the swords of the noble house of Desmond. The head of that family, the great Earl, as he is called by the Irish annalists, had promised the Government, upon his withdrawing from O'Neil's confederacy, that "as he had no knowledge in learning, and was ignorant what should be done for the furtherance of religion in Munster, he would aid and maintain whatever might be appointed by commissioners nominated for that purpose:"* but the old quarrel with the Butlers, the sophistry of the Jesuits, and, above all, the novel and galling restraints of law, soon awakened sentiments in the turbulent nobleman, which he was resolved to mistake for zeal and illumination. Released by the Queen from the Tower of London, and from a recognizance of twenty thousand pounds, which he acknowledged that he had justly forfeited,† he re-appeared in Ireland as the avowed partizan of the Holy See; and his brother James, a man of desperate character and fortunes, was declared the commander of the Catholic army. Saunders and his agents busily distributed the following proclamation—a document which demonstrates the perfidy of Pope Gregory, and the unsuspecting temper of his panegyrist:—

Proclamation of Gregory XIII.
A.D. 1575.

"Gregory the Thirteenth, Pope,
"To all prelates, princes, counts, barons, and the entire clergy, nobility, and people of the kingdom of Ireland, health and apostolical benediction.

"Among the other provinces of the Christian world, the Apostolic See has always embraced the Irish nation with singular love and charity, for the constancy of its fervent devotion and inviolable attachment to the Catholic religion and Church of Rome. For this cause, we are

* Leland, ii., 289.

† Cox, 286.

the more moved by the afflictions and calamities of the kingdom of Ireland; and, as far as in us lies, study to preserve the people in liberty and ease of body, and in safety of soul. Whereupon, as with great grief of heart we have lately learned from that noble and excellent man, James Geraldine, Lord of Kiericouthi, and Governour-general of Desmond in the absence of the Earl of Desmond, how many and great evils the worthy men of that country suffer for the love of the orthodox faith and true religion, through the persecution of Elizabeth, who, *hateful alike to God and man*, domineers proudly and impiously both in England and Ireland; and as the said James, impelled by the zeal of God's house and the desire of restoring the true religion, by his love of country and the innate greatness of his mind, labours, with the help of the Lord, to shake off from your necks that intolerable yoke of slavery, and hopes to find many assistants in so pious an endeavour; we, therefore, exhort all and singular of you, by the bowels of the compassion of God, that *discerning the seasonableness of this opportunity*, you will, each according to his power, aid the piety and valour of this noble general, and fear not a woman, who, being long since bound by the chain of an anathema, and growing more and more vile every day, *has departed from the Lord, and the Lord from her*, and many disasters will deservedly come upon her. And that you may do this with the greater alacrity, we grant to all and singular of you, who, being contrite, and confessing, or having the purpose of confessing, shall follow the said general, and join themselves to his army in maintaining and defending the Catholic faith, or shall forward his holy purpose by counsel, arms, provisions, or any other means, a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, according to the form which is accustomed to be used for those who war against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land, &c.*

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1576.

Queen
Elizabeth
hateful
alike to
God and
man.

* Evidence of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, "Lords' Report," 776.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1575.

“ Given at St. Peter’s, under the signet of the Fisherman, the 25th of February, 1575.”

A.D. 1580.

Sir John
Desmond.

On the death of this James Geraldine, or Fitz-Maurice, as he is called in the Irish annals, the Pope transferred the conduct of the holy war to his cousin, Sir John Desmond.

The following is a copy of the bull issued on the occasion :—“ Gregory the Thirteenth, to all and singular archbishops, &c. Whereas, by our letters of former years we exhorted you, that, for the purpose of recovering your liberty, and maintaining it against the heretics, you would join with James Geraldine of happy memory, who strove zealously to shake off from you the yoke of the English, the deserters from the holy Roman Church; and whereas, that you might the more vigorously second him in his efforts against your enemies and the enemies of God, we granted unto all who, confessing and being contrite, should join his army, or in any way aid him with counsel, arms, provisions, or in any manner soever, the plenary remission of all their sins, and the same indulgences which are accustomed to be granted by the Roman Pontiffs unto those who war against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land; and whereas, we have lately learned with much affliction, that the aforesaid James has fallen bravely fighting against the enemy,* and that our beloved son, John, his cousin, a man of eminent piety and valour, has been moved by God to undertake the same

Death of
Geraldine.

* He fell in a scuffle with some of his own kinsmen about a couple of plough-horses, which he had seized to mount two of his kerna. Cox has preserved in tolerable keeping the usual laconic prelude to an Irish conflict. “Cousin,” says Fitz-Morris, “it is not a pair of garrons that will make a breach between you and me; I hope you will do as I do.” “I have had too much of rebellion already,” answers Burke, “and am now on my oath against it; so I must have my horses back again.” Fitz-Morris thought it dishonourable to part with what he had seized, and so to skirmish they go, which was brisk enough, and ended in the slaughter of both of them.”—359.

cause, and has achieved many noble actions in defence of the Catholic faith; we, therefore, do exhort, require, and urge all and singular of you, in the Lord, that you do unto the same John and his army as unto James aforesaid; and trusting in the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of his holy apostles Peter and Paul, we renew to you the indulgences contained in our letters to the said James, provided you afford any of the aids therein mentioned to the said John and his army, or *after his death* (if, which God avert, he should be cut off), *to his brother James, and those who shall adhere to him, &c., &c.*

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1580.

“ Given from St. Peter’s at Rome, under the ring of the Fisherman, the 13th day of May, 1580.”*

When a minister of religion surrenders himself to any habitual vice, his professional familiarity with sacred things serves only to deaden the sensibility of conscience, and the natural emotions of awe and remorse subside into the contemptuous composure of Infidelity. The attentive reader of these two bulls will perceive in them a veteran disregard of all that is holy or humane, to which, however versed in the records of untoured villany, he will find it difficult to discover a parallel. This Gregory had a natural son, whom, in defiance of his contract with the Spanish monarch,† he was now labouring to make King of Ireland. In England, where the superior comforts of the people gave them a distaste for civil war, he enjoins specious professions of loyalty,—that the sovereign might appear a capricious tyrant, and the traitors dutiful and long-suffering subjects: in the same breath he urges all classes of the more inflammable Irish to seize or to make opportunities of merciless insurrection. He entails the curse of his cause upon all the members of a noble family, he makes provision for the immolation of successive holo-

Deaden-
ing effect
of
ministerial
ungodli-
ness.

* This bull is given by MacGeoghegan, “Histoire d’Irlande,” tom. 2.

† Ireland, ii. 287.—He had promised to confer all the British dominions upon the King of Spain—provided that prince could conquer them.

CHAP. II. causts to his ambition, and unkennels, in the name of
A.D. 1580. God and with the stimulating promise of *plenary indulgence*, the passions of a brutal and infuriated rabble.

Jesuit
Allen rides
through
the ranks.

At the battle of Monaster Neva (Irish annalists must be permitted to call it a battle, since it engaged the whole disposable force of the Government), the Jesuit Allen formally displayed the Papal standard, the keys of St. Peter, and the sword of St. Paul. Before the action began, he rode busily through the ranks, distributing his benedictions and assurances of victory; during the vicissitudes of a well-fought day he officiated strenuously in the threefold capacity of priest, general, and soldier; and his body was found by the conquerors among a heap of slain.* Saunders did not finish his less honourable career until he had effected the extinction of the Desmonds. The Sir John mentioned in the second bull had been at first suspected by this artful emissary of a want of cordiality in the cause of the Church, and upon his arrival in the rebel camp, was told that no confidence could be placed in him until he had given some unequivocal pledge that he never would be reconciled to the heretical Government.† The savage swallowed the bait which a more wily fiend had thus thrown out, and resolved to attest his fidelity by an exploit which it should be impossible for either party to mistake or to forget. Among the civil officers of the Government was Henry Davers, a gentleman of Devon, who had long resided in Ireland, and whose discreet and benevolent carriage amidst scenes of atrocious warfare had conciliated the regards of both races. The Desmond family had frequently experienced his good offices; Sir John, in

Sir John
Desmond's
"sweet
sacrifice."

* Leland, ii. 274.—The Queen's army consisted of 900 foot and 150 horse. The parsimony of Government in fitting out expeditions was then, as at many a later period, the cause of much unnecessary bloodshed.

† "Johanni vero se fidem non habiturum, priusquam facinus aliquod dignum committat, quo hæreticorum iram atque indignationem provocet, sibi que illum fidum fore intelligat."—*O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath.*, p. 96, quoted by Leland, ii. 271.

particular, had been relieved in various necessities to which his extravagance had reduced him, and repeatedly released from prison. The acknowledgments of the prodigal were warm and tender; he commonly addressed his benefactor as his *father*, and was greeted in turn with the endearing appellation of *son*. The lord deputy, knowing this intimacy of Davers and the Desmonds, had employed him in a friendly but unsuccessful negotiation with them; and the Englishman, upon his return to Dublin, was to take up his quarters the first night in the town of Tralee. His adopted son, with a band of those followers who were always ready to repay the coarse hospitality of a chieftain with the unlimited service of their dirks, as well as their battle-axes, secretly pursued him, surrounded the house where he was lodged, and bribed the porter to leave the gate unbarred. In the dead of night the assassins entered the chamber of their victim. Davers feeling somewhat assured when he saw Desmond, said quietly, "What, my son, what is the meaning of this brawl?" and received for answer the sword of the miscreant in his body. The other assassins dispersed themselves through the rooms, and massacred indiscriminately; none of the attendants of Davers escaped, except one faithful lacquey, an Irishman, who had thrown himself upon his master in the hope of intercepting some of the murderous blows. Sir John was now fully qualified to lead a Papal army; he flew to the rebel camp, proclaiming the achievement which had for ever sealed his attachment to orthodoxy, and was joyfully received by Saunders, who complimented him upon the *sweet sacrifice which he had offered to heaven*.* The blind caprice of fortune conferred upon this ruffian the honour

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1680.

* Leland and Cox concur in giving us this atrocious expression, upon the authority of Hooker, an Englishman, but Member for the borough of Athenry, in Elizabeth's Irish Parliament. O'Sullivan says generally, that Desmond was praised for his exploit, *quo facto laudatus*, &c. It is consolatory to find, that, even among the professional adherents of Saunders, the spirit of sect did not universally prevail over the natural feelings of humanity: Davers received a decent burial from an Irish friar.

CHAP. II. of a soldier's death; his less guilty brother, and intended
 A.D. 1580. successor in the command of the rebels, perished by the
 hand of the executioner.

Of the male line of Desmond there now survived none but its head, the great Earl. This weak nobleman had pursued a double and indecisive policy, which exposed him to the suspicion and hatred of every party. Sometimes fomenting the aimless* turbulence of the ruder chieftains, frequently cringing to the Government, and occasionally standing aloof from all, in the inflated consciousness of his own power, he was invariably drawn back into the one fatal path, by the influence of a few priests, who never quitted, until they betrayed, their deluded benefactor. His intrigues were numerous; his exploits in the field few and inconsiderable; the greatest achievement of his arms was the surprise of the town of Youghal; and by this, although accomplished chiefly through the treachery of the Mayor, he was so intoxicated, that he summoned the Lord Deputy "to join him in the glorious cause which he and his brethren were maintaining, under the auspices of the Pope and the King of Spain." † But he had none of the qualities of a general; and his dependents few of the resources of an army: his enterprises were soon reduced to nightly irruptions out of his woods and fastnesses against some inconsiderable post or single detachment. These assaults brought on a terrible retaliation, vindictive slaughter, and the more appalling visitation of famine, incessantly consumed his miserable vassals: all the operations of agriculture having been suspended, their cattle were now their only support, and when these were carried away, men whose lives had been spared would follow the English foragers, begging for themselves, for their wives

Slaughter
and
famine.

* The great ostensible grievance was the overthrow of the Church; the next in popularity with those jolly malcontents was a *tax upon wine*, which had been lately imposed by the Irish Parliament. Cox, p. 330.

† Leland, ii., 277. The titular bishops of Cashel and Emly were Desmond's agents at the Papal and Spanish courts.—Ware, "*Annals of Elizabeth*," p. 12.

and children, the mercy of a speedy destruction by the sword.* By these means the quiet of desolation began to be established in the ample domains of Desmond, and the chieftain became a fugitive. ORAP. II.
A.D. 1590.

As he wandered, accompanied by only three clansmen and a priest, he was espied and pursued by some of the Lord Roche's retainers; all escaped but the ecclesiastic, who revealed the forlorn condition and the haunts of his patron. Thenceforward, the unfortunate nobleman had no rest. Disguised in the garb of a churl, he passed his solitary days in caverns or morasses; and at night was joined by a few devoted galloglasses, who shifted his wretched quarters, according to their hopes of finding for him sustenance and concealment. One day, when the remnant of these faithful men had ventured to seize a few cows, the owner raised the soldiers of a neighbouring fort, who pursued the depredators. Tracking the cattle into a glen, they followed its windings, until, about midnight, they arrived at a spot where the defile expanded into a valley, which

Earl of
Desmond's
destitute
condition.

* Spenser's account of this famine is, perhaps, the most appalling description to be found in any language of the horrors of an exterminating invasion:—"Notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, yet, ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would rue the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soon after; insomuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue there withal: so that, in short space, there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man or beast." God in his mercy grant that this heart-rending picture may not again be realized. Every artifice has long been used to familiarize our fiery peasantry to the contemplation of the most atrocious deeds; insurrection is acted over weekly, almost daily, in the imaginations of those multitudes who are swayed by the speeches of a few cool incendiaries. On the other hand, there are some who resolve all the evils of Ireland into its *imperfect conquest*; and inflamed as the animosities of all parties now are, there is little doubt that, if another rebellion arise, this imperfection will be effectually remedied. Spenser's
account of
the famine.

CHAP. II. terminated in a wood. The officer had just ordered his
 A.D. 1580. men to halt and rest themselves, when a light was perceived among the trees: they advanced, discovered a cabin, and an old man of dignified aspect stretched languidly before the fire. The officer striking him rudely with his sword, the unhappy prisoner cried, "Spare me, His death. I am the Earl of Desmond." His head was cut off,* and sent to the Lord Deputy, who transmitted it to England to be impaled on London bridge: and his princely territories, which amounted to six hundred thousand acres, and had afforded ample estates to three hundred gentlemen besides his own immediate kindred, were given up to the just vengeance of the Crown, and the rapacity of the undertakers.†

A.D. 1583. His six hundred thousand acres confiscated.

* If we are to believe O'Sullivan, the spot which received the blood of the earl continued to exhibit the stains at the time of his writing, some forty years after. We are assured by the graver testimony of Cox, that, in his time, about a century and a half after the transaction, the family of the person to whom the cattle had belonged, were still in disgrace among the people of Kerry.

† Shortly after the death of the earl, his envoy, the titular Bishop of Killaloe, arrived from Spain with a reinforcement of men, money, and arms.—*Carte, "Life of Ormond," Introduction, 57.* Desmond left an only child, a boy; he was educated, by the Queen's orders, in a manner suited to his birth, and after some years sent over to Munster, as a rival to the titular earl who had been set up by O'Neil. The account of his reception is thus given by Leland, from Sir George Carew in his *Pacata Hibernia*:—The earl came to Kilmallock, of a Saturday in the evening; and by the way, and at the entrance into the town, there was a mighty concourse of people, inasmuch that all the streets, doors, and windows, yea, the very gutters, and tops of houses, were filled with them; and they welcomed him with all expressions and signs of joy; every one throwing upon him wheat and salt, according to the ancient ceremony used in that province. That night the earl was invited to sup with Sir George Thornton; and although he had a guard of soldiers, who made a lane from his lodgings to Sir George's house, yet the confluence of people was so great, that he could not, in half an hour, make his passage through the crowd. After supper, he had the same encounters in his return to his lodgings. The next day being Sunday, the earl went to church to hear divine service; and all the way his countrymen used loud and rude dehortations to keep him from church, unto which he lent a deaf ear; but, after service and sermon were ended, the earl, coming forth of the church, was railed at, and spit upon, by those that, before his going to church,

His son's reception at Kilmallock.

The ruin of this noble house, with its long series of disastrous accompaniments, was an impressive, but ineffectual warning, to those who were yet spared. Some Jesuit had discovered the sagacious argument, that a woman, being inadmissible to holy orders, should not be allowed to style herself Head of a Church; and this contemptible quibble proved a sufficient pretext for new commotions.* Several men of family, vain, boisterous, and ambitious spirits, who had been trained to turbulent misrule, and who considered the monotony of good order as a reproach at once to their rank and their manhood, yielded to the solicitations of the Papal emissaries; and the abused and miserable multitude knew nothing more of duty, than to obey the priest; or of honour, than to shout in the train of some selfish and factious leader. These insurgents formed no less than four different parties; one, affecting to support the Pope's son, as King of Ireland by the grant of his father; another, maintaining a similar claim for the Spanish monarch; a third, not averse from English connexion, provided they were allowed to dictate the terms; and a fourth, seeking after complete independence; all of them having for their ultimate aim the restoration of their barbarous feudal tyranny, yet professing a zeal for religion, and overruled by the superior subtlety of the priesthood.† One victory gained by Hugh O'Neil increased

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1583.

were so desirous to see and salute him; insomuch as, after that public profession of his religion, the town was cleared of the multitude of strangers. This young earl, seeing how much he was deceived in his hopes, embarked for England, and so to Court."

Deserted
for going
to church.

* The Vicomte de Chateaubriand, in his "Monarchy according to the Charter," calls the King of France "The Head or Visible Prelate of the Gallican Church, and the Chief of all that constitutes a nation, its religion, morals, politics," &c. It will be remembered that this eloquent writer is a professed Constitutionalist, accused by his opponents of *lowering* the legitimate claims of royalty. He was obliged to devote a chapter of his book to prove that he was not a democrat.—See the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1816.

† It is remarkable that when any of these insurgent chiefs submitted to the Government, they made no objection to the oath of supremacy: their idea of Popery included temporal dominion, so that their recusancy and their rebellion lived and died together.—See Leland, ii., 234.

CHAP. II. and consolidated the strength of these factions; so that,
A.D. 1583. when Essex landed to assume the lieutenancy, he found
insurrection more extensive and better organized than ever.

Tyrone.

Hugh O'Neil had all the ambition and duplicity of his uncle John, with greater caution, more specious manners, and a more cultivated mind; advantages for which he was indebted to his English education. Slighted at home on account of his illegitimate descent, he resolved that his first step to the greatness at which he aimed should be the favour of the Government: he entered early into its service, made many friends among the officers; and, during the Desmond insurrection, was distinguished for his military talents, and his zeal in the royal cause. The hasty gratitude of the Irish Parliament rewarded his exertions with the forfeited title of Tyrone; and the Queen, to whom he paid assiduous court, and upon whom his insinuating address and plausible representations of Irish affairs had made a great impression, added the whole of the splendid inheritance which had belonged to that earldom, but was then vested in the Crown. He returned in triumph to Ireland, magnified the graces he had received, courted popularity, distributed favours, and gradually attracted to himself all those various regards which may be imagined to attend a man who was at once the prime favourite of the English Queen and the first of Irish chieftains. Government soon found it necessary to solicit his assistance against the disaffected of his province; he was ready, he answered, with his best services; he would raise and maintain, if permitted, a force of six companies, which should be always prepared against the enemies of his mistress. The offer was accepted, the companies formed, the men quietly dismissed according as they became expert in the use of arms, and fresh recruits continually supplied, until, by degrees, the whole of his followers were trained in the discipline of an English army. In the meantime, he had conveyed to Dungannon a vast quantity of lead, to cover, as he pretended, the battlements of a mansion-

Prepares
for rebel-
lion.

house, which he was going to build after the English fashion; the lead, however, had a different destination.*

The suspicions of the State were now awakened, and the aspiring Earl began to be sensible that he had almost attained the utmost height to which a subject could be permitted to climb. On the other side, the accomplices or instruments of his designs, tired of inaction, and unable to comprehend his refined policy, were inclined to ascribe his reserve to want of courage or of cordiality. O'Donel, in particular, sent him an angry message, announcing that he was resolved to prosecute the war without, and, if necessary, against, the wavering chief of Tyrone, and that he had despatched a bishop † to solicit assistance from the Spanish monarch. O'Neil made this fiery tributary his son-in-law; he sent a younger brother, with some troops, to aid the insurgents, among whom the titular primate Magauran had already fallen bravely by the side of the chieftain Mac Guire; ‡ and, contrary to his former stipulations with Government, he availed himself openly of the good offices of the priesthood. While he was thus keeping his compatriots in good humour, he forwarded to the Queen, upon whose favour he seems to have presumed extravagantly, the strongest protestations of his unshaken loyalty. For this purpose he employed an English officer, named Lee, who had been his comrade when he served in the Royal army, and who was still flattered by such marks of his confidence as the wily chieftain judged it prudent to show. Under the instruction of the Earl, this officer drew up "A brief declaration of Ireland; opening many corruptions in the same, the discontents of the Irish, and the causes of the troubles; and showing the means how to establish quietness in that kingdom, honourably, and to her Majesty's profit." The matter of the memorial is sufficiently miscellaneous; its object, single—to represent O'Neil as the

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1583.

Diplomacy
of rebellion
conducted
by the
Romish
bishops.

A.D. 1594.

* Leland, ii., 308.

† The diplomacy of rebellion was generally conducted by the bishops.

‡ Leland, ii., 329.

CHAP. II. person best qualified to direct the administration of Irish
 A.D. 1594. affairs. The topics are selected with some skill; O'Neil
 is a man from whom everything may be feared, or every-
 thing expected, according as the Queen shall be pleased
 to treat him. "Neither the Desmond *wars*, nor those of
 O'Conor and O'Moore, are comparable to that which is
 now apprehended, *if* it prove a war. All Ulster is the
 Earl's already; O'Donel and O'Doherty, who were always
 faithful in John O'Neil's *wars*, are now linked to him, so
 that no place of succour is left to your Majesty's force in
 all the north: in Connaught there are divers who watch
 an opportunity; and in Leinster many who now stir not,
 but will then arise in arms. If he were so bad as his
 enemies would fain enforce, those who know him and the
 strength of his country will witness thus much with me,
 that he might very easily cut off many of your Majesty's
 forces, which are laid in garrison, in small troops, border-
 ing upon his country; yea, and overrun all your English
 pale, to the utter ruin thereof; yea, and camp, as long as
 should please him, even under the walls of Dublin, for
 any strength your Majesty hath in that kingdom to remove
 him." "These things being considered, the foundation of
 hope must be laid upon the Earl of Tyrone, to draw him,
by any reasonable conditions, unto your Majesty; and *as*
 he is made a great man there, so he may be also a special
 good member of the commonwealth, to redress and remedy
 many great disorders, which, no doubt, he would faith-
 fully do, if he were trusted." * Some of these reasonable
 conditions are amusing enough. One is, that the Earl
 should have the power of executing by martial law in his
 own territory; "and I dare say he may, every year, hang

A false
 principle
 exposed.

* He was a wise man who said, "There is nothing new under the sun." This instrument of treason has anticipated, by almost two centuries and a half, the very best arguments of certain orators. "You have given so much already," he says, "that it is neither worth your while, nor in your power, to withhold the remainder." The *folly* of the past is urged as a *reason* for the *insanity* of the present and future.

500 false knaves, and yet reserve a great stock to himself; he cannot hang amiss there, so he hang somebody." This condition is followed up by another of the same tendency; that certain persons, nominated in the memorial, be employed in places of trust, civil and military, in the remoter districts of the island. "I know," says the writer, "there will be great exceptions against them, because they are thought to be *too near friends to the Earl*; but I will prove that none can ever do your Majesty such good service there as they who are best acquainted with the Earl and the other lords of those countries. And what is it to your Majesty to lay upon the Earl the trust and credit of settling your Majesty's forces in those parts? And if it shall, at any time, happen that he should so offend as to deserve punishment, *then* your Majesty is to prepare your princely forces, and *make royal war* upon him, letting him sharply taste what it is to offend so gracious and great a prince." Interspersed with these threatening demands, are many vehement, and some abject, protestations of fidelity. Lee proposes that the quarrel between the Earl and his chief accuser shall be decided by combat; "and because it is no conquest for him to overthrow a man ever held in the world to be of the most cowardly behaviour, he will, in defence of his innocency, allow his adversary *to come armed against him naked*, to encourage him the rather to accept of his challenge." "Being often his bed-fellow," continues this warm advocate, "he hath divers times bemoaned himself unto me with tears in his eyes, saying, that if he knew any way in the world to behave himself otherwise than he hath done, to procure your Majesty's good opinion of him, he would not spare to offer himself to serve your Highness in any part of the world, though he were sure to lose his life. And as he hath in private thus bemoaned himself unto me, so there are many eye-witnesses here in your Highnesses Court, who have seen him do the same no less openly; which tears have neither proceeded from dissimu-

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1594.

CHAP. II. lation, nor from a childish disposition, but of mere zeal
 A.D. 1594. unto your Highness." *

Tyrone
 aspires to
 the throne.

Elizabeth, although habitually indulgent to Tyrone, and, by this time, weary of Irish broils, did not accede to these modest overtures; and the Earl perceived that henceforward force should combine with subtlety to clear his passage to a throne. Disappointed in his hopes of quietly hanging his enemies, and filling the Government and the army with his friends, and now at length assured of immediate succour from Spain, he renounced his English title and connexions, assumed the appellation of O'Neil, and became the defender of his Church and country. Hitherto he had been a *liberal* Roman Catholic, and had even given a hint that entire conformity to the Established Church might be expected in time. "Your Majesty has heard," says Lee, "that he and his lady are Papists, and foster seminarists. True it is, he is affected that way, but less hurtfully and dangerously than some of the greatest in the English pale: for, when he is with the State, he will accompany the Lord Deputy to the church and home again, and *will stay to hear service and sermon*; they, as soon as they have brought the Lord Deputy to

* It will probably appear to some of my readers that too much notice has been taken of this contemptible piece: such of them, however, as remember to have seen Mr. O'Driscoll's pretty volumes of "Views of Ireland," may observe that I have had a motive, though I am by no means sure that it will be considered a sufficient one. That gentleman is pleased to think Lee's memorial an important State paper, *illustrative of the tyranny of the English Government*; and, as he writes for statesmen, he has taken the trouble of copying it, without the omission of a syllable, into six and thirty closely printed pages. The research of the learned writer is almost as rare as his sagacity. Passing by the "*Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*," which is, or may be, in everybody's hands, he quotes directly from the original in the manuscript library of Dublin College—a room closed against all but such eminent persons as Mr. O'Driscoll; and, with the same disdain of vulgar sources of information, he turns aside from Leland, who would have told him that this Captain Henry Lee was the creature of a perfidious rebel. The playful biographer of Captain Rock, who, as he can extract pleasantry from a massacre, may be excused the little frolic of exposing a friend, has happily caricatured his graver fellow-labourer, by quoting the same authority.

the church-door, depart as if they were wild cats; but he, in my conscience, with good conference, *would be reformed*; for he hath only one little cub of an English priest, by whom he is seduced, for want of his friends' access unto him, who might otherwise uphold him." But recent circumstances had confirmed his wavering faith, and the prelates were ready to embrace the illustrious penitent. At the battle of Blackwater, where he confronted his brother-in-law and deadly enemy, Sir Henry Bagnal, the spirit of his soldiers was raised to a frenzy of fanaticism by the exhortations of their priests, who assured them, upon the faith of ancient prophecies, that the events of that great day would be fatal to heresy. The adverse forces were almost perfectly equal: on the Royal side stood 4,500 foot and 500 horse, many of them veterans who had served under Norris both in France and Ireland; 4,500 foot and 600 horse formed the array of the rebel, or the Catholic, army. Of the latter there fell 200, with 600 wounded—a trifling loss, which was amply avenged by the slaughter, on the field, of the general, thirteen gallant officers, and 1,500 men of their opponents. The vanquished abandoned their fort of Blackwater, fled to Armagh, and thence farther southward; and their ammunition and provisions, thirty-four ensigns and other honours of war, all their artillery and a quantity of smaller arms, remained to support the credit of Papal vaticination.*

OHAP. II.
A.D. 1594.

Battle of
Black-
water.

A victory so complete changed the character of Elizabeth's councils. The contemptuous disgust with which the disturbances in Ireland had been lately regarded, was now banished by the fear of losing the country; and a force was equipped such as had never been seen by the Irish, and had very seldom left the shores of England. But the spirit of the insurgents kept pace with these preparations: O'Neil was extolled as the deliverer of his country; and the disaffected leaders in all quarters of the

* Leland, ii., 349.

CHAP. II. island condemned their own inactivity, which had deprived
A.D. 1594. them of similar glory. Fifty-two heads of clans, English as well as Irish, with twenty-seven captains, equal to the former in courage and nobility, though not the chiefs of their respective houses, are enumerated by O'Sullivan as crowding into the field with rival zeal, "in maintenance of liberty and the Catholic faith." Driving the loyalists into the towns, they kept possession of the open country; their followers in the different provinces outnumbered the troops of the Viceroy, were of abler bodies, more patient of the fatigues and privations of war, abundantly supplied with arms from Spain, and trained in the use of them by long exercise, and by the combined advantages of Spanish and English discipline. The first place in authority, as in fame, was unanimously assigned to O'Neil; the voice of the Sovereign Pontiff ratified and consecrated the judgment of his votaries; and the general fulfilled the expectations of all. Aware that Essex, though inferior in gross numbers, had a greater disposable force than the jealous pride of his own associates would allow him to concentrate, he declined the hazard of general engagements: he adopted that species of warfare which the character of his troops and the natural strength of the country combined to recommend,—directing a system of small offensive operations, which, as if by a signal, blazed out at once or died away, over the whole surface of the island. Confounded at a service so full of peril and so barren of renown, the confidence of the Viceroy first grew impatient, and from impatience collapsed into disheartened mortification: O'Neil seized the opportunity; proposed, and was admitted to, a private conference. The night before the intended meeting, *Lee*, the trusty emissary of the rebel chief, was busily employed in passing between the camps, and holding secret interviews with the generals. The parley of the following day lasted a considerable time: the Englishman was stately, vain, and ingenuous; his adversary, or, as he now became,

his adviser, supple, persuasive, and impenetrable. While Essex drew up proudly on the bank of the river which divided the armies, O'Neil was seen plunging up to his saddle in the water, as if impatient to throw himself at the feet of so great a man. Shortly after the unfortunate Viceroy divulged the subject to which the dexterity of O'Neil had directed their conversation: "Tyrone," he said, "had told him, that if he followed *his* direction, he might easily be the greatest lord in England;" "troubles were about to arise in England, which would render his return thither indispensable." He had intended to bring with him the best troops on the Irish service, and make his way at their head to the presence of his mistress; but the discovery of his frantic scheme precipitated his journey, which terminated on the scaffold. He left the royalists so dejected, that, at the expiration of a truce of six weeks which he had made with O'Neil, they expostulated with the rebel general upon his abrupt resumption of hostilities.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1596.

It is probable that the connexion of these islands would have been now dissolved, had not the rebel lords of English descent begun to be alarmed at the extent of their own success. Whether Ireland was to become an independent kingdom under O'Neil, or (as was more likely, and more agreeable to the views of Rome and the prelates) to be annexed to the Spanish monarchy, the revolution threatened to bring with it the extirpation of the English colonists. The apprehension of such a result had moved the wary lords of the Pale, though in opposition to the Government, to abstain from rebellion: conscience had made cowards of them; they dreaded lest the heartless policy which they had formerly pursued towards the Irish might suggest the terrible lesson, "that their triumph was incomplete until they had cut the throats of their allies;"* and they were therefore content

* Lord Gormanstown's advice to Kildare upon a former occasion.

CHAP. II. to seek the accomplishment of their ends by a system of
 A.D. 1598. bloodless hostilities. Their bolder and more thoughtless
 brethren began now to discover the prudence of this
 course. They saw that the great national quarrel had
 been compromised, not forgotten; and that, although
 while the struggle lasted their Milesian associates might
 find them useful, yet, when the separation was once made,
 prosperity would awaken all dormant claims, and fear
 would revive and strengthen old animosities. The wisdom
 of Government, in offering easy terms of reconciliation,
 encouraged and extended these reflections; and by
 degrees they were diffused among the priests of English
 race, in whom alarm for their own safety, and the natural
 yearnings for kindred and the mother-country, at length
 overcame professional feelings. The dispute among the
 clergy arose almost to a schism, and the more daring of
 the loyal party announced a doctrine unknown until then
 in the ecclesiastical world, that Catholics might lawfully
 bear arms against their brethren in defence of a heretical
 sovereign. "Oh! ignorant, foolish, and abandoned men,"
 exclaims the indignant O'Sullivan, "ye Anglo-Irish priests
 of the English faction, how will you ever expiate this
 atrocious guilt? Can you be of a spirit purely and
 entirely Catholic? Let the wise reader judge. As for
 myself, I cannot hold for sound or Catholic doctrine
 a notion so fatal to the salvation of souls and the pro-
 pagation of the faith, as that Catholics may fight against
 Catholics in the cause of heresy."*

Prince
 O'Neil's
 proclama-
 tion.

O'Neil himself—or *the prince*, as he was now called—
 condescended to discuss this case of conscience in an
 English proclamation; he argued it as became the general
 of a crusade, according both to martial and ecclesiastical
 law.

* "Hist. Cath.," 233. See O'Conor, "Columbanus," iv., 114. On this
 occasion it appears to have been, for the first time since the Reformation,
 that the Irish *priesthood* separated into the two sects or schools, the Popish
 and the Roman Catholic.

“ Using hitherto more than ordinary favour towards all my countrymen, both for that you are generally by your professions Catholicks, and that naturally I am inclined to affect you, I have, for these and other considerations, abstained my forces from attempting to do you hindrance; and the rather, for that I did expect, in processe of time, you would enter into consideration of the lamentable estate of your poor country, most tyrannically oppressed, and of your own gentle consciences, in maintaining, relieving, and helping the enemies of God and our country, in wars infallibly tending to the promotion of heresie.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1598.

“ But now, seeing you are so obstinate in that in which you have hitherto continued, of necessitie I must use severity against you, whom otherwise I most entirely loved, in reclayming you by compulsion, when my long tollerance and happy victories, by God's particular favour doubtlessly obtained, could work no alteration in your consciences.

“ Considering, notwithstanding, the great calamitie and miserie whereunto you are most likely to fall by persevering in that damnable state in which hitherto ye have lived, having thereof commiseration, hereby I thought good and convenient to forewarn you, requesting everie of you to come and join with me against the enemies of God and our poor country. If the same ye do not, I will use means, not only to spoil you of all your goods, but, according to the utmost of my power, shall work what I can to dispossess you of all your lands; because you are the means whereby warres are maintained against the exaltation of the Catholick faith. Contrarywise, whosoever you shall be that shall joine with me, upon my conscience, and as to the contrary I shall answer before God, I will imploy myself, to the utmost of my power, in their defence, and for the extirpation of heresie, the planting of the Catholick religion, the delivery of our country of infinite murders, wicked and detestable poli-

CHAP. II. cies, by which this kingdom was hitherto governed,
 A.D. 1598. nourished in obscurity and ignorance, maintained in
 barbarity and incivility, and, consequently, of infinite
 evils which are too lamentable to be rehearsed.

“And seeing these are motives most laudable before
 any man of consideration, and before the Almighty most
 meritorious, which is chiefly to be respected, I thought
 myself in conscience bound, seeing God hath given me
 some power, to use all means for the reduction of this our
 poor afflicted country unto the Catholick faith, which can
 never be brought to any good pass without either your
 destruction or helping hands.

Roman
 Catholics
 not to obey
 Queen
 Elizabeth.

“Which, notwithstanding, some Catholicks doe think
 themselves bound to obey the Queen as their lawful
 prince—which is denied, in respect that she was deprived
 of all such kingdoms, dominions, and possessions, which
 otherwise perhaps should have been due unto her, and,
 consequently, of all subjection, insomuch as she is left
 a private person, and no man bound to give her obedience,
 —and beyond all this, such as were sworn to be faithful
 unto her were by his Holiness absolved from performance
 thereof, seeing she is by a declaration of excommunication
 pronounced a heretic,—neither is there any revocation of
 the excommunication, as some Catholicks do most falsely,
 for particular affection surmise; for *the sentence was in
 the beginning given for heresie, and for continued heresie
 the same was continued.* It is a thing void of all reason
 that his Holiness should revoke the sentence, she per-
 severing in heresie, yea, in mischiefing and persecuting
 the Catholicks.

“But it may be there was a mitigation made in favour
 of Catholicks, by which they might be licensed in civil
 matters precisely to give her, during their inability,
 obedience, but not in any matter tending to the pro-
 motion of heresie. Wherefore, I earnestly beseech you
 all, Catholicks, and good, loving countrymen, as you
 tender the exaltation of the Catholick faith, and the

utter extirpation of heresie, in this our poor distressed [CHAP. II. country, to consider the lamentable and most distressed state thereof. And now let us join altogether to deliver this poor kingdom from that infection of heresie with which it is, and shall be, if God do not specially favour us, most miserably infected, taking example by that most Christian and Catholick country of France, whose subjects, for defence of the Catholick faith, yea, against their most natural King, maintained warres so long as by their means he was constrained to profess the Catholick religion, duely submitting himself to the Apostolick See of Rome,—to which, doubtless, we may bring our country, you putting your helping hands to the same. A.D. 1599.

“ So I rest, praying the Almighty to move your flinted hearts to prefer the commodity and profit of our country before your own private ease.

“ Duneveag, the fifteenth day of November, 1599.

“ O’NEALE.”*

For some time before the appearance of this proclamation, an opinion had been gaining ground that O’Neil* was aiming at the sovereignty of Ireland. Among other acts of indiscretion, he had conferred the title of Earl of Desmond upon a distant relative of the late unfortunate nobleman, and had undertaken to recover for him the splendid patrimony of his predecessors; in return, he exacted homage, and a promise of tribute from the titular grandee. This conduct had given very general offence; and the Irish of all parties, with that keen sense of the ridiculous which is still an element of the national character, annexed an epithet of contempt to the honorary title of the new Desmond, calling him on all occasions the Earl of *Straw*. In the manifesto, although framed with considerable art, some expressions escaped the ambitious general which confirmed these rising jealousies, and has-

* Dr. Phelan seems to have preferred the more common mode of spelling this name.—ED.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1599. tened the dissolution of the triple* confederacy. While he disclaims, with suspicious vehemence, all present views of personal aggrandizement, he is inconsistent enough to acknowledge that such had been his original motive for taking arms against England. He dwells, with a complacency which has as much of pomp as piety, on the power which God had given him; affects an air of patronage, "of more than ordinary favour," towards all his countrymen; speaks of the possibility of his being king of Ireland, and avows designs of national improvement, which could be effected by nothing short of sovereign authority. Had he reached the eminence to which he so obviously aspired, his great talents render it probable that he would have made no inglorious effort to fulfil his promise, of banishing "the obscurity and ignorance, the barbarity and incivility," in which it was unquestionable that, from whatsoever causes, the kingdom had been hitherto buried. But the scheme was not acceptable to any class of his associates. The Anglo-Irish chiefs dreaded the consequences of separation; the Milesians were too proud to submit to a man whose equals they called themselves, while they envied his superiority; and both, still clinging to their barbarous power, recoiled from his projects of reformation. The policy of Rome and the hierarchy presented obstacles equally insuperable: the former had already given away Ireland to Spain; the latter could not prosecute their own designs without some foreign connexion—they knew and feared the enlightened mind of O'Neil, and could not forgive his recent leaning to heresy.

Clement the Eighth sends plume of phoenix feathers to O'Neil.

The new Pope, Clement the Eighth, while he complimented and encouraged the *prince's* exertions in the Catholic cause, took an indirect, but intelligible mode of repressing his expectations. He sent him a plume, hallowed by his own apostolical benediction, and (as the

* That is, between the hierarchy, the Milesian chiefs, and Anglo-Irish lords.

Pontiff gravely declared, and his word was not questioned by the discreet aspirant), formed of the feathers of a genuine phoenix, the apt symbol of a reviving Church and State; but the present was conveyed by a *Spanish* ecclesiastic, upon whom, as a pledge of the destiny which awaited the regenerated country, his Holiness had conferred the archbishopric of Dublin.* O'Neil replied to the ominous enigma in an artful and submissive letter, well calculated, as he hoped, to elicit a response less unfavourable to his designs. Adopting that style of blasphemous adulation which the Papal oracle requires of its clients, he "prostrated himself before *the Father of spirits on earth*, praying his compassion upon his spiritual sons, who were engaged in a conflict with the enemies of their Sion, the opposers of their building up of the walls of their Jerusalem." He solicits the holy Father to appoint, in future, pastors of *his* nomination to the afflicted Church; and, in order that the faithful Irish *subjects of his Holiness* may act with the greater success in the defence of *his kingdom*, he beseeches him to renew the excommunication against Elizabeth. The Pontiff sent the following answer:—

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1600.

O'Neil's
reply.

"To our beloved son, the illustrious Prince Hugh O'Neil, Captain-General of the Catholic army in Ireland. The Pope's reply to O'Neil.

"Health and apostolical benediction :

"We have been informed by your letter, and by the report of our dear son, Peter Lombard, Principal of Cambay, that the holy alliance, which you and many other princes and nobles of Ireland have formed, is, by the mercy of God, maintained and strengthened, and that, by the aid of the same Lord of hosts, you have often combated successfully against the English, the apostates from the Church and faith. We have derived

* Leland, ii., 368.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1600. great joy from these tidings, and have given thanks to God, the Father of mercies, who has still left in Ireland many thousands of men who have not bowed the knee to Baal. For these have not gone after impious heresies, or profane novelties, but have fought manfully in detestation of them, *for the inheritance of their fathers*, for the preservation of the faith, for the maintenance of unity with the one Catholic and apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation. We commend, dear son, your pious magnanimity, and also that of the princes and all others who, in league with you, decline no dangers for the glory of God, and prove themselves worthy successors of their ancestors—men renowned for martial exploits and for zeal in the Catholic cause. Preserve, children, this excellent spirit; preserve your mutual concord; and the God of peace will be with you, and will prostrate your enemies before your face.

“As for us, we love and cherish in the bowels of Jesus Christ your highness and all the other *imitators* of the faith and *valour of their forefathers*; we do not cease to pray God for your safety and happiness; and, when opportunity offers, we shall write to our children, the Catholic kings and princes, that they give you and your cause all possible assistance. It is also our intention to send to you speedily some special and trusty nuntio, a man of piety and prudence, inflamed with zeal towards God, and devotion to your interests, who may aid you in maintaining unity, in propagating the faith, and forwarding all other measures for the advancement of God's honour and worship. In the meantime we send you these presents, as pledges of our love to you and your country, and for your consolation as our beloved children in Christ. We have heard with pleasure, and shall continue to hear, Peter Lombard, whom you have sent to us as your ambassador. And so we impart to you, and to those who join with you in the propagation of the faith, our apostolical benediction;

and we pray God that he will send out his angels about
 your paths, that He will guide you by his grace, and
 protect you by the power of his outstretched arm.

CHAP. II.
 A.D. 1601.

“Given from St. Peter’s, &c. 20th January, 1601.”*

The letter affords another instance of that unrelenting
 composure with which, in the most sacred of names, and,
 if habit did not neutralize the power of language, under
 the impression of the most awful ideas, Rome can devote
 its followers to destruction. Four hundred years before,
 it had employed the English arms in bringing Ireland
 under its dominion; and, for three centuries and a half,
 supported the aggressors, at whatever sacrifice of justice
 or humanity. At the end of that time, England shook off
 from herself the yoke which she had imposed on her
 weaker neighbour; and then the Irish, whose ances-
 tors had been cursed for their insubordination, were
 blessed for their unconquerable love of liberty, and *the*
imitation of their forefathers in combating the English.
 While England was an invading power, and, by the laws
 of nature and of nations, might be honourably resisted,
 the Pontiff and his priests denounced resistance as impiety.
 Now that its ascendancy had settled down into a regular
 government, that it had been acknowledged in solemn and
 repeated covenants, and could not be opposed without
 treason, the infallible Church applies her strongest provo-
 catives to the languishing spirit of insurrection. But,
 after all, were the Irish to enjoy the liberty and *the*
inheritance of their fathers, if their sanguinary piety had
 proved successful? The Vicar of Christ had determined
 otherwise. He had seen, and seen through, the affected

The Pope
 intends
 Ireland for
 Spain.

* Mac Geoghegan, “Histoire d’Irlande,” ii. The Peter Lombard
 mentioned in this letter was afterwards titular Archbishop of Armagh.
 This man wrote a history of Ireland (Louvain, 1632), in which he main-
 tained that Ireland was an ancient fief of the Papacy, and that, although the
 Kings of England were for the present in possession, the island belonged to
 Rome by *divine right*, for which he quotes the prophet Isaiah.

Ireland a
 fief of the
 Papacy.

CHAP. II. devotion of O'Neil and his associated chieftains: he knew
 A.D. 1601. that the re-establishment of the Papal sovereignty was not
 the motive of their exertions, and, most probably, would
 not be a consequence of their triumph. He had, there-
 fore, made his own arrangements for that consummation.
 When the best blood of the sons, and the step-sons, of
 Ireland had been drained in mutual carnage, Spain was to
 seize upon the defenceless prize; new forfeitures were to
 make provision for a new race of armed colonists; and the
 Inquisition was to exercise its holy office, in vindicating
 the island of saints from the imputation of heresy.

Spanish
 Arch-
 bishop and
 General.

In addition to a Spanish archbishop, Ireland had now a
 Spanish general,* who waged independent war "in the
 name of Christ and the King of Spain," and maintained a
 stately reserve towards the native belligerents. This
 officer, in jealous imitation of O'Neil, issued a manifesto,
 containing nearly the same topics and arguments which had
 been urged by that chieftain. "We do not wish," he said,
 "to persuade any man that he should deny to his prince
 that obedience which is due *by the law of God*. But ye
 know well that, for many years since, Elizabeth was
 deprived of her kingdoms by the Pope; unto whom He
 that reigneth in the heavens hath committed all power,
 that he should root up and destroy, plant and build, in
 such sort that he may punish temporal kings, if it should
 be good for the spiritual kingdom, even to their deposing."
 After lavishing the fairest promises on the Irish leaders,
 if they will abandon the pretended Queen, he concludes
 by declaring "that those who persist in supporting an
 excommunicated heretic, must themselves be treated as
 heretics, and persecuted even to death." At the same
 time, Eugene M'Egan, the titular Bishop of Ross, and

* O'Conor, "Historical Address," i., 12. Moryson says that "no Irish
 of account joined the Spanish general, except some dependents of Florence
 Mac Carthy." The chiefs knew his designs; and the rest, though he offered
 the enormous pay of six shillings a day to every trooper, could not be
 estranged from their natural leaders. *Ibid.* 16.

Vicar Apostolic of Munster, supported by his episcopal brethren of Clonfert and Killaloe, and by other leading ecclesiastics, thundered out an anathema against all who should take up arms in the cause of heresy, or *give quarter* to the prisoners of the heretical army. The course he pursued towards such offenders, when any of them fell into his hands, displayed, at once, the vengeance, and the tender mercies, of the Papacy; they were first restored, by absolution, to the peace of the Church, and then, instantly executed in his presence. At length this sturdy fanatic, while he led on his troop of a hundred horse against a party of loyalists, with his sword in one hand, and his breviary and beads in the other, met his own fate as coolly as he had witnessed the death of his prisoners.*

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1601.

To prolong, if possible, the mutual slaughter of *both* classes of their enemies, the Spanish faction obtained a decision from the Universities of Valladolid and Salamanca, interpreting and enforcing the Pope's letter to O'Neil. This document has a deeper interest than that of mere curiosity to recommend it to the consideration of modern readers.

Judgment
of Spanish
Universi-
ties.

"The judgment of the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, concerning the present war in Ireland, and their explanation of the letter of our most holy lord Pope Clement the Eighth respecting the same.

"*Case.* The illustrious Prince Hugh O'Neil makes war with the Queen of England for the defence of the Catholic religion: two questions arise concerning it;—the one, whether the Irish Catholics may assist said prince, by arms, or other means; the other, whether they may, without mortal sin, fight *against* said prince, or favour the English. The second question is of the greater moment, seeing that, if they refuse, they expose themselves to manifest danger of life or property; besides, as *the Pontiff has permitted the Irish Catholics to obey the*

Case sub
mitted.

* Leland, ii., 484. Walsh, "History of Remonstrance," Introduction.

CHAP. II. said queen, *and acknowledge her as lawful sovereign*, by
 A.D. 1601. paying taxes to her, it would seem, that they might also
 perform another duty of subjects, namely, fight against
 her enemies.

The
 answer.

“*Answer.* In order to solve these questions, it must, in the first place, be laid down, *as certain*, that the Roman Pontiff may coerce and punish apostates from the faith, and impugners of the Catholic religion, even by force of arms, when other means fail to correct so great an enormity. It is, besides, to be held for certain, that Elizabeth impugns the Catholic faith, and does not allow the Irish the public exercise of their religion; and that, for this cause, the prince aforesaid has undertaken a war against her. These matters being premised :

“The first question is easily answered. It is beyond doubt that the said Catholics may assist said prince, with great merit, and assured hope of eternal reward. For, as said prince makes war for religion, *by the authority* and exhortation of the sovereign Pontiff, and as indulgences and graces are conferred for engaging in it, there can be no question that the war is just and of great merit.

“Touching the second question, it is also certain, that those Catholics do sin mortally who follow the camp of the English against said prince, and that they cannot be absolved by any priest, until they repent, and desert from the English army. The same judgment is to be passed on all who supply the English with arms or provisions, or with anything beyond those customary taxes which, by the *indult and permission* of the sovereign Pontiff, it is lawful to pay the Queen of England, or her officers. It is permitted to the Catholics to pay to the heretical queen *that kind and degree of allegiance which may not injure the Catholic religion*. But it was not, neither could it be, the intention of the Pontiff, to allow them to perform such acts of allegiance as would be plainly inconsistent with that end and purpose which *the Pontiff himself has in view*,

for the advancement of the Catholic faith and religion in Ireland."*

It appears from this remarkable document that there may be members of the Church of Rome who, however freely they seem to obey a Protestant government, are held in check by an invisible chain, which binds them to the footstool of the sovereign Pontiff. Under certain circumstances, and to a certain extent, their allegiance looks like that of other men, spontaneous and unreserved. But the Church allows *all* to go this length; she claims the right of determining the allowable limits, according as the interests of the faith may require: within these, obedience is lawful; to go beyond them would be, in her estimation, and in the estimation of those † whose civil conduct she directs, *a mortal sin*. Thus, after the promulgation of the bull of Gregory, all the Irish were allowed to perform those civil duties which had no immediate influence upon the issue of the contest; and had not the contest been *religious*, that is, one in which *the temporal triumph* of religion was involved, the Papist, as well as the Roman Catholic, might have fought in the Queen's armies. Since the Revolution, England has not been engaged in any war which the Vatican could pronounce to be against religion; on the contrary, during the last and most tremendous of her conflicts, the Pontiffs had very conclusive reasons for opposing no obstacle to her prodigal exertions. Hitherto, therefore, *parallel* cases of conscience have been excluded by circumstances; how much longer they may be so it is impossible to tell; but *similar* cases have occurred very recently, and have been *similarly* decided.

Before the Spanish decision arrived in Ireland, the rebellion was already over. O'Neil, who had never acted vigorously with, or *under*, his continental allies, and who,

* O'Sullivan, "Historia Catholica." Mac Geoghegan, "Histoire d'Irlande," 3.

† That is, of Papists, *not* Roman Catholics.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1601.

Rome's
hold on
her mem-
bers.

Policy of
the Vati-
can.

CHAP. II. on one occasion,* had been roundly charged with treachery
 A.D. 1601. by their discomfited general, had at length made his peace
 by an insincere submission. The greater part of his
 associates had preceded him in this course, and the others
 hastened to follow his example. Thirty years of atrocious
 hostilities, in which the customary horrors of rebellion
 were aggravated by the continual ravages of famine and
 disease, were sufficient to abate the ardour of the most
 warlike. The scrupulous provided for their spiritual and
 temporal safety by purchasing an absolution from the
 guilt of yielding to the heretical arms: the more subtle
 perceived that the Papal casuistry could be turned against
 itself, and that, as they might lawfully perform all the
peaceful duties of subjects, the anathema against military
 service would be disarmed of its thunder, if all joined in
 capitulating with the Government. Those who had any-
 thing to lose preferred English law to the unknown perils
 of a Spanish conquest, and all knew the hollowness of
 those pretences under which so many calamities had been
 brought upon their country. Henceforward, to the Great
 Rebellion, the disaffected of all classes adopted the patient
 tactics of the lords of the Pale, waiting until the distresses
 of England might afford them an easy triumph, and, in
 the mean time, employing every safe device for inflaming
 religious bigotry, and exciting a spirit of factious opposi-
 tion. The impatience of an enfeebled Government to
 restore tranquillity upon any terms, gave them unexpected
 facilities in the prosecution of this artifice. Contrary to

End of
 thirty
 years'
 hostilities.

* The extraordinary defeat before Kinsale, which was followed by the surrender of the town and the Spanish troops. O'Neil's veterans dispersed, almost without striking a blow, upon the appearance of a few troopers of the English army. Don Juan ascribed their sudden rout to treachery; the ecclesiastics to the judgment of God, because the Irish soldiers had plundered some monasteries. Sir George Carew and Moryseon have given several curious particulars of the continual feuds between the Irish and Spaniards. O'Neil's ambition, and Emmet's enthusiasm, made them equally averse to the overwhelming assistance of a foreign power.

the former practice, the rebel lords were admitted to pardon without taking the oath of supremacy; and thus that unequal division of allegiance, which "gives the soul to the Pope, while it affects to leave the body to the King," * received indirectly the sanction of the civil power.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1601.

Thus terminated, abruptly, and, in a great degree, through the mutual jealousies of the leaders, the last three rebellions, which had foiled the ablest generals, and consumed myriads of the bravest troops, of England. We shall form a very inadequate estimate of the power of the Papal system, unless we consider the obstacles which the hierarchy surmounted during this period, as well as the positive effects which they produced. Their first labour was a conflict with themselves. Stunned, in the beginning, by the unanimity with which the chieftains had thrown off their yoke, and acknowledged the more moderate pretensions of the crown, they had sunk for some years into obscurity and inaction. But, in the fretfulness and solitude of disappointment, the ancient spirit of their order was exasperated, not subdued; and, when the first rebellion replaced them in a public character, a rash anathema dissipated their own hopes, and those of their adherents. It is to the credit of their discernment, that, after this imprudent exercise of authority, they submitted to learn a less repulsive bearing, under the discipline of Jesuits, and the control of legates and vicars apostolic. Their probation being over, they had next to bend the nobles to their purposes; for, as yet, they had little, *comparatively* little, influence with the mass of the inhabitants, except in subordination to a jealous and despotic chieftainry. Seventy years after, when old connexions and old manners had almost passed away, it was

Termination of three rebellions.

* The quaint but not altogether unfounded language of James the First. *Altogether* unfounded it cannot be called, until some proof is given that allegiance to the Pope and allegiance to the King run in strictly parallel lines.

CHAP. II. observed by a viceroy,* who had studied Ireland carefully,
 A.D. 1601. "that no people in the world were more disposed than
 the Irish to follow the religion of their lords:" in the
 reign of Elizabeth, the power of the lord, and the
 attachment of the vassal were still unimpaired. Nego-
 tiation with the grandees was, therefore, indispensable;
 but the attempt was beset with most discouraging diffi-
 culties. The prelates knew that the old discord between
 their order and the nobles would still burn beneath the
 ashes which mutual convenience might strew over it; and
 that, were the common enemy removed, the moment of
 triumph would most probably change their allies into
 antagonists. No feelings of bigotry or enthusiasm had
 arisen to allay this inveterate feud: the older chiefs had
 all taken the oath of supremacy; their example had been
 followed by most of the younger; and both paid to the
 English worship the respect of their occasional, if not
 habitual, conformity. Of the three principal commanders
 in these rebellions, the first, though without sufficient
 refinement to be a speculative unbeliever, was, in his life,
 even below the decent hypocrisies of Infidelity; the
 second had avowed his contented ignorance of religious
 matters; and the third was a very punctilious conformist,
 whenever the warfare of conciliation appeared better
 calculated than open hostility to advance his deep designs.
 From these prominent instances, some conjecture may be
 formed of the general standard of religious zeal among
 the rebel leaders. We should not be warranted by the
 voluminous records of the times in complimenting any of
 them with the title of fanatic; † John of Desmond himself
 was a reckless profligate, who, while he received the con-
 gratulations of Saunders upon "the sweet sacrifice he had
 offered to heaven," probably scoffed at the familiar that
 was leading him on to destruction.

* Lord Stafford; see Carte, "Life of Ormond," i., 79.

† Except, perhaps, Lord Baltinglass, who appears to have been smitten
 with the argument, that a female, being incapable of holy orders, could not
 be head of the Church.

The clansmen, while they devoutly adopted the quarrel of their lords, partook, in a great degree, of their freedom from religious scruples. When Desmond took possession of Youghal, he indulged his followers in sacrilegious excesses, which, according to a Roman Catholic writer, brought down the signal vengeance of God upon the Earl and his family. "Even the churches," he says, "and whatsoever was sacred, were polluted and defiled by the soldiers, who brought everything to desolation, making havoc of sacred vestments, and chalices, as well as of other chattel. Certain Spaniards, who were with them at that wicked exploit, perceiving, by the furniture and ornaments of the churches, that the townsmen were all Catholics, and containing their hands from plunder, were reproved by some of that wicked company, for that they took no part of the spoil." The same author accounts similarly for the disasters of Hugh O'Neil, whose soldiers, on their march from the north, "robbed and spoiled the monasteries of Timnalague and Kilcrea, and profaned other churches." * Whether they still cherished some traditional remembrance of a simpler worship than the Roman, or whether they had been hardened by those habits of rapine which were far from disreputable among the Irish tribes, it is now impossible to decide. But, whatever may have been the cause, so far were the rebels of those days from that reverential obedience which Rome requires in her votaries, that their allies could not refrain from expressions of abhorrence. "The contempt and scorn," said Lord Mountjoy, "in which the Spaniards held the Irish, and the distaste which the Irish had of them, were not to be believed by any but those who were present to see their behaviours, and hear their speeches ;" and, on one occasion, a Spanish officer avowed his conviction, "that Christ did not die for the Irish." †

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1601.
Desmond
in Youghal.

Spanish
soldiers
hate the
Irish.

Upon the whole, there is no period in our Irish annals

* "Theatre of Catholic and Protestant Religion."

† Morysson, 187. "Pacata Hibernia," 176. See Appendix.

CHAP. II. at which bigotry had less influence upon the Roman
 A.D. 1601. Catholic body than the reign of Elizabeth. Noblemen
 of that persuasion attended the Viceroy to Christ Church ;
 those of inferior rank frequented the parish churches ; *
 Roman Catholic officers, civil, military, and municipal,
 took the oath of supremacy ; Roman Catholic soldiers,
 regardless of the spiritual thunder that was every moment
 bursting over their heads, fought gallantly against men of
 their own communion, in defence of a woman whom the
 Vicar of Christ had devoted to perdition. All this was in
 a tone—it matters not whether of liberality or of irreligion
 —to which the Church of Rome has nothing similar at
 the present day. Yet, trifling as was then the compara-
 tive strength of Popery, its absolute power must be
 measured on a scale sufficiently formidable ; for a moral
 force, like a force in chemistry or mechanics, is known by
 the resistance which it overcomes, and by the inert mass
 which it sets in motion.

These re-
 bellions
 religious
 wars.

These rebellions were religious wars ; † the name alone
 might suffice to show the influence of religion. There
 was enough of the spirit of sect to make a religious cry
 the most effectual appeal to popular sympathy ; to induce
 many of the Queen's soldiers to desert her heretical
 standard ; ‡ to prompt the Desmond vassals to spit upon
 the youthful heir of their favourite Earl, because he had
 been bred a Protestant. Hypocrisy, said somebody, is the

* See Appendix.

† The rebellion of 1798 was, in like manner, a *religious war*, though all
 the leaders in council and in the field were Protestants or Infidels. The
 fanaticism of the populace is an instrument ready for the head of any
 dexterous malcontent ; and, whatever may be the causes in which Irish
 turbulence originates, it ultimately assumes a religious character. This will
 always be the case as long as the multitude continues in ignorance, and the
 priests retain their power ; yet it seems that no system of national education
 will be adopted which has not the sanction of the titular hierarchy.

‡ O'Sullivan says that, before the battle of Kinsale, the Roman Catholics
 in the Queen's army had promised to desert, and that many of them kept
 their word, going over two, three, and even ten at a time.—*Hist. Cath.*
 177.

homage which vice offers to virtue: the hypocrisy of the rebel leaders was the homage which sedition offered to the favourite prejudice of the time. The prelates knew that the offering was indispensable: this was their only advantage; and, by a dexterous use of it, they prevailed over the hereditary hatred, the personal aversion, the unbelief, the oaths, and the jealous power, of their compatriots. Condescending, at first, to the humbler offices of treason, they affected to aspire only to that secondary influence, which the most arrogant cannot withhold from the conductors of their intrigues. But, as the path of sedition became more entangled, their profession afforded facilities, which they did not fail to improve, for obtaining an ascendancy over the lay conspirators. The secrets of every house—the projects, the passions, the ruling weakness of every breast—lay open to their inspection; and the excited fanaticism of the multitude gave them, for the first time, power founded upon feeling and opinion:—thus, they were enabled to overawe their haughty accomplices, and enforce their growing demands to a share in the prosecution of the common cause.

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1601.

“**TIME**,” said a great man, “is perpetually changing human affairs; it is wisdom to watch his progress, and adapt the institutions of the State to his changes; and, without attention to these, history is but an almanack, and experience a cheat.” It was a just and pregnant apophthegm, with not the less either of force or of beauty from that unaffectedness of expression, which distinguishes the eloquence of the right honourable orator. We can discover, without recurring to the voice of revelation, that there is some mighty confluence of destinies to which the whole human race is incessantly on its way: in the most permanent societies, and most tranquil seasons, a process is carried on, which tends to separate man from his institutions, as, in the lapse of ages, the fixed stars themselves have deserted their primeval signs. To look, therefore, to the past alone, is the error of a schoolman, who renounces

“Time,” an
innovator.

Conse-
quent du-
ties of
statesmen.

CHAP. II. the world of living realities, and sojourns in the shadowy
 A.D. 1601. region of his own abstractions. To watch, and to provide
 for, those silent influences which time is continually shed-
 ding; to correct irregularities, some as they arise, others
 in their causes; to make every new measure a liberal
 analogy from the past, and a safe precedent for the
 future; and thus, while the parts are in unceasing flow,
 to secure the continued stability of the system; these are
 the noblest cares of a statesman, the cares which approach
 nearest to the plastic energy of Providence, "reaching
 mightily from one end to the other, and sweetly ordering
 all things."

The statesmen of the present day have departed, in
 many respects, from the practice of their predecessors.
 It was not the vanity of empiricism—turning aside from
 the admonitions of history, to throw the public weal into
 a crucible, or to invoke some *idol within the breast** for a
 response upon the fate of empires,—which dictated this
 conduct; it was a grave conviction, that new objects and
 events, as they successively arose, acted upon the pre-
 existing mass, and induced a variety of new relations.
 To maintain the State in a wholesome correspondence
 with this order of nature was obviously the design of that
 alterative course which our public men have been lately
 pursuing. Conscious, then, as they must be, that every
 notable occurrence and every material change in the
 posture of affairs would furnish a new element in their
 own calculations, they will not insist upon a tame identity
 of details as necessary for the proof of a uniform policy
 in others. In proportion as they give men credit for
 a spirit and integrity similar to their own, they will be
 prepared to find in them a system of adaptation to the
 mutability of earthly things, and to regard it as the best
 evidence of a wise consistency.

Now, the Church of Rome, whether it be considered
 locally in these islands, or diffusively throughout Chris-

* "Idolum Spectâs."—*Bacon*.

Policy of
 principle,
 as opposed
 to one
 merely of
 details.

tendom, is pre-eminently marked by this continuity of principle. "What is a century in the history of a nation?" asked the most brilliant of our statesmen, when he would extort an argument from the supposed* recency

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1601.

* Many penal laws, and these the best aimed of the whole code, are some centuries earlier than the Reformation; they relate to the correspondence between ecclesiastics and the Court of Rome. Henry the Eighth did no more than follow up the principles of his predecessors in opposing a foreign jurisdiction, and upon all speculative points was a furious Roman Catholic. Of late years a mistaken tenderness for religious liberty has protected the prelates in all their intrigues; but, as every sober man saw that restraint must be laid *somewhere*, the gentry have continued to suffer for the licentious freedom of their guides.

Precautions of our Roman Catholic ancestors against Papal interferences.

As it may be desirable to show that our earlier statutes *did* provide for the coercion of the clergy, the following instance is quoted from a Roman Catholic writer. "It may be objected," says Dr. O'Connor, "that Lalor, vicar-general of Dublin, was persecuted for exercising his functions in 1606.¹ Countrymen, beware,—these are loose assertions. Inquire into facts, and you will find that Lalor was justly *prosecuted*, not *persecuted*, on the Catholic statute of *Præmunire*, enacted in the Catholic reign of Richard the Second, for the security of a Catholic State. He was prosecuted on that Act, for exercising foreign jurisdiction within the realm of Ireland, in order to convince the Irish, says Sir John Davies, that even Popish kings and parliaments deemed the Pope an usurper of those exorbitant jurisdictions which he claimed, and thought them inconsistent with the loyalty of the subject and the independence of the State.

"He was convicted, and sentenced accordingly. But though this occurred the very next year after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, yet, such was James's moderation, that the sentence was never executed; and, to show the Irish that no persecution of their religion was meant, the king issued, in the course of that very year, a commission of several graces, one of which was to secure all Irish estates by new patents against all the claims of the Crown.

"Aye,—but Lalor was first prosecuted on the Act of Supremacy. Granted; and therefore he humbled himself to the Court, and made a recognition that he was not lawful vicar-general in the diocese of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns. Upon this recognition he would have been enlarged;

¹ This celebrated and important case was republished, with an introduction by Mr. Lord, on the occasion of the Papal aggression, 1851. The title of the book was, "The Vatican and St. James; or, England independent of Rome." London: Seeleys. 8vo.—Ed.

CHAP. II. of the penal laws; "what is a century in the history of
 A.D. 1601. the Papacy?" is a question which might have been proposed with much more reason. Twelve centuries have passed over its head; during that astonishing period its plans, like its ecclesiastical discipline, have been modified to suit the place or the occasion, but its purpose has retained that unshaken firmness which is ascribed to its faith. "The hands," says Dr. Robertson, "which held the reins of administration might change, but the spirit which conducted them was always the same. While the measures of other Governments fluctuated, and the objects at which they aimed varied, the Church kept one end in view; and to this unrelaxing constancy of pursuit it was indebted for its success in the boldest attempts ever made by human ambition." Time has changed, and is changing, the form of everything around it, new-modelling constitutions, shifting the balance of power, creating or destroying states and empires,—his heavy hand falls weakly upon the Papacy. This singular monarchy bears up mysteriously against the rush of events; opposing innovation, while opposition is prudent; and, when it bends to the force of circumstances, preparing to recover its lost ascendancy with unabated alacrity and inexhaustible resources.

Dr.
Robertson.

The spirit
of the
Papacy.

Rome
outwits
statesmen.

In the narrower sphere of Ireland it is easy to trace the same unbroken spirit, with the same pliancy of external accommodation. For the last fifty years,* the Roman Catholic bishops have been engaged, with little intermission, in treating with various members of the Govern-

but finding an outcry raised against him that he had renounced the Pope's supremacy, he declared that he meant only to acknowledge the King's authority in mere temporals, without any reference to the Church. A religious cry was now raised against the Government; Lalor was extolled as a confessor who was persecuted for religion; and, therefore, to satisfy the Irish how grossly their credulity was imposed upon, the prosecution on the statute 2d of Elizabeth was quashed, and a new prosecution was instituted, on the Catholic Act of *Præsumptio*. Never did man incur the penalty of the law more deservedly than Lalor."—*Historical Address*, ii.

* Written A.D. 1827.—ED.

ment, both in England and Ireland; in every instance they have over-reached or eluded them, and held on their sinuous course of aggrandizement without sustaining one decisive defeat. They have received with equal freedom, and treated with equal dexterity, the overtures which were made to them, from time to time, by aspirants after place, and declaimers upon patriotism. They have intrigued with all parties; they have cajoled and vilified, used and abused them, as suited their purposes, yet never given their confidence to any. It was a more difficult achievement to counterplot the upper classes of their own communion; they attempted it, and have succeeded. In 1793, availing themselves of the blind strength of the Irish Legislature, they crushed the rising spirit of their gentry beneath a mass of nominally enfranchised paupers; on several occasions since they have rebuked that "overweening anxiety for emancipation" which would postpone the sacred claims of the hierarchy; and at some critical moments, when a schism appeared inevitable, have restored subordination in the seditious ranks, and soothed or terrified the ringleaders into obedience. Men who can do all this should be respected as adversaries. *Friends they never can be; they have a spirit which scoffs at conciliation; they have a separate interest — an interest in the disquiet and dishonour of England, which cannot be purchased up by any consideration within the reach of a Minister.* Those who would oppose them must never forget the maxim, which the most accomplished man of antiquity has not scrupled to dignify with the title of Divine Wisdom: "Hæc etenim est præclara illa et divina sapientia, perspectas penitus et pertractatas res humanas habere, nil admirari cum evenerit; nil, antequam evenerit, evenire posse non arbitrari."

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1601.

Popery
seeks the
dishonour
of Eng-
land.

It is true, indeed, that various causes conspire to prevent the repetition of those desolating scenes which afflicted Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. Among

CHAP. II. these, it is not our least assurance of quiet, that a prospect
 A.D. 1801. seems to open to ecclesiastical ambition of attaining its
 objects by the peaceful arts of negotiation. Time has
 changed the form of things, and the prelates of the
 present day* have shaped their measures accordingly.
 No longer menaced by proclamations, or looking for
 protection to some malcontent lords, who insulted the
mon, while they used the *instruments*, Roman Catholic
 bishops are now recognized by the committees of both
 Houses, and take their right reverend station round the
 person of the sovereign. Forfeitures and the Reforma-
 tion have cut down the ranks of their ancient rivals,
 and the few men of quality who remain in their com-
 munion have just enough of consideration to give point
 to the sarcasm,† and brilliancy to the cavalcade, of the
 jubilant ecclesiastics. By the fall of the nobility the
 bishops are now left without any competition; absolute
 masters of the ignorant, the fanatical, and the disaffected,
 they can afford to treat the timid restiveness of the more
 educated with a contemptuous and taunting composure.‡

* Written 1827.—Ed.

† “The Catholic aristocracy, *as they are called*, since the penal laws were relaxed, have gradually withdrawn themselves from the people; they have shown on some occasions an overweening anxiety for emancipation, at the expense of what the *priesthood* and the other classes deemed the interests, if not the *principles* of their religion; hence they are looked upon with suspicion, and can no longer wield the public mind.”—*Dr. Doyle to Mr. Robertson.*

Mr. O’Con-
 nell.

‡ Some time after the investigation of 1825, Mr. O’Connell was represented by all the Dublin newspapers as having declared, in a public speech, that he had been supported by Dr. Doyle, in his celebrated project of the Whigs. He was corrected by —, Dr. Doyle’s secretary; and published an apology, in which he used these among other expressions:—“I have at length felt with sensitiveness all the bitterness of reproach, and in the spirit, perhaps, of humiliated pride and mortified vanity I sit down to reply.” “If it be any pleasure to Mr. Kinsella to know that he has grieved and humbled me, I give him the advantage of knowing the fact.” If an increase of political privileges would raise the Roman Catholic gentry above language such as this, or above the dependence in which it originates, the public

In the fullest sense of the term, they are a **HIEROCRACY**, swaying a compact mass of five millions of people, with a plenitude of dominion which might be envied at Constantinople, and breaking down all distinctions among their vassals into the same abject prostration before their insolent supremacy. This power within their domestic sphere naturally gives them an influence beyond it; the opposite extremes of despotism and of a liberty almost anarchical combine to swell their authority; and, *while they rule at home with a rod of iron, they attack England with her own free institutions.* They govern the strongest political interest in the empire; they manage everywhere the puppets of legislation, from the hovel of the resident freeholder, to the château of the absentee; and the local minister confesses, that the tranquillity of Ireland and his own titular dignity are suspended upon their irresponsible good pleasure. Industrious in occupying and securing those positions, which, from a thousand motives, are successively relinquished to them, they establish every day a precedent for some new pretension. In the meantime, they make partial exhibitions of their spiritual strength: the "artillery of popular excitation" is occasionally brought out for sportive but imposing exercise;

CHAP. II.
A.D. 1601.
Power of
the hiero-
cracy.

would have a good argument for such a measure. Unfortunately, the Protestant candidates for priestly favour are no less submissive, no less in need of *emancipation*.

Dr. Doyle found another, and an able vindicator, on the occasion above mentioned. "If Mr. O'Connell," said Mr. Cobbett, "had shown any respect for the feelings of anybody, and, in particular, if he had not made an attempt to blast the character of the Catholic bishops, and annihilate for ever *the just hopes* of the Catholics, this anecdote, and all the other facts that I have stated, might have remained for me in everlasting oblivion. Catholics of Ireland, trust solely to your clergy,—*they* will never deceive you. Again, I say, believe in the sincerity of no leaders, whose ambition can be gratified by the Government. Obey the laws, whatever they may be, rely upon your clergy *for obtaining you redress*, as far as that depends upon man, and patiently wait for circumstances and events." *Quære*, What were those *just hopes* which Mr. O'Connell attempted to annihilate? Surely not the hopes of *political redress*.

Mr. Cob-
bett.

CHAP. II. and the crozier of a skilful prelate, like the wand of
A.D. 1601. Prospero, raises a whirlwind of contentious elements,
"roarers that care not for the name of king," yet contribute, it seems, to the honour and security of royalty.
Lord "Shepherds of people," says Bacon, "have need to know
Bacon. the calendars of tempests in the State, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality, as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoxes."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

NOTE A., page 248.

NOTE A.

THAT the Roman Catholics generally, both in England and in Ireland, attended the reformed worship at this time, is attested by all our most dispassionate writers.

That Romanists attended reformed worship. Carte.

Thus Carte :—

“ In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Roman Catholics universally throughout England observed the Act of Uniformity, and went to their parish churches, where the English Liturgy was constantly used. They continued doing so for eleven years, till Pope Pius V. (who had before, in a letter to the Queen, offered to allow this Liturgy, *as not contrary to truth*) issued out his famous Bull, by which he excommunicated her, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. Upon this extravagant act of the Papal power, some few of the leading men withdrew from the public churches; but still the Roman Catholics in general continued to repair to them until after the twentieth year of the Queen, when Campian and other Jesuits, being sent into England, laboured all they could to engage them not to resort thither for worship. Pope Gregory XIII., following his predecessor's steps, renewed his Bull, and excommunicated the Queen again; and Father Parsons published a treatise, entitled *De saceris alienis non adeundis*, endeavouring to prove it unlawful to go to a schismatical worship, and to join in the use of a lawful Liturgy, with persons that were not of the Papal communion. This doctrine was not immediately received: the Jesuit's book was answered by some of the secular priests of the Church of Rome; and the matter was argued *pro* and *con* in various tracts till the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. King James, incensed at Pope Clement the Ninth's Bull, which enjoined the Roman Catholics to *keep out the Scotch heretic, unless he would reconcile himself to Rome, and hold his crown of the Papacy*, and alarmed by the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason, enacting

APP. TO
CHAP. II.

severer laws against recusants, and the Jesuits, by the support of the Court of Rome, getting the better of the secular priests, the Papists universally withdrew from the parish churches in England. The case was much the same in Ireland, where the bishops complied with the Reformation, and the Roman Catholics in general resorted to the parish churches, in which the English service was used, until the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. But swarms of Jesuits and priests, educated in the seminaries founded by King Philip II. in Spain and the Netherlands, and by the Cardinal of Lorraine in Champagne (where, pursuant to the views of the founders, they sucked in as well the principles of rebellion as of what they call Catholicity), coming over into that kingdom, as full of secular as of religious views, they soon prevailed with an ignorant and credulous people to withdraw from the public service of the Church."—*Life of Ormond*, i., 32.

Berrington.

And the Roman Catholic Berrington :

"For some time, the great body of the *clergy* conformed exteriorly to the law. . . . It was, afterwards, more than once, publicly declared by Sir Edward Coke, when Attorney-General (which the Queen herself confirmed in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham), that, for the first ten years of her reign, the Catholics, without doubt or scruple, repaired to the parish churches. The assertion is true, if not too generally applied. 'I deny not,' says Father Parsons, in reply to Coke, "but that many throughout the realm, though otherwise Catholics in heart (as most of them were), did at that time, and after, as also now (*i.e.*, in 1606), either upon fear, or lack of better instruction, or both, repair to Protestant churohea.'"—*Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, Introduction, 15—19.

Leland.

And Leland :

"In Ireland, the remonstrants of 1644 contended that the act of uniformity was *not at all* executed in the reign of Elizabeth. Their answerers assigned a reason, *because there were no recusants* ; as all of the Roman communion resorted to the established churches. But, though the allegation on either side be not *strictly* true, yet the law, though not entirely dormant, was generally relaxed."

Carte and Leland concur in stating, that the legal fine of a shilling a-week (*i.e.*, a shilling Irish, equal to ninepence English) on those who absented themselves from the reformed worship, was levied in no part of Ireland but the county of Dublin. That county was selected for a more rigorous execution of the statute, "because the eyes of the whole kingdom were upon it, waiting to see what course the inhabitants would take. And yet, all that was levied in that county did not amount to above fourteen or fifteen pounds a-year." Leland, who

states fully and feelingly whatever has been said on the Roman Catholic side, gives the general result in these words:—"However the foreign clergy and Popish emissaries might have encouraged the people to repine at the penal laws, yet it is certain, and acknowledged by writers of the Roman communion, when it serves the purposes of their argument, that these laws were not executed with rigour, in the reign of Elizabeth."—ii., 381. NOTE A.

Mr. Butler, however, wishes to make a contrary impression. "What language," he asks, "can adequately describe the barbarity of Elizabeth's religious legislation, in respect to Catholic Ireland, immediately upon her coming to the throne? Her spiritual supremacy was required to be professed by all the nation (a nation which consisted wholly of Roman Catholics), under the successive penalties of all the party's real or personal estate, of *præmunire*, and the punishment of traitors by *death, and embowelment alive*. Absence from the Protestant service was punishable by a forfeiture of twelvepence for each offence, equal, at that time, in Ireland, to ten shillings of our present money. The service was to be read in the English language, then wholly unintelligible to the Irish people, but with liberty to the clergyman, if he should think proper, to read it in Latin, a language equally unintelligible to all but the clergy. Is this the legislation of a princess, whose tolerating principles and mildness, and of counsellors whose wisdom and justice you so highly eulogize? Does history record an instance of intolerance equally savage?"—*Vindication of Book of the Roman Catholic Church*, 104. Butler.

Mr. Butler knows that confused expressions are regarded by critics as proofs of impassioned sincerity; perhaps it was this knowledge that suggested the blundering vehemence of the accusation, that the Irish recusants were *first* to be put to death, and *then* emboweled alive. But whether this cool writer was, or was not, "affecting to be unaffected," his opening charge would not be absurd if he had made any attempt to prove these three particulars: that the supremacy claimed by Elizabeth *was* spiritual, in the sense to which he chooses to pervert the ambiguity of that term; that the oath of supremacy *was* proposed to all the Irish Roman Catholics; and that even one of those who refused *was* treated in the manner he seems willing to describe. Mr. Butler has not made the attempt, and the reasons which dictated, or might have dictated, this forbearance, will be deemed unexceptionable by every sober man. For the first of the three particulars, Mr. Butler had before him the solemn and concurrent declarations of the Queen herself, of the Parliament, and of the Church, that no other supremacy was claimed for the Crown than "the right of ruling all estates and degrees of men within the realm, and of restraining evil doers with the civil sword;" for the second, he had the voice of history, supported by contemporary state papers, Acts of Parliament,

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and other records, that the oath of supremacy was administered only to the *principal magistrates and officers of the executive*; and for the third, he had the same testimony, that the penalty upon refusal was generally suspension from office; that suspension was not always followed by dismissal; that sometimes the recusant was allowed to retire upon a pension; and at the worst, in a case of the most aggravated contumely, was imprisoned for a few days. Finally, Mr. Butler knew, from the acknowledgment of modern associations, if more respectable authority was not to his taste, that these recusant magistrates, whether removed or suspended, pensioned or imprisoned, were admitted into both Houses of the Irish Parliament. Such is the amount of the barbarity which Mr. Butler would have related had he been the *historian* of the Roman Catholics.

But Mr. Butler does not wish that his charges should be received too seriously. Had he been asked Horace's question—

“*Amphora cepit
Institui; currente rota cur uroeus exit?*”

he doubtless would have pleaded his veracity or his good nature. The alleged cruelties of Elizabeth and her ministers, “fine by degrees and beautifully less,” dwindle delicately, from embowelment alive, to the infliction of—prayers in an unknown tongue! The Irish Roman Catholics were condemned, it seems, either to make up amongst them the enormous fine of fifteen pounds a-year (in *persecuting* years), or to hear a service, which the Pope had pronounced to be unobjectionable; which their happy ignorance of either Latin or English rendered almost as harmless as their old Liturgy, which was to be read, if they pleased, in the former language, and for nine-tenths of it, in the very words of the missal or the vulgate,—and this is what Mr. Butler calls “such an instance of savage intolerance as is not recorded in history.” His readers must be very morose if they do not part in good humour from a man who, at his venerable years, gambols thus lightly for their entertainment.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE FIRST TO THE
GREAT REBELLION.

CLEMENT the Eighth had declared that "the Scotchman should never ascend the throne of England unless he submitted to the chair of Peter, and consented to hold the three kingdoms as fiefs of the holy see." To support this menace, the Pontiff had exerted the usual arts of his court in negotiating with the French and Spanish governments, and in soliciting the Roman Catholics of the two islands.* The talents of Cardinal Allen, and Father Parsons, had been combined to produce the *Conference about the Succession*; and the equal zeal of less eminent agents had been employed in giving publicity to its doctrines. But France, from humanity, and Spain, from vexation,† refused to countenance the schemes of the Vatican; in England the Protestant interest, already predominant, was now supported by the strength of the Scottish monarchy; and, after thirty years of exterminating

King
James I.
A.D. 1601.

* Mr. Butler, "History of Catholics," i., 269, *et seq.*

† The French monarch said, that "the design of his Holiness would only make the Catholics more miserable than ever, by engaging them in an attempt against the laws and the lawful succession:" so much more tenderness had a foreign prince than the *Holy Father* for the welfare of the Roman Catholics. The Spaniard was irritated at the perfidy of the Vatican, which, after repeated promises, now refused to sanction his pretensions to England. Clement's plan was to confer the three kingdoms upon the Lady Arabella Stuart, and the lady upon Cardinal Farnese: the cardinal was, of course, to be absolved from his religious oaths.—*Mr. Butler*, as before.

CHAP. III. warfare, some little respite was necessary for Ireland.
 A.D. 1601. Thus Clement was compelled to abandon his project ; and, on the demise of Elizabeth, the Scotchman had no competitor for the splendid inheritance. A few zealots, indeed, in Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and other places,* seemed willing to hazard a fresh insurrection in support of the Infanta and the Catholic cause ; but the vigour and address of the deputy Mountjoy soon removed these trifling exceptions to the general tranquillity.

Line of
 Milesian
 monarchs
 restored.

It was not, however, the quiet of mere exhaustion in which Ireland now lay. Expectation (just and natural, if it could have been restrained within sober limits ; but dangerous, from the ardent temper of the people, and the mischievous industry with which their hopes were inflamed,) had its share in producing the unwonted calm. The old Irish regarded James as a kinsman ; † and were taught to expect great favours from a prince who, after an oppressive *interregnum* of four hundred and fifty years, had restored the legitimate line of their Milesian sovereigns. The monarch, on his part, gladly admitted the plea of consanguinity, and displayed a kindly interest in the welfare of his Irish people. To mark his accession as the auspicious opening of a new era, he commenced his reign with an *act of indemnity and oblivion* for all past offences ; and, as a pledge of the indulgence to be shown to minor culprits, received O'Neil, and his son-in-law, O'Donel, with distinguished attention. This sweeping amnesty was followed by a *commission of grace*, for the settlement of landed property ; by which the great proprietors were secured against the claims of the Crown ; inferior holders were, in their turn, protected from the exactions of the nobles ; and all estates made descendible according to the law of

* These riots are described by Cox with absurd exaggeration : this writer's prejudices render him almost as unsafe a guide on one side, as Curry, Plowden, and the elder O'Conor are upon the other.

† Several Irish writers, O'Flaherty, Lynch, O'Halloran, &c., dwell with much complacency upon the genealogy of the house of Stuart.

England. Lastly, the whole body of the common people, Milesians, and those Anglo-Irish who had fallen into the native customs, were emancipated for ever from the dominion of their lords: Ulster, with parts of Leinster and Connaught, for the first time, and Munster, after an interval of two centuries, saw judges taking their circuits of assize, and dispensing the comforts of English jurisprudence. Benevolent, but ineffectual measures: it was beyond the reach of a proclamation to abolish the memory of old grievances; to make an Irish landlord contented with equal laws and a reasonable rent; to appease the hungry and contentious expectancies, which, by the usages of tanistry and gavelkind, were collected round an Irish property; or to qualify those who had been brutalized by the tyranny of ages, for the immediate enjoyment of British freedom.

While James was thus endeavouring to conciliate his Irish subjects, the hierarchy had prepared another, and more insidious ground, for their wild hopes and conditional loyalty. "The son of a Catholic martyr,"* as these prelates loved to style the new monarch, inherited, it was said, the orthodox principles of his parent, and waited only for an opportunity of declaring himself. In the meantime, they resolved to act as if assured of his favour; his acquiescence might lead to their peaceful re-establishment; his resistance might stimulate the prodigal valour of their votaries to another desperate struggle. The regular priests, who had been banished in the preceding reign, now returned in troops; and, disdainful to perform their rites in unmolested privacy, braved the law by their ostentatious exhibitions: they were seen in all the towns, marching in processions, clothed in the habits of their respective orders, and unfurling all the pageantry of their gaudy ceremonial. As revenues are never wanting to the titular hierarchy, when it is thought expedient to display the

* He is so styled by a contemporary titular bishop, Dr. Routh, *Analecta Sacra*.

ONAP. III. magnificence of the Church, means were found to restore
 A.D. 1608. the Roman Catholic worship in considerable splendour; crosses were erected in conspicuous places, chapels were built, monasteries repaired, and, in several instances, the reformed clergy were ejected from the parish churches. The times were no longer considered to require any compromise. Those of the laity who had hitherto frequented the Protestant service, and who were distinguished from the recusant party by the title of Church Papists,* relaxed, and ultimately discontinued, their attendance. The ecclesiastics began to revive their old claim of superiority over the civil power: they reviewed causes which had been determined in the King's Courts; and they enjoined the populace, under pain of mortal sin, to renounce the laws for the sacred authority of the canons. Could they have been satisfied with an *actual* toleration, James was not indisposed to overlook these bold proceedings; but when their agents petitioned the throne for a *formal* recognition† of the Papal system, the extravagance of the request, the fear of some new conspiracy, the confidence avowed by the recusants, that they could command what they had chosen to solicit; and that sterner spirit of Protestantism, which was now spreading rapidly through the two islands, all united to arrest the progress of concession. The appearance of vigour, however, which the monarch was compelled to assume, did not accord either with the easiness of his temper, or with the respect which he felt and acknowledged for the "mother Church" of Christendom.

Ecclesiastical and civil power.

* In the same spirit, the agitators of the present day call the moderate Roman Catholics *Orange Papists*.

† Such a recognition has not been yet obtained. It is now universally known, that a correspondence with Rome, which, according to the modern discipline, is necessary for the maintenance of communion with the Church, subjects the party to very heavy legal penalties. The residence of Papal ecclesiastics in the British dominions is, therefore, only connived at, not legally tolerated.¹

¹ Written in 1827.—Ed.

The Papists soon learned to despise his timid moderation ; and to the Puritans, while he laboured to mitigate their asperities, he became himself an object of suspicion and disgust.*

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1608.

It is remarkable that, though the hierarchy thus affected to rely on his entire devotedness to their cause, they would not suffer their followers to take an oath of allegiance. The discovery of the gunpowder treason had been so far from ruffling the benevolence of the King, or thwarting his schemes of conciliation, that his naturally undignified character rose with the emergency into a clemency and magnanimity truly royal. In his speech to the Parliament he observed, "that though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to include all the Romanists in the same guilt, or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. The wrath of heaven is denounced against crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favour ; and many holy men, our ancestors among the rest, had concurred with the Church of Rome in her scholastic doctrines, who yet had never admitted her seditious principles concerning the Pope's power of dethroning kings. For his part, the conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter in the least his plan of government : while, with one hand, he punished guilt, with the other he would support and protect innocence."† To discriminate those whose loyalty was thus to recommend them to his favour, the acute, but somewhat pedantic monarch, bestowed much pains upon the preparation of a test-oath. As, notwithstanding the explanations of the Church and legislature, the "spiritual supremacy" of Elizabeth continued to be misinterpreted, he considerably relinquished the invidious claim : on the other hand, the skill with

The Gun-
powder
Treason.
A.D. 1606.

Oath to be
taken by
Roman
Catholics.

* The particulars mentioned in this paragraph are detailed by Carte, "Life of Ormond," Introduction ; by Leland, vol. ii., 416 ; by Burke, "Hibernia Dominicana," 610 ; and by Cox, "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. ii., 10.

† Hume, vi., 38.

CHAP. III. which he insisted on civil fidelity was calculated to secure
 A.D. 1606. a fair equivalent. His oath differs from the present one
 in some curious particulars: it opens with a declaration
 that James was *rightful* King; it says, "notwithstanding
 any excommunication, passed or *to be passed*, I will bear
 true allegiance;" above all, it pronounces the deposing
 doctrine *heretical*.

Deposing
 doctrine
 heretical.

Pope Paul
 V. pro-
 nounces
 oath un-
 lawful.

Upon the first publication of this celebrated formulary, it almost had the effect which was intended by the royal framer. "Various were the opinions concerning it," says a titular Bishop of the last century, "and much dissension arose among the lay leaders of the Catholics, the priesthood, and the professors of scholastic theology. Some opposed it strenuously; others took it without hesitation, pleading the necessity of relieving themselves from the penal laws, and their intention of promising only civil obedience. But the controversy was ended by the Pontiff Paul V., who, in a brief addressed to the Catholics of England and Ireland, pronounced the oath unlawful."* The following is a copy of this memorable edict:—

"To the Catholics of England and Ireland:

"Beloved children, health and apostolical benediction.

His brief.

"The tribulations which you have borne for the Catholic faith have always deeply afflicted us; but now that we have heard of the increase of your sufferings, our grief has been imbittered to a most painful degree. For we have learned that you are compelled, under severe penalties, to frequent the temples of the heretics and listen to their preachings. Truly we believe that those who have hitherto so firmly endured the most atrocious persecutions, that they might walk without spot in the law of the Lord, will not now permit themselves to be contaminated by any communion with apostates. Nevertheless, being impelled by the zeal of our pastoral office, and by that paternal

* Dr. Burke, "*Hibernia Dominicana*."

solicitude which we feel for the safety of your souls, we are moved to warn and adjure you, that you, on no account, enter the temples of the heretics, or participate in their religious rites, lest you incur the wrath of God. Furthermore, you cannot, without the most grievous injury to the Divine honour, bind yourselves by an oath which, with much sorrow of heart, we understand to be proposed to you." *The oath is recited here; then the Pontiff proceeds*:—"It must be clear to you, from the very words, that this oath cannot be taken with safety to the Catholic faith, and your own souls. We admonish you, therefore, that you abstain from this, and all such oaths; and we require this the more urgently, because that, having experienced the constancy of your faith, which has been tried by persecution as gold in the furnace, we hold it as certain that you will cheerfully submit to all tortures, even to death itself, rather than offend in any wise against the majesty of God. And our assurance is strengthened by those actions which shine forth now in your martyrs, with no less splendour than the achievements of the first ages of the Church. Stand, therefore, having your loins girded with truth, and putting on the breast-plate of righteousness, and taking the shield of faith: be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, and let nothing restrain you. He who beholds your contest from the heavens, and is ready to crown you with glory, will himself accomplish the good work in you: He has promised never to leave you as orphans, and you know that his promises are sure. Adhere, therefore, to his discipline, being rooted and grounded in love, for by this shall all men know that you are his disciples, if you love one another. Which love, as it is much to be desired by all faithful Christians, so, my beloved children, is it especially necessary for you. For thus will be broken that power of the devil which now rises against you, and which is chiefly supported by the mutual discord of my children."

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1605.
Enforced
by a second
brief;
and a third
of Pope
Urban.

The authenticity of this decree having been questioned by the loyal party, it was confirmed the year following, in a second brief of the same Pontiff. Some time after, it was again enforced by the succeeding Pope, Urban, who pronounced, "that the Catholics ought to lose their lives, rather than take the condemned oath." "It was," he said, "pernicious and unlawful, designed not only to maintain the fidelity due to the King, but to wrest the sceptre of the universal Church from the Vicar of Almighty God."

By these means the controversy was soon terminated in Ireland; but, in the other island, where the Roman Catholics bore a greater proportion to the faction of the Pope, the spirit of loyalty was not subdued so easily. A very interesting account of the origin, progress, and final rejection of the oath in England, has been given by a Roman Catholic bishop of that country. The following are extracts:—

"Had the Catholics, in a body, upon the accession of James, waited on him with the *Protestation of Allegiance*, as containing their true and loyal sentiments, it is probable that we should have heard no more of recusancy, or of penal prosecutions. His good will to the professors of that religion was, from the earliest impressions, deeply marked on his heart; but in the creed of the majority, at least of a majority of their ministers, he knew there was a principle admitted, that of the Papal prerogative over the crowns of princes, which could ill accord with the exalted opinion he entertained of his Royal dignity and independence. Both Parliament and King, aware that some Catholics, from conscientious scruples, objected to the oath of supremacy, and still that there were many whose civil principles were sound and loyal, seriously desired to offer them a political test, which should establish a just discrimination; that is, should show them who might be safely trusted. With this view, the oath of allegiance was framed, to which it was thought every Catholic would

Oath of
allegiance
framed.

cheerfully submit, who did not believe the Bishop of Rome to have power to depose kings, and give away their dominions. The oath, accordingly, was taken by many Catholics, both laity and clergy; and a ray of returning happiness gleamed around them. But a cloud soon gathered on the seven hills; for it could not be that a test, the main object of which was an explicit rejection of the *deposing power*, should not raise vapours there. The Catholics were thrown into the utmost confusion; new dissensions arose; controversies were renewed; while the King, the Government, and the nation, strengthened in their first prejudices, were now authorized to declare, that *men whose civil conduct was subject to the control of a foreign Court, could with no justice claim the common right of citizens*. The laws of the preceding reign were ordered to be executed, and new ones, additionally severe, were enacted. With what face, then, can it be asserted that the Roman bishop or his Court have constantly promoted the best interests of the English Catholics, when their religion itself was exposed to danger, and themselves and their posterity involved in much misery, that an ambitious prerogative might not be curtailed?" "The priests who took the oath of allegiance were harassed by a Papal decree, whereby they were deprived of all their jurisdiction, and consigned to penury and ignominy. Of these, many surrendered themselves into the hands of justice, to obtain a scanty maintenance—an act of direful necessity, which the men of their own faith could represent as a sinful apostasy from religion. Others retracted, and, among them, two of the thirteen who had signed the protestation of allegiance; but the Bulls of Paul, it seems, had extinguished all consistency of reason, and inspired them with a love of martyrdom. They died, because, when called upon by the legal authority of their country, they would not declare that the Roman bishop had no right to dethrone princes." *

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1605.

* Berrington, "Memoirs of Panzani," Introduction, 68—78. Mr.

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1605.
Appeal of
priests to
the Pope.

Some priests, fellow-prisoners of the two who had been executed, addressed an affecting petition to the Pope, praying that he would explain in what particulars the oath was unlawful. "Immured," said they, "in a dungeon, surrounded by all that is pernicious and revolting, bereft of the solace of friendly communion and the society of all good men, we live in darkness. From this place, in which thirteen of us had been confined for our rejection of the oath, two of our number went forth last year to suffer as invincible martyrs, and exhibited a sight of sublime interest to God, to angels, and to men. By the blood of these martyrs, by our own toils and sufferings, by our chains and tortures and all-enduring patience, and, if these things do not move you, by the bowels of the Divine compassion, we implore you, turn a portion of your consideration to the afflictions of the English Catholics. There are some who fluctuate between *you* * and Cæsar; in order, therefore, that the truth may be made manifest, we pray that your Holiness would vouchsafe to point out those propositions in the oath of allegiance which are opposed to faith and salvation."

Appeal
unheeded.

The Vicar of Christ would not condescend to explain: "he could sit"—it is a Papal bishop who thus vents his indignation—"he could sit undisturbed in the Vatican, hearing that men were imprisoned, and that blood was poured out, in support of a claim which had no better origin than the ambition of his predecessors, and the weak concessions of mortals; he could sit and view the scene, and not, in pity at least, wish to redress their sufferings, by releasing them from the injunctions of his decree."

The Irish priesthood gave, as usual, more serious provocation, and, as usual, escaped with lighter penalties. The growing confidence of their faction, the weakness of the Butler mentions the execution of these priests, but with his customary reserve, leaves his readers to conjecture the cause.

* The word in the Gospel, it will be remembered, is GOD. The passage above given is quoted by Dr. O'Connor from Dodd's "Church History," vol. iii.; 524.

Government, the predilection of the landlords for a Roman Catholic tenantry, and the execration in which all classes held the character of an informer, contributed to encourage and protect their intrigues. Far from being exposed to too severe a scrutiny, that speculative treason which contented itself with refusing a pledge of allegiance seemed, from its rarity and the strong relief of contrast, as if almost elevated to the merit of loyalty. It would, indeed, be strange if, in a country where the spirit of the order, and the arts of the Roman Court, were producing their annual fruits of sedition, these ecclesiastics had enjoyed, in every case, an unclouded and tranquil impunity. A statute, passed in the second year of Elizabeth, had armed the executive with considerable powers against them; and, from time to time, at seasons of peculiar alarm, a proclamation from Dublin Castle was discharged over their heads, to announce the probability of its enforcement: but their admirable discipline at first, and afterwards experience of the slightness of the danger, taught them to stand the ineffectual fire. From Henry the Eighth to George the Third, a period of two troubled and eventful centuries, in which, with the exception of a few Franciscans, not one of the priesthood was found trustworthy, the diligence of faction has not been rewarded with the discovery of half a dozen instances of vindictive animadversion.

It is said, by modern writers of the Church of Rome, by Dr. O'Connor, on the Roman Catholic side, by Mr. Plowden, in the opposite extreme, and by Mr. Butler, who wishes to mediate between these conflicting parties, that the oath of James is *substantially* the same with that which has been taken for the last fifty years. If their agreement could be clearly shown, and if it were also certain that the present is an adequate test,* there would remain little reason for doubting that Popery is extinct in the British islands. But those who reflect on the refined

* See, however, the "Digest of Evidence," part ii., chap. 8.

CHAP. III. and systematic equivocation of the Papal schools, will be
 A.D. 1606. slow to admit an identity of import, without a precise
 correspondence in the terms. The truth is, that these
 gentlemen, from different but equally efficacious motives,
 have been unjust to the learned sagacity of James, and
 too lenient to the presumptuous ignorance of the late
 Irish legislature. They felt, also, a common anxiety that
 an important change should appear to have taken place in
 the political principles of the body to which, in common,
 they belonged; and they were thus prompted to maintain
 that a pledge, which had been refused at an earlier period,
 was substantially given in their own times. But, when
 they descend to particulars, and they were too discreet to
 penetrate very deeply, the hopes raised by this confident
 but vague asseveration are immediately dispersed. Dr.
 O'Connor, pursuing the steps of some Gallican divines, and
 a few loyal Irishmen of the seventeenth century, is quite
 willing to call the deposing doctrine *heretical*.* Mr.
 Plowden, on the contrary, while he contends that, by
 taking the present oath he has *equivalently* taken that of
 James, objects to this epithet, "because," as he says,
 "there never was a *heresy* of such a tendency." † The
 expression is obscure, but the meaning seems to be that,
 though many have held the doctrine, yet they were not
 heretics; their error, if it were one, did not amount to
 heresy, or exclude them from the fellowship of an
 infallible Church. To the same effect is the *Theological*
Judgment of Dr. Milner and the priesthood of his midland
 district:—"Although we have for ourselves abjured the
 deposing doctrine, yet, following the example of our prede-
 cessors, who, chiefly on account of the extravagant and
 false terms therein contained, refused King James's oath
 of allegiance, *we declare* that it is utterly unlawful, and
contrary to the doctrine of our Church, for a Catholic to

Dr. Milner
 and the
 deposing
 power.

* Father Walsh calls it the *Hildebrandine Heresy*, from Pope Hildebrand, *i.e.*, *Saint Gregory the Seventh*.

† "Historical Letter to Columbanus," 153. Appendix, 6.

condemn upon oath the mere deposing doctrine as damnable and heretical." * This language is instructive : the divines abjure the alarming tenet ; but they confess that, if they were to call it heretical, they would be contradicting the doctrine of the Church, or, in other words, incurring themselves that guilt of heresy which they imputed to others : they declare inferentially that the Church, or some authority which they receive as that of the Church, *has a doctrine* upon the subject—a doctrine which must be unerringly true, yet is of too sacred and delicate a character to be exposed to the gaze of Protestants, or of the vulgar of their own communion.

OKAP. III.
A.D. 1605.

Finally, when from these adverse statements, we turn to the guarded moderation of Mr. Butler, he informs us that "the Church tolerates both parties," both that which holds, and that which renounces, the deposing doctrine. This gentleman, the advocate of the measures which were opposed by Dr. Milner and his clerical associates, *could* not speak unfavourably of the oath of James ; but it is interesting to observe the steadiness with which, as a historian, he poises the nice balance of impartiality. He acknowledges his persuasion "that nothing could be wiser, or more humane than James's purpose in framing the oath ;" "that his views were kind, salutary, and most benign." But this praise of good intentions on the part of the monarch is qualified by an attempt to show that other views were attributed, and *not without reason*, to his ministers and advisers. The sinister purposes thus imputed were, "first, to divide the Catholics about the lawfulness of the oath ; secondly, to expose them to daily persecution in case of refusal, and, in consequence of this, to represent them as disaffected persons, and of unsound principles." † Now, if this were wickedness, James himself must be involved in the accusation ; for he avowed his anxiety to distinguish the well-disposed from those

Mr. Butler.

* "Evidence of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin," Lords' Report, 752.

† See "History of Catholics," i., 307, 308, &c.

CHAP. III. whom, in his homely but appropriate language, he called
 A.D. 1605. Gunpowder Papists. It was an anxiety which, one would suppose, might be very consistently shared by the most liberal minister—to protect and cherish men of approved loyalty, without reference to their creeds; to watch, and, if necessary, to coerce, others, whom disaffection, not dissent, had rendered obnoxious. Yet Mr. Butler calls it a *persecution*: had he said that treason was part of his religion, the abuse of words would not have been greater, though it might have required a more serious correction. And why should an endeavour “to divide the Catholics” be so heinous an offence in the judgment of this able and temperate writer? The Church, he says, tolerates both parties, and probably he wishes to imitate her neutrality.

There is not, however, that perfect equality of regard which the historian imagines: the conduct of the Church betrays the quarter to which her affection inclines, while her silence proves, if not her infallibility, at least the profoundness of her worldly wisdom. The devoted fidelity of the Papist is *favoured*; the timid and respectful doubts of the Roman Catholic are *tolerated*: the former class constitutes the effective strength of the Papacy; the latter serves, not only to magnify its ostensible numbers, but to recruit the disposable force with continual supplies. It is, therefore, not without good reason that the court of Rome and the local hierarchy oppose every effort to separate these classes. Their policy has always been, and is at the present moment, directed to this point, that the civil government should accept their interference, as the only security for the good citizenship of their followers. They know the importance of presenting an imposing front, and negotiating at the head of an unbroken phalanx. Nothing will be endured which threatens to thin their ranks, or to enervate their discipline; no test will be sanctioned, no conditions will be allowed, to which they are not contracting parties. Honour is called in to the aid of

Papal
 policy to
 make
 statesmen
 govern
 through
 the priest-
 hood.

faith; the generous are taught to forget private opinion and to forego private interest in devotion to the common cause; when the honesty of instinct recoils from expressions of approbation, the venial duplicity of acquiescence is adroitly recommended; and selfishness is cheered in its reluctant abstinence by a seasonable announcement of that glorious time when all may rush in together, and riot in the enjoyment of unconditional emancipation. Thus it happens, that by some suitable appliance to every variety of temperament, a spirit of political union is diffused among the members of the Papal Church; mutual strangers are attracted by some sympathetic regards; and even disputants are conscious of a secret good understanding, which often renders their differences more friendly than their concord with other men.

Mr. Butler himself appears to have been swayed by some influence of this nature. The controversy in which this gentleman and Dr. Milner were arranged on opposite sides is thus described by an eminent and active contemporary:—"The oath of 1778 was not found to be effectual in removing the prejudices of Protestants; and many of the Roman Catholics, who were anxious to be thought worthy of admission to the whole constitution, desired to give a further pledge of their civil principles. Accordingly, the English committee drew up a protestation, which was very generally signed by the body; the favourable effect which it produced was sudden and extensive,—so much so, that some persons in power thought it advisable to introduce a new oath, founded on the protestation, into a bill for further relief. But some of those who had signed the protestation had by this time reflected on their conduct, and they viewed it with horror, as reprobating certain principles which they had *ever been taught to venerate*; others, men of punctilious and sophistic minds, had leisure to examine their store of quirks and quibbles for perplexing the ignorant and disturbing the timid, while they claimed for themselves the credit of

CHAP. III. saving religion and shielding the integrity of the Catholic
A.D. 1606. faith. The controversy that now took place was acrimonious and stubborn, *in every point most minutely resembling that which had been excited by the oath of James. It even seemed that, after the lapse of almost two hundred years, the same men existed to combat, and that their generation had not passed away.* To persons of reflection, however, the thought was melancholy, that, with the tenets of our faith, our opinions also had been stationary,—that is, our reason had not been progressive, and that we too nearly approached to that class of beings, which naturalists, from their unvarying character, have defined to be imperfectible. The vicars apostolic condemned the oath; their censure had the concurrence of the bishops in Ireland and Scotland, and finally received its ratification from the Pope.”

“I am informed,” proceeds this respectable man, “that many priests, with the Vicars Walmsley and Douglas at their head, have recently withdrawn their names from the protestation, and that their act is recorded in an authentic instrument, termed a counter-protestation. Are we therefore sure that there may not also be a counter-oath? when our enemies, *as I thought them*, used to proclaim that no form of words could bind us, I indignantly repelled the charge. In future, *I and others must be silent, hang our heads, and blush.*”* One priest persevered in his advocacy of the oath and protestation; he was censured by his bishop, Dr. Walmsley, to whom the special thanks of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide was conveyed in the following letter:—

Cardinal
Antonelli
[1792.]

“Most Illustrious and Rev. Lord, our Brother,
“Your Lordship’s despatches of the 18th of October afforded singular satisfaction to their eminences, the fathers of the congregation. They were gratified, not only by your report of the present prosperous state of

* Berrington, “Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani.”

religion in England, but by the zeal with which you had subdued the boldness of the missionary Joseph Wilks, who, in conjunction with others, had opposed the encyclical letters of the vicars apostolic against the oath proposed to the Catholics. Your conduct, in compelling that person, by ecclesiastical censures, to return to his duty, and make the necessary recantation, was so approved by their eminences, that they judged it suitable to decree your Lordship their distinguished thanks.

“ I am,

“ Your Lordship's brother,

“ L. CARDINAL ANTONELLI, *President.*

“ *Rome, March 10, 1792.*”

To those who wish to enjoy the fruits of history, this suspension of the narrative, for the purpose of comparing the present with the past, is not unimportant, and should not be unacceptable. It proves that the coincidence is much more exact than Roman Catholics have represented or Protestants hoped, that James's oath is not taken, either in substance or in terms, and that the Legislature has made no progress towards the establishment of a safe distinction between the loyal and the disaffected members of the Church of Rome. We may now return into the regular course of events.

Historic
narrative
renewed.
A.D. 1618.

“ From the time of proposing the oath,” says a contemporary titular bishop, “ the measures of the Catholics were conducted in secrecy, until the assembling of a Parliament gave them a fresh opportunity of displaying the ardour of their faith and zeal.”* In the interval, both the surface and the internal structure of the social fabric in Ireland, had undergone considerable changes. The clans were entirely broken; the ancient jurisdiction, whether of the Brehon code, or of the more powerful will of the chieftains, was abolished; and the pale, the region

* Bouth, “ *Analeta Sacra.*”

CHAP. III. of English law, was at length co-extensive with the whole
 A.D. 1618. island. The people of the Milesian race, the old English, and the new settlers, were held together in solution for a season of precarious and delusive tranquillity; they met in ordinary life, and were now to meet in Parliament, upon the common footing of British subjects. This policy of James, much as it has been extolled both by early and recent authorities, and wise as in other circumstances it would doubtless have been, swelled the power of the prelates to a degree, which soon after proved nearly fatal to all good government and rational freedom. "The Irishry," says Sir John Davies, "who in former times were left under the tyranny of their lords and chiefs, were received into His Majesty's immediate protection. Our visitation of the shires, however distasteful to the Irish lords, was sweet and most welcome to the common people; they were now taught that they were free subjects to the King, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords, whose extortions were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit thereunto. They gave a willing ear unto these lessons; and so the greatness and power of these Irish lords over the people suddenly fell and vanished." It was very true, that, under the ancient system, the lords had been tyrants, and the people slaves; and in proportion as it *was* true, in the same degree were the slaves unqualified for immediate emancipation. Had James been, as he is sometimes most absurdly called, the lawgiver of Ireland, he would have seen the folly of imposing all the responsibilities of freedom upon a race which long oppression had almost degraded from the rank of moral agents. The lords fell; and when the first pleasure of the change was over, their former vassals, the helpless inhabitants of nineteen* counties, laid down their irksome liberties at the feet of

Sir John
 Davies.
 "The
 Irishry."

* Mary had made two, the King's and Queen's counties; James created seventeen.

the hierarchy. Thus, the prelates, in their adversity, were suddenly invested with a dominion over the populace, for which, during the more showy ages of its connexion with the State, their order had struggled incessantly, but in vain. A subordinate share of this power was prudently given to the lawyers—a body which the same precipitancy of Government had just brought out into political existence, and which has ever since repaid the patronage of the Church by a vigorous and submissive co-operation. By the abrupt introduction of English law, the advice of these men had become a matter of almost daily necessity to multitudes of the natives, who were utterly ignorant of their new rule of life: from advice it was no difficult step to authority; and authority acquired somewhat of a sacred character from the sanction of the ecclesiastics. Such was the origin of that domestic government which surviving the agitations of two stormy centuries, continues to attest, at the present moment,* the malignant sagacity of its founders. At every stage, and in every form of its existence, it has produced the same fruits: disaffection among Roman Catholics, disgust and alarm among Protestants, contempt and ignominy to the civil power, and calamity to the cause which it professed to maintain.

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1613.
Power of
Romish
prelacy
augmented.

The commanding relation in which the prelates now stood to the mass of the people, aided them in the accomplishment of another object—the delicate and important task of conciliation. In the more flourishing days of the Church, the hierarchy, proud of its station at the head of an ascendancy party, had fomented the animosity between the colonists and the natives; adversity taught the prudence of a blander policy; and the evils which had been experienced from the feud during the latter years of Elizabeth, gave double force to the admonition. The influence of the lawyers, who were all of the English

* A.D. 1827.—ED.

CHAP. III. pale, and who, from being the contemptuous enemies of
 A.D. 1613. the Irish,* now affected the character of their guides and
 protectors, had some effect in appeasing this hereditary
 discord;—complete success was reserved for a higher
 power. Many of the bishops and heads of religious
 orders, men of talents for intrigue, and entirely devoted
 to the Papal interest, were themselves Anglo-Irish of
 respectable family; their advancement was disagreeable
 to some Milesian zealots, but Rome knew how to appre-
 ciate the value of the argument to be derived from their
 implicit and edifying obedience.† It was the peculiar
 office of these persons to neutralize old antipathies by the
 more powerful agency of a counter-passion. A spirit of
 fanaticism, which has but one parallel in our history—the
 fury of the present ‡ awful times—was diffused through the
 whole country, animating equally the populace of both
 races, and carrying away all other impulses in the head-
 long vehemence of its career. Factions, upon whose
 mutual and unmitigated hatred the suns of four centuries
 and a-half had gone down, forgetting their quarrels,
 found in heresy an object for their consenting execration,
 and were content to derive their rights from the *Divine*
right of their common Father. Miracles, prophecies, and

The Eng-
 lish pale
 and the
 Irish.

* "It is evident," says an observer of these transactions, "that until of late the old English pale despised the mere Irish, accounting them to be a barbarous people, void of civility *and religion*, and each of them held the other as a hereditary enemy; and so it would have continued many years to come, had not these latter times produced a change."—*Discourse of Ireland, Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i.

† "It is known by experience," says Father Walsh, a contemporary, "that one prelate or churchman of the old English stock hath been heretofore, and is at present, more able to work the laity of the same extraction to traitorous designs, than a whole hundred of the other." By *them* was implanted that implicit devotion to Rome of which J. K. L. has so much reason to boast, as still pervading the descendants of the early colonists, and which has given a proverbial currency to the character, *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*.

‡ Written A.D. 1827.—ED.

pastoral addresses, supplied their faith with its spiritual aliment; while the cry of "O'Neil is coming," gave the exhilarating assurance that they were not to be left without human aid. The irreclaimable treachery of that chieftain had consigned him to exile some years before—a pensioner at the Court of Spain, advancing age and habits of dependance had broken his ambitious spirit; and now it was rumoured that he was preparing to invade his native country, as the ally of a priesthood which he had formerly despised,* and the creature of a foreign power of which he had been the haughty and respectable competitor.

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1613.

The higher classes, having opposite interests and little superstition, were not so easily united as the lower: but their mutual jealousies, far from embarrassing the Church, multiplied its instruments, and secured the advantages of a division of labour. The Irish, born to turbulence and the *expectation* of land (an expectation which had been disappointed, partly by the recent forfeitures, but much more by the introduction of the English laws of inheritance), were ruined and reckless men, who disdained all occupation but that of the sword, and whose only hope was in some effort of desperate adventure. The dreams by which some of them were still visited, that Ireland might be erected into a separate kingdom, were unacceptable to the prelates, but gave no serious apprehension: the majority would follow the fortunes of O'Neil; and the valour of these fiercer spirits, without strength or guidance for a separate enterprise, might be safely employed in fatiguing the common enemy. While the Irish

* During the whole of this, and part of the following reign, the priesthood of both islands were in the interest, and many of them in the pay, of the Spanish monarchy. The titulars of Dublin and Cashel are particularly mentioned as pensioners of Spain; the general memorial of the Irish hierarchy in 1617 was addressed to the Spanish Court; and we are told by Mr. Berrington, that the English Jesuits, three hundred in number, were all "of the Spanish faction." Spanish interference.

CHAP. III. were thus in readiness for some daring exertion, the
 A.D. 1618. Roman Catholic gentry of English extraction occupied the foreground of this troubled scene, agitating their minor and preliminary grievances. Their property, which was very considerable, was the fruit of conquest or confiscation, and one portion of it, the spoil of the monastic houses, lay under the heavier opprobrium of sacrilege; circumstances which may be admitted as sufficient evidence that, in entering upon their factious career, they had not looked to a rebellion, or to the triumph of their associates. Their designs were more limited, and more pacific: deprived of their old monopoly of office, and mortified at the growing prosperity of the later settlers,* they had gone into *opposition*; and they practised the customary devices of party, thwarting, to enhance the value of their venal co-operation. But, in leaguings with the hierarchy, they had committed themselves to those from whom few have ever escaped with impunity: services of continually increasing danger, which the honour of consistency could not decline, were pointed out by their spiritual guides, until they were drawn insensibly within the vortex of treason; and the necessity of maintaining their seditious consequence, made them slaves of those passions which they had contributed to excite. When they made professions of disaffection or fanaticism, the fears of the Government, and the over-apt simplicity of the mob, conspired with the cunning of an interested priesthood, in giving them credit for sincerity; a credit which, at first, they by no means deserved, but which had a tendency to realise its most ample anticipations.

As a body, the Roman Catholics had little to look for; *nothing* which those among them who observed a

* One of the grievances in "the Civil Government of Ireland," of which the Catholic Association in 1613 complained to the Crown, was, that the new nobility had obtained larger estates, and enjoyed more of the confidence of Government, than the lords of the pale. This memorial is preserved in the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i.

respectful demeanour towards the Government were not obtaining every day, from its prudence or liberality. They were fully in possession of that great object, which, at present,* excites so much turbulent desire: the doors of both houses of the legislature lay wide open; nor had the more aspiring been driven to purchase admissibility, by betraying the rights of their humbler compatriots. By a tenure which was more precarious, only because it depended more upon themselves, they were sheriffs of cities and counties, justices of the peace, mayors and aldermen of corporations; they practised at the bar, held commissions in the army and places about the court, were occasionally admitted to the Privy Council; and, in the next reign, without any change in the law, we find some generals, and even a lord deputy, among the Roman Catholics of Ireland. A statute, enacted in the second year of Elizabeth, had made the oath of supremacy a qualification for these offices; and for some years the love of place, or the natural impulse of loyalty, checked the growth of polemical scruples. The test was taken by persons who, in all other respects, were members of the Church of Rome; nor does it appear that their compliance was ever visited with spiritual censures. At length, as the consciences of the recusants became more delicate, or their policy more mature, the oath was universally declined: Government respected the questionable prejudice; and the dispensing power of the sovereign (offensive in England to the growing spirit of liberty, and in the end fatal to its possessor) was in Ireland always exercised on the side of indulgence. The oath was committed to the discretion of the local ministry, as an instrument for the removal of a seditious magistrate; perhaps as a criterion of the wavering or suspected; but as an unnecessary and invidious trial of those whose conduct already attested the integrity of their allegiance. Upon the whole, the condition of the Irish recusants was, at least, not inferior to that in which, after

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1618.

A Roman
Catholic
Lord
Deputy.

* Written A.D. 1827.—ED.

CHAP. III. the lapse of two centuries of illumination, Protestants
 A.D. 1613. are now placed by the most liberal governments of the Roman Catholic communion.* Their civil privileges were ample, and it was always in their power, by a conciliating conduct, to raise themselves to an equality with the most favoured class of subjects; and the whole nation enjoyed the undisturbed exercise of their religion,† as long as its ministers abstained from political intrigue, and from that obtrusive pomp of celebration, which, if not offensive to Protestant conscience, was at least an unseemly rivalry with the Established Church.

National
 Parli-
 ament sum-
 moned.

Things were in this state, or in rapid progress towards it, when James resolved to summon the first national Parliament in Ireland. Activity corresponding to that phrenzied excitement which had banished all sobriety from the minds of the Roman Catholics, was displayed in preparing for the election. The aristocracy of the pale, long exercised in civil intrigues, and now the professed leaders of a rancorous opposition, had their agents in all parts, soliciting the freeholders of better rank; while the priests and lawyers were indefatigable in their exertions

Difference
 between a
 Protestant
 and Rom-
 ish clergy.

* In making such comparisons, two important differences must always be kept in mind. First, a Protestant clergy contracts no obligations to a foreign power: if Protestant ministers in France or Germany took oaths of allegiance, and were otherwise in subjection, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, we should probably hear but little of Roman Catholic liberality. Secondly, the Roman ritual has an aggressive publicity, the free exercise of which would be an invasion of the freedom of other religions: Protestants have no processions of a host, or a crucifix, or a statue of the Virgin; neither do they compel men to a cessation from business, on the festival of saints, or reputed saints.

† The words of Lord Clarendon. "Even in Dublin," he continues, "they went as publicly and uninterruptedly to their devotions as he went to his. The bishops, priests, and all degrees and orders of secular and regular clergy, were known to be, and to exercise their functions, among them; and though there were some laws against them still in force, which necessity, and the wisdom of former ages, had caused to be enacted, and the policy of the present times kept unrepealed; yet their edge was so totally rebated, that no man could say he had suffered prejudice or disturbance in, or for, his religion."—*Historical View*, 6.

among the lower classes. Oaths of association; promises and threats; blessings and anathemas; hints of some undefined but imminent danger; and, at the same time, assurances from ancient prophecies, that, if true to the Church, they should speedily be relieved from the yoke of heresy;—all these were employed with an industry which has served as a model for the emulous labours of later times. The cause of their party was declared to be the cause of God; and the support of a Protestant, or of a Roman Catholic who attended the reformed worship “to hear the devil’s words,” * was denounced as a mortal sin. Ecclesiastical students and priests of all orders, who were then dispersed in great numbers over the Continent, with the cavaliers engaged in the service of Roman Catholic powers, crowded eagerly home on this important occasion, to animate the hopes, and share the labours, of their brethren.

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1613.

The struggle which ensued was fierce and dubious; the boroughs newly enfranchised by James were almost exclusively in the hands of the Protestants, and the numerous forfeitures of the last reign, with the recent plantation of Ulster, had given them a respectable, but subordinate landed interest; in the counties, cities, and older corporations, the recusants had generally a preponderating weight. From the less showy character of their constituency, the return of the Protestant candidates was neither preceded, nor accompanied, by much popular sensation; on the contrary, the strength of the others lay in those places where feeling was most excited by the contest, and expectation proportionably raised by the event. The quality of the vanquished Protestants, many of whom were privy councillors, and supported by all the influence

The
borough
constitu-
encies.

* Such was the phrase of the time, according to O’Sullivan, in his “Catholic History,” and the deposition taken before Sir Toby Caulfield, “*Desiderata Curiosa*,” vol. i. Forty years before, the liberality of Pius would have sanctioned the Liturgy; and it is not improbable that an opinion equally favourable may be expressed in our own times.

CHAP. III. of the Crown and their party, while their opponents were
 A.D. 1618. young barristers, whose chief recommendations were some factious notoriety and the favour of the priesthood, gave somewhat of mystical import to their defeat: it seemed as if the Church had been struggling against the utmost human power which her great adversary could array against her; the strength of her cause was displayed in the feebleness of her weapons; and the issue was hailed by the exulting multitude as ominous of the approaching downfall of heresy. Elated by their victories, the recusant members set out, in triumphant procession, from the scenes of their respective contests to the seat of Government: the rustic populace, men, women, and even children, received them with shouts of tumultuous greeting, and with admonitions to take care of the Catholic faith: as they passed along, the contagion of enthusiasm added incessantly to their cavalcades, and they made their entry into the capital at the head of troops of armed retainers. Priests crowded to Dublin, from all quarters of the country, to animate and direct the exertions of their representatives; numbers also of private men, whose turbulence laid eager claim to the title of religious zeal, were attracted by these indications of a coming storm, and hastened to a spot which promised to find excitement for their lawless indolence, and to alleviate the irksomeness of peace.*

New Parliament:
 125 Protestants;
 101 Roman Catholics.

Parliament met on the 18th of May. In the upper house, the transfer of the episcopal peerages, the extinction of the order of mitred abbots,† and the absence of Tyrone and other disaffected Lords, had left the recusants in a hopeless minority: in the lower, the parties were nearly equal; of two hundred and thirty-two members who composed that assembly, there being in attendance one hundred and twenty-five Protestants, and one hundred

* The matter of this paragraph will be found in the titular Bishop's Routh and Burke, the "*Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*," vol. i., and Cox, "*Hibernia Anglicana*."

† These particulars are feelingly mentioned by the titular Bishop Burke.

and one Roman Catholic. The first business of the Commons was to choose a Speaker; an affair which involved the opposing sects in abrupt and indecent hostilities. On the one side, Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General, was put in nomination; and on the other, Sir John Everard, a recusant knight and lawyer, who had been a judge, but to avoid the oath of supremacy, which, for some reason now unknown, was pressed upon him, had retired on a moderate pension. It was the custom of those days that a division should be effected, by the retiring of one of the parties to an ante-chamber: this movement was now unguardedly made by the Protestants; who, on their return into the House, with an ascertained majority of twenty voices, were astonished to find Everard in the Speaker's chair. We are informed by Roman Catholic writers,* that when the Protestants had left the room, a zealous member of the other party addressed his brethren as follows:—

“They are gone, ill betide them; and they have left us, as it is our right to be, in possession of this house. Wherefore, seeing that we have prospered thus far, we ought thankfully to pursue the course which God seems to have pointed out, by setting up here that holy faith, for which, if necessary, we should be ready to die. We are encouraged to this by the example of our fathers and kinsmen, who, fighting for the Catholic faith, obtained an honourable death, and a glorious immortality. Should it be our lot so to perish, we shall be at least their equals in renown; but, if we avoid their indiscretions, higher fame and happier fortune will attend us. Nor is there reason to apprehend that, in so doing, we shall trespass aught against the King's majesty; seeing that the same should be his especial care, and that nothing is more necessary, either for his soul's salvation, or the righteous ruling of

* Burke, “*Hibernia Dominicana*,” who quotes from Routh and Dominic O'Daly (the *Dominions de Rosario* of the *Quarterly Review*).

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1613.

Choosing a Speaker.

Parliamentary division.

A Parliamentary trick.

CHAP. III. his kingdoms. Come, then, let us maintain that religion,
A.D. 1618. for which it is honourable to fight, and seemly to die, and
which to exalt is the highest glory of man. First of all,
let us choose for ourselves a speaker and leader."*

This address was well received, and Everard was installed as Speaker. When the Protestants re-entered the room, they insisted vehemently that he should leave the chair; the others retorted with equal ardour that he had been legitimately chosen, that a Speaker could only be elected within the House, and that those who retired had forfeited their right of suffrage. Stung by the trick thus practised on them, the proposer and seconder of Sir John Davies led him up to the chair, and placed him on Everard's lap: a violent tumult ensued; and had not the Viceroy established the precautionary etiquette that the members should leave their swords at the outer door, the senate-house would have been polluted with the mutual slaughter of its factions. In the end the recusants were worsted; the chair was left to Davies, and the house to his supporters.

"Catholic Association," and
"Catholic Rent."

The proceedings of this day led to the establishment of two institutions, which, on several occasions since, and particularly in our own times, have attracted much notice; —a Catholic Association, and a Catholic Rent. The recusant members, discovering that they had overrated their strength, and that the ordinary tactics of parliamentary opposition would be insufficient for their purposes, deliberated on the expediency of a formal secession. Many motives induced the prelates to urge the adoption of this violent measure: it would divert the attention of the Viceroy from their more secret intrigues; it would give brilliancy and somewhat of a constitutional form to the interior government they were labouring to organize; it would accustom the Roman Catholics to consider themselves as a distinct society, in political, as well as religious

* This is a literal translation of Burke's Latin: it gives, if not the *language* of the orator, at least the *sentiments* of the titular Bishop.

concerns ; * and, by the ferment it could not fail to excite, prepare them to receive O'Neil, whose arrival, in the course of a very few months, was now confidently expected by the Spanish faction. † A full meeting of both houses, for the purpose of hearing the speech from the throne, had been fixed for the Friday after the election of a Speaker : the call had been notified by a special message to each of the recusant peers : the commoners were summoned by a privy counsellor, who waited on them at the place where they were assembled for consultation. In the name of the whole party, Everard acquainted this gentleman that, as Parliament sat in the castle, where the freedom of debate and action was overawed by an armed guard, the Catholics would not make their appearance : that, for himself, he had been duly elected Speaker ; and that he could not attend his Excellency except in that capacity,

* The occasion suggests to Burke the use of language which has ever been appropriated to politics : *Respublica nostra* is the term by which he describes the Roman Catholic community, organized under its separate government.

† "Tyrone is said to have a design for Ireland ; the same intelligence reports, that he hath found means to raise a competent force to put the kingdom in a flame ; and, to move us to be jealous that the intelligence is in part or in all true, there is the late coming of the Pope's Archbishop of Dublin into Ireland, who hath a pension of three hundred ducats per ———, of the Spanish King, and was sent from Lovaine into Spain to negotiate for Tyrone's support. This his repair into Ireland, agreeing with the intelligence, gives no less cause of suspicion than the sight of a sea-bird, called a petrel, of a storm ensuing. Tyrone's council aims no farther, than to try his own fortune by stolen forces brought with him, although it must be confessed, that the slightest occasion, countenanced by his presence, and fomented by the priests, is sufficient to disturb the peace of the realm, and to set a fire in every part thereof, which will cost the lives of many of his Majesty's subjects, and the exhausture of great masses of treasure, before it be pacified. It will not move the cities, nor the gentlemen of the English pale, or men of great possessions, although their hearts are with him, to set up their rests upon so weak a foundation ; but, as in former times, they will be lookers-on, to see how the game is played."—*Discourse of Ireland* (written in 1613), *Desiderata Curiosa*.

CHAP. III. accompanied by *his* members, and preceded by the mace." A.D. 1613. The day following, the commoners were joined by the lords of the pale, and some other noblemen, and all coalesced into one association, for the prosecution of the common cause. Rising gradually in their complaints, these malcontents protested—against the place chosen for the sitting of the Parliament, against the Lord Deputy's guard of a hundred foot, against the election of the Speaker, against the return of some of the members, against the creation of some of the new shires, and, more particularly, of the new boroughs, and against the authority of the Viceroy to call a Parliament. These proceedings they described as "strange and grievous courses;" "extremities such as had never been heard of, and could not be believed;" they styled their displeasure, "a just and pious indignation," and refused to give the name of a Parliament to the assemblies which might be held during their secession. They declared that, if any laws were made without their concurrence, the people would reject them; hinted the possibility of an armed resistance, and, in a spirit of candour which seems to have reanimated a modern convention, almost disclosed the measures by which it might be effected. Intimations were thrown out, that they were stronger than the Government; that, if disturbed in their plans, they might rise in arms, cut the throats of the Protestants, besiege the Lord Deputy in his castle, and, by force or famine, compel him to sue for peace with the Catholics. Circumstances, sufficient to make an impression on the firmest executive, added to the weight of these menaces. One thousand nine hundred and seventy men, cavalry and infantry, composed at this time the royal army of Ireland: the recusant senators, with the friends and retainers who followed them from the country, had provided themselves with arms; and the Roman Catholics of the city, men, youths, and boys, had caught the military, as well as the religious, ardour of

Threatened insurrection.

their compatriots.* Everything in Dublin threatened an immediate conflict; and, through the industry of the priests, and the natural influence of faction in attracting to itself all the loose discontents of an agitated country, the whole island was ready to follow the example of the capital. To allay this commotion by removing its apparent cause, or, at least, to gain time for consultation with the English Cabinet, the disconcerted Viceroy prorogued the Parliament.

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1613.

The mutineers,† having thus routed the rival Legislature, and encountering no further pretext for insurrection, were content with the bloodless prosecution of their intrigues. Upon the first assembling of Parliament they had petitioned the King, that they might be permitted to lay their grievances before His Majesty in person; permission had been given, in the more cogent shape of a command to come and answer for the desertion of their parliamentary duties; and a modest deputation of two peers and four commoners appointed to proceed to London. But as the views of the association were now extended to the impeachment of the Viceroy, and the formation of a *liberal* party in the Cabinet and Legislature of the other island, the occasion seemed to call for a greater pomp of delegation: thus, the corps of deputies was gradually enlarged to eight peers, about twice as many members of the Lower House, and a train of legal advisers.‡ It was soon discovered that the support of

* To save the trouble of continual references, it may be as well to state, **Authorities.** once for all, that the narrative in the text is no more than an abridgment of what may be found in the Papal writers, O'Sullivan, Routh, Porter, Burke, &c.: nothing is stated upon the unsupported authority of a Protestant.

† This epithet is common to Cox, a somewhat intemperate Protestant, and Carte, an anxious conciliator.

‡ The Lords Gormanstown, Slane, Killeen, Buttevant, Roche, Delvin, Dunboync, Trimblestown; Sir Walter Butler, Sir Daniel O'Brien, Sir Christopher Nugent, Sir William Burke, Sir Thomas Burke, Sir Patrick Barnwell, Sir James Gough, Sir John Everard; William Talbot, Edward Fitzharris, Andrew Barrett, Richard Wadding, James Galway, Thomas

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1618.

Scale of
"Catholic
Rent."

this mission, and the furtherance of other and less ostensible objects, would require a public revenue; accordingly, the first Catholic rent was imposed, and the collection of it entrusted to the priests and lawyers. The scale of obligatory assessment, to be enforced, if necessary, by spiritual censures, included three rates—five shillings for a gentleman, two shillings for a yeoman, and fourpence for a peasant.* No limits were assigned to the voluntary

Luttrell, Patrick Hussey, and M'Donough, chief of his name. In the whole party there were only two Milesians; the rest were persons whose fathers had cherished the most contemptuous malevolence towards the Irish, and the chief cause of whose discontent was the endeavour of the Crown to abolish their oppressive monopoly.

* The higher rates are given by Cox, from some MS. depositions preserved in Lambeth library; the lowest is taken from the following article, in the "Desiderata Curiosa:"—

"Upon a Sunday, about the end of May last, he was at mass at the Glynn, where Tirlough M'Crodden, a fryer there, lately come from beyond seas, said the mass, and was preaching most part of the same day; and in his sermon he declared that he was sent from the Pope, to persuade them that they should never alter their religion, but take the Pope to be their true head, and rather go into rebellion than change their religion; and that the English service proceeded from the seducement of the devil. Upon these speeches uttered by the fryer, Neal M'Turlough spake aloud, saying, 'God be thanked that we heard this mass; God be blessed that such a one as you came among us to give this counsel; for our parts, we will go into rebellion, and be eaten with dogs and cats, rather than go to the English service, to hear the devil's words.' And Shane Roe O'Quin said the very same words after him. And the fryer had, at that day, given him at least two hundred cows and garrons. The fryer further told them, that the Parliament was coming, and that it was a thing invented on purpose to cozen them, and bring them from their religion. He said, that there was certain money imposed for the expenses of men gone into England for the cause of religion, and for the charges of the knights of the shire, fourpence on every couple. He exhorted them to pay it willingly and speedily; it was God's business they went about. He told them, that the cattle they had given him was for the maintenance of fryers beyond seas, and that the Pope would be highly pleased with the gifts they bestowed for godly purposes. He vehemently exhorted them not to be afraid, for that Tyrone was coming; therefore, he willed them to be merry and of good courage; and for the English, they were to have no rule nor power over them but for two years. And further said, that he found by his reading in books at Rome, a prophecy, that the English should cease their rule in Ireland when a bridge was built over the river at

offerings of the wealthy or the devout; and such was the munificent zeal of the time, that a stock of two hundred cows and horses was obtained by a friar, in one day, from one rustic congregation. The Viceroy at first expected that gentle measures and the private influence of Government would be sufficient, in concurrence with the poverty of the people, to abolish this novel impost: he then tried a proclamation, and was more successful. At the present day, the document will be read with some interest:—

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1613.

A Proclamation by the Lord Deputy and Council.

ARTHUR CHICHESTER,

Lord
Deputy's
proclama-
tion.

Whereas, we have been advised from many places in this kingdom, that by the device and diligence of sundry Jesuits and Popish priests, and by the authority of certain recusant members of Parliament, there hath been a general levying of money among the Popish recusant subjects of the King's Majesty; and that divers persons have been appointed for the collection of the same: and whereas, this burthen hath been laid upon His Majesty's faithful people, under the pretext of paying the charges of certain nobles and men of quality lately gone into England, which persons are falsely reported by the said priests and collectors to have gone to supplicate the grace of our sovereign lord the King for a greater freedom of religion, seeing that they have been sent for by the command of our said lord, to answer for their departure from the court of Parliament: and whereas, the said priests and collectors have spread this false report that they might extort from the people a larger sum, the most part whereof it appeareth that they will convert to their own uses: and whereas, it is an

Liffer; and that the King of Spain had eighteen thousand men in arms ready to come over, and that Tyrone should be their chief; and that he would come within a year and a quarter, and overthrow the English, and have Ireland to himself."—*O'Donnelly's Deposition*. Dr. Burke contents himself with a general acknowledgment, that the priests collected a *sufficiently large sum*. (*Satis amplam.*)

CHAP. III. unheard of and intolerable arrogance in subjects to
A.D. 1613. impose any tax upon His Majesty's people, seeing that
even His Majesty's self doth not collect a tax without the
free consent of the Parliament of the realm : and whereas,
the King's Majesty hath long since, by various proclama-
tions, taken upon himself the protection of all his subjects
in this kingdom : We, His Majesty's Deputy and Council,
are bound by our place and office to protect his said
subjects, and to free them from this most heavy and
unjust tribute, by which it seemeth that their poverty
will be much increased. Wherefore, in the name of His
Most Excellent Majesty, we declare to all his faithful
people, that all such exaction, extortion, or collection, is
altogether unjust, and we forbid them to consent to the
same, or to pay any sum or sums upon such pretences
aforesaid. Likewise, in His Majesty's name, we strictly
enjoin all persons, appointed, or to be appointed, collectors
or receivers of said tax, that they do not presume to collect
or receive the same ; and that, within ten days after the
date of this proclamation they pay back, without fraud or
deceit, all such sum or sums unto the persons from whom
they have collected them. Otherwise, if any of His
Majesty's subjects shall complain of such collectors or
receivers unto us, the Lord Deputy or Council, or unto
the judges of assize within their several circuits, instant
means shall be taken for the restoration of said money,
and the punishment of the persons so offending. Lastly,
in the name, and by the authority of His Majesty, we
strictly enjoin all mayors, deputy mayors, justices of the
peace, and all other officers of His Majesty, that they
cause diligent inquiry to be made concerning all persons
who have been, or shall be, collectors or receivers of said
tax, and concerning the sums which they may respectively
collect or receive ; and that they may inform us of the
same with all convenient speed, to the end that all such
collectors and receivers may answer at their proper peril.
Given at His Majesty's Castle of Dublin, July 9, 1613."

In the meantime, the delegates had been received by the King with his usual good nature, and more than his usual address. In the most courtly phrase of the day, they informed their constituents, that "in presenting their expostulations to his princely audience, His Majesty was benignly pleased to deliver, that their humble appeal to his sacred person was satisfaction sufficient to expiate the offence that might be proved against them, and that his mercy should qualify the rigour of his justice." Passing over the parliamentary questions, they presented a memorial containing eighteen charges against the civil government, and prayed that a commission might be appointed under the Great Seal to examine into the alleged abuses. Their prayer was heard; four persons with whom they declared themselves perfectly satisfied "as most worthy selected gentlemen, of great trust, integrity, and wisdom,"* were joined in a commission with the Lord Deputy. While the King waited for the report of these commissioners, he admitted the delegates to several conferences, some of them private, others before the Council: his intellectual vanity, and the extreme familiarity of his language and manners, made this condescension rather dangerous to the greatness of royalty; on the other hand, his shrewdness and information enabled him to improve those advantages which a monarch must possess, at least in the *opening* of a conversation with a subject. James was a polemic; he had written a book, and a defence of it, against the deposing power of the Pope—a topic which, both as a sovereign and an author,

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1618.

The delegates and King James.

James a polemic.

* There is some reason to believe, that they had a well-grounded assurance of the favourable dispositions of these gentlemen. The commissioners reported their inability to discover any evidence, that the recusant members had made their entry into Dublin at the head of armed retainers; though the fact is avowed by Bishop Routh, an eye-witness of these transactions, and secretary to the "Catholic Hierarchy" of the day. To abstain as far as possible from giving a triumph to either party in Ireland, has been much too frequently the feeble policy of the English Cabinet.

CHAP. III. he naturally regarded with some interest, and of which it
 A.D. 1618. was scarcely possible to avoid the introduction in speaking
 with men who had rejected his *own* oath of allegiance. One day, by insinuating question after question, he imperceptibly drew them on to the great difficulty, Whether the heresy of a prince, otherwise sovereign and absolute, forfeited his title, and justified the Pope's interference against him. Some answered that it did, and among them Talbot and Luttrell were remarked as the most peremptory. Luttrell was sent to the Fleet Prison; Talbot, whose language had been particularly offensive, was committed to close confinement in the Tower, and sentenced by the Star Chamber to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. At the same time, some intercepted letters of Sir Patrick Barnwell having been laid before the Privy Council, that gentleman was compelled to make a written apology, which was dictated by the Council, and contained a renunciation of the deposing doctrine. These vigorous measures lowered the tone of the delegates; and the Report of the Commission, which was just received,* and which the moderation of its language and the confessed "wisdom and integrity" of the framers conspired to render invulnerable, was a new source of mortification. Confounded by these mischances, and now fully sensible of their indiscretion in choosing London as the theatre of their operations, the subdued agitators presented a memorial, expressing their abhorrence of the obnoxious tenets, soliciting the release of Talbot, and praying, "that, as their means were altogether spent, and the supply of their wants obstructed by His Majesty's deputy in Ireland,† they might be permitted to return

* It is given in the first volume of the "Desiderata Curiosa," together with some other valuable papers, with which Leland does not appear to have been acquainted.

† Recent transactions have prepared us for the meanness of these early delegates, but unhappily the importance of a little vigour on the part of the executive is without a corresponding illustration. The *Rest* and the *Asso-*

Vigorous
and pro-
tective
legislation

home." This last entreaty completed their exposure and the triumph of the Government; they now stood self-convicted, not only of treasonable principles and dishonest intrigues, but of that sordid thirst of pecuniary emolument which the traders in patriotism can never acknowledge with impunity, until they have extinguished public virtue or corrupted the fountains of public opinion. Enough had been done for their humiliation; and as that flippancy of retractation which is so common in modern times was as yet but little known, enough *seemed* to have been done for securing their good behaviour; they were, therefore, dismissed with undisguised contempt, and a characteristic reprimand from the monarch. Their refuted accusations obtained for the deputy a peerage, a grant of land, and the personal thanks of his master; and the Government, advancing upon the disordered ranks of recusancy, re-assembled the Irish Parliament.

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1613.
Traders in
patriotism.

The hierarchy was now thrown into one of those critical positions which exhibit the characters and call out all the powers of experienced public men. Shame had abated the ardour of the discomfited delegates; the prompt suppression of the Catholic Rent had unnerved the industry of the lawyers; the populace, it was obvious, notwithstanding the arts which had been practised against them, might still be withdrawn from the domestic government, if they were protected by the State, and disabused of their dread of persecution; and, what was a still severer blow, the fears of Spain, and the remorse or growing inactivity of Tyrone, had postponed, perhaps abandoned, the projected invasion. Admonished, but not embarrassed, by this turn in their affairs, the prelates saw the unseasonableness of open hostility; and accordingly, with an alertness than which nothing is more admirable in the evolutions of party, they veered round into a course of

Romish
hierarchy.

The agita-
tors turn
concilia-
tors.

ciation were put down two centuries ago, by showing those who were willing and go-
to resist, *if they dared*, that they would be protected against their priests and go-
vernment.
and demagogues.

CHAP. III. conciliation. The known intention of Government to
 A.D. 1618. bring in a bill for the attainder of O'Neil and his fellow-exiles, presented to the recusant senators a triple alternative: to continue in secession; to resume their seats, with the certainty of making a popular and powerful opposition; or to pass at once to the extreme of obsequious concurrence. The question being referred, as its *spiritual* nature demanded, to the judgment of the bishops, they announced the stern expediency of sacrificing the champions of the Catholic cause: they were obeyed; the bill was brought in by *Everard*, and passed quietly into a law.*

So rude a shock to the prejudices which they had excited, such a profanation of those sanctities of religion and country with which, during a period of nearly thirty years, they had industriously associated the name of O'Neil, could not have been risked by any but men who had watched the tides of popular passion, and who placed an unbounded reliance in the devices of their own order, as well as in the proverbial credulity of their countrymen. Thus assured, they threw out their seeds of evil upon the wide field of futurity, with a firmness which, in a better cause, might almost be entitled the fulness of faith; yet, with all their grounds for confidence, it was one of those daring steps which, in persons who stood (as the prelates did) upon public feeling, are rescued from the charge of temerity, chiefly by the knowledge that they have been successful. The success of this measure was indeed complete. It was just such a disclaimer of traitorous designs, as a feeble and worried Government was unwilling to question: and, by allaying the apprehensions of the Protestant landlords, it removed the already yielding barriers from their avarice, and seduced them into the encouragement of a wretched race, which suffers long, but remembers for ever. While their concurrence was

* We are told by O'Sullivan, that one prelate, the titular of Tuam, dissented on this occasion from his more wily brethren.

thus calculated to lull the security of those who were afraid to discover danger, the measure itself, they well knew, would lay up a store of fresh disaster; supplying many with motives to atrocity, more with pretexts, and the apologists* of all times with a theme for declamation. In a few years after, when the hierarchy was again laying a train for insurrection, one of its two incentives† was derived from those very attainders to which it now gave the support of its‡ hundred senators; and when, at length, after many procrastinations, the Great Rebellion *did* burst forth, the first havoc was made by those men, or their sons, to whom outlawry and confiscation had left nothing but despair.

When the account of these occurrences reached the capital of the Christian world, the sovereign Pontiff judged it a suitable occasion for addressing a third Bull to his faithful people of Ireland. The chief topics were, as before, unanimity among themselves, and the imitation of their ancestors in an unbending resolution to maintain the Catholic faith: but thanks now mingled with the exhortations of the holy father, and indulgences with his prayers—indulgences, of which the Roman Catholic writers,§ while they acknowledge their liberality, discreetly abstain from a particular description. So interwoven, in the Papal system, are ecclesiastical discipline and political chicane; so great is the temerity of those

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1618.

Ecclesiastical discipline and political chicane.

* That which, with the bishops of 1614, was the convicted treason of O'Neil, has been, with succeeding bishops, from the titular M'Mahon, in 1684, to the titular J. K. L., nearly two centuries after, the tyranny of the English crown, or the sagacity of its officers in devising a profitable rebellion.

† The other was the danger of persecution from the Puritans—*those Puritans* with whom the hierarchy was conspiring to overturn the monarchy.

‡ Dr. Burke does not forget to use this *possessive* pronoun; he says that the priests came up to Dublin, that they might be on the spot to advise *their* senators—(*Senatores suos*).

§ The titular bishops Routh and Burke.

CHAP. III. public men who undertake, upon the word of a sworn
A.D. 1618. bondsman of the Roman Court, to fix that ever-fluctuating line which is supposed to divide spiritual from temporal allegiance.

Thenceforward, until 1640, the country enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity, if prosperity may be measured by increasing wealth and superficial repose. Security of property, exemption from personal violence and arbitrary exactions, and the wholesome supremacy of law, had at length given a motive to Irish industry; the unimpaired resources of a fertile island presented to every individual of a moderate population, an ample choice of profitable employments; and Ireland, so long fettered and so long uncivilized, beheld, for the first time, the diffusion of peaceful arts, and shot up with the rapidity of a new country. The value of land increased, husbandry was improved, and buildings were erected in the English manner: the flattering calm invited English capital, manufactures were introduced, and the linen trade was revived and cherished into luxuriancy.* Commerce began to look into the harbours of this unexplored region; the customs were multiplied almost fourfold, the shipping a hundredfold; and, if modern science will admit the inference which would have been suggested in the days of more homely reasoning, the exports were double the amount of the imports.† There were even a few appearances, which the sanguine explained into promises of blessings of a higher nature; it seemed as if old animosities were melting into objects of unimpas-

Lord
Strafford.

* Lord Strafford expended 30,000*l.* of his own money in encouraging the linen manufacture. When the Papists and Puritans of the Irish Parliament conspired against the life of this great man, they denounced his exertions in favour of the linen trade as *grievances*.

† Were such a comparison to be insisted on, with respect to the present trade of Ireland, so much should be deducted from the amount of the exports as would cover the rental of the absentees. For this portion of its produce Ireland, notwithstanding the assurances of Dr. M'Culloch, receives no commercial equivalent.

sioned reminiscence, and that, by the assimilative influence of common laws, neighbourly habits, and an interchange of domestic relations, the three races which now occupied the soil were quietly coalescing into one people.*

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1613.

The few political incidents which broke upon the stillness of this period were neither interesting in themselves, nor, with the exception of the marriage of Charles to a Roman Catholic princess, of any considerable influence upon the great catastrophe. Their chief title to a passing notice is derived from their ominous analogy to recent transactions.

In the administration of St. John, the successor to Chichester, the lure held out by the prelates to the Protestant oligarchy was already beginning to prove attractive. A few of the nobles, men of recent name, but formidable power, having been withstood by this Governor in an attempt to seize upon some Church lands, joined the recusants in a petition to the throne, complaining of viceregal intolerance, and praying for an inquiry into the state of Ireland.† The charge was partly founded upon some proceedings against the Corporation of Waterford, a body which, relying on its ancient charter, maintained a contumelious opposition to the laws;‡ a second and more specious pretext was afforded by a proclamation against the Jesuits and other regulars. Had the Deputy been able or willing to enforce a mandate, which he issued in the idle hope of alarming,

A.D. 1618.

Proclamation
against
Jesuits.

* Clarendon, "Irish Rebellion," vi. O'Connor, "Historical Address," i., 255.

† Leland, ii., 462.

‡ At the accession of James, the recusant citizens of Waterford had indulged in great excesses, pulling down their recorder from the market-cross as he read the proclamation; forcing into the cathedral and other churches, and causing priests to say mass, and preach seditious sermons; pleading conscience against the acknowledgment of a heretical prince; and refusing to admit the Lord Deputy within their walls. A similar spirit marked their subsequent conduct: they would not allow the administration of the oath of supremacy, or admit any but recusants to their municipal offices. St. John threatened to disfranchise the Corporation.

CHAP. III. he would have lightened the burdens of a miserable
 A.D. 1618. people, delivered the country from a nuisance which most Roman Catholic States have felt to be intolerable, and perhaps even conciliated the secular priests, by the removal of rivals whom they have always feared:—as it was, he only ministered to the purposes of faction. The fears of the Protestant nobles having been once allayed, policy and even sectarian feeling made but a feeble struggle against the pride of manorial despotism, and the tempting difference between an English and an Irish rent. Regardless of the modest wants of the natives, they were more attentive to those imaginary grievances which might be commiserated without expense, and which, being boundless as the faculty in which they resided, were an inexhaustible armoury against obnoxious ministers. Nor is it improbable that, from the same motives which cherished the people as an inferior race,* they were induced to look with mitigated abhorrence upon the priesthood—an order, which was admirably qualified to be an instrument of oppression (if it could be brought down to the rank of an instrument), and whose discipline made abundant provision that the dark mind and abject spirit should preserve a due accordance with the bondage of the body. The priests, on their side, while they availed themselves of the assistance † which the blind rapacity of the heretics

* “I have heard many of the Irish say,” says the Lord-Deputy Chichester, in his “Rules for the Government of Ireland,” “that, if they became Protestants, they dare not live any longer among their own people; for that *the great lords and the priests combine against those that are converted.*” Another passage in the “Rules” explains the reason of the prejudice which these great lords entertained against proselytism:—“The common people of this country have no property in land, not even for a year. The great lords give no leases or deeds to their tenants, but have them removeable at will; so that their condition is little better than that of the villeins formerly was in England; nor can there be any reason why, being such, they should have a desire to build houses, or embrace a more civilized mode of living.”

† It was the first coalition (and no unsuitable archetype of all the others) between the Protestant landed interest and the Papal faction. Equal in insincerity, the parties were ill-mated in all other respects: the

was thus affording, did not omit to solicit more congenial patronage, to which the timidity of the monarch, and his growing anxiety for a Roman Catholic alliance, conspired to give importance. The cry of persecution, at home feeble and little regarded, was echoed abroad more loudly and with more effect; and extravagant legends * of sufferings which had never been endured, and fines which had never been exacted, awakened the sympathies of the continental powers. With the Spanish Court, in particular, the hierarchy could not omit so favourable an opportunity of renewing its correspondence. "Oppressed

ORAP. III.
A.D. 1618.

The Spanish Court.

forethought of the priests was more discerning, their duplicity more profound, their aim more lofty, their spirit more patient; on the side of the aristocracy, rapacity was at once the present impulse and the predisposing cause.

* Dr. O'Connor, a Roman Catholic divine, gives the following specimens of the stories which were circulated on the Continent in those days:—

Various idle stories.

"Routh says that the Irish magistrates of this period employed their time in running from street to street, from town to town, from field to field, to find out Papists. And yet this silly scribbler asserts that, at the same time, immense sums were levied in fines, for refusing to attend church, upon those very persons whom it was so difficult to discover. Thus he states that the fines in *one term* amounted, in the *small county* of Cavan alone, to *eight thousand guineas*."

"O'Sullivan declares that St. John levied *six hundred thousand pounds*, in hard cash, from Irish priests, as fines for not attending on Sundays in the Protestant churches; and yet six hundred thousand pounds exceeded the annual income of the whole kingdom. He also says that the same Viceroy imprisoned ninety citizens of Dublin for *denying the King's supremacy*."

"Burke and Porter relate how one of the Privy Council, whose name they do not mention, *boasted* that all his plate was composed of chalices. They gravely add that a Protestant bishop converted a priest's vestment into a pair of breeches, 'but, behold, he had scarcely put on these breeches, when they caught fire, and he was burned to death.' Such were the stories by which the Irish rabble were excited to the rebellion of 1641."—*Historical Address*, i., 261.

O'Connor, however, does not select the most atrocious falsehoods. For instance, he does not quote what Burke and O'Daly tell of Sir Arthur Chichester, "that he poisoned the Earl of Kildare, a Catholic in heart, though an outward conformist, at his own table at Dublin Castle, in revenge for the freedom with which the Earl pleaded the cause of his country."

CHAP. III. though we be, and full of disquiet," said the prelates in
 A.D. 1618. their memorial, "we are yet raised to some hope of
 comfort and protection, when we look to that glorious
 diadem, from which both we and our fathers have derived
 solace in affliction, and shelter in the storm. For our-
 selves, we could suffer in silence; but we fear to fall
 under the rebuke of the prophet, if we cry not aloud for
 the danger which threateneth our flock. Considering,
 therefore, that pastoral care and office with which we are
 charged, we announce to the pious, propitious, and most
 Catholic King of the Spains, that the Catholic people and
 religion in this kingdom of Ireland do suffer grievous
 persecution." *

A.D. 1622. St. John, yielding to domestic and foreign intrigue,
 was replaced by Falkland. This amiable nobleman, the
 husband of a Roman Catholic lady, and a man of mild
 manners, and benevolent temper, ill qualified to struggle
 against the bias of those around him, was, for nine years,
 condemned to deprecate the insolence of a faction, which
 conciliation has always pampered, and which nothing but
 terror has been able to restrain.† The recusant Lords of
 the pale were admitted to the Privy Council; a body
 which, according to the Irish constitution, as fixed by
 Poyning's law, was virtually invested with the legislative
 authority. The lawyers and wards in Chancery‡ were
 formally exempted from the oath of supremacy; and a
 new test, from which all that offended the Pope, or gave a

* Burke, *Hib. Dom.*, 686.

† Cox has discovered somewhere a curious Leonine verse:—

Ungentem pungit, pungentem Hibernicus ungit.

Applied to the nation at large, the rhyme is a silly libel; limited to those
 who have, from time to time, usurped the management of "Catholic affairs,"
 it deserves particular attention.

‡ The statute of 2 Elizabeth required the oath of supremacy from wards
 upon being admitted to their estates; but it was either universally dispensed
 with, or universally taken; for, in a period of more than sixty years, we
 do not read of one case of forfeiture.

reasonable pledge of fidelity to the Crown, had been carefully excluded,* was appointed by proclamation. The priests, flushed with the triumph of their party, and basking in the unwonted sunshine of a court, betrayed

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A.D. 1622.

* This formulary may be seen in Cox. Insignificant as it was, the Pope made some difficulty about allowing it in England, as we learn from Bishop Berrington, in the following account of a conference between secretary Windebank and the Papal nuncio, Panzani. "First, he acquaints the secretary with the occasion of his coming over, namely, to pay a compliment to the Queen from the Roman See; and incidentally, as occasion served, he was at liberty to regulate the concerns of an oath of allegiance; but, having no express commission on this latter point, he would be directed as his Holiness and the King of Great Britain should agree. He further assured the secretary that both the Pope and Cardinal Barberini were disposed to give his Majesty all the content imaginable, as they omitted not to signify on every occasion; adding, that if his Catholic subjects did not behave themselves with the utmost respect to his Majesty, in *all civil matters*, it was contrary to the knowledge and desire of his Holiness; and that, on failure of their duty, they ought to be made sensible of it as the law directed. Windebank expressed himself well pleased with this discourse, and said, that his Majesty had always expressed the great respect he had for Urban the Eighth; he added, by way of advice, that he thought it would be the part of prudence in his Holiness, to recal or moderate the briefs that had been issued against such as had taken King James's oath of allegiance. To this Panzani replied, that he had no authority to pronounce upon that affair; but it was his opinion that nothing would be altered in the brief, unless the Government would agree to make the oath more agreeable to the See of Rome. Windebank insisted that several Roman Catholics admitted the oath might be taken with the King's comment, which restrained the sense to civil allegiance. 'This,' said Panzani, 'may be the opinion of some of the party; but, in things of this nature, men are apt to act in concert, and govern themselves by a uniform practice. All I can say is, that I know it is the Pope's pleasure that the Catholics shall answer all the demands of civil allegiance.' On this Windebank replied, 'Then let the Pope draw up a form of oath, and send it hither.' Panzani promised to write to Rome about the matter, and gave the secretary some encouragement that the design might have its desired effect, for that very lately an affair of the same nature was carrying on in Ireland. The Irish Catholics having refused King James's oath, King Charles proposed to them another, of a softer nature; but this was also quarrelled with, as bearing still too hard upon the Pope's spiritual power. However, Panzani judged it proper to send the form of the Irish oath to Rome, as a model for England. He was much blamed for his officiousness: Barberini told him that he had exceeded his commission, and that the oath was too tender a subject to be

Formu-
lary of oath
of suprem-
acy.

CHAP. III. their impatience of heretical ascendancy ; and the reformed hierarchy, supposing itself "deserted by its natural protectors,"* began to lose its dignity in its fears.

Wentworth. The powerful mind of Wentworth made a great, and almost successful effort, for the salvation of the country. A.D. 1682. With a deep insight into the causes of Irish calamity, with considerable address, and undaunted resolution ; with a spirit inaccessible to all factious or fanatical impulses, and an impartiality, the result at once of native benevolence and principled austerity ; this great man, while he opposed himself to the wishes of every party, laboured indefatigably for the common welfare. Devotion to a master, who was not worthy of such a servant ; compassionate mercy towards the mass of the people ; and severity to the local despots, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, who had not yet learned to acknowledge either authority above them, or liberty below,—these were the uniform characters of his arduous administration. His lofty vindication of royal prerogative, uncalled for and unconstitutional as it would have been in other circumstances, was necessary to confront the arrogance of colonial despotism. Having before him the alternative of being despised if he yielded, and being hated if he withstood, he chose the latter ; and although, when his reverses came, the rival factions suspended their mutual animosities

treated at that time."—*Memoirs of Ponsani*, 143. If this account, concurring as it does, with so many others, be a fair representation of the Papal policy, it forces our attention to the following points :—1. That when political circumstances shall render it expedient, *it is the Pope's pleasure* that Roman Catholics shall answer, to a certain extent, the demands of civil allegiance to a Protestant prince. 2. That *the Pope himself is the judge* of the expediency, as to time, place, and circumstances, of the extent of allegiance due, and of the line which separates things spiritual and things temporal. 3. That no test can be taken without the Pope's permission. 4. That whatever opinions Roman Catholics may privately entertain, *they are to act in concert*, and govern themselves by a uniform practice, not following their own sense of what is right, but the decree of the pontiff.

* The exaggerated terms in which J. K. L. describes the condition of the objects of *his* impatience.

to conspire for his destruction, while he stood, they were overawed by his superior genius. With the priests alone, Strafford was compelled to adopt a temporizing policy. His penetration had sounded their character, his vigilant activity discovered their devices; but they were now under the protection of a superior power; *he might punish outrage, but he could not prevent intrigue.* His unfortunate master, with a Papal envoy at his court, a Popish minister in his Cabinet, a Popish wife in his bosom, and that fatal passion for diplomatic finesse which was continually luring him within the meshes of the Vatican, could not tolerate active measures against the workers of his ruin. Strafford was therefore limited to expedients, of which he saw the futility, and felt the humiliation; the vigorous and even imperious Governor, who had broken a haughty Senate to the language of adulation, was obliged to solicit the Pope's agent that he would be "pleased to restrain his monks *for the present,*" or, if that was too much, that he would induce the Continental courts "to give a deafer ear to their clamours." *

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1632.

The views of the hierarchy at this period, and the principles inculcated upon the inferior priesthood, have been detailed for us by two eminent members of those orders, both deeply engaged in the transactions which they describe, the one, warm in his approbation, the other, reluctant and unsteady in his censure. Father Peter Walsh, the very learned and candid Franciscan, has diffused his account of the received school divinity over so many folio pages, † that abridgment is indispensable. The sum of his statement is briefly as follows:—That the advancement of Christ's kingdom, that is, of the Papal Church, being the great consummation of the Divine will, and the end of human existence, all particular laws of God, of nature, or of civil society, must be regulated by it: that, therefore, actions otherwise criminal, such as perjury, treason,

Father
Peter
Walsh.

* *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii., p. 111.

† Of his "History of the Irish Remonstrance."

CHAP. III. or murder, may, by a new relation to this supreme law,
 A.D. 1682. change their moral character: that heresy, being directly
 subversive of Christ's kingdom, is an infamous crime,
 which annihilates all rights, and is sufficient to exclude
 men from all civilized communion: that the Pope is the
 supreme authority, both in spiritual and temporal things,
 having the power of both swords, particularly in countries
 where the civil sovereignty has lapsed by heresy: that the
 clergy, being the immediate servants of the Pope, are
 exempt, both in person and property, from the jurisdiction
 of secular tribunals. These, and similar dogmas, "con-
 trary," says Walsh, "to the letter, sense, and design of
 the Gospel, to the writings of the Apostles, and the
 commentaries of their successors, to the belief of the
 Church for ten ages, and, moreover, to the clearest
 dictates of nature," were universally taught in those
 seminaries at which the Irish ecclesiastics then received their
 education. In their transmission from the priests to a
 generous, excitable, and fondly national people, they
 acquired fresh cogency, from the assurance that the
 sovereign Pontiff had a peculiar tenderness for Ireland,
 the island of saints, a country selected by a special pro-
 vidence to be the ark of the true religion.

David Routh, titular Bishop of Ossory, was perhaps
 the most learned, as well as the most temperate, prelate
 whom the Irish branch of the Papacy has ever produced.
 A great Protestant contemporary has made honourable
 mention of his erudition: * his moderation is proved by
 the fact, that, in the great rebellion, he braved the
 anathemas of Rinuccini, and wrote strenuously against
 the violation of the peace with Ormond; nor is it a trifling
 testimony in his favour, that a divine, † whose sober
 opinions have been visited with Episcopal censure, both in
 England and Ireland, proposes Routh as a model for the

* Archbishop Ussher, in his "Primordia Ecclesiarum Britannicarum."

† Dr. O'Connor, in several passages of his "Historical Address," and
 "Letters of Columbanus."

hierarchy of the present day. His work may, therefore, be regarded as a very mitigated exposition of the sentiments of his order: it is entitled *Analecta Sacra Hiberniæ*; and its curious apparatus of *two* dedications, the one, specious and respectful, to Charles the First, then Prince of Wales, the other, an appeal, or counter address, to the Emperor, and the Catholic kings and princes of Christendom, is a lively and intelligible symbol of double policy. The following are extracts:—

CHAP. II I.
A. D. 1682.

1. PAPAL ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE REFORMATION.

“From the time that this island became subject unto Christ, its commonweal consisted of two parts, the one spiritual, the other carnal, even as man himself is composed of soul and body. But, *ever since the introduction of the English arms, there hath been an inveterate altercation between these two*; so that, as it were by some stern decree of fate, strife and enmity have always subsisted between the civil governors and those holy men the bishops and pastors of the Church. The conquerors, although they had obtained admission under a solemn covenant that they would exalt the Church, oppressed it, even from the very commencement, and invaded its sacred discipline, to the grief and indignation of Saint Lawrence O’Toole, and of his venerable successor, John Cummin. Of the former, it is set forth by Gerald Barry, ‘how he was hateful to the King, and obedient to the holy chair, and how he complained to the Pontiff of the injuries done to a faithful people, tributary and devoted to the See of Rome;’ and of the latter, ‘how through the zeal of his justice, and according to the duty of his office and ministry, he would have highly exalted the Church in Ireland, had not sword been opposed by sword, the priesthood by the Crown, virtue by envy; for, as the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, so do those who are carnal afflict those who are spiritual, and the ministers of Cæsar, make unceasing war upon the

Papal
account of
the Reforma-
tion.

CHAP. III. soldiers of Christ.' Furthermore, we are told, by the
 A.D. 1632. same Sylvester,* 'how he saw, in a vision, the King's son
 John marking out upon a green plain the plan of a church,
 and assigning to the laity an ample and commodious space,
 but to the priesthood something mean, narrow, and un-
 seemly.' Thus far he, an eye-witness, to whose words I
 shall add nothing, as they sufficiently declare the evils of
 those days. But, as years revolved, they brought con-
 tinually some new aggravation to the wrongs of the
 Church. Hence it was, that, in the reign of Edward II.,
 the Irish people complained bitterly to the chair of Peter;
 and so, accordingly, did Pope John XXII. reprove that
 prince sharply, as appeareth from his apostolical letter, in
 which these words are contained:—'Whereas, our prede-
 cessor, Adrian IV., of holy memory, did, by his letters
 apostolic, confer the dominion of Ireland upon your
 progenitor, Henry II., of renowned memory, in a certain
 manner and form; and whereas, neither that King nor his
 successors, unto this time, have observed that manner and
 form, but have oppressed the people with great and
 unheard-of afflictions; therefore, being unable to endure
 such injuries, they have been constrained to withdraw
 themselves from your dominion, and invite another to
 have authority over them.' Now it provoked the English
 princes, that complaints of such grievances should be
 multiplied to the See of Peter; although from that See
 their power in Ireland was at first derived, and thence
 made to descend in hereditary succession, resting ever
 upon the same conditions, upon which the donation had
 been made at the beginning. *Many were the struggles,
 bitter the conflicts, great the strife and contention, between
 the two powers;* and many a politic device was used, in
 labouring to effect a reconciliation. *But it appeared
 to them impossible to preserve peace, so long as an appeal lay
 open to the Apostolic See;* and this, indeed, is sufficiently

* *i.e.*, *Barré*. Routh translates the Norman name of his authority into the language in which he was writing.

apparent from the covenant with Henry and his son John, and from the letters to Edward, and to other kings, who had many quarrels with the clergy, for the settlement of which it was necessary to have recourse to the sovereign Pontiff. At length, by a new invention, a new remedy was applied; and a barrier was raised for the keeping in of those petitions which were wont to make their way to Rome. It was resolved to unite the tiara of ecclesiastical power with the secular diadem; so that all authority, sacred and profane, divine and human, being centered in one person, there should, in future, be no variance between the two members of the body politic. From this portentous and obscene advice did proceed that anarchy of lay supremacy which, from the schism until this time, hath kept in bondage the realms of the Britannic Isles: its seminal principle was the oppression of the clergy, which, swelling gradually through many ages, at the last produced that monster, of which we now experience the misgovernment, as we behold its deformity.* Thus, the mystery of iniquity hath prevailed in the holy place; and, in this island of the saints, the man of sin, whom the Apostle hath described in his second epistle to the Thessalonians, hath usurped the holy symbols of spiritual jurisdiction."

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A.D. 1632.

2. FORFEITURE OF THE KING'S TITLE BY THE SCHISM.

"I appeal to the faith pledged by Henry II., when he received authority from the Pontiff Adrian to occupy this island. It was then provided by a solemn treaty, that the rights of the Church should remain inviolate, that a yearly tribute should be paid to the See Apostolic, and, above all, that the Catholic faith and discipline should be propagated. It was the design of the Pontiff of the Supreme See, when, by a solemn contract, and upon certain

The King's
title for-
feited by
schism.

* The original is stronger:—*Seminalis ratio, per tot sæcula ex injusta cleri oppressione protuberans et suscepta in utero Junonis libidinis, procreavit tandem hoc immane monstrum, &c.*

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A.D. 1632.

stipulations, he gave up the dominion of this island to a prince of his own faith, that the seeds of all the virtues, and more especially of religion and the true worship of God, should be cherished here. In transferring the sovereignty of a country, which piety had at the first made tributary to his chair, and of which constant allegiance had ratified the subjection, he required such terms as corresponded to this design; and the prince who received the government lived and died obedient to the see and faith of Rome. By such convention, upon clear and covenanted conditions, was the authority over Ireland solemnly conferred. If, then, the successors of him who received that authority, either beguiled by fraud, or perverted by malice, or forgetful of their contract, or ungrateful to the Holy See, depart from their plighted faith, and violate the sacredness of a royal promise; if such be the case—it is not my part to say that they have forfeited the right they had acquired, for that province pertaineth more unto lawyers, but the fact is known to all Christian people. If, under the second Henry, this our island was given over to temporal bondage, under the eighth of that name it was subjected to a more degrading slavery, and hath groaned for these many years under the yoke of iniquity. As the former took away human liberty, so hath the latter bereft us of divine: the one rendered us the slaves of men; the other, of devils—as far as could be effected by the devices of man and by the rulers of this world, who endeavour to bring us into bondage to the powers of darkness.”

3. HOPES OF RE-ESTABLISHMENT.

Papal
hopes of
re-estab-
lishment.

The bishop, obtruding, as is the custom of his order, with irreverent familiarity into the most mysterious things, compares himself to Elijah: “when the Lord came to him and said, ‘What dost thou here, Elijah?’ and he said, ‘I have been very jealous for the Lord God of hosts, for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, and

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thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword, and I, even I only, am left, and they seek my life to take it away.'” He then relates the vision of the prophet, and applies it to the condition and prospects of his Church. The vision: “ ‘Behold, the Lord passed by; first, a great and strong whirlwind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks, but the Lord was not in the whirlwind; after the whirlwind came an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake came a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a small still voice;—and it was so, that when Elijah heard the voice, he wrapped his face in his mantle.’ The application: ‘First, in the beginning of the days of Elizabeth, there went before the Lord God a great and mighty wind, in the person of that famous chief, John O’Neil, who, like a raging storm, laid waste all things, sparing neither rocks nor mountains. He, though he had joined unto himself captains from Munster and from Connaught, and desired to be esteemed as the restorer of the liberty of his country and the religion of his fathers, yet did he fail in reverence for the clergy. Having destroyed a part of the cathedral of Armagh, and thereby incurred the indignation of the archbishop, Richard Creagh, a zealous assertor of ecclesiastical privileges, he ceased to be of the number of those by whom salvation should be wrought unto Israel; and, as he sowed the wind, so he reaped the whirlwind. Secondly, there came the earthquake—the great commotion which the Geraldines raised in Munster, and which was aided in Leinster by the Cavanaghs, the Lord of Baltinglass, and other nobles of that province. To the pious princes of foreign countries this appeared to be the cause of God; and, as they considered it to be a war for the faith, they sent over aids of men and arms. But their endeavours were in vain, because of the transgression of the time,—God having decreed not to give that good effect to the arms of warriors which he had reserved for another season, to be accom-

CHAP. III. plished by other means and instruments. To this earth-
A.D. 1682. quake of the Geraldines, succeeded the fire of Tyrone's
insurrection, destroying far and wide for the space of ten
years. The labours of this general appeared to prosper :
he was victorious in several engagements ; he maintained
the righteous cause of restoring religion : and would not
make peace with the English unless the orthodox faith
were publicly established through the entire kingdom.
But this mighty power was not exercised according to the
effectual purpose of God, whose counsels are impenetrable
and his judgments as the great abyss ; therefore was the
strength of man put forth in vain ; and so this illustrious
Earl hath departed to answer to God for the deeds done
in the body, and to receive his deserved reward. Since,
therefore, neither in the whirlwind, nor in the earthquake,
nor yet in the fire, hath the Lord come to the refreshment
and consolation of this land, and, as we cannot doubt
that at length it will have rest from its tribulations, it
remains that we consider what is that still small voice, for
whose soft and auspicious breathings we are to wait.
There is spread around us on every side a joyous rumour
of a marriage between the heir of Britain, and a daughter
of France or Spain. Who, that hath meditated on the
blessings which arose from the union of Philip and Mary,
can doubt, that if this marriage be now celebrated, on
meet conditions, and with the consent of the Apostolic
See, we should receive the sure and stable redress of our
grievances, and every other benefit in addition. Thou
Almighty Ruler of the world, from whom all power and
dominion do proceed, of whose Church kings are ordained
to be the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers,
who dost order the light to shine forth out of darkness,—
arise, thou bright and morning star, enlighten the hearts of
the King and his family, inspire them with wise and salutary
counsel, that they may see the true and only faith which
Christ hath delivered to us.' "

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1682.

4. CLAIMS TO THE EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

“ Thus, in this most afflicted kingdom of Ireland hath God preserved the seeds of that pure and divine religion which it received from the ministry of the Roman Church, so that all may perceive how it might flourish in earthly peace and prosperity, *if the sons of God* (*i.e.*, the priests) were permitted so to instruct the children of men (*i.e.*, the people), that while they especially loved the tents of Israel, they yet should not despise the tabernacles of Jacob. And since the authority of the teachers is the great attraction to learning and good discipline, it appeareth that no more effective education can be devised for bringing this people unto all civil duties and the rules of government and society, than to place them, according to their own choice and affection, in the hands of the Catholic priesthood. No more expedient course can be devised, for subduing this nation, and keeping it firmly in due allegiance, than to have the people instructed by those teachers whose good-will to them is beyond suspicion, whose devotion to God and *fidelity to the King* are also well known. By such a mode of government they will be more inclined to obedience than by armed soldiers, or sanguinary edicts of Parliament. Our rustics themselves declare, that they are deterred from murder, revenge, robbery, or other violence, more by the censures of the priest than the sentence of the secular judge—that they are *more afraid of an ecclesiastical interdict than a royal proclamation*; of suspension from the rites of the Church, than of imprisonment or hanging. If, then, we were allowed to exercise those powers which the sacred councils and canons * do grant us against rebellious and seditious folk,

Claims to
education
of the
people.

Ecclesiastical
interdict v. royal
proclamation.

* The bishop refers to the canons, as well for the prerogatives and immunities of his own order, as for the means of coercing the people. Thus, in his account of a bishop, who was apprehended and brought to trial for having aided in O'Neil's rebellion, he says:—“ A son of Belial appeared

ORAP. III. we should use all diligence that they were vigorously
A.D. 1682. executed; if not, we will permit that the offender be
punished by the civil magistrate."

These passages, it will be observed, appear in an address to the heir-apparent, from the Secretary, and most moderate member, of the Papal hierarchy. For the first time since the Reformation, the bishops were now making advances which they intended to be conciliatory; they had almost become candidates for the praise of loyalty, and endeavoured to soften down their habitual defiance into the soothing tones of courtly gratulation. Their language, in such circumstances, must be regarded with some interest; to those, in particular, who see nothing in Popery but celibacy, a wafer, and the use of the Latin language, it is calculated to afford useful, though perplexing information. It appears, then, that the prelates of the most fanatical period which has ever convulsed this unhappy country, did not condescend to mention ritual or dogmatical innovations* amongst the

against the anointed of the Lord, and charged him with having been in a certain castle with Hugh O'Neil. I cannot now enlarge upon the difference between a secular court and a court ecclesiastical; upon the privileges of the person accused and the incompetency of his judge; upon the decrees of Pontiffs and the authority of the sacred canons; upon rights which the martyr of Canterbury maintained even unto death, against the municipal law of England and the constitutions of Clarendon; for now, law hath conspired with iniquity, and the weakness of man hath yielded to unjust statutes, so that things of holy institution are submitted to the sentence of a profane judge."

* If we may judge from English history, the comparative value which Rome sets upon power and upon *religious* unity can be easily ascertained. The great quarrel with Henry was a contest for jurisdiction,—the rival parties being fully agreed upon all doctrinal and ritual questions. Pius the Fifth, a canonized authority, offered Elizabeth her own terms as to a liturgy and the internal discipline of the Church, provided she acknowledged his accommodating supremacy. Fifty years after, a similar temptation was held out, by the *resident* Nuncio Pansani, to Laud and his unfortunate master; and Father Davenport undertook to show how a man might be a true son of the Church of Rome though he subscribed the articles of the Church of England. In the reign of James the Second, the stratagem was tried again: Bossuet, Gother, and others, drew their portraits of Popery, and public men amused themselves in tracing family likenesses—*facies, quales decet esse*

Rome's
preference
of power
to unity.

grounds of their discontent, or the questions at issue between their order and the civil government. Popery, in their estimation, was a Gordian knot, which fastened the State to the footstool of the Church; Henry the Eighth had cut asunder what his more timid predecessors had sought to loosen or untie; and the avowed grievance of Routh and his brethren was the failure of those schemes of secular dominion to which the forms and fictions of their religious system were but subservient and instrumental. *From the beginning, say these churchmen, in their arrogant candour, sword contended against sword; the "soldiers of Christ" maintained their spiritual warfare against the "ministers of Cæsar," and the tardy change of doctrines and ceremonies only gave a new name to the inveterate altercation. The political constitution, to which alone they can give the title of legitimate, must be formed upon the model of regenerated human nature: the flesh subdued to the Spirit; the grosser element of the civil power, restrained to a subordinate sphere of action; and the pure essence of their own order, invested with an imperial ascendancy, suited to its native dignity, and necessary for the accomplishment of the sublime ends of*

sorcus. Thus, we see, that it did not require all the intrepidity which Dr. Doyle possesses to declare, as he did in his letter to Mr. Robertson, that the questions at issue between the Churches were little more than verbal disputes, which might be easily explained away if England would consent to a *re-union*. These matters, contemptible in themselves, are interesting from their political coincidences; all the great manifestations of liberality on the Papal side have, except the last, been followed by some national convulsion. The amicable overtures of Pius introduced the more vigorous measures of the Desmonds and the O'Neils; the negotiations of Panzani led the way to the Great Rebellion, and the bland exposition of Bossuet was the precursor of those aggressions which drove Protestants to the fearful redress of a revolution. It is a fact, too, however unconnected with the foregoing, that the memorable scenes of 1798 had been preceded by some liberal symptoms from Dr. Troy. Whether a storm is, or is not, destined to follow those gleams of conciliation which have lately dazzled so many, is a question to be answered only by time—the sure, though tardy, interpreter of all omens.¹

¹ Written in 1827.—Ed.

CHAP. III. its institution. The holy island, to be truly emancipated,
A.D. 1682. must repose under the tutelage of the Sovereign Pontiff; the people, devoted above all things to the Church, would *then*, at her command, pay a cheerful respect to the secular magistrate; and the prince, absolved from curse, and restored to the affections of a generous nation, would shine forth in the placid lustre of reflected sovereignty. Of the means by which this consummation was to be achieved, the prelates judged with unscrupulous liberality: an earthquake, a conflagration, or a gentle voice; rebellion or invasion, parliamentary intrigue, or the softer arts of female blandishment,—all were entitled to their impartial benediction, in proportion as they might contribute to the exaltation of the Church. Such were the views of Routh and his contemporaries. Unaffected by the varieties of private character, and the vicissitudes of four hundred and fifty years, the spirit of Laurence had descended with his office, informing and assimilating the successive members of the order, imparting a singleness and intensity of purpose which almost arrested the course of nature, and consolidated the fleeting train into one permanent body.

Experience having soon dissipated the hopes which had been raised by the marriage of Charles, the bishops returned to their former devices. They had now, to the exclusion of all but their dependants, the lawyers, effectually occupied the vacant tyranny over the multitude; and, among those of better quality, their two classes of instruments were daily becoming more tractable in their skilful hands. Those of the ancient race, fiery, vindictive, and unreflecting, prodigal of life, having nothing else to lose, and brooding over grievances, of which it was idle to expect the redress by political intrigue, waited, with a patience which discipline only could inspire, for the signal that was to send them upon their sanguinary course. The more crafty genius of the gentry of the Pale, and the proverbial coolness of the legal profession,

of which many of them were members, served at once to temper the impetuosity of the Irish, and to prepare for the successful exercise of their valour. Unwarlike themselves, these persons were, perhaps, the most effectual in promoting the ruthless designs of the hierarchy: their discontent had gradually soured into disaffection; and the skill and boldness of their inveterate opposition confounded the loyal, while it inflamed the turbulent to the requisite degree of fever. The influence of time, of confidential intercourse, and of common objects of detestation,* in allaying the mutual jealousies of the two races, was judiciously aided by other expedients. Their sons were sent to the continental colleges, to be educated under the inspection of prudent ecclesiastics: † the youths met as countrymen; all irritating associations being dispelled or mellowed by distance, the feelings which belong to early years had their full natural effect, and friendship was consecrated by an infusion of religious zeal. Thus trained, they were prepared, on their return, to be introduced to the "Irish Union," a secret society which had been instituted by Routh, himself a member of an Anglo-Irish family, for the purpose of abolishing the distinction of blood, and diffusing the charities of a seditious patriot-

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1682.

* The recent colonists. "The first and principal cause," says the author of "The present State of Ireland," anno 1614, "of the late union between the Irish and the old English of the Pale, is the plantation of new English and Scotch in all parts of the kingdom, whom with an unanimous consent, the natives repute as a common enemy. For this cause, though they endeavour to disguise it, covering the same under the pretext of religion, the slaughters and rivers of blood between them are forgotten, and the intrusions made by themselves or their ancestors, on both sides, for title of land, are remitted." As the Milesians had lost their acres, so the Anglo-Irish had lost their cherished title of *Englishmen*, and the monopoly of place and power with which it was accompanied, to the new adventurers.

† This practice was of recent origin. We are told by a writer of the year 1614 (in the "Desiderata Curiosa," i., 418), that Sir Patrick Barnwall, who had just risen to a seditious notoriety, was the "first person of quality that had ever been sent out of Ireland to be brought up in learning beyond the seas."

CHAP. III. ism. Branches of this society were propagated abroad
 A.D. 1682. among the Irish *of the dispersion*, to whose ruin the provident prelates had actively contributed, and who maintained, through the priesthood, a continual correspondence with their kinsmen at home.* Spain, though severed from the empire, and wasted by decay and dissension in all her provinces, had her favourite motives—bigotry and preposterous pretension—for encouraging this conspiracy: the Pope, while he cajoled the uxorious Charles with assurances of his great affection, fomented the intrigue with unabated vigour: and the French Cabinet was too full of ambitious projects, and the fear of a natural enemy, to respect the accidental alliance of the crowns.

United
 Irishmen.

The agents of Cardinal Richelieu co-operated with the prelates in cementing the new brotherhood of United Irishmen; † and that wily minister himself told the Irish at Paris, that “their countrymen would be only a rope of sand,” unless, in imitation of the confederacy of the Guises, they formed a Holy League against the Huguenots of England. The mine was now prepared; it remained only for the master artists to choose the season for an explosion—an explosion that was to shake Ireland for half a century. We are informed by Heber M’Mahon, ‡ a sturdy ecclesiastic, active in the preparations, and afterwards in the work, of death, that the year 1628 was first determined on, and that a general rising of the rebels at home was to be supported by a joint invasion of the emigrants and the French. But the unexpected protraction of the war in Italy engrossed the attention of Richelieu;

* “It is certain,” writes Strafford, in 1637, “that the Irish abroad do hold, by means of the Pope’s clergy, continual intelligence with the mere Irish at home.”

† A curious anticipation of the negotiations of 1792. Wolfe Tone maintained a simultaneous correspondence with the French Directory, the titular bishops of Munster, and the Liberalists of Belfast.

‡ Or rather by Lord Mac Guire, upon the authority of Mac Mahon. See Mac Guire’s “Confession in the Tower.” Borlase, “History of Rebellion,” 85.

the conspirators drew back into vigilant quiescence, and those whom heaven had made responsible for the safety of Ireland slept on in fatal security. In 1634 the design was revived, and again defeated by some accidental occurrence.* After this second adjournment of the enterprise, M'Mahon, hoping, perhaps, to purchase the confidence of Strafford by a show of loyal contrition, revealed the abortive plot, with many expressions of penitence, to a member of the Privy Council.† To us, judging at the distance of two centuries, and by the imperfect light which history throws upon Irish affairs, this tardy disclosure may appear a weak refinement of duplicity; but the Vatican, seldom deceived in its estimate of character, raised M'Mahon to the bishopric of Clogher, a station of great trust and almost absolute authority, in the centre of the most desperate and daring malcontents.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1634.

Since the accession of the house of Stuart, six incipient or meditated rebellions ‡ had now been frustrated, chiefly by the failure of promised succours from the Continent. A generation of conspirators had passed away,

A.D. 1687.

Six rebellions frustrated.

* Borlase, 2.

† Strafford was not imposed on; but a much more palpable artifice has been tried with great success at a later period. The "Morning Chronicle" of May 2, 1825, quotes the following article from the "Etoile:"—"Among the answers which the Bishop of Kildare, Dr. Doyle, has given, with so much candour and frankness, to the questions of the Committee, is found a historical exposition of the highest interest. It was not known before that, until the death of the last of the Stuarts, the Pretender had always nominated to the vacant sees in Ireland. The English Government, with all its gold, had never been able to get at this secret; and when we reflect that it was in the keeping of, perhaps, ten thousand individuals, so admirable an example of guarded fidelity towards the legitimate sovereign recalls to recollection, that the only general of Maria Theresa, whom the King of Prussia despaired of corrupting, was an Irishman." As long as the secret could be of any use to England, all her gold could not obtain possession of it; when it had sunk into a matter of antiquarian curiosity, it was laid out, to advantage, in the purchase of "golden opinions." Were the admirable secrecy of the *ten thousand*, and the equally admirable frankness of the *one*, opposite qualities, or merely opposite aspects of the same principled fidelity to a common cause?

The Pretender used to nominate to Romiah sees in Ireland.

‡ In 1605, 1607, 1613, 1615, 1628, and 1634.

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1637.

and the sons* had succeeded to the baffled hopes and undrawn swords of their fathers; but the hierarchy had imparted to the Holy League a portion of its own unchanging spirit, and the unrelaxed purpose and undecayed organization exhibited no vestiges of the progress of time. At length, the growing discontents in England, the storm which was evidently gathering among the Scotch, and the divisions which Puritanism and the selfishness of the aristocracy had sown among the Irish Protestants, attracted the observation of the prelates and the other leaders. Justly concluding that internal discord would be as effectual an auxiliary as a foreign force, they began, in their several departments, to prepare for active measures. The military chiefs, no longer in want of men, solicited their continental friends for a supply of arms; † the senators, about equal in number to those who had sat in James's Parliament, ‡ cultivated an understanding with their puritanical brethren; and the bishops obtained from Rome the deadly prerogative of secret excommunication. According to strict ecclesiastical rule, the denunciation of an anathema has the solemn publicity of a judicial sentence: the spirited vigilance of Strafford, the most arbitrary governor whom Ireland has ever had, was just able to prevent the observance of these outward formalities; and the prelates, on their part, had the address and reso-

* The emigrants were to have been led, in 1628, and again in 1634, by the son of Hugh O'Neil.—*Mac Guire's "Confession."*

† "The Irish believe themselves so strong, that they desire nothing of Spain but to furnish them with arms for 12,000 men; all the rest they will be able to do of themselves."—*Strafford's Letters*, ii, 111.

Popery and
elections.

‡ The general election in 1634 was marked by a repetition of those scenes which had been exhibited in 1618. "Popish Jesuits," says Strafford, "are very busy in the election of knights and burgesses; they call the people to their masses, and there charge them, on pain of excommunication, to give their votes to no Protestant. I therefore purpose to question some of them; it being, indeed, a very insufferable thing for them thus to interfere in causes purely civil, and it is of passing ill consequence, in warming and inflaming his Majesty's subjects one against another, and, in the last resort, to bring it to a direct party of Papist and Protestant."

lution to obtain an increase of the substantial power. "If," says the decree of the Congregation *De Propagandâ Fide*, "there be danger of a prosecution before the secular magistrate, the bishop may pass sentence, without a written form, and in the presence of any two witnesses." * This ample dispensation provided at once for the tyranny and the security of the Church: the culprit, ignorant of his danger, and, perhaps, unconscious of guilt, was despatched by a species of spiritual assassination; the intelligence of his fate was disseminated in whispers; while the absence of written evidence, and the fidelity of the chosen witnesses, enabled the perpetrator to defy the civil authorities. If ever there was a weapon in the hands of men that deserved to be called Satanic, it is this Papal sword of secret excommunication, which, by one invisible and inevitable stroke, cuts off its victims from the charities of the present life, and the hopes of the life to come. Wielded at such a crisis, and by beings who had little in common with humanity (but that gloomy ambition, which yet seems to be less a natural vice than an infusion from the author of the first rebellion on record), its mysterious terrors may exercise our conjectures, but they elude calculation. Of this, however, we may be sure, that it assisted powerfully in subduing the timid; in controlling

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1637.

Secret ex-
communication.

* The brevity and importance of this decree justify its insertion in full. It is given by Bishop Burke in the following words and form:—

"DECRETUM

"*Sacra Congregationis De Propagandâ Fide.*

"*Habitu 30 Januarii, 1638.*

"REFERENTE Eminentissimo Cardinale Pamphilio, Sacra Congregatio censuit, si Sanctissimo placuerit, concedendam esse Facultatem archiepiscopis et episcopis Hiberniæ, ut possint, sine scriptis, coram tamen duobus testibus, proferre sententiam excommunicationis contra contumaces et inobedientes, si periculum sit, ne ab eis apud magistratus sæculares accusentur.

"EODËM die, Sanctissimus Dominus noster Decretum Sacra Congregationis approbavit, cum hæc conditione, ut prædicti Prælati probationes contra Reos pendè se retineant, et conservent.

"ANTONIUS CARDINALIS BARBERINUS PRÆFECTUS."

CHAP. III. the more resolute ; in reducing those conscientious Roman
 A.D. 1637. Catholics who endeavoured to separate religion from the
 schemes of its ministers, to a silent neutrality, suspicious
 in the eyes of Government, and humiliating in their own ;
 and in driving the awe-stricken multitude to propitiate,
 by any sacrifice, that evil principle, from which their
 better instincts recoiled with abhorrence.

Strafford's
 Vice-
 royalty
 applauded.

The talents of Strafford could be of little avail in fathoming the depth of these spiritual intrigues ; but he was fully qualified to detect, and to counterwork, the devices of the lay conspirators. The haughty energy of his character, which, in yielding times, might have pressed with a dangerous vehemence against the other orders of the State, presented to their seditious excitement a suitable antagonist power ; and, had his master been endued with the same vigorous decisiveness, the turbulence of both islands would, probably, have been overruled. In the month of March, 1640, the Irish Commons unanimously decreed him the highest panegyric, which, perhaps, has ever been passed upon the governor of an agitated country. Having voted a very liberal subsidy to the Crown, they inserted in the preamble of their Bill of Supply an encomium on the King's goodness to his Irish subjects : " Especially," said they, " in placing over us so just, wise, vigilant, and profitable a Viceroy as the Earl of Strafford, who has endeared himself to us by his great care and travail of body and mind ; by his sincere and upright administration of justice, without partiality ; by his increase of your Majesty's revenue, without the least hurt or grievance of the subject ; by his diligence, in obtaining for us the large and ample benefits we have received, and hope to receive, from the commission of graces ; by his great pains in the restoration of the Church ; by his reinforcement of the army, and his ordering of the same with singular good discipline, that it is now become a great stay and comfort to your whole kingdom ; by his support of your Majesty's laws here established, his

necessary and just strictness in the execution thereof, his countenance and encouragement of the judges, and other good officers, and his care to relieve the poor, and redress the oppressed." The King having expressed his fears that, unless the Scotch submitted, a further supply would be necessary, the obsequious house assented with the same unanimity. "If," proceeded the preamble, "his Majesty be enforced to vindicate his just authority, this house, for themselves, and for the Commons of this kingdom, do profess that their zeal and duty shall not stop here; but they do humbly offer and promise, that they will be ready, with their persons and estates, to the uttermost of their abilities, for his Majesty's further supply, as his Majesty's future occasions shall require. And they pray that it may be represented to his sacred Majesty by the Lord Lieutenant, that this their vote may be recorded as an ordinance of Parliament, and as a testimony to all the world, and to succeeding ages, that, as this kingdom has the happiness to be governed by the best of kings, so they are desirous to give his Majesty just cause to account this people among the best of his subjects." The Lords having passed a vote of thanks to the Commons, for their cheerful and ample supplies to the Crown, proceeded to pronounce an emulous eulogy upon the administration of the Viceroy. Loud and repeated cheers accompanied these *unanimous* resolutions of the two Houses; and the profound tranquillity which prevailed all over the island, seemed to ratify the loyal acclamations of the Senate. So placidly did the current of public affairs glide on; so little reason was there, apparently, for apprehending that Ireland had already approached the cataract of rebellion. Protestants began to be ashamed of their fears; uninitiated Roman Catholics took a pleasure in recollecting, how the experience of forty years had continued to refute the prophecies of a bloody triumph over heresy; and the well-affected of all parties reflected on the rumours of danger, so often

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1640.

Calm preceding the storm.

CHAP. III. raised, so invariably unattended by any ostensible verification.
A.D. 1640.

Strafford recalled.

Strafford was recalled from the Government, in the following month of April; and in June, upon the re-assembling of Parliament, the first symptom of the impending horrors was unequivocally betrayed. Of the three parties which composed the House of Commons, the royalists had been weakened by the departure of several members, who held military commissions, to join the army intended for an expedition into Scotland: the Papal recusants were now the most numerous; and the Puritans, who occupied the opposite form of dissent, compensated their want of strength by an active spirit, and by the support of their English brethren. The two extremes, congenial in temper, however opposed in interest and opinion, had been gradually drawing to a co-operation against the intermediate body, which was offensive, alike from its temporal ascendancy, and its religious moderation. They had been restrained from a formal union by the resolute address of Strafford; but the supineness of the new Government left them free from all control, and they coalesced, with an eagerness inflamed by the delay, and by a desire to wreak upon their late ruler those vindictive resentments which faction generally mingles with political hostility. In this portentous confederacy, the balance of cunning was very evenly poised between the temporary allies: the difference of power, both in the House and in the country, preponderated overwhelmingly in favour of the Roman Catholics. Everything that had been done in the former session was now undone, with a flagitious alacrity which extorts the remark from a temperate, but discerning writer,* "that, though shame has a powerful influence in restraining individuals, it never enters into bodies of men." Those who, three months before, had declared "that their hearts contained *mines* of subsidies,

* Carte.

for the best of kings," now denounced the intolerable pressure of that supply, which they had voted as an earnest of their loyal munificence; and, by the meanest artifices, reduced it to less than one-half of the promised amount.

Their unbounded applause of Strafford's government was succeeded by condemnation equally unqualified: a formal protestation was drawn up, in both houses, against their late splendid and unanimous encomium; they pronounced it *false*, they alleged that it had been extorted from their *fears* by the tyrannical arts of the Viceroy, and prayed the King for permission to erase the scandalous record from their journals. Thus, solemnly self-convicted of those kinds of baseness to which the concurrent sense of mankind has affixed the greatest infamy, the two branches of the colonial legislature aspired, in due course, to the character of Irish patriotism. In a long catalogue of grievances, contradicting, in every article, the Acts they had passed, and the resolutions which they had inserted in the money Bill, they proclaimed the wrongs of their province to the English Parliament; at the same time that, with blind inconsistency, they protested against its imperial jurisdiction. Some of these charges—false, or at least exaggerated, as we must suppose them, if we allow any truth to their unmeasured panegyric—seem to show an anxiety to establish a plausible case, and a sense of the value of popular opinion. "Trade," they said, "had been injured by illegal impositions; merchants had been condemned to extreme hardships; monopolies multiplied; the promised graces refused; proceedings in civil causes managed contrary to law and to the great charter; Parliament deprived of its legitimate freedom; exorbitant fees exacted by the ecclesiastical and civil courts." Others there were which reveal the secret of their public spirit; the domestic tyranny of those days had too fierce an appetite for misrule to separate insult from impolicy, or suffer its victims to approach the confines of civilization. "Strafford," proceeded they, "has oppressed the nobles and

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1640.

Strafford's
government
condemned.

CHAP. III. gentry, by overrating them in the assessment of the
A.D. 1640. Parliamentary grants; * he has aggrieved the people, by enforcing the laws enacted against the use of the Irish apparel, *against ploughing by the tail, against burning corn in the straw, and against tearing the wool from living sheep.*"

Prosecution of Strafford.

Armed with such complaints, a *paid* deputation, of five Puritans and eight Roman Catholics, was dispatched by the Commons, to assist in the prosecution of the devoted Earl; the spontaneous zeal of four Roman Catholic peers, afterwards authorized by a vote of their own house, and remunerated by the liberality of the lower, prompted them to engage in the same cause. The intrigues of these committees, having already received a large share of the ignominy they deserve, † may be dismissed with the greater brevity. Negotiations, faithless on both sides, and effectual only for the common ruin, were spread among all those in the greater island, whom the calamities of the times had invested with the character of public men. The *agitation* of the impeachment covered the operations of the more

* The old system of supply by *subsidy* was a species of income or property-tax; but, in Ireland, the aristocracy generally contrived that their portion of the charge should devolve upon their retainers; in fine, the demand of a contribution from an Irish senator was considered as almost a breach of privilege. Upon the arrival of Strafford, they endeavoured to secure, by an artifice, the continuance of that immunity, which, under his vigorous government, they despaired of obtaining by the simpler process of intimidation. It was gravely proposed at the Council Board that the fine upon recusancy, which had never been regarded in any other light than as a possible penalty, restraining the Roman Catholic body by its suspended terrors, but alighting only upon obnoxious individuals, should be universally exacted, and applied to the alleviation of Protestant burdens. The prompt and scornful refusal of Strafford hurt the pride of the satraps; the unceremonious rigour with which he enforced the assessment, and, in one insolent instance, compelled the payment of all arrears, was an inexpiable offence against their avarice. He was prepared for the hostility of Loftus, Boyle, and Parsons; but how could he have suspected that the men whom he had rescued from their taunting tyranny would aid them in working his ruin?

† The same trite publicity of the volumes of Leland, Carte, Warner, O'Connor, &c., which removes the necessity of continual reference, suggests the propriety of abridgment, even at the hazard of weakening the effect of the narrative.

daring party at home : its *issue* brought contempt upon the Crown, terror to the local executive, and to the Irish generally, whose notions of government have always been strongly associated with the person of the magistrate, the hope or fear of the approach of a season when the civil fabric should be utterly dissolved. Their success in this first experiment was a stimulus to the discovery of new wrongs, and the advancement of new pretensions, of little consequence except as they ministered to the great cause of sedition ; and the monarch, who had already surrendered to them the life and reputation of the ablest of his servants, was ill able to vindicate what remained of his dignity. On the 28th of August, 1641, the deputations returned with Bills for the redress of all **THE GRIEVANCES**, and the concession of all **THE GRACES** : they were to be passed in form upon the opening of the new session in November ; and, in the meantime, it was carefully announced through the kingdom that the royal assent had been given by anticipation.

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1641.

August 28,
1641.

There is no sufficient evidence that the great body of the Roman Catholic aristocracy had formed, even now, a settled purpose of insurrection ; and it is certain that none of them were animated by the genius or by the aspiring views which had dignified the treason of Hugh O'Neil. They wished for a commotion ; they knew that one was at hand ; but it seems to have been the sum of their ambition to contemplate at a safe distance the first shock of civil war, and, by reserving their strength for arbitration or the prevailing party, to obtain, as the price of their services, some petty increase of influence and emolument. It is no disparagement of their subtlety that they were over-reached by men who, besides the advantages which they derived from a veteran policy, and from the command of the multitude, were raised above sordid intrigue by devotion to their order, and found an adequate object for all their powers of evil in the magnitude of the prize for which they contended. While all

CHAP. III. eyes were fixed upon the transactions in the greater
A.D. 1641. island, the prelates, aware that when blood was once
shed, these selfish lords would be driven from their
neutrality, had made their dispositions for the great
experiment. A few men of family, whose authority
over their hereditary vassals had survived the ruin of
their feudal dignity, and who depended on the reckless
fidelity of these retainers to follow them, as they said,
"to the gates of hell," undertook to direct the barbarities
of the assault. Their tumultuous onset was to be sup-
ported by the more regular operations of a disciplined
force, which the treachery of the Irish Commons, and the
wayward insolence of the English, had conspired to place
at the disposal of the Church. Seven thousand Roman
Catholic soldiers had been raised for service in Scotland;
and when the treaty of Rippon seemed to render their aid
unnecessary, and the fears of the British Puritans, real or
pretended, had perverted it into a grievance, Charles had
found occupation for them in the French and Spanish
armies; but, by this interposition of the Parliaments,
they were detained at home, their arrears of pay were
undischarged, their turbulence was excited, they were
released from the restraints of discipline, and ready for
innovation. The eloquence of the preaching friars, and
the hopes, temporal and eternal, which the Papacy has
in store for the pious valour of crusaders, soon gave a
direction to their aimless energies: and experienced
officers, dropping in silently, but incessantly, from the
Continent, were in readiness to marshal them for the
approaching effort. Before the close of the year 1640,
the King sent information to the lords justices,* "that
an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen, with some
good old soldiers, had passed over from the Continent,
and that the Irish friars abroad were in expectation of a
rebellion;" but the fate of Strafford, the devices of the
malcontents, the honest imbecility of one deputy, and the

* Borlase and Parsons.

designing passiveness of the other, contributed to render the warning ineffectual.

When diplomacy had done its work, and the moment for action drew nigh, the fanaticism of the multitude was maddened by a rumour, that the Puritans had resolved to exterminate the Catholic faith; priests and cavaliers arrived more openly, and in greater numbers, bringing assurances of succour from the Pope and Cardinal Richelieu; the Spanish Court, too, it was said, the ancient patron of the Church and people of Ireland, would not withhold its support in this great emergency. In the meantime, the leading ecclesiastics, and the few lay chiefs to whom it was judged expedient to communicate counsels of such critical importance, continued to meet and concert their measures. Their favourite resort was an old Franciscan abbey in the county of Westmeath—a place which, from its retired yet central situation, and from the handsome accommodation which it afforded to clerical visitors, was judiciously chosen as the seat of conference. At the dissolution of the monasteries, this edifice had been purchased by a recusant alderman of Dublin, who restored it to the original owners; and, by the industry of these fathers, it was refitted with a splendour of which Ireland had in those days very few examples. A chapel in perfect repair, an altar graced with a respectable supply of pictures, images, and reliques, and a choir provided with singers and an organ, at once recalled the memory of better days, and gave assurance of their return; and what was more to the present purpose of the hierarchy, there were several spare apartments, with suitable stores and offices, for the entertainment of strangers, both horse and foot.* As the season advanced, the visits to the abbey became so frequent as to attract observation; and some of the more timid or obnoxious of the neighbouring Pro-

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1641.

Papal,
French,
and Span-
ish inter-
ference.

* The abbey of Mutifernam is mentioned by all our writers; it is described by Sir Henry Piers, who wrote in 1682. See Vallancey's "Collectanea," i. 69.

CHAP. III. testants had quitted the country before the summer was
A.D. 1641. over.

Deceitful
tranquil-
lity.

Sicilian
vespers.

Through the rest of the island not one note of fear or of preparation interrupted the awful tranquillity of that summer. Twenty-seven years before, it had been declared, by one* who had studied the aspect of the times, that, "whenever a favourable accident should happen, the Sicilian vespers would be acted in Ireland; and ere a cloud of mischief appeared, the swords of the natives would be in the throats of the Scotch and new English, through every part of the realm." With the exception of one particular,† the prediction was literally fulfilled. On the 23d of October the carnage began; on the 30th, the order for a general massacre was issued from the camp of Sir Phelim O'Neil; and, shortly after, the manifesto of the Bishop Mac Mahon proclaimed the commencement of a WAR OF RELIGION.

* The author of the "Discourse of Ireland," in the "Desiderata Curiosa," i. 435.

† The insurgents were ordered to spare the Scotch settlers.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

"AN angry Opposition in Parliament have constantly imputed the disturbances and insurrections in Ireland to a wrong source, and have severely and unjustly arraigned the wisest measures of Government for their suppression. Thus truth has been perverted through the medium of faction, as the rays of light, refracted through the prism, present various false lights and colours. Englishmen, who visited Ireland for a few days or weeks, have imbibed the prejudices of factious and designing men, with whom they fortuitously associated, as we are told the cameleon assimilates to the colour of whatever body he approaches; and such men have taken upon them to write on the religious, moral, and political state of Ireland. The Jacobins, both in England and Ireland, in order to feed the flame of rebellion, have insinuated, both orally and through the press, that the rebellion arose from the oppression of the Roman Catholics—an assertion as false as it is iniquitous." —*Memoirs of the Different rebellions in Ireland*, by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart. Dedication, p. iv. Sir Richd. Musgrave.

APPENDIX B.

THE following from Wilberforce's "Practical View of Christianity," 17th edition, 8vo., pp. 293—6, is corroborative of the views expressed by the Editor of the present edition:— Mr. Wilberforce.

"Christianity, in its best days (for the credit of our representations we wish this to be remembered by all who object to our statement as austere and contracted), was such as it has been delineated in the

present work. This was the religion of the most eminent Reformers, of those bright ornaments of our country who suffered martyrdom under Queen Mary; of their successors in the times of Elizabeth; in short, of all the pillars of our Protestant Church; of many of its highest dignitaries; of Davenant, of Jewell, of Hall, of Reynolds, of Beveridge, of Hooker, of Andrews, of Smith, of Leighton, of Usher, of Hopkins, of Baxter, and of many others of scarcely inferior note. In their pages the peculiar doctrines of Christianity were everywhere visible, and on the deep and solid basis of these doctrinal truths were laid the foundations of a superstructure of morals proportionably broad and exalted.

“Of this fact, their writings, still extant, are a decisive proof; and they who may want leisure, or opportunity, or inclination for the perusal of these valuable records, may satisfy themselves of the truth of the assertion, that such as we have stated it was the Christianity of those times, by consulting our Articles and Homilies, or even by carefully examining our excellent Liturgy. But, from that tendency to deterioration lately noticed, these great fundamental truths began to be somewhat less prominent in the compositions of many of the leading divines before the time of the civil wars. During that period, however, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity were grievously abused by many of the sectaries, who were foremost in the commotions of those unhappy days; who, while they talked copiously of the free grace of Christ, and the operations of the Holy Spirit, were, by their lives, an open scandal to the name of Christian.

“Towards the close* of the last century, the divines of the Established Church (whether it arose from the obscurity of their own views, or from a strong impression of former abuses, and of the evils which had resulted from them) began to run into a different error.

“They professed to make it their chief object to inculcate the moral and practical precepts of Christianity, which they conceived to have been before too much neglected; but without sufficiently maintaining, often even without justly laying, the grand foundation of a sinner's acceptance with God, or pointing out how the practical precepts of Christianity grow out of her peculiar doctrines, and are inseparably connected with them.

“By this fatal error, the very genius and essential nature of Christianity was imperceptibly changed. She no longer retained her peculiar character, or produced that appropriate frame of spirit by which her followers had been characterized. *Facilis descensus!*

* Wilberforce wrote his celebrated work towards the close of the eighteenth century. From an entry in his Diary, we learn that the first edition appeared April 12, 1797.

"The example thus set was followed during the present * century, and its effect was aided by various causes already pointed out.

"In addition to these, it may be proper to mention, as a cause of powerful operation, that for the last fifty years the press has teemed with moral essays, many of them published periodically, and most extensively circulated, which, being considered either as works of mere entertainment, or in which at least entertainment was to be blended with instruction, rather than as religious pieces, were kept free from whatever might give them the air of sermons, or cause them to wear an appearance of seriousness inconsistent with the idea of relaxation. But in this way the fatal habit of considering Christian morals as distinct from Christian doctrines, insensibly gained strength. Thus, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity went more and more out of sight; and, as might naturally have been expected, the moral system itself also, being robbed of that which should have supplied it with life and nutriment, began to wither and decay. At length, in our own days, these peculiar doctrines have almost altogether vanished from the view. Even in the greater number of our sermons scarcely any traces of them are to be found."—*Chap. vi., "Brief Inquiry into the Present State of Christianity."*

APPENDIX C.

NATIONAL RELIGION.—NATIONAL JUDGMENTS.

Arguments.—"1. *From the Justice of the Divine Providence.*

"Indeed, as to particular persons, the providences of God are many times promiscuously administered in this world, so that no man can certainly conclude God's love or hatred to any person by anything that befalls him in this life. But God does not deal thus with nations, because publick bodies and communities of men, as such, can only be rewarded and punished in this world. For, in the next, all those publick societies and combinations, wherein men are now linked together under several governments, shall be dissolved. God will not then reward or punish nations, as nations; but every man shall then give an account of himself to God, and receive his own reward, and bear his own burthen. For, although God account it no disparagement to his justice to let particular good men suffer in this world, and pass through many tribulations into the kingdom of God, because there is another day a coming, which will be a more proper season of

Arch-
bishop
Tillotson.

* Written A.D. 1797.

reward, yet, in the usual course of his providence, He recompenseth religious and virtuous nations with temporal blessings and prosperity. For which reason, *St. Austin* tells us that the mighty success and long prosperity of the *Romans* was a reward given them by God for their eminent justice, and temperance, and other virtues. And, on the other hand, God many times suffers the most grievous sins of particular persons to go unpunished in this world, because He knows that his justice will have another and better opportunity to meet and reckon with them. But the general and crying sins of a nation cannot hope to escape public judgments, unless they be prevented by a general repentance. God may defer his judgments for a time, and give a people a longer space of repentance; He may stay till the iniquities of a nation be full; but, sooner or later, they have reason to expect his vengeance. And usually, the longer punishment is delayed, it is the heavier when it comes.

“Now all this is very reasonable, because this world is the only season for national punishments. And, indeed, they are in a great degree necessary for the present vindication of the honour and majesty of the Divine laws, and to give some check to the overflowing of wickedness. Publick judgments are the banks and shores upon which God breaks the insolvency of sinners, and stays their proud waves. And though, among men, the multitude of offenders be many times a cause of impunity, because of the weakness of human Governments, which are glad to spare where they are not strong enough to punish, yet in the government of God things are quite otherwise: no combination of sinners is too hard for *Him*, and the greater and more numerous the offenders are, the more His justice is concerned to vindicate the affront. However God may pass by single sinners in this world, yet, when a nation combines against *Him*; *when hand joins in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished*. This the *Scripture* declares to be the settled course of God’s providence; that a righteous nation shall be happy; *the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effects of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever*. And, on the other hand, that He useth to shower down his judgments upon a wicked people: *He turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein*.

“And the experience of all ages hath made this good. All along the history of the *Old Testament* we find the interchangeable providences of God towards the people of *Israel* always suited to their manners. They were constantly prosperous or afflicted according as piety and virtue flourished or declined amongst them. And God did not only exercise his providence towards his own people, but He dealt thus also with other nations. The Roman Empire, whilst the virtue

of that people remained firm, was *strong as iron*, as 'tis represented in the prophecy of Daniel. But upon the dissolution of their manners the *iron* began to be *mixt with miry clay*, and the *feet* upon which that empire stood, to be *broken*. And though God, in the administration of his justice, be not tied to precedents, and we cannot argue from Scripture examples that the providences of God towards other nations shall in all circumstances be conformable to his dealings with the people of *Israel*, yet thus much may with great probability be collected from them, that as God always blessed that people while they were obedient to Him, and followed them with his judgments when they rebelled against Him, so He will also deal with other nations. Because the reason of those dispensations, as to the main and substance of them, seems to be perpetual, and founded in that which can never change—the justice of the Divine providence.”—From *Archbishop Tillotson's Sermon, "The Advantages of Religion to Societies,"* pp. 35, 36, sermon iii. Vol. i., folio. London, 1728; and p. 40 in edition of 1720.

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